MIN-PAO,

THE OFFICIAL ORGAN OF

THE CHINESE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY, 1905-1908, 1910

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<td>ANSKS</td>
<td>Akademia nauk SSSR. Kratkiie soobshcheniiia instituta narodov Azii.</td>
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<td>CIP</td>
<td>Ch'ing-i-pao</td>
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<td>CHWH</td>
<td>Chung-hua min-kuo k'ai-kuo wu-shih-nien wen-hsien</td>
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<td>CHJP</td>
<td>Chung-hsing jih-pao</td>
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<td>CKCP</td>
<td>Chung-kuo chin-tai ch'u-pan shih-liao</td>
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<td>CSSH</td>
<td>Comparative Studies in Society and History.</td>
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Hummel  Hummel A.W., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period.*

JAS  *Journal of Asian Studies*

KMWH  *Ko-ming wen-hsien*

LSYC  *Li-shih yen-chiu*

Man-hua  Man-hua, *T'ung-meng-hui shih-tai Min-pao shih-mo chi*

MP  *Min-pao*

Sung, Diary  Sung Chiao-jen, *Wo-chih li-shih*

Tsou Lu  Tsou Lu, *Chung-kuo kuo-min-tang shih kao*

YPSHC, WC  *Yin-ping-shih ho-chi wen-chi*
INTRODUCTION

The present thesis is the study of the journal Min-pao (People's Journal), the main representative of the Chinese revolutionary press before the Hsin-hai (1911) revolution. Min-pao was published in Tokyo, which was the centre of Chinese overseas students and exiles at that time, from November 1905 till October 1908, with two more issues in the beginning of 1910. It was the organ of propaganda for Sun Yat-sen's T'ung-meng-hui (The United League), and since T'ung-meng-hui is generally credited with playing an important role in the realization of the Chinese revolution of 1911, it is important to estimate the significance of Min-pao's revolutionary propaganda and its role in the Chinese revolutionary movement. For nearly five years it was the mouthpiece of the Chinese revolutionary party and the field for ideological polemics with its opponents.

This work is based on a detailed subject analysis of Min-pao's contents, which was done with the intention of discovering Min-pao's aims and principles, its attitude to various contemporary problems and events, its shifts in
emphasis in the propaganda, aspects of its ideological war with opponents, and its role and influence in the revolutionary movement. Through the journal one can study the revolutionary movement from an angle of revolutionary propaganda. The existence of propaganda press, published by revolutionaries in exile and smuggled to their countries, is a fairly common feature of many revolutionary movements. To name just a few famous periodicals of this kind, there were Meshveret (Consultation), published in 1895 in France by Turkish revolutionaries for distribution in their homeland, Herzen's Kolokol (The Bell), which was for ten years (1857-1867) smuggled into Russia from London, and Lenin's Iskra (Spark). The study of their Chinese counterpart would give a deeper insight into the Chinese revolutionary movement before 1911.

The Hsin-hai revolution, or revolution of 1911, is an event of outstanding importance for China. The Hsin-hai revolution not only ended the Manchu dynastic rule and any kind of dynastic rule in China, but it was also a first step towards the new life of the twentieth-century China, a first breath of new China.

In modern Chinese history, the Hsin-hai revolution, as a term, does not merely stand for the events of October
1911. It includes the entire revolutionary movement, which had started so insignificantly in Honolulu in 1894, when young Chinese doctor Sun Yat-sen formed his first revolutionary group. It includes all the ups and downs of revolutionary movement and all the ideas and events connected with it. It would be best to say that the period from 1894 to 1911 is the period of the Hsin-hai revolution; moreover, this period contains several important events, not directly connected with revolution, such as Reform Movement of 1898 and Boxer Rebellion of 1900.

The Hsin-hai revolution has not been studied well by Western sinologists and historians; main reasons for that were the proximity of the events and lack of historical materials for research. Both obstacles are receding now: in 1961 the fiftieth anniversary of the Hsin-hai revolution was celebrated in China, and many valuable collections of materials and memoirs were published both in People's Republic of China and on Taiwan. New studies, with full usage of newly-published materials, began to appear, but there still are many questions to ask, many inquiries to make, many problems to solve.

Among recent studies, only two, both Ph.D. theses, are, in the opinion of the present writer, remarkable for

S.H. Cheng's study, as seen from the title, deals with organization, membership, leadership, finances and functions of the T'ung-meng-hui. The main conclusions are:

Unlike all previous anti-dynastic secret organizations, the T'ung-meng-hui was the first revolutionary party in modern Chinese history to have a program involving not only the overthrow of the existing government, but also the establishment of a republican form of government. The T'ung-meng-hui also differed from previous secret societies in having a nucleus of leadership which consisted of young educated Chinese, particularly those who received education in Japan.¹

Judging from its limited membership, the T'ung-meng-hui does not appear to have led a popular revolution. About a year after its establishment, the party had a membership of some one thousand, which was only a little more than three times the size of its original membership. By the time of its ninth revolt on October 10, 1911, the party's membership had increased to some ten thousand. Among the ten thousand members, there were probably some three

thousand educated men and women. The nucleus of the party, however, was the Tokyo student group, who numbered several hundred. In this sense, the party led an intellectual movement.¹

M. Gasster concentrated, in his own words, on the currents of thought within the intellectual movement led by T'ung-meng-hui. His study has two main purposes. One is to describe and analyze the most important ideas of some outstanding intellectuals in the T'ung-meng-hui in order to add to our understanding of Chinese revolution of 1911...The second and most important purpose of this study is to relate these ideas to some important developments in later Chinese intellectual history.²

His conclusion about T'ung-meng-hui was that the ideas expressed by T'ung-meng-hui intellectuals during the pre-revolutionary period were less important for their influence on their time than they were as the beginnings of an intellectual revolution in China...The T'ung-meng-hui period is an important part of the background against which the crucial intellectual developments of later years must be viewed.³

It was, in M. Gasster's expression, a "germinal period of Chinese thought".

In practical terms, T'ung-meng-hui's task was two-fold: first of all, T'ung-meng-hui was to prepare and

² M. Gasster, Currents of Thought in the T'ung-meng-hui, p.1.
³ Ibid., p.2.
stage uprisings which would lead to the attainment of its primary goal - downfall of the Manchus, and secondly, T'ung-meng-hui was to spread revolutionary propaganda to win supporters and convince the Chinese people of the necessity of revolution. Min-pao was published to realize this second task, and this study aims to discover what Min-pao was, what it achieved, and what was its message to the Chinese people, in order to understand more fully both T'ung-meng-hui and the Hsin-hai revolution. Although Min-pao is mentioned in almost every work about T'ung-meng-hui and the Chinese revolution of 1911, there is no complete and reliable study of the journal. Apart from the journal itself, the sources are scarce and yield little information.

Chapter I of the present work gives a brief description of the periodical press in China, particularly in the last decade of the 19th century and in the first decade of the 20th century. It also describes the development of the revolutionary press in the period from 1899 to 1905, that is, prior to the publication of Min-pao.

Chapter II relates the history of publication of Min-pao, its position in T'ung-meng-hui, its financial base, its editorial staff, circulation, connections with other organizations, and so on.
Chapter III is devoted to the study of Min-pao's ideology, which is expressed in Min-pao's six principles.

Chapter IV traces the development of revolutionary propaganda during the five years of Min-pao's publication, and the study is made of the various shifts and modifications in emphasis in the propaganda and the underlying reasons for this.

Chapter V describes Min-pao's polemics with its opponents, namely with reformist Hsin-min ts'ung-pao and with Hsin-shih-chi, the organ of Chinese anarchists.

Chapter VI is devoted to the study of various topics of secondary importance in the journal, which nevertheless aided the main propaganda in many indirect ways.

Chapter VII concludes the present work with the evaluation of the influence and importance of Min-pao.

It is a great pity that the scope of this thesis and the limits of its aim make it impossible to describe and analyze every article and every item in Min-pao. Every page of the journal reveals something new and interesting about the Chinese revolutionary movement, its main figures, its ideology, its interests and moods, and about the first decade of this century in China. Min-pao, in this respect, is an excellent pool of information for the study of T'ung-meng-hui and its intellectual circle.
CHAPTER I

REVOLUTIONARY PERIODICALS BEFORE THE PUBLICATION OF MIN-PAO

When, in the middle of the 17th century, the Manchus conquered China and established the Ch'ing dynasty, they strengthened and expanded the country. In the middle of the 18th century the Ch'ing dynasty reached the zenith of its political power. With the 19th century came decline, which took a course different from that of previous dynasties, coinciding as it did with Western contact. Since the first wars with the West in 1840s the general situation in China had deteriorated. China was slowly disintegrating, and those Chinese who understood this process were presented with a problem: what was to be done to save their country?

Solutions, conditioned by the time, personality, and knowledge of the individual thinkers, were vastly different, but they all attempted to solve the same problem. Thus there were many solutions attempted: Commissioner Lin Tse-hsü's 林則徐 (1785-1850) blockade of British opium merchants at Canton in 1839; Manchu
clansman Ch'i-ying's (d.1858) policy of appeasement towards barbarians from the West; the Taiping leader Hung Hsiu-ch'üan's 洪秀全 (1813-1864) Heavenly Kingdom of 1850s; constant efforts to "expel Ch'ing and restore Ming" by miscellaneous secret societies; the T'ung-chih 同治 restoration of 1860s and 1870s with its stress on adoption of Western technology; overseas education for Chinese students; K'ang Yu-wei's (1858-1927) Reform Movement of 1898; the violence of the Boxers; the rise of nationalism; the late Ch'ing reforms and plans for the establishment of a constitution, and the revolutionary movement, to name just the most important ones.¹

All the early attempts to strengthen and save China proved ineffective when China suffered a severe defeat by her smaller neighbour in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895. This humiliating defeat triggered the appearance of the two great movements of modern China, both of which had been in embryonic existence a year or so before the war. In 1894 K'ang Yu-wei and his supporters began to plead for the introduction of reforms in China, reforms which would make China a strong and independent state. In 1895 these

¹ For details see S.Y. Teng and J.K. Fairbank, China's Response to the West, passim.
reformers were united within Ch'iang-hsueh-hui (Society of Strengthening through Study) and actively advocated the introduction of new reforms. In 1894 in Honolulu Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925) and a small group of overseas Chinese established an organization, Hsing-Chung-hui (Revive China Society), which aimed to overthrow the Manchu government and create a republican China. In 1895 Sun Yat-sen unsuccessfully attempted to stage his first revolutionary uprising in Canton. Significantly, both reform and revolutionary movements employed the periodical press to spread their ideas.

While in the Western world public opinion had found expression in the periodical press ever since the 18th century, in China such a press had not existed prior to the 19th century. There were only various news-distributing Gazettes, which usually contained information about important activities in the Imperial court, Imperial edicts, and some memorials. However, public opinion and public criticism had always existed and played an important role in Chinese history. Scholars and students, especially in times of national crisis, had voiced their opinions and criticism in the form of protests, memorials,
and petitions.\footnote{Early expressions of public opinion and public criticism in China are described in Part One of Lin Yu-tang, \textit{A History of Press and Public Opinion in China}.} Therefore, a periodical press, published by members of the public and expressing their views on the affairs of the empire, was quite an innovation for China.


The first period, from 1815 to 1895, was the period when a modern periodical press made its first appearance on the Chinese scene. Missionaries introduced the periodical press into China in the form of monthly or fortnightly journals of a semi-religious or semi-educative character. They were not yet organs of public opinion, but were, so to speak, the first steps towards a true periodical press in China. Missionaries tried not only to convert their readers to religion, but also to acquaint them with Western science, philosophy, and culture. Some commercial papers appeared in the big ports, and several Chinese attempted to start various publications.
The second period, from 1895 to 1911, is called the "Golden Period" of the Chinese press. And it was indeed the Golden Period, for during these fifteen or so years the periodical press was one of the most important factors in both the reform and revolutionary movements.

The third period, from 1912 to approximately the time of the Japanese occupation, has been studied only in part. In the first years of the Republic, the press was not very important, but the May Fourth Movement brought the flowering of many excellent periodicals.

For the purpose of the present study, the attention is focused here on the second, the Golden Period of the Chinese press, that is from 1895 to 1911.

Some preliminary remarks are necessary here. First of all, propaganda, in its simplest form, is an attempt to inform and to influence through information. One may, perhaps, define propaganda as intentional dissemination of information and ideas. It is only recently that the word propaganda has become invested with an unpleasant meaning, connected with the use of propaganda by the Nazis and other extremists.

In the absence of other media the periodical press was commonly used for the dissemination of ideas and information and for the expression of opinion by propagandists for various ideas and beliefs.

Who were the propagandists in China at the end of the 19th century and in the first decade of the 20th century? They were drawn from the scholar-official class and from students, but formed a distinctive group. As a group, these men can best be described as intellectuals, in the sense of the term used by Mary Wright when she spoke of "that portion of the educated classes whose attention was centered on the great issues of the age". The term "intellectuals" is used in preference to "literati" since these men of the late 19th and the early 20th centuries can be distinguished from their forbears by their willingness to break with the Chinese traditional thinking. The scholar-official class - the literati of

1 Mary Wright, "Review article: the pre-revolutionary intellectuals of China and Russia", China Quarterly, 6 (1961), p.175.

2 Y.C. Wang in his detailed study Chinese Intellectuals and the West: 1872-1949 wrote: "Although the term 'intellectuals' is difficult to define when it is used to denote a certain group of men in an industrial society, it takes on a clear-cut meaning when applied to the elite in China. It simply means 'educated men' in distinction to the masses who are uneducated. Given this fact, one can (continued p.7)
the 19th century - in their response to the new problems and ideas of their age "stayed within the rigid framework of the Chinese intellectual tradition". In contrast, intellectuals of the 20th century moved out of this rigid framework and tried to find new solutions.

The Golden Period of the Chinese press began with the so-called Reform Movement, which dominated the intellectual life of 1891-1900.

Reformers were the first to employ the periodical press as a means of propaganda and expression of opinion in China. When they started their first periodical, under the direction of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao 梁啟超 (1873-1929), it was an entirely new field for them, both in editing and publishing. It is not surprising that they modelled their first publication on early missionary examples. They even titled their first daily 萬國公報 (International Journal) after a journal published by Dr Young J. Allen in 1889 and reprinted many articles from

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2 (continued from p.6) speak of the 'higher' or 'lower' intellectuals, meaning men who had much or little formal education. Since the word 'intellectuals' has modern connotations, I have reserved it for the Chinese of the 20th century, and have used another term, 'literati', to denote the educated people before this time". (P.vii).

it. Very soon, however, reformers were able to create their own periodicals with new tone and contents. In the years 1895-1898 some thirty-three reform periodicals were published in China. Some of them became very famous and widely read, such as *Shih-wu pao* (often translated as *Chinese Progress* or *Current Affairs*), *Hsiang-hsüeh hsin-pao* (Hunan Studies Journal), *Ch'iang-hsüeh pao* (Strengthening Through Study Journal) and others. These periodicals were an entirely new factor in Chinese life. Of course, most of them were published in Shanghai and read only by intellectuals, but their influence was very strong. Reformers established schools and study groups, wrote pamphlets and submitted memorials to the emperor, passionately advocating their case. In 1898 young emperor Kuang-hsu (reigned from 1875 to 1908) became interested in the reformers and their ideas and took their side. For one hundred days (June-September 1898) he and the reformers, headed by K'ang Yu-wei, inaugurated new reforms, aimed at strengthening China through various changes in her government, administration, and education. The conservative clique, led by the Empress Dowager, strangled the movement before it produced any results. The emperor lost his power and became a mere puppet till his death 10
years later; six prominent reformers were executed and many others suffered persecution; however, the two main leaders of the movement, K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, managed to escape overseas, to Japan, to continue their propaganda.

On the whole, one of the achievements of the reform movement was the introduction of a modern periodical press in China. The reform press was devoted to the spread of democratic ideas, to the promotion of Western learning, to the inauguration of new reforms in China. It was indeed the mouthpiece of the new ideas.

After the failure of the reform movement, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, in his Japanese exile, began publication of Ch'ing-i pao (Pure Criticism Journal). Its title was drawn from the "pure criticism" movement of the Chinese scholars in the second century. The journal attacked the Empress Dowager and her clique and demanded restoration of the Emperor and continuation of his pro-reform policies. Ch'ing-i pao was smuggled into China and read with great interest. Its importance was not only in the expression of criticism of the Manchu government, but also in Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's articles on the new ideas which began circulating on the Chinese scene. Following the success of this journal, reformers established a network
of similar publications in communities of overseas Chinese. In 1902 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao began publication of the new journal, Hsin-min ts'ung-pao 新民叢報 (New People Journal), which continued dissemination of new ideas about the nation, state, people, and democracy. This journal, also smuggled into China, was widely read by Chinese intellectuals.

The reform periodical press preceded in time the revolutionary periodical press and in a way prepared the way for the latter.

Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary movement was almost non-existent in the years of the reform movement, and after the defeat of the reform movement, Sun Yat-sen tried to some extent to cooperate with reformers, but without success. The first decade of the 20th century witnessed a speedy development of the revolutionary movement in China.

At the time of the formation of the Hsing-Chung-hui (1894), the first Chinese revolutionary organization of modern period, there were no writings which openly advocated revolution in China. The reform press and reform study groups attracted many young Chinese, and the defeat of the movement pushed many of them toward more radical ways of thought.
The history of the fall of Ming and the Manchu conquest of China became a topic of great interest. Writings of late Ming loyalists also came into vogue. Although many of these works were banned in China, Chinese students in Japan had free access to them and even managed to reprint important sections from these anti-Manchu writings and smuggle them into China as early as 1895.

The Chinese revolutionary press began its existence in 1899 with the publication of Chung-kuo jih-pao (China Daily). In the autumn of that year Sun Yat-sen sent his revolutionary comrade Ch'en Shao-pai (1869-1934) from Japan to Hongkong to establish an organ of active revolutionary propaganda. Ch'en Shao-pai successfully managed the task, and in the end of 1899 Chung-kuo jih-pao came out. Ch'en Shao-pai was its editor-in-chief. This newspaper was the first revolutionary periodical in China. It was also novel in form: it was the first Chinese newspaper that had adopted the Japanese way of printing short horizontal columns instead of the usual long vertical ones. This practice was soon followed by other newspapers. In addition to the regular daily edition, a supplement Chung-kuo hsün-pao , was published every ten days; one of its sections titled Ku-ch'ui lu (Fomentation)
contained burlesques, folk songs, and various satire on the contemporary political situation. This was also quite an innovation in Chinese journalism.

*Chung-kuo jih-pao*'s history of publication may be divided into three periods: 1) 1899-1905, when Ch'en Shao-pai was the editor and when editorial office served as an unofficial headquarters for Chinese revolutionaries of the Hsing-Chung-hui group; 2) 1905-1909, when Feng Tzu-yu (1883-1958), member of the newly-established T'ung-meng-hui 同盟會 (The United League), took the editorship in his hands; 3) 1909-1911, when it was edited by the Southern branch of T'ung-meng-hui.

*Chung-kuo jih-pao* was not only an active organ of revolutionary propaganda. In its editorial office various uprisings were planned, and future exiles used it as a temporary refuge. *Chung-kuo jih-pao* was read not only in China, but also in the Chinese communities of South-East Asia. It soon became an agency of distribution of revolutionary publications smuggled from abroad.¹

Unfortunately, copies or reprints of *Chung-kuo jih-pao* are impossible to obtain for research, especially because it was a newspaper - more susceptible to damage

¹ Feng (2), 1. 66-72, 190-193; Feng (3), 1. 8-10.
and destruction than a journal, and because it had such a long run. However, it is known that among those who contributed to it, there were such influential and active revolutionaries, as Ch'en Shao-pai, Feng Tzu-yu, Hu Hanmin, Ch'eng Kuang-kung, Huang Shih-chung, and Chu Chih-hsin.

In the period from 1899 to 1905, revolutionary periodicals began to appear gradually in some cities in China and in some Chinese communities overseas, but the main centres of revolutionary propaganda were Shanghai and Tokyo. This was not accidental.

Shanghai had been for some considerable time a treaty port open to various Western influences, and its International Settlement and French Concession offered welcome protection and relative freedom of expression to many an exile. The famous *Su-pao* (Kiangsu Journal) case took place in Shanghai.

*Su-pao* was published since 1896, but only in the middle of 1902, due to several changes in ownership and editorship, did it become a revolutionary newspaper. By 1903 it was one of the most outspoken organs of revolutionary propaganda. The editorial group, which consisted of Chang Shih-ch'ao (dates not
known), Chang Ping-lin (1868-1936) and others, not only advocated anti-Manchuism, but also attacked K'ang Yu-wei, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and other reformers for their opposition to revolution. In 1906 in Min-pao it was said about Su-pao: "Ever since the Su-pao case, nationalism became ever-present, like the sun and moon in the sky". ¹

Su-pao's importance was even more stressed by the fact that the Ch'ing government banned the newspaper and arrested its editorial writers. The famous Su-pao case, the trial in Shanghai of Chang Ping-lin, who at that time had already a reputation of a great scholar and was famous in revolutionary circles for his polemic with K'ang Yu-wei, and of a young author Tsou Jung (1885-1905), who wrote the popular revolutionary pamphlet Ko-ming chün (Revolutionary Army), became known all over the country. ²

¹ Shih-wan, "How strange it is that the so-called amendment of laws by the Ch'ing government should be like this!" MP.2. [13].
After the Su-pao case, the remaining editorial staff and new forces immediately resumed publication under a new title Kuo-min jih-jih pao 國民日報  (Citizens' Daily).

In 1903-1904 several interesting revolutionary periodicals were published in Shanghai, all primarily devoted to the anti-Manchu propaganda.

The significance of these revolutionary periodicals, published under the protection of Hongkong and Shanghai, was that they, much more than revolutionary organizations and societies, were, at that time, the real centres of the growing movement.

Tokyo became one of the main centres of the Chinese revolutionary movement in the first decade of the 20th century. The number of Chinese students in Japan increased steadily from 1902 and reached the record number of 13,000 in September 1906. Chinese students who went to Japan on government scholarships and privately were encouraged to do so by the Manchu government in its desperate attempt to strengthen China. There was the example of Japan, the post-Meiji Restoration Japan, which

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impressed such visitors as Huang Tsung-hsien (1848-1905) and shocked the whole nation by its victory over China in 1894-1895.

Roger F. Hackett, in his study of Chinese students in Japan in 1900-1910 wrote:

Introduced into a new cultural environment and abruptly exposed to radical ideas, the students were forced to make serious psychological adjustments. Japan's progress on the road to modernization highlighted the backwardness of China. Disturbing foreign ideas developed new psychological patterns which undermined their settled mode of conduct. In the light of their knowledge and experience they were alienated from the Confucian way of life and impelled to a new orientation....They received a superficial introduction to new ideas through their studies and through the inflammatory literature fed them by exiled Chinese radicals. This produced a student movement with loyalty focused not on the traditional Chinese cultural world but on a new and dynamic nationalism...¹

These students formed various semi-revolutionary organizations, held meetings, and published pamphlets and periodicals.

At that time most of the revolutionary literature published in China - in Shanghai, Hongkong, and several other cities - took the form of daily newspapers while the publications of Chinese students in Japan and of

intellectuals in Honolulu, Malaya, and other countries, were, in most cases, journals. This difference was caused by the fact that revolutionary publications in China had a wide range of readers, were easily distributed on the spot, and, apart from items of revolutionary propaganda, had to provide some news of national and local interest in order to compete with other publications. For such conditions a newspaper was an ideal answer. Revolutionary periodicals published overseas, on the contrary, had to be smuggled into China with difficulty and were inevitably behind with the news; therefore, they tended to have more articles of an ideological nature and less news, and being much more violent and outspoken than local publications, they had a narrower circle of readers. In such a case, a monthly journal was a better instrument.

Revolutionary journals, published by the Chinese students in Japan in 1899-1905, were the direct predecessors of Min-pao, the most prominent journal of them all. These earlier periodicals had many common characteristics.¹

¹ This information about the early revolutionary periodicals published by Chinese students in Japan has been collected from the following works: Ko Kung-chen, A History of Chinese Journalism; A.M. Grigorieff, "From the history of the Chinese revolutionary press", ANSKS, 66. 94-104; Chang (continued p.18)
First of all, in 1901-1904 feelings of provincial affiliation were very strong among the Chinese students in Japan, and they tended to join into groups based on such affiliations; the same was true of their publications. The most obvious examples are Hu-pei hsüeh-sheng chieh
湖北學生界 (Hupei Students' Circle) monthly journal published by students from Hupei; Che-chiang-ch'ao 浙江潮 (The Tide of Chekiang), journal of students from Chekiang; Chiang-su 江蘇 (Kiangsu), journal of Kiangsu students; and Chih-shuo 直說 (Word of Chihli) by the students from Chihli. Yu-hsüeh i-pien 游學譯編 (Translations by Hunan Students Abroad) was published by a group of young Hunanese, and K'ai-chih-lu 開智錄 (New Learning) was a product of the students from Kwangtung. It is interesting to note here that Sun Yat-sen was very much against these divisions into groups based on provincial affiliations. When he first met Huang Hsing 黃興 (1874-1916) and his revolutionary group in the editorial office of their revolutionary journal Erh-shih shih-chi
二十世紀之支那 (The Twentieth Century

1 (continued from p.17)
Ching-lu, Source Materials on Publications in Modern China; Chang Nan and Wang Jen-shih, Selected Essays on Current Events Written during the Ten Years prior to the Revolution of 1911; Feng (2); Feng (5); Chang Yü-ying, "A Bibliography of the revolution of 1911", Hsüeh-lin, 6.
China) in 1905, prior to the formation of T'ung-meng-hui, he specially stressed the danger of the inter-provincial strife and uprisings by the individual provinces.  

Membership of the T'ung-meng-hui and of the editorial staff of Min-pao, on the contrary, consisted of the natives of various provinces, and the first issue of Min-pao carried an article criticizing the feelings of provincial affiliation and provincial patriotism.  

Secondly, the life span of each of these periodicals was very short and they replaced each other in rapid succession. K'ai-chih lu was published fortnightly from the winter of 1899 to the spring of 1901; I-shu hui-pien 譯書彙編 (Translation Journal) had 11 issues beginning in autumn of 1900; Kuo-min pao 國民報 (Citizen or Chinese National) had only 4 issues from May 1901. Hu-peih hsüeh-sheng chieh began to come out from January 1903 as a monthly, had its name changed to Han-sheng 漢聲 (Voice of Han) after 4 issues and soon expired. Che-chiang ch'ao, a monthly, had 10 issues in the period from February to December 1903. Chih-shuo lasted for only

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1 Sung, Diary, July 28, 1905 (pp.68-69).
2 Ch'en T'ien-hua, "Is now the time to divide into provincial communities?", MP.1, 119-122.
two issues in 1903. Chiang-su, also a monthly, lasted for 12 issues in 1903-1904. All of them, with the single exception of K'ai-chih lu (in Yokohama), were published in Tokyo. The reason for this short existence was mainly financial. Students had to finance their publications themselves, and seldom had any backing. Sun Yat-sen had occasionally subsidised some of these journals; he gave $200 (Japanese) to K'ai-chih lu, and also financed Kuo-min pao with $1000 (Jap.). However, the financial question was only part of the problem; yet another reason was that these periodicals were published by un-organized, loosely connected groups of students. Their early organizations and clubs were all based on the provincial affiliations.

These short-lived journals, if treated as a continuous whole, reveal the development of radical ideas among Chinese students in Japan.

Early journals, published in 1899-1900, were almost entirely devoted to the publication of Chinese translations of progressive Japanese and Western works. K'ai-chih lu (1899-1901) and I-shu hui-pien (1900) were two such journals. Translations from Rousseau's Social Contract appeared in both of them; translations from such

\[1\] Feng (5), 51-52, 55-56. Feng (2), 1. 96-98.
works as Montesquieu's *Spirit of Laws*, John Stuart Mills' *On Liberty*, and Herbert Spencer's *Representative Government* were published in *I-shu hui-pien*. However, in *K'ai-chih lu* such articles as "The development of imperialism and the future of the 20th century world" and "The merits of I-ho-t'uan before China" were published displaying an attempt to assess the political situation and the way to China's salvation.¹ *Kuo-min pao* (1900-1901), more than 2,000 copies of which were sent to Shanghai,² was the first students' journal to criticize openly the Manchu court and the Empress Dowager and to attack reformers and their ideas. In this journal one may find such articles as "Discussion on citizenship", "On the loss of China", and "Treatise on the loss of the country".³ Chang Ping-lin's passionate "On hatred towards the Manchus" also was published in *Kuo-min pao*.⁴ It was edited by the escaped participants of the T'ang Ts'ai-ch'ang's (1867-1900) rebellion, who blamed the reformers for the failure of the uprising.

¹ See HHSL.1.53-58 and HHSL.1.58-62 respectively.
² Feng (2).2.78.
³ HHSL.1.72-94.
⁴ HHSL.1.94-99.
1903 was an important year for the Chinese revolutionary movement. This year witnessed an unprecedented growth of students' activities with clearly marked revolutionary tendencies. Though still bound by the feelings of provincial patriotism, students formed various semi-revolutionary semi-military clubs and organizations and held a number of anti-Manchu meetings. Though translations were still quite an important section of the contents of students' publications, anti-Manchu propaganda began to dominate the periodicals published in and after 1903.

It is quite clear that both reform and revolutionary causes needed an active and effective propaganda to disseminate their ideas and win more ideological and financial supporters. The periodical press was an excellent instrument for such purpose: it was contemporary, flexible, continuous, and alive; easy to write for and to distribute, eagerly read because of its freshness and proximity to the times; it was also a convenient field for ideological battles and polemical argument.

The importance, which the reformers and the revolutionaries themselves attached to their periodical propaganda organs, may be seen from the fact that the most active and devoted reformers and revolutionaries were at
the same time the most important editors and journalists of their respective periodicals. One of the main reform leaders, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, spent an enormous amount of his time and energy on the publication of his journals *Ch'ing-i pao* and *Hsin-min ts'ung-pao*. Such leading figures of the Chinese revolutionary movement as Wang Ching-wei (1883-1944), Hu Han-min, Chang Ping-lin, Chu Chih-hsin, Sung Chiao-jen (1882-1913), worked for various revolutionary periodicals.

Chinese revolutionary thought was quickened by the coming of the West and subsequent anti-foreignism. While the common people expressed their xenophobia through attacks on foreigners, riots, boycotts, and general resentment and ridicule of foreigners and all things foreign, Chinese literati sought other ways to give rein to their hatred of foreigners. They wanted to strengthen China, so that it would be able to halt foreign encroachment and become independent. When the Manchu government repeatedly failed to save China from growing foreign pressure, the ever-present but subdued resentment against the Manchus as aliens turned into hatred of the Manchu government itself.

Writers of the last decade of the 19th century and of the first decade of the 20th century fed this resentment
among intellectuals in a variety of ways. It is known that the history of the fall of the Ming and the Manchu conquest of China became topics of great interest. Chinese intellectuals turned to such writers as Huang Tsung-hsi (1610-1695), Ku Yen-wu (1613-1682), Wang Fu-chih 王夫之 (1619-1692), Chu Chih-yu 朱之瑜 (1600-1682) and others, who lived in the 17th century and witnessed the Manchu conquest with sorrow and hatred. Excerpts from their writings were reprinted and distributed in the 1890s. There were also translations of Western and Japanese works, which caused many Chinese to make painful comparisons. The Reform Movement produced its share of thought-provoking reading material for discontented Chinese intellectuals. Satirical novels of the last two decades of Ch'ing also attempted to foster public discontent.

The next step of Chinese intellectuals was not only to seek solutions in the writings of Ming loyalists and in translations from the West and Japan, but to express their own thoughts and to formulate their own solutions. From 1899 onwards revolutionary periodicals, pamphlets and books spread with increasing volume in China and among overseas Chinese. Their predominant theme was anti-Manchu revolution. In the last decade of Ch'ing rule these
revolutionary periodicals did more to undermine the Manchu regime than all the uprisings. The editorial offices of these revolutionary publications were in most cases true centres of revolutionary activity, though most of the periodicals were published not by the definite organizations, but by the groups of individuals united by a common desire to save China.

Therefore, in their early publications (1899-1905), the radical revolutionary-minded Chinese students gradually proceeded from the translations of progressive Western works and rather vague statements about nationalism, liberty and equality to the direct anti-Manchu propaganda and the call for national and political revolution.

In the Min-pao, which was the official organ of the Chinese revolutionary party, this gradually intensified propaganda reached its peak.
CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF THE PUBLICATION OF MIN-PAO

The history of Min-pao began in August 1905, when the Chinese revolutionary party T'ung-meng-hui 同盟會 (The United League) was formally established in Tokyo. This party, under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen and Huang Hsing, united several revolutionary organizations, which existed prior to 1905. Some of these organizations had been fairly active, like Huang Hsing's Hua-hsing-hui 華興會 (Society for the Revival of China), but some existed in name only, like Sun Yat-sen's Hsing-Chung-hui. T'ung-meng-hui's aims were to overthrow the Manchu dynasty, to restore China, to build a democratic state, and to equalize land rights. Its immediate tasks were promotion of the propaganda of revolution and preparation of revolutionary uprisings in China, which would eventually bring an end to the Manchu dynasty. ¹

The decision to publish a party organ was made at one of the inaugural meetings of T'ung-meng-hui, which was

held on August 20, 1905, in Tokyo, in the house of Sakamoto Kin'ya, a Japanese baron sympathetic to the Chinese revolution. At that meeting Huang Hsing suggested that since almost all members of the editorial staff of the revolutionary journal Erh-shih shih-chi chih chih-na 二十世紀之支那 (The Twentieth-century China) had joined the T'ung-meng-hui, the journal should be made a party organ, and everyone applauded this suggestion.

The journal Erh-shih shih-chi chih chih-na was published by a group of young men from Hunan, who late in 1904, had escaped to Japan after staging the unsuccessful Changsha uprising in October of the same year. There were Huang Hsing, leader of the Hua-hsing-hui and the mastermind of the Changsha attempt, Ch'en T'ien-hua 陳天華 (1875-1905), member of Hua-hsing-hui and author of several revolutionary pamphlets, Sung Chiao-jen, also a member of Hua-hsing-hui, and several others. After their escape and safe arrival in Tokyo, they immediately took part in the activities of the Chinese students in Tokyo and embarked upon the publication of a journal. At first the talented


2 Sung, Diary, August 20, 1905 (p.75).
writer Ch'en T'ien-hua was chosen to be the editor, but feeling discontented and worried about the problems of China, he resigned in March 1905, while his comrades went on with their plans. Several more months were spent on planning and preparations, and finally the first issue of Erh-shih shih-chi chih chih-na came out in June 24, 1905.¹

The aims of Erh-shih shih-chi chih chih-na, as was stated in the first issue, were to promote national spirit and to introduce civilization and scholarship.² These aims were further developed in the introductory editorial; the stress was on guidance and education of the people, on the cultivation in them of such qualities as patriotism, wisdom, strength, virtue.³ It was a nationalist and patriotic journal. It opened with portraits of Huang-ti and Confucius, Huang-ti being in full military attire with a sword. In its contents and general spirit, the journal was not very different from the earlier publications of Chinese students.

On August 27, 1905, a meeting was held in connection with the transfer of Erh-shih shih-chi chih chih-na, and

¹ Sung, Diary, January 2-June 24, 1905 (pp.17-60).
² Erh-shih shih-chi chih chih-na, no. 1 (June 24, 1905).
³ Wei-chung (Sung Chiao-jen), "Introduction to the Twentieth-century China", HHSL.2.61-69.
Sung Chiao-jen, as editor of the journal, officially handed it over to T'ung-meng-hui. However, the second issue of Erh-shih shih-chi chih chih-na was ready for publication. It came out on August 27 and was confiscated on the same day by the Japanese authorities. One of the articles, "On the intentions of Japanese politicians in China", was considered not suitable for circulation. Although Sung Chiao-jen argued with the Japanese authorities about the confiscation, nothing came out of it.¹

Therefore, in September 1905 T'ung-meng-hui members concerned with this matter decided to publish a journal under a new name, so as to avoid any possible complications with the Japanese authorities. Moreover, Erh-shih shih-chi chih chih-na was rather anti-foreign, and T'ung-meng-hui objected to this for diplomatic and political reasons. So finally T'ung-meng-hui only took over the office equipment of Erh-shih shih-chi chih chih-na and began preparations for a publication of its own.²

¹ Sung, Diary, August 27, 28, September 6, 1905 (pp.77-82).
² Sung, Diary, September 19, 20, 21, 1905 (pp.87-88).
The existence of Min-pao, as a revolutionary journal published overseas and smuggled into China, was possible because of the comparatively tolerant attitude of the Japanese government. It is well known that Sun Yat-sen was frequently helped and supported by various Japanese interests. This Japanese attitude to the Chinese revolutionaries may be well understood through an examination of Japan's general policy towards China and Asia, as is well described in Marius B. Jansen's *Japanese and Sun Yat-sen*. Jansen in his study observed that Japan's attitude to China went through several stages. In 1900 Japan cooperated in the Allied Expedition in China and at the same time supported Sun's plans for uprisings. With the Russo-Japanese War, Japan's expansion on Chinese mainland became possible, and the Japanese government was able, to some extent, to exert pressure on the Ch'ing government. Ch'ing attempts to introduce modern reforms and establish a constitution made Japan rather more willing to support the Ch'ing than Sun's revolutionaries, especially because the latter's prospects were dubious. In 1907 this new attitude was demonstrated in the expulsion of Sun from Japan, which was, however, carried out with apologies. The Japanese government also contributed toward a sum of money paid to Sun. It is
obvious that the Japanese government tolerated Sun Yat-sen and his T'ung-meng-hui for some time just in case they might become victorious in China. Although Sun was expelled, T'ung-meng-hui and Min-pao continued their existence in Japan.

The Chinese revolutionaries had a number of devoted friends and sympathizers among the Japanese. Thus, the preliminary meetings to establish T'ung-meng-hui were held at the home of Uchida Ryōhei, leader of the Japanese Black Dragon Society, and one of the inaugural meetings was held in the house of the above-mentioned Sakamoto Kin'ya, who also helped with the publication of Min-pao.

Another Japanese, Akiyama Teisuke, constantly helped Sun Yat-sen with money. He was a publisher of Niroku Shim bun, in which Miyazaki's famous book Sanju-sannen no yume first appeared in serial form in 1902. Marius B. Jansen in Japanese and Sun Yat-sen has said that "Sun was constantly busy with new and expensive projects, such as printing presses for a new Min-pao plant in Shanghai", but whether this came to anything is not known.

The Miyazaki brothers, Tamizo and Torazo, had many contacts among Japanese socialists and Chinese

revolutionaries. The younger brother, Torazo, was Sun's most devoted friend for many years. He constantly helped Sun in fund-raising, propaganda, and preparation of uprisings. In 1905 it was Miyazaki who introduced Sun Yat-sen to Huang Hsing and took an active part in the establishment of T'ung-meng-hui. He was a T'ung-meng-hui member from the day of its foundation, and in 1907 he was given full authority to negotiate for arms and supplies as the Japanese representative of T'ung-meng-hui.¹

Kayano Chōchi, who was at one time a reporter in China, also became Sun's friend and follower. He was one of the Japanese members of T'ung-meng-hui. There were also many others, less famous and prominent, who helped T'ung-meng-hui. Kayano Chōchi related a story of a Japanese police officer Koga, who secretly helped to furnish the Min-pao's office.²

As for the Japanese government and various Japanese politicians and their parties

...most Japanese desired some degree of control over China for their country. Every logic of commerce, culture, and politics made this an obvious goal. But from 1905 to 1915, China was in constant ferment. Who was most likely to win?

¹ M.B. Jansen, Japanese and Sun Yat-sen, p.119.
² Kayano Chōchi, Private Sources on the Chinese Republican Revolution, p.60.
Which side would benefit Japan most? Which group would provide the best neighbour for Japanese cultural and political traditions? Considerations like these were the ultimate root of Tokyo government's hesitation and indecision. Moreover, the Japanese government could not always act on its decisions. It was under constant pressure from organised and popular groups which favoured opposing parties in China.... But Japan's many shifts of policy toward China derived from more than the pressure exerted on Tokyo government by particular factions. Equally important was the changing power status of Japan and consciousness of that status on the part of Japan's military and political leaders...

In view of this attitude of the Japanese government, Min-pao did not hesitate to declare its good intentions towards Japan. Min-pao's fifth principle was "to advocate cooperation between citizens of China and Japan", and on the whole Japan was not criticized in the journal.

It was decided to name the new periodical Min-pao. This title was in the same spirit as Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles - min-tsu chu-i 民族主義 (nationalism), min-ch'üan chu-i 民權主義 (democracy), and min-sheng chu-i 民生主義 (principle of people's livelihood, or socialism), which were declared for the first time in Min-pao.

Min-pao's editorial office was established at 8, Nichome, Shinogawamachi, Ushigomeki, Tokyo. Ushigomeki

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was one of the north-western suburbs of Tokyo, a rather modest place, without any special attractions. However, it contained Waseda University, where some Chinese students were studying at that time. It is said that "the mass of the Chinese students were concentrated within a living-radius of a mile and a half in the northwestern section of Tokyo". Kanda, northern suburb of Tokyo, was also quite popular among Chinese students. Since T'ung-meng-hui did not have any headquarters in Tokyo, this editorial office became the place of many T'ung-meng-hui meetings and the centre of revolutionary activities in Tokyo. One may note here that the Hongkong editorial office of the first Chinese revolutionary newspaper Chung-kuo jih-pao was also virtually the headquarters of Hsing-Chung-hui, the first revolutionary organization of Sun Yat-sen, and when Hsing-Chung-hui was forced to stop its activities and existed in name only, Chung-kuo jih-pao still carried its propaganda. Later it also became an organ of T'ung-meng-hui.

To start the publication of a journal was a rather costly enterprise, and many of the early revolutionary publications collapsed due to lack of finance. Each

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member of T'ung-meng-hui donated 5 yen towards the publication of Min-pao, and a large sum was provided by Liu Ping-p’iao, T'ung-meng-hui leader of Hupei. He was apparently a man of some means, as he also financed the publication of Min-pao’s predecessor, Erh-shih shih-chih chih chih-na. Later Min-pao became a self-supporting journal but also received various donations. It was circulated at a price of 0.2 yen per copy, as was stated on the last page of every issue. From the fourth issue onwards one may find special pages devoted to acknowledgements and the expression of gratitude for donations received from readers.

Hu Han-min was chosen to be the chief editor of the new journal, though in the beginning many members wanted to elect Ch'en T'ien-hua, young and talented writer of several revolutionary pamphlets. The editorship finally went to Hu Han-min, mostly for his outspoken attack on the reform leaders K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'iao in the speech which he made at the meeting in memory of those who lost their lives after the defeat of the Reform Movement.

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2 Tsou Lu, vol. 4, p.1538.
of 1898 and T'ang Ts'ai-ch'ang's uprising of 1900. This preference in editorship shows that from the very beginning the ideological war with the reformers was regarded as a serious and important task and that Min-pao would certainly be used as a weapon in this war.

The name of another T'ung-meng-hui member, Chang Chi (1882-1947), was officially given as that of the editor and publisher, because he knew Japanese very well and was able to negotiate with the Japanese authorities. Neither Sun Yat-sen nor Huang Hsing, the two leading figures of T'ung-meng-hui, wanted to work for the journal, and so this task went to persons of secondary importance at that time. Apparently, both Sun and Huang planned to devote their energies exclusively to the preparation and realization of revolutionary uprisings. Huang Hsing never wrote for Min-pao, and Sun's only direct contribution was an "Introduction to the first issue", which he dictated to Hu Han-min; two of his speeches were also published in

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1 Hu Han-min, Autobiography, KMWH.3.388.
2 Ibid., KMWH.3.388.
3 Sung, Diary, December 2, 1906 (pp.284-286).
4 Hu Han-min, Autobiography, KMWH.3.388.
Min-pao, and he was consulted about many articles and quoted in them.

The first issue of Min-pao came out on the 26th of November 1905 and had its first reprint on the 8th of December 1905. There exists some controversy about the exact date of the first issue, but November 26, 1905, seems to be the most reliable date. Some five thousand copies were printed, three thousand of which were shipped illegally to China. The demand was so great that the first eleven issues had to be reprinted several times.

1 Ch'en T'ien-hua, "Report on the welcome given to Sun Yat-sen by the Chinese students in Tokyo", MP.1.68-76, and Hu Han-min and Wang Ching-wei, "Report on the general meeting and speeches at the celebration of the first anniversary of the present journal on December 2", MP.10.81-114.
2 Hu Han-min, Autobiography, KMWH.3.388.
3 For example, M.B. Jansen, Japanese and Sun Yat-sen, p.119, gives February 1906 as the date of the first issue, and Feng (2).2.154 has November 17, 1905 as the publication date. November 26, 1905, is given in Man-hua, HHKM.2.452 and in Min-pao itself - see title page of the first issue.
5 MP.6, second page of announcements and advertisements in the beginning of the issue. MP.11, second page of announcements and advertisements in the beginning of the issue.
By the middle of 1906 Min-pao's circulation reached 10,000 copies.¹

The structure of Min-pao as a journal did not differ from that of the journals published by the Chinese students and intellectuals at that time. Min-pao had a table of contents and several pages of illustrations in the beginning of each issue; these were followed by several important leading articles on the key problems of propaganda, and some less important articles, usually of an informative character. The rest of the material was divided into a number of sections with appropriate headings. This order of material was not much different from that of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's Hsin-min ts'ung-pao or other journals of that period, though Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's journal was much bigger in size, and its main articles, being more numerous and varied, were also divided into appropriate sections.

For the most part leading articles were devoted to the exposition and discussion of the Min-pao's principles and their various aspects and to the defence of these principles against the attacks of opponents. The rest of the articles were on a variety of topics of interest to

¹ MP.4. First page of announcements and advertisements in the end of the issue.
the revolutionaries, such as Chinese revolutionary heroes, international socialist movement, the revolutionary movement in other countries, and so on.

Some important and sad events happened between the publication of the first and second issues of Min-pao. In November 1905 the Japanese Ministry of Education announced new regulations concerning Chinese students in Japan. These regulations actually aimed at stricter control of the Japanese private schools which admitted Chinese students, and it was stated in the regulations that the Chinese students might enrol only in government-approved private schools. In practice this meant closer supervision of the Chinese students by the Japanese authorities, and the pressure of the Manchu government was to a certain extent responsible.

These regulations were regarded as offensive by many students, and the publication of some adverse editorials by the Japanese newspapers only deepened feelings of resentment and protests among the students.¹ Strikes and protests followed, and many students planned to leave Japan in protest.

¹ Tu-li ts'ang-mang tzu (pseud.), "A report on the public protest of Chinese students in Tokyo, with a suggestion to the village elders to establish schools", HHKM.2.217-234.
At the time Sun Yat-sen was away, for he left for Saigon on October 7, 1905, and Huang Hsing, Sun Yat-sen's right hand in the T'ung-meng-hui, was also away from Japan; the remaining members of the party were undecided what position to take.

One group insisted on the immediate return of the whole student body to China, and they planned to continue their education and activities in Shanghai. Among the leaders of this group were T'ung-meng-hui members T'ien T'ung田桐, I Pen-hsi易本羲, Sung Chiao-jen, the woman-revolutionary Ch'iu Ch'in秋瑾, and others.

Another group thought it would be better to stay in Japan and continue revolutionary work, especially because T'ung-meng-hui had recently been established; this group, being in minority, included Min-pao editorial writers Hu Han-min, Wang Ching-wei, Chu Chih-hsin, and some others. In fact, Hu Han-min had already left Japan once before in 1902, in protest against deportation of another young student, Wu Chih-hui 吳稚暉 (1864-1953), to China. Wu Chih-hui and several others had protested against the ban on private students enrolling in military schools in Japan.

Heated discussion between two groups led to nothing. The whole situation was tragically accentuated by the fact that on December 8, 1905, Ch'en T'ien-hua, member of
T'ung-meng-hui and one of the editorial writers of Min-pao, committed suicide, leaving an open letter to his fellow students.¹

Many students finally left Japan for Shanghai, where they had formed an organization called Ke-sheng liu-hu hsüeh-sheng hui (Alliance of Students in Shanghai from All Provinces).

Since most of the members of Min-pao editorial staff and T'ung-meng-hui leading members remained in Tokyo, the publication of Min-pao went on. The second issue, which after some delay caused by all these events, came out on January 22, 1906, did not refer to the matter at all, but carried Ch'en T'ien-hua's photograph; his open letter to the students was published in full, as well as some of his other writings.

The third issue, published on April 5, 1906, had a double-sized supplementary page, on which the ideological war with Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's fortnightly journal Hsin-min ts'ung-pao, published in Yokohama, was openly declared. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's views had already been attacked in some of the articles published in the first two issues,

¹ Hu Han-min, Autobiography, KMWH.3.390-392. Ch'en T'ien-hua, "Letter written before committing suicide", MP.2.[1-10].
but this supplementary was a true declaration of war, and after that the attacks and refutations followed in every issue till the middle of 1907.

From the beginning of Min-pao's publication in November 1905 to the middle of 1906, that is for the first six issues, Min-pao editorial staff consisted of the following persons: the official editor-publisher Chang Chi 張繼 (1882-1947), the actual editor-in-chief Hu Han-min 胡漢民 (1879-1936), and the editorial writers Wang Ching-wei 汪精衛 (1883-1944), Chu Chih-hsin Chu執信 (1884-1920), Sung Chiao-jen 宋教仁 (1882-1913), and Ch'en T'ien-hua 陳天華 (1875-1905), the latter only for the first issue. Sung Chiao-jen was also responsible for the general management of the journal: he and several others dealt with the arrangements for printing, distribution, collection of the material for the forthcoming issues, and so on. In February 1906 this job was taken by Sung Hai-nan 宋海南, as Sung Chiao-jen became quite busy with his studies at Waseda University. Some of the articles for Min-pao were contributed during that period by Liao Chung-k'ai 廖仲愷 (1878-1925), Ma Chun-wu 馬君武 (1881-1940), Wang Tung 汪東 (dates un.), and Feng Tzu-yu 馮自由 (1883-1958). Huang Fu-sheng 黃復生 was responsible for the
matters dealing with the actual printing of Min-pao, as he was the only available person to do so. ¹

What kind of men were these members of the initial editorial staff of Min-pao? First of all, they were all members of T'ung-meng-hui and the determined revolutionaries.

They were all fairly young. Hunanese Ch'en T'ien-hua, who had committed suicide in December 1905 at the age of 30, was the oldest of them; the Cantonese Hu Han-min was 26; Chang Chi, native of Chihli, and the Hunanese Sung Chiao-jen were both 23; the Cantonese Wang Ching-wei was 22 and Chu Chih-hsin was 21. All of them, except Chang Chi, came from the provinces of South China.

In spite of their youth, some of them had already had some revolutionary and journalistic experience. Sung Chiao-jen had been a secretary of K'o-hsüeh pu-hsi so 科學補習所 (Science Study Group), the first revolutionary organization in Hupei, founded in 1904. Ch'en T'ien-hua was the author of popular revolutionary propaganda pamphlets Meng-hui-t'ou (Sudden Realization) and Ching-shih chung 聲世鐘 (Alarm-bell

to Arouse the Age). Chang Chi had joined the Chinese youth organization Ch'ing-nien-hui (Youth or Young China) in Tokyo in 1900, and in 1903 together with young Tsou Jung, future author of the famous revolutionary pamphlet Ko-ming-chün 革命軍, forcibly cut off the queue of the official sent over to Japan to control Chinese students. After his immediate expulsion from Japan, Chang Chi worked for the revolutionary newspaper Su-pao in Shanghai. In 1903 Sung Chiao-jen, Ch'en T'ien-hua, and Chang Chi had become members of Huang Hsing's revolutionary organization Hua-hsing-hui and in 1904 took part in the unsuccessful Changsha uprising. In 1905 Sung and Ch'en began to publish Min-pao's predecessor Erh-shih shih-chi chih chih-na. Hu Han-min also had had an experience of journalistic work, being a reporter on a Canton newspaper in 1900-1902 and its chief editor in 1903-1904.

Chang Chi, Wang Ching-wei, Chu Chih-hsin, Ch'en T'ien-hua, and Sung Chiao-jen had all been members of T'ung-meng-hui since its foundation in July-August 1905; Hu Han-min joined the party slightly later, in September 1905, when he arrived in Japan. These members of the Min-pao editorial staff also held positions of some importance in T'ung-meng-hui.
In that period, between the end of 1905 and the beginning of 1906, Chang Chi was the head of the Judiciary Department and the representative for Chihli province; Sung Chiao-jen was one of the officers in the same department and the representative for Hunan. Wang Ching-wei headed the Reviewing Department where Hu Han-min and Chu Chih-hsin were the officers; Hu was also the representative for the Chinese communities in South Seas. Due to various arrivals and departures of the T'ung-meng-hui members, as well as other matters, these posts were often shifted from one person to another, but the members of the Min-pao editorial staff remained in the mainstream of the T'ung-meng-hui leadership. This factor was very important for the journal.

This combination of youth, a certain degree of courage and determination, some revolutionary experience and now participation in the T'ung-meng-hui leadership was very significant for the success of the journal in its initial phase. In the beginning the burden of running the journal had rested on Hu Han-min and Wang Ching-wei, who exemplify the qualities found in most of the editorial staff. Their influence did not come to an end after the

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1 Tsou Lu, vol. 1, 41-43.
first few issues, but from the middle of 1906 to theirs was joined a new and influential voice.

In the middle of 1906 the famous Chinese scholar and revolutionary Chang Ping-lin (1868-1936) was released from Shanghai prison where he had served three years' term after the Su-pao case. Immediately after his release, he was met by the specially deputed T'ung-meng-hui members who escorted him to Tokyo. Chinese students in Tokyo organized a welcome meeting in Chang's honour and some 2,000 people came to greet him. It was raining in Tokyo on that July night; many people could not get into the over-crowded restaurant where the meeting was to be held and stood in the rain waiting for Chang's arrival. Chang made a speech and was welcomed by everyone present.¹

At that time Chang Ping-lin's name was known to almost all intellectuals in China. He was known as a classical scholar of great talent, a poet, a passionate author of many anti-Manchu writings, and a strong opponent of K'ang Yu-wei. His life up to this point had been a fine example of devotion to the cause of anti-Manchu revolution, and he was greatly admired by the students.

¹ Hu Han-min and Wang Ching-wei, "Report on the welcome given to Mr Chang Pin-lin, Mei-shu, on July 15, 1907", MP.6.119-120.
Lu Hsiün 魯迅 (1881-1936) wrote about him: "There was no other man like him: he was arrested seven times and imprisoned three times, but his revolutionary determination could not be broken".  

Chang Ping-lin was invited to be the editor of Min-pao, and Hu Han-min relinquished his post to him. Thus, from the sixth issue onwards Chang Ping-lin was Min-pao's editor and stayed on this post till Min-pao was forced to stop its publication in October 1908. He lived in the Min-pao's editorial office and devoted almost all his attention to the publication of the journal. He wrote many articles for Min-pao, and the fact that such a famous scholar and courageous anti-Manchu revolutionary became the Min-pao's editor greatly increased Min-pao's influence among the Chinese intellectuals.

On December 2, 1906, the first anniversary of the publication of Min-pao was celebrated in a grand manner. Reportedly about 5,000 students came to the celebration held in one of Tokyo restaurants. At this meeting, presided by Huang Hsing, Chang Ping-lin recited a poem written specially for the occasion, and both he and Sun...

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Yat-sen, who arrived in Tokyo in October 1906, made speeches. Members of the meeting pledged to contribute money for further publication of Min-pao. A special first anniversary supplement, 天討 (Heaven's Punishment), was issued later, in April 1907.

On December 4 and 7, 1906, several uprisings broke out in the provinces of Kiangsu and Hunan. These uprisings, known as P'ing-Liu-Li uprisings after local place-names, were finally defeated after a month of resistance. Although they were not inspired directly by T'ung-meng-hui, some of its members on the spot took an active part in them. The Ch'ing government made many arrests and proscribed Min-pao.

In February 1907 the Japanese government, under strong pressure from the Manchu government, asked Sun Yat-sen to leave Japan. It was planned then by the revolutionaries that Sun Yat-sen, Hu Han-min, and Wang Ching-wei would leave Japan and continue their work in Singapore or elsewhere. As was said before, both Hu Han-

1 Hu Han-min and Wang Ching-wei, "Report on the general meeting and speeches at the celebration of the first anniversary of the present journal on December 2", MP.10, 81-114.
min and Wang Ching-wei were Min-pao veterans and the most important editorial writers. Their departure in March 1907 left a gap in Min-pao's staff, which was gradually filled by Chang Ping-lin's friends and followers.

Before his departure from Japan, Sun Yat-sen had several disagreements with his revolutionary comrades. One was with Huang Hsing over the design of the revolutionary flag. Another concerned Min-pao. When Sun Yat-sen was requested to leave Japan, the Japanese government gave him some money for travelling expenses, and he also received some ten thousand yen from a rich Japanese sympathizer. Sun Yat-sen left a small part of this money to finance publication of Min-pao, as Min-pao's strict proscription by the Ch'ing government resulted in some drop in sales. Chang Ping-lin did not consider the sum left by Sun as enough, and, knowing that Sun was taking the bigger part of money with him, severely criticized him. He accused Sun of leaving a small sum for Min-pao and taking a great amount for his own personal use. Chang even took Sun's photograph from the wall of the Min-pao office and sent it to Hongkong, believing that Sun was there with an inscription that the photograph of the "traitor to the Min-pao" should be removed.¹

¹ Feng (1).1.201-202.
This feud was subsequently deepened by several unfortunate incidents of this sort, none of which, however, concerned Min-pao. Although T'ung-meng-hui survived this crisis, personal antagonism and disillusion remained in the party.

Sun Yat-sen and his closest supporters now established their headquarters first in Hanoi and then in Singapore. Now that Sun Yat-sen was not able to enter Japan whenever he wished and an anti-Sun group unofficially existed in the Tokyo branch of T'ung-meng-hui, that particular branch gradually began to lose its predominant position. The journal was now entirely in Chang Ping-lin's hands and continued to remain so till it was banned by the Japanese government in October 1908. New editorial writers filled the gap left by the departure of Wang Ching-wei and Hu Han-min. In the middle of 1907 the Chinese scholar Liu Shih-p'ei 刘师培 (1884-1919), his wife Ho Ch'en 何震, and their friend Su Man-shu 蘇曼殊 (1884-1918) came to Japan. For the first few months they stayed with Chang Ping-lin in Min-pao's office and took an active part in the journal. Liu Shih-p'ei was a classical scholar like Chang whom he admired; the two had met before, and Liu became influenced by Chang's revolutionary ideas and followed him to Japan. Su Man-shu, a talented
intellectual, writer and translator of a Sino-Japanese origin, contributed some paintings for the Min-pao's anniversary supplement. Other new additions to the Min-pao editorial staff were mostly Chang Ping-lin's followers, including Ch'en Ch'iü-ping 陳去病 of Kiangsu, Huang K'an 黃侃 (1886-1935) of Hupei, T'ang Tseng-pi 湯增璧 (dates un.) of Kiangsu, and T'ao Ch'eng-chang 陶成章 (1877-1912) of Chekiang.

Chang Ping-lin's editorship of Min-pao had its good and bad sides. On the one hand, his knowledge, talent, and scholarship brought to Min-pao a certain diversity and amplitude, not only to the contents of the journal itself, but to its position as well. Min-pao, even more than before, stood in the very centre of the intellectual and cultural life of the Tokyo exiles. It became connected with a number of organizations, such as Society for the Promotion of National Learning, Society for the Study of Socialism, and various cultural and international organizations in Tokyo. Chang Ping-lin's knowledge and interest in Chinese phonology, etymology, and classics drew to him, and inevitably to Min-pao, such young students as brothers Chou 周 - Chou Tso-jen 周作人 (1885-?) and Lu Hsün, and many others. Chang Ping-lin welcomed various Asian exiles in his Min-pao office.
On the other hand, as anti-Sun feud deepened more and more, in October 1907 Chang Ping-lin, T'ao Ch'eng-chang and others published a manifesto which criticized Sun for the misuse of funds and irresponsible actions and called for his removal from the leadership of the revolutionary movement. These intra-party feuds, instigated to great extent by Chang Ping-lin and T'ao Ch'eng-chang, caused disappointment to many members of T'ung-meng-hui. The formation of a separate organization Kung-chin-hui (Common Advancement Society) was symptomatic of the growing lack of unity and mutual trust. Chang Ping-lin's personal dispute with another T'ung-meng-hui member Wu Chih-hui on the pages of Min-pao was also a sad event.  

However, it can be said to Chang's honour that his feud with Sun Yat-sen, the anti-Sun manifesto and other matters of this sort were not brought in to the open in Min-pao (except for the dispute with Wu Chih-hui); they were not mentioned in the journal and thus remained unknown to the rank and file of T'ung-meng-hui members.

At the beginning of 1908 Chang Ping-lin was ill for some time, and Chang Chi edited number 19, and then T'ao 

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1 See Chapter V.
Ch'eng-chang - numbers 20, 21 and 22. Chang Ping-lin resumed his duties in August 1908 and edited numbers 23 and 24.¹

The Ch'ing government tried many times to suppress Min-pao through the cooperation and assistance of the Japanese government, but had met with no success up to this time. New pressure in this direction came from the Chinese envoy to America, T'ang Shao-i (1860-1938) who had visited Japan on his way to America. It is not quite clear, from the information available, why Min-pao was banned at that particular time in October 1908. It was rather unexpected because previously the Japanese government tolerated Min-pao to a great extent.

In any case, Min-pao's twenty-fourth issue, which was issued on October 10, 1908, was confiscated by the Japanese police on October 19, 1908, and Min-pao was ordered to cease its publication entirely. The official reason of the Japanese government for the closing down Min-pao was that Min-pao violated Japanese press regulations.² Two socialist-anarchist journals, published

¹ MP.18. First page of announcements and advertisements in the end of the issue; MP.19. First page of announcements and advertisements in the beginning of the issue; Man-hua, HHKM.2.443.
² Japanese police order, issued on October 19, 1908. See HSC.79 (December 26, 1908), pp.9-13.
by Chinese in Tokyo, 天義報 (Natural Principles) and 衡報 (Measurement) were also banned at the same time.

One explanation of the reason why Min-pao was banned at that time comes from one of the editorial writers, T'ang Tseng-pi. He stated that Chinese envoy T'ang Shao-i was on a special mission to America to effect the Sino-American alliance. Chang Ping-lin wrote a small article about this alliance, severely criticizing it. T'ang Shao-i, who stopped in Japan on his way to America, learned about it, and apparently became furious. He urged the Ch'ing envoy to Japan to press the Japanese government to implement the long-desired ban of Min-pao as soon as possible. The Japanese government, in T'ang Tseng-pi's opinion, fearing that the coming Sino-American talks would turn out to its disadvantage, granted the request of the Ch'ing envoy to extinguish Min-pao. On the grounds that the article "Psychology of revolution", published in twenty-fourth issue of Min-pao, had expressed dangerous ideas which violated public peace and order, the Japanese government confiscated the twenty-fourth issue in October 1908 and banned its further publication. 

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1 Chang Ping-lin, "Advantages and disadvantages of the treaty between the Ch'ing and America", MP.24.67-73.
2 Man-hua, HHKM.2.444.
Singapore-published revolutionary organ of T'ung-meng-hui, the newspaper Chung-hsing jih-pao (Revival of China Daily), reported the ban on Min-pao and the events which surrounded it. It stated that T'ang Shao-i, acting on the instructions from the Ch'ing government and supported by the Chinese envoy to Japan, negotiated with the Japanese government on the general matter of revolutionary activities of the Chinese in Tokyo. The outcome was that the Japanese government complied with the request and was promised, in turn, the speedy settlement of the various problems in which the Japanese government was very much interested.

It seems from the reports in Chung-hsing jih-pao, which closely followed the matter, that the action of the Japanese government was not directed specifically at Min-pao, but at all the revolutionary activities of Chinese in Japan. The Japanese government obviously wanted to have better relations with the Ch'ing government than with the dubious group of Chinese exiles.

Chang Ping-lin and other members of the Min-pao editorial staff strongly protested against the ban, particularly because they had already published Min-pao

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for nearly three years without any special interference from the Japanese authorities, Chang Ping-lin protested to the Japanese Home Minister in a special letter, but it had no effect.¹

Chang Ping-lin, Huang Hsing and Sung Chiao-jen decided to take the matter to court and to challenge the action of the Japanese government, which was regarded by them as unlawful and illegal. A special barrister was engaged for that purpose; and Japanese member of T'ung-meng-hui Miyazaki Torazo had translated the disputed article "Psychology of revolution" into Japanese in order to have its contents debated in court.²

On the 26th of October Min-pao's case was heard in the Japanese court, where Chang Ping-lin was questioned about the aims and intentions of the journal and about its reading public. Chang replied that the journal aimed at the overthrow of the Ch'ing government only and was meant to be read only by the Chinese intellectuals. Chang was not able to persuade the court that publication of the journal did not violate public peace and order, so that

² Man-hua, HHKM.2.444.
the Japanese government was able to suppress the activities of Chinese revolutionary elements in Japan.  

It was then decided by the T'ung-meng-hui members Chang Ping-lin, Huang Hsing, Sung Chiao-jen, and T'ang Tseng-pi to move Min-pao's publication to another country, and America was chosen as the most suitable place. Certain plans and preparations were started; Chang Ping-lin and T'ang Tseng-pi even formed a small group of revolutionaries to go to America, and passports were obtained for that purpose. However, nothing came out of it, possibly because the whole plan was costly and difficult to carry out.

The end of Min-pao's publication meant that Min-pao's editorial office had to be closed down, and T'ung-meng-hui was left without any headquarters in Tokyo. Huang Hsing had to organize special meeting of T'ung-meng-hui members in Tokyo, collect money and rent a house which would serve as a new T'ung-meng-hui headquarters. It was named Ch'in-hsüeh-she 勤學舎 (Diligent Study Group).

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2 Man-hua, HHKM.2.445.
It is known that in 1909 in Singapore some Chinese revolutionaries planned to revive *Min-pao* and even published advertisements in *Chung-hsing jih-pao* about the intended continuation of *Min-pao*, but they were also unsuccessful.

In the autumn of 1909 T'ung-meng-hui member Chang Tzu planned to re-establish T'ung-meng-hui headquarters in Tokyo and continue the publication of *Min-pao* secretly. He wanted to ask Sun Yat-sen for instructions, but at that time Sun was out of reach in Europe, and nothing came out of this attempt either.\(^1\)

In the middle of 1909 Wang Ching-wei came to Japan from Malaya. He was disillusioned with the deterioration of revolutionary activities in the last two years, and the intra-party dissensions added to his disappointment. He decided to act on his own, with a small group of collaborators, and planned to go to China and perform a daring assassination which would shake the whole nation.

While staying in Japan and making various preparations for his plan, Wang Ching-wei succeeded in editing and publishing two more issues of *Min-pao*. These two issues,

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\(^1\) Chang Ta-i, "Brief record of the revival of T'ung-meng-hui headquarters in 1910", CHWH.I.vol.11, p.304.
twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth, came out on January 1 and February 1, 1910, respectively and were produced almost entirely by Wang Ching-wei. However, Wang Ching-wei had disguised his two issues under a Paris address and thus was able to mislead the Japanese authorities.

At that time, Chang Ping-lin, Min-pao's former editor, was in Tokyo, but apparently Wang Ching-wei not only had not sought his cooperation in this continuation of publication of Min-pao, but even kept it secret from Chang. Therefore, Chang Ping-lin was also deceived by the Paris address of the new Min-pao publication, and since it was the same address as that of the Chinese anarchist journal Hsin-shih-chi (New Century), he concluded that this new Min-pao was published by Hsin-shih-chi editors. Chang Ping-lin had no respect for Hsin-shih-chi and especially for one of its editors, Wu Chih-hui, and had even engaged in a small scale polemics with them in some of the last issues of Min-pao when it was under his control.

Therefore, he wrote an open letter to a newspaper Jih-hua hsin-pao, where he claimed that recent issue of Min-pao (that is the twenty-fifth issue) was not authentic, and he openly disassociated himself from it.
Wang Ching-wei defended his two issues of Min-pao against this attack in the next, twenty-sixth issue.¹

Wang Ching-wei did not publish any more issues of Min-pao, but occupied himself entirely with his assassination plot. He left Tokyo for China in the beginning of 1910, taking with him the necessary explosives (and copies of Min-pao).

The story of his assassination attempt is well known. He managed to reach Peking and carry out preparations for the assassination. However, the plot was discovered almost at the last moment, and Wang Ching-wei and his comrade Huang Fu-sheng, former manager and printer of Min-pao, were arrested.²

When Wang Ching-wei was arrested, the copies of Min-pao were found in the lining of his coat. Asked about them, he replied: "These articles were written in ink - I wanted to translate them into blood".³

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¹ MP.26. Announcement on the last page of the journal.
³ Wang Ching-wei, China's Problems and their Solution, see "Biographical Sketch" by T'ang Leang-li, p.XVII. Don Bate, Wang Ching-wei: puppet or patriot, pp.28 and 32.
CHAPTER III

SIX PRINCIPLES OF MIN-PAO AND MIN-PAO'S IDEOLOGY

Min-pao's main task was to build an ideology of revolution, to explain it to the people, and to defend it against any possible criticism. The journal was to be a textbook of revolution. First editor of Min-pao, Hu Han-Min, wrote:

Min-pao is a revolutionary journal, because it aims to make people truly understand revolution, and the principles which Min-pao advocates are inseparable from this aim.\(^1\)

Min-pao's editors had a clear conception of the aims and importance of the role of their revolutionary periodical, as can be seen from Hu Han-min's explanations in the editorial "Six main principles of Min-pao".

First of all, he wrote, people should understand revolution, they should have a true knowledge of it. Then he explained:

What we call knowledge is not concrete concepts, but true knowledge obtained by individual abstract research. To have revolution in the 20th-century China is impossible without first creating a conscious way of thinking.\(^2\)

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1 Hu Han-min, "Six main principles of Min-pao", MP.3.[6].
2 Ibid., MP.3.[2].
He said that revolutionaries should be able to answer such important questions as - what is the position of the revolutionaries and what is the position of their enemies? What are the aims of their revolution? What is the actual strength of the revolutionaries, and what are the methods used by their enemies against them? What is the power and influence of their opponents? What causes would progress and what would be created after revolution? What would be the results of revolution for the Chinese nation, and how would these results influence the world?

If the revolutionaries cannot explain the basis of their statements, ...the consequences of such inability would be great; not only we would not be able to make our nation prosperous and bring profit to our citizens, but, much worse, we would bring them exceptional danger and harm.¹

So, in view of all this,

...the functions of a revolutionary periodical are to make people understand revolution. Revolution is a secret movement, but revolutionary principles should not be kept secret; on the contrary, they should be disseminated in the society in order to fill people's minds and create public opinion.²

Hu Han-min further wrote that

the Chinese land is oppressed by the alien government and has no freedom of speech; therefore, the journals and newspapers published

¹ Hu Han-min, "Six main principles of Min-pao", MP.3.[2].
² Ibid., MP.3.[4].
in China contain no significant ideas. As for those published overseas, though one or two do seek to flatter the alien race, most of them may be called revolutionary periodicals.¹

The revolutionary periodicals had a very serious task in front of them. Hu Han-min defined this task as follows:

Those who advocate revolution should not merely arouse the feelings of the society, but they should also instruct the society in its knowledge and foster its abilities. When these three factors (i.e., feelings, knowledge, and ability) are ready, then we may speak about revolution. For if the functions of a revolutionary journal were only to arouse people's feelings, then the people without knowledge and ability would be aroused in their feelings and it would all result in fanatical enthusiasm....People are easily susceptible to having their feelings aroused, but to set right their minds with reasoning is difficult....Public opinion is of a high value when it depends upon reason to make judgments.²

It was further stressed in the editorial that the revolutionary journal would fail in its task if it merely aroused feelings. It should apply abstract research to China's real situation and it should educate people and foster their abilities.³

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¹ Hu Han-min, "Six main principles of Min-pao", MP.3.[4].
² Ibid., MP.3.[5].
³ Ibid., MP.3.[6].
This is a very important point about Min-pao. Min-pao editors saw themselves as intellectual leaders and educators of the public, not merely as propagandists and agitators. The quest for true knowledge, the pursuit of individual and abstract research and reasoning, and the solution of the problems of the day were for them the important aims of the journal.

In fact Min-pao served two purposes. One was to make people understand what revolution was and to give them both an ideological platform and a program of action. Another, no less important than the first, was to give opportunity to the revolutionaries themselves to study, formulate and express their own views and ideas. The first purpose resulted in the consistency of revolutionary propaganda, and the second brought diversity and depth to the journal.

Min-pao's ideological platform was expressed in six statements, which were called principles - chu-i (主義). These six aims (or, as they were called, principles) were stated on the last page of each issue of Min-pao and discussed in many editorials and articles. It was a six-point program, equally divided between domestic and foreign problems.
Domestic, or internal policies were:

1. To overthrow the present evil government; 现今之恶劣政府 (tien-fu hsien-chin chih o-lüeh cheng-fu).

2. To establish a republican form of government; 建设共和政体 (chien-she kung-ho cheng-t'ì).

3. To nationalize land; 土地国有 (t'ü-ti kuo-yu).

Foreign, or external policies were:

4. To maintain true peace in the world; 維持世界真正之和平 (wei-ch'ih shih-chieh chih-cheng chih p'ing-ho).

5. To advocate cooperation between the citizens of China and Japan; 主張中國日本兩國之國民的連合 (chu-chang chung-kuo ji-pen liang-kuo chih kuo-min ti lien-ho).

6. To seek help for the cause of China's renovation from every country in the world. 要求世界列國贊成中國之革新事業 (yao-ch'iu shih-chieh lieh-kuo tsan-ch'eng chung-kuo chih ko-hsin shih-yeh).

Before embarking upon discussion and study of these six principles, one should consider the following important factor. In the period from July to December 1905, apart from Min-pao's six principles, there appeared two more sets of revolutionary principles, initiated from
the same source and identical in spirit with Min-pao's ideas, but different in wording and form.

First of all, there were Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles, called at that time the Three Great Principles (san-ta chu-i 三大主義), not the Three Principles of the People (san-min chu-i 三民主義) as they were re-phrased later in Sun's speech at the I anniversary of Min-pao in December 1906. These three principles were nationalism (min-tsu chu-i 民族主義), democracy (min-ch'üan chu-i 民權主義), and people's livelihood or socialism (min-sheng chu-i 民生主義).¹

Secondly, there was the T'ung-meng-hui's oath, which was drafted by the leading T'ung-meng-hui members and solemnly given by every new member of T'ung-meng-hui. The main principles stated in this oath were later repeated in T'ung-meng-hui Draft Constitution of 1905 and in T'ung-meng-hui Revised Constitution of 1906.² They were, in fact, identical with the principles of the oath given in 1903 in Tokyo to Sun Yat-sen by a group of revolutionary converts; the oath was obviously drafted by Sun Yat-sen.

¹ Sun Yat-sen, "Introduction to the first issue", MP.1. [1-3].
These four principles were:

1. To expel the Manchus; 驱除鞑虏 (ch'ü-ch'ü ta-lu).
2. To recover China; 恢復中華 (hui-fu chung-hua).
3. To establish a republic; 創立民國 (ch'uang-li min-kuo).
4. To equalize land rights,平均地權 (p'ing-ch'ün ti-ch'üan).

As one can see, in 1905-1906 in the Chinese revolutionary world, there existed, side by side, three separate sets of revolutionary principles: Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles, T'ung-meng-hui's four principles, and Min-pao's six principles, all united by the same three-fold idea.

Sun Yat-sen's first principle - nationalism - was expressed as "to expel the Manchus, to recover China" in T'ung-meng-hui's oath and constitution and as "to overthrow the present evil government" in Min-pao's set of principles.

Sun Yat-sen's second principle - democracy - was the same in spirit as T'ung-meng-hui's "to establish a republic" and Min-pao's "to establish a republican form of government".

And finally, the third principle of Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles - people's livelihood - was formulated as
"to equalize land rights" in T'ung-meng-hui and as "to nationalize land" in Min-pao. In this case the differences seem to be not only those of expression, and the whole problem was not as straightforward as in the first two cases. This will be discussed in more detail later.

The reason for the existence of these three platforms, similar in spirit and ideas, but different in wording and form, may only be conjectured.

At that time, in the second half of 1905, Sun Yat-sen for the first time openly stated his Three Principles when he dictated to Hu Han-min his "Introduction to the first issue". This "Introduction" stands somewhat apart from the other leading articles in the journal. It was Sun's only direct contribution to Min-pao, although two of his speeches were published in Min-pao and he was consulted about various articles and sometimes quoted in them. This "Introduction" is very brief, compared to the other editorials and articles in Min-pao. It stated, rather laconically, the Three Great Principles, with some general remarks on their importance in the evolution and progress of Europe and America. As the first open statement of the

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1 Sun Yat-sen, "Introduction to the first issue", MP.1.[1-3].
I consider that the evolution of Europe and America was based on three leading principles, namely nationalism, democracy, and socialism or people's livelihood. The fall of the Roman Empire gave rise to nationalism and independence in various nations of Europe. When these nations became monarchies, with despotism and intolerable distress inflicted upon people under their jurisdictions, the principle of democracy was aroused. At the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century a number of despotic monarchies were replaced by constitutional monarchies. The more the world progressed, the more did human wisdom. When, out of the experience of a thousand years, economic problems succeeded the political problems, and thus socialism or people's livelihood emerged; the twentieth century may be considered the era of socialism. The three major principles were all concerned with the people, and through the development of these principles, the Europeans were largely well governed... Now China has been plagued by despotism for over a thousand years. She has been afflicted with alien races, encroached upon by foreign nations. The principles of nationalism and democracy are indispensable to us, while the principles of people's livelihood or socialism, which the Europeans and Americans are worrying about, has not yet affected China very much and it is easy for her to remove its defects.\(^1\)

\(^1\) Sun Yat-sen, "Introduction to the first issue", MP.1 [1-3]. The translation is from Li Chien-nung, The Political History of China, 1840-1928, translated and edited by S.Y. Teng and Jeremy Ingalls, pp.204-205.
It is probable that these three principles had not yet become Sun's final and all-embracing aim. The laconic form of his three-fold doctrine was not yet easily comprehended by many and needed careful explanation, especially in connection with its practical application.

T'ung-meng-hui, as a secret organization open to all without restrictions on membership, needed a clear statement of its ideological platform, which resulted in the four principles of T'ung-meng-hui's oath. It was probably also bound by the historical tradition of early revolutionary organizations, that of Hsing-Chung-hui and of 1903 revolutionary oath.

Min-pao, as a journal meant to be read widely in various circles, had to have a clear cut statement of all its principles in straightforward terms. It did not adopt T'ung-meng-hui's four principles in their exact form probably because T'ung-meng-hui was a secret organization, not openly connected with Min-pao. T'ung-meng-hui was never mentioned in Min-pao by its name, only as a "party" (tang 黨) or "our party" (wu-tang 我黨).

Therefore, although Sun's Three Principles were declared in Min-pao's "Introduction to the first issue" and although Min-pao was an organ of T'ung-meng-hui, Min-pao really had to adopt a more explicit formula of
revolutionary principles, including the declaration of its position in connection with foreign relations.

These three sets of principles (Sun's Three Principles, T'ung-meng-hui's four principles, and Min-pao's six principles) represent the culmination of the Chinese revolutionary thinking in the 19th century and in the first few years of the 20th century. The aim to overthrow the Manchus was ever-present in the history of the Chinese revolutionary movement during the Ch'ing. It was, first of all, seen in the mottos of the secret societies: "to overthrow Ch'ing and restore Ming".

When Sun Yat-sen had established his first revolutionary organization Hsing-Chung-hui in 1894, its aims and principles were a great step forward from the simple aims of the secret societies. Hsing-Chung-hui's aims were: "to overthrow the Manchu dynasty, to restore China, and to establish a republican form of government".

When, in the middle of 1903, Sun Yat-sen organized some students in Tokyo into a small revolutionary group in one of his preliminary attempts to establish a new revolutionary party, the oath was an even greater step forward: "to expel the Manchus, to recover China, to establish a republic, and to equalize land rights". This
was later adopted by T'ung-meng-hui as its platform and further developed in Min-pao's six principles.

One must not forget that when Min-pao began its publication late in 1905, there already existed a great volume of anti-Manchu nationalist propaganda in a form of pamphlets, periodicals and books on the subject. It was widely circulated in overseas students' circles and among intellectuals in China. So Min-pao was to be read by the audience which was, in a way, prepared for Min-pao's nationalist propaganda; in other words, Min-pao did not have to start from a scratch. On the other hand, Min-pao introduced its readers to a number of new ideas.

In connection with Sun Yat-sen's three-fold doctrine behind the four principles of T'ung-meng-hui and the six principles (particularly the first three) of Min-pao, it is interesting to examine the significance and the propaganda value of the illustrations in the first, opening issue of Min-pao. The first issue began with the three pages of illustrations, the first being the portrait of China's first legendary ruler, emperor Huang-ti 黄帝, who had ruled from B.C. 2698 to 2598. The inscriptions under and over the portrait called him "the first nationalist in the world" and "the founder of the Chinese national state". First of all, this priority
of Huang-ti, the emperor, in Min-pao is very important. Min-pao's predecessor, Erh-shih shih-chi chih chih-na, also opened with the portrait of Huang-ti. The legendary figure of the first Chinese emperor enjoyed a great vogue among the Chinese revolutionaries of the period; this popularity was due to the rise of nationalism. In various writings of that time he is referred to as the ancestor and creator of the Chinese nation, and in defiance of the Manchu dynastic reign-years Chinese revolutionaries often used new chronology, counting the years from the Huang-ti reign. For instance, on the last page of every issue of Min-pao the year of publication was given first of all as such and such year from the foundation of the Chinese state - from the first year of the reign of Huang-ti (the year 4603 for 1905), and this was followed by the Western, Japanese dynastic, and Manchu dynastic designations of the year. The influence of Huang-ti's romantic figure may be seen in such small facts as frequent usage of the variants of his name for pen-names, or the Huang-ti style mustache grown at one stage by the revolutionary Huang Hsing. The

1 Reformers, for example, often considered Confucius' years as the beginning of the chronology which they used in their periodicals.

talented revolutionary writer Ch'en T'ien-hua wrote that Chinese people were the descendants of Huang-ti, and his first revolutionary tract Meng-hui-t'ou (Sudden Realization) began with an invocation to Huang-ti. In 1903 a big collection of various revolutionary writings came out under the title Huang-ti hun (The Spirit of Huang-ti). In the preface to his novel Shih-tzu hou (Roar of the Lion), written in 1904-1905 and published posthumously in Min-pao, Ch'en T'ien-hua described how Huang-ti had given him a vision of a future China - a free and prosperous republic. In many poems written by the revolutionaries Huang-ti's name was often mentioned. Such examples may be continued for a few pages.

On the second page of illustrations in the first issue there were two portraits, both perhaps more familiar to the Western readers - Jean Jacques Rousseau, who was called in Min-pao "the first advocate of the principles of

1 Ch'en T'ien-hua, "Sudden realization", HHKM.2.144-145.
3 Ch'en T'ien-hua, "Roar of the lion", MP.2.[1-10].
democracy", and George Washington, "the world's first creator of a republic".

On the third page there was a portrait of the ancient Chinese philosopher Mo-ti 墨翟, "the world's first advocate of equality and universal love".

These great men, chosen by the Min-pao editors to open their journal, were, for them, the symbols of nationalism (Huang-ti), democracy (Rousseau and Washington), and socialism (Mo-ti) - in a way the symbols of Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles. ¹

First Principle of Min-pao

The first principle of Min-pao was "to overthrow the present evil government". It was expressed as "to expel the Manchus, to recover China" in T'ung-meng-hui's oath and summarized as nationalism, or the principle of the min-tsu chu-i 民族主義 in Sun's Three Principles.

Hu Han-min explained to the Min-pao readers:

This is our first task. That a fine nation should be controlled by an evil one and that, instead of adopting our culture, the Manchus should force us to adopt theirs, is contrary to reason and cannot last for long. For the sake of our independence and salvation, we must overthrow the Manchu dynasty. The Manchus have hurt the Chinese people so much that there has

¹ Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's HMTP was, for example started with the portraits of Bismarck and Napoleon.
arisen an inseparable barrier between them. Some have argued that the Manchus can be assimilated to Chinese culture as were the Ti, Ch'iang, and Hsien-pi tribes after their invasion of China. We need not discuss the incorrectness of this analogy, but let us ask this question: were these tribes assimilated during their rule of China, or were they assimilated after China's regeneration and their defeat and subjugation by the Chinese? Those who advocate assimilation of the Manchus without having them overthrown merely serve as tools of the tyrannical dynasty and are therefore shameless to the utmost.

Our nationalism is not to be mixed with political opportunism. What distresses us sorely and hurts us increasingly is the impossible position of subjugation we are in. If we recover our sovereignty and regain our position as ruler, it is not necessary to eliminate the evil race in order to satisfy our national aspirations. As an inferior minority, the Manchus rule the majority by means of political power. If their regime is overthrown, they will have nothing to maintain their existence. Whether they will flee to their old den (in the North) as did the defeated Mongols, or whether they will be assimilated to the Chinese as were the conquered Ti, Ch'iang, and Hsien-pi tribes, we do not know.

But unless their political power is overthrown, the Chinese nation will forever remain the conquered people without independence, and, being controlled by a backward nation, will finally perish with it in the struggle with the advanced foreign powers. That is why we say Manchu rule is contrary to reason and cannot last for long. The Manchu government is evil because it is the evil race which usurped our government, and their evils are not confined to a few political measures but are rooted in the nature of the race and can neither be eliminated
nor reformed. Therefore, even if there are a few ostensible reforms, the evils remain just the same. The adoption of Western constitutional institutions and law will not change the situation...¹

This first principle was Min-pao's most powerful propaganda weapon.

One must stress at the outset one very important factor, which has already been revealed in many studies on the subject and which this study proves again: this principle was the only unifying idea for all the Chinese revolutionaries. It made the establishment and existence of T'ung-meng-hui possible and, at least for a while, brought together such otherwise different persons as Sun Yat-sen, Chang Ping-lin, and Wu Chih-hui.

This principle of nationalism, with its implications of anti-Manchuiism, united Min-pao propagandists with the Ming loyalists, with the members of secret societies, with Taipings, with Hsing-Chung-hui, and with any revolutionary minded person or organization in China. In giving first place to this principle, Min-pao continued the main line of all the preceding revolutionary propaganda.

¹ Hu Han-min, "Six main principles of Min-pao", MP.3.[7-8]. This translation is from Wm. Theodore de Bary, Wing-tsit Chan, Burton Watson, The Sources of Chinese Tradition, pp.763-764.
The young Chinese radicals of the first decade of the 20th century were the heirs of a long tradition of anti-Manchuism.

The early anti-Manchu writings of the 17th century Ming loyalists became very popular in China in the last two decades of Manchu rule in China. The most famous ones were Huang Tsung-hsi's 黃宗羲 (1610-1695) Ming-i tai-fang-lu 明夷待訪錄, Ku Yen-wu's 顧炎武 (1613-1682) Jih-chih lu 日知錄 (Notes of Daily Accumulation of Knowledge), and the writings of Wang Fu-chih 王夫之 (1619-1692) and Chu Chih-yü 朱之瑜 (1600-1682).

Although the Ming loyalists failed to overthrow Ch'ing and restore Ming and were almost forgotten for more than two centuries, their writings and deeds suddenly became a powerful force at the end of Ch'ing.

In 1898 the reformer T'an Ssu-t'ung 譚嗣同 (1865-1898) printed and secretly distributed several hundred thousand copies of selections from Ming-i tai-fang-lu.¹ Chu Chih-yü's anti-Manchu work Yang-chiu_shu-lüeh 陽九述略 was eagerly read by the young Chinese of the late 19th century.²

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¹ S.Y. Teng and J.K. Fairbank, China's Response to the West, p.8.
² Ibid., p.11.
Chang Ping-lin describes his conversion to the ideas of nationalism and anti-Manchuism as follows:

When I was young, I read Tung-hua lu 東華錄 by Chiang Liang-li 蔣良騏 and found in this book a description of the famous cases of Tseng Ching 曾靜 and Ch'a Ssu-t'ing 查嗣庭. I felt very angry about this, and I thought that it was most hateful that an alien race should govern China. Afterwards I read works of Ch'eng So-nan 鄭所南 and Wang Ch'uan-shan 王船山 about the protection of the Han race, and therefore nationalist ideology gradually developed. From 1894 onwards I read some books of Eastern and Western countries and began to put in order my theories on the subject. I talked to my friends about the expulsion of the Manchus and our independence...

The old works of the Ming loyalists, read in a new context and in a new light and understanding, influenced many of the Chinese intellectuals and prompted them to espouse nationalism and anti-Manchuism. Of course, they had to create an ideological basis of their own which would correspond to the new times, and in this they were also to some extent helped by certain works of Ming loyalists. Chinese intellectuals of the late 19th - early

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1 Chang Ping-lin, "Address", MP.6.1. Chiang Liang-li (1722-1789), official and writer, arranged documents of the early Ch'ing and printed them under the title Tung-hua lu (Records from within the Eastern Flowery Gate); see Hummel, vol. 1, 139-140. Tseng Ching (1679-1736) was executed for defaming Manchu emperor Shih-tsung; see Hummel, vol. 2, 747-749. Ch'a Ssu-t'ing (1664-1727) died in prison for alleged covert thrust at emperor Shih-tsung; see Hummel, vol. 1, 22.
20th century discovered in these works not only the deep anti-Manchuism and loyalty to Han China, but also a new understanding of the idea of the people and the state. It was very important for the Chinese intellectuals of the late Ch'ing to discover that, for example, Huang Tsung-hsi had stressed the fact that the people were the most important elements in the empire and a ruler should merely serve people, and that another scholar, Ku Yen-wu, advocated reforms which would better the lot of the Chinese people: these ideas perfectly suited the spirit of the last decade of the 19th - first decade of the 20th century. Chinese intellectuals, with the help of the newly acquired Western ideas, developed and continued these lines of thought of the first opponents of the Manchu rule.

Ch'en T'ien-hua wrote in Min-pao: "At the end of the Ming and the beginning of the Ch'ing, China had a great sage, the first since Mencius. His learning and character were much more elevated than Rousseau's....He is Huang Tsung-hsi....The chapters on the ruler and the minister in his Ming-i tai-fang lu, although they are not as complete as the Social Contract, contain its principles and were written several decades earlier". "Roar of the lion", MP.7.89-90; the translation of this quotation is from Ernest P. Young, "Ch'en T'ien-hua (1875-1905): a Chinese Nationalist", Papers on China, v.13, p.144.
Though not a revolutionary, Yen Fu 廖復 (1853-1921) believed that the people were the most important factor, that they were, in fact, the state, and so all the reforms and measures should be directed at the people.

Liang Ch'i-ch'ao 梁啟超 (1873-1929), in his early years of exile, continued and developed this line of thought. He stated that national strength depended on the strength of the people. The concept of the nation, discovered to be so important, was not well developed in China before.

"Present-day China is in a period of transition", wrote Liang Ch'i-ch'ao in 1901.¹ Defeat in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, the disastrous Boxer Rebellion, and general weakness and backwardness of China which forced it to submit to various foreign demands and such humiliations as extra-territoriality, treaty-port system and foreign-controlled residential areas, foreign navigation rights on Chinese waterways, foreign leaseholds of Chinese land, foreign financial control of the railways, were acutely felt by the young Chinese intellectuals, particularly those who had a chance to go overseas, and so

¹ Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "On the period of transition", CIP.82. See HHSL.1.3.
the new concepts, new ideas, and new interpretations of old concepts and ideas filled their minds.

In the pre-Min-pao periodicals, especially those published in Japan, these new concepts began to be discussed.

Min (people) became a very important concept at that time. People became the centre of attention. Though not a revolutionary, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao named his famous periodical Hsin-min ts'ung-pao 新民叢報 (it may be translated as the New People or Renovation of the People), where he began to advocate his theory of the necessity to renovate the people. Min became one of the most often used characters of the period.

Kuo (state) also became an often used and significant concept of the time. Young nationalists were constantly discussing the fate of their country or state and often referred to China as wang-kuo 亡國 (lost country), because, in their view, that was what had happened to China. One revolutionary journal of the Chinese students in Japan had explained to its readers that territory, dynastic rule, and government, by

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Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "On the renovation of the people", HMTP.1-11. See HHSL.1.118-157, extracts.
themselves, did not make a state. Territory could be seized, dynastic rule could change, government could be overthrown, and yet, in all these cases, the state would not be lost. This was because the state was the people, and only the people could make a state exist or perish.¹

Of course, these two expressions, min 民 and kuo 國 existed in China throughout its history, but they received a new emphasis in the first decade of the 20th century and produced, in combination with other Chinese characters, a number of significant new expressions and concepts. This was the result of a variety of circumstances such as the deteriorating prestige and position of China in the world, acquaintance with the translations of Japanese and Western works, new theories of men like Yen Fu and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, and the general slow changes in Chinese life.

The combination of these two important concepts produced a new expression - kuo-min 國民 (people of the state - thus, citizen or citizens, national or nationals, or an adjective 'national'). It could have been a borrowing from the Japanese kokumin 國民. It is not known when this expression was first used in China, but in

¹ "Origin of 'state'", Kuo-min pao, no.1 (1901). See HHSI. I.63-65.
1899 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao wrote several articles in which this concept figured prominently.  

One of the earliest periodicals published by the radical Chinese students in Japan was titled Kuo-min pao 国民報 (it was translated into English as Chinese National on the cover), and it was the first students' publication to have a definite anti-Manchu stand. In the leading periodicals of this journal the concept of kuo-min was explained and discussed.  

Shanghai's Su-pao successor was also named Kuo-min jih-jih-pao 國民日日報 .

Another such important concept was min-ts u 民族 (nation, or sometimes translated as people, race, tribe). Some suppose that this expression was also borrowed from Japanese.  

All these new expressions, as well as many others, were employed to produce numerous -chu-i 主義 -isms, or


3 Lin Yao-hua, "On the problem of the translation and usage of the expression min-ts u", LSYC.2.175.
principles of...), which introduced more new concepts and were discussed and argued about at a great length. Some of these -chu-i 主義 became very important and bear direct relation to the development of the revolutionary ideology, and particularly to that of Min-pao. The most important ones were min-tsu chu-i 民族主義 (the principle of the nation, or nationalism), kuo-min chu-i 國民主義 (the principle of the citizens or citizenship, often translated also as nationalism), kuo-chia chu-i 國家主義 (the principle of the state, often translated as nationalism too), min-ch'üan chu-i 民權主義 (the principle of the rights of the people, or democracy), min-sheng chu-i 民生主義 (the principle of people's livelihood, often translated as socialism), she-hui chu-i 社會主義 (the principle of the society, or socialism), kuang-fu chu-i 光復主義 (the principle of the restoration - i.e., restoration of China), fu-ch'ou chu-i 復仇主義 (the principle of revenge), p'ai-man chu-i 排滿主義 (the principle of opposition to the Manchus, or anti-Manchuism), p'ai-wai chu-i 排外主義 (the principle of opposition to the foreigners, or anti-foreignism). All of them played important role in the development of the revolutionary ideology.
These new concepts dominated the thinking of the Chinese revolutionaries of the first decade of the 20th century. It was therefore significant that Min-pao's first editorial was devoted to the explanation and discussion of these concepts from the point of view of the revolutionaries of T'ung-meng-hui. This editorial was written by Wang Ching-wei and entitled "Citizens of the nation". Nation (min-tsu) was defined by Wang Ching-wei as a historically continuous group of people who had common blood, which was the most important characteristic, common language, territory, customs, religion, and spirit. Citizens (kuo-min) were defined as the components which made up the state. It was stressed that these two concepts were not the same, though they had some points in common.\(^1\) Wang Ching-wei had also felt it necessary to explain to the readers of the journal the concepts of the principle of the nation (min-tsu chu-i) and the principle of the citizenship (kuo-min chu-i). Nationalism (min-tsu chu-i), Wang wrote, was the principle of the national state (min-tsu ti kuo-chia chu-i), and the characteristics of the national state were equality and

freedom.1 This concept of min-tsu chu-i was different from the principle of the citizenship (kuo-min chu-i), and the mistaken identification of these two led to such grave errors in ideological thought as welcoming of the establishment of a Manchu constitution in China. Wang Ching-wei pointed out that min-tsu chu-i, the principle of the nation, arose from a racial point of view and aimed to drive away a foreign race from China. Kuo-min chu-i, the principle of the citizenship, arose from a political point of view and aimed to overthrow despotism. As far as China was concerned, once the aim of min-tsu chu-i was attained, the aim of kuo-min chu-i would be attained too.2

Wang Ching-wei, on behalf of Min-pao, told its readers that recently the problem of assimilation with the Manchus, who invaded China more than two hundred years ago, was brought forward, and - "as it is so closely related to the fate of my people, I cannot remain silent".3 In this carefully planned and explanatory editorial, Wang Ching-wei discussed the problem of assimilation; there were, he wrote, four main rules or cases of assimilation: 1) equally

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1 Wang Ching-wei, "Citizens of the nation", MP.1.3.
2 Ibid., MP.1.26.
3 Ibid., MP.1.1.
strong nations intermingle and form a new nation, 2) bigger nation subjugates and absorbs smaller nation and forces it to assimilate, 3) smaller nation through extraordinary force subjugates and absorbs bigger nation and causes its assimilation, 4) smaller nation subjugates bigger nation and then is assimilated by the bigger nation.

What was, then, China's position within these four rules? Chinese nation throughout its 4,000 years of existence had always been in the position of the second rule, i.e. it always conquered and absorbed smaller nations which were then assimilated within China. At present, alas, China was in the position of the third rule: smaller nation through extraordinary military force subjugated China and now was forcing it to assimilate. The Manchus wished to compel Chinese people to assimilate, and they never had any intention to be assimilated by the Chinese, as could be seen from the following facts: they always preserved their own customs, expressing their fear that their descendants might imitate Chinese customs, and they always held their emperors in high esteem to strengthen their rule in China.

1 Wang Ching-wei, "Citizens of the nation", MP.1.5.
2 Ibid., MP.1. 11-17.
Nationalism (min-tsu chu-i), as advocated by Min-pao, carried with it an unrelenting anti-Manchuism, because it was obvious to the T'ung-meng-hui revolutionaries that the Manchus had caused the Chinese nation to suffer its present state. Thus, Min-pao readers were enveloped in the anti-Manchu propaganda from the first page of the first issue to the last page of the last.

Min-pao's first anniversary supplement, T'ien-t'ao 天讐 (Heaven's Scourge, or Heaven's Punishment), edited by Chang Ping-lin, was, for example, the quintessence of the hatred towards the Manchus, a pure expression of anti-Manchuism. Heaven's scourge had, in opinion of Min-pao's editors, obviously awaited the Manchus for their crimes against the Han (Chinese) people. These crimes were listed in various ways in almost every article of this supplement. The most often mentioned Manchu crimes were their invasion of China and subjugation of Han race, their submission of the Han people to the near-slavery, the impoverishment of Han people through the Manchu robbery and taxation, massacres of the whole towns for smallest disobedience, literary persecution and harsh treatment of Ming loyalists and Han scholars, and the general corruption, immorality, cruelty, ignorance of the Manchu race.
Apart from several paintings depicting the loyal heroes of Sung and Ming, in T'ien-t'ao there was also Su Man-shu's painting of a fox-hunt among mountains and forests. In the table of contents this painting was innocently titled "Fox-hunt" (Lieh-hu 獵狐), but the title printed over the picture itself was read Lieh-hu 獵胡, which meant "Hunt for the Tartars". In the same T'ien-t'ao there were two pages of caricature-type sarcastic drawings of the so-called "Han traitors". One caricature was titled "Transformation (or rather, transfiguration) of the former traitors to China"; it represented the following three monsters: Tseng Kuo-fan's 曾國藩 (1811-1872) head in official headdress on a body of a snake, Tso Tsung-t'ang's 左宗棠 (1812-1885) head in official headdress on a body of a wild beast, and Li Hung-chang's 李鴻章 (1823-1901) head in official headdress on a body of a fish. The tails of the three monsters were done in a form of Manchu queue. Second caricature was titled "Portraits of the present-day traitors to China". It had Yuan Shih-k'ai's 袁世凱 (1859-1916) portrait down to his waist with his head split in two halves, Chang Chih-t'ung 張之洞 (1837-1909) in a full official dress with his head upside down between his legs, and Tsen Ch'un-hsüan 岑春煊 (1861-?) in a full official dress
with his head slanted, falling off his neck. The hatred and contempt towards them were more than obvious.

Anti-Manchuiism caused an intensified interest in the lives and fate of Sung and Ming loyalists. Their heroic resistance to the Mongol and to the Manchu invasions was used in Min-pao for propaganda purposes, rather like an illustration to the ideological articles.

The propaganda for the overthrow of the Manchu government was not a difficult task for Min-pao's editors; on the contrary, one might say that it came naturally to them. It was their strongest point, about which they had no doubts or indecisions, and it was the most easily understood and accepted point by the readers.

The propaganda for this principle ranged from the theoretical explanation of the ideas of nation, citizenship, state, and nationalism to expressions of hatred and opposition to the Manchus. At the same time, the development of this principle led to a certain clarification of what was meant by anti-Manchuiism.

Sun Yat-sen, in the speech he made at the first anniversary of Min-pao in December 1906, explained to the audience that nationalism (min-tsu chu-i) did not mean that one should blindly oppose all the alien races, but that one should not let alien races to seize the political
rights (sovereignty) of one's own race. He said to the audience - and this was reported in Min-pao for the benefit of the Min-pao readers:

A year has passed since I composed Min-pao's introduction, where I discussed the three great principles - nationalism (min-tsu chu-i), democracy (min-ch'üan chu-i), and the principle of people's livelihood (min-sheng chu-i).... Nationalism does not need much further discussion... but there is one noteworthy point about it: nationalism does not mean that one should oppose all the people of alien races, but it means that one should not let people of alien races take away the political power of our nation....

Only when we, Han people, have political power, we would have our state; if the political power is taken away by an alien race, then, though there is a state, it is not our state of our Han people. Let us think, where is the state now? Where is the political power? We have already become the people of the lost country!...

There are billions of people on this earth, and we, Han people, are four hundred millions - one fourth of the world's population, and we may be considered as the biggest, the oldest, and the most civilized nation on earth. But at present, we have become people of the lost country. How strange it is!...

Now the unrest (agitation) of the nationalist revolution is daily increasing, and so the Manchu people also began to spread anti-Han ideas. They say that their ancestors had united strength and military force, and so they conquered the Han people; they want to increase and preserve this strength in order to be forever the ruling people....

If only we, Han people, would have organization, its strength would certainly be ten million times bigger than theirs, and the cause of the nationalist revolution would be achieved.
However, you all have heard people say that the nationalist revolution aimed at the complete extermination of the Manchu nation. This is quite wrong. The cause of the nationalist revolution lies in not being satisfied with the Manchus' destruction of our state, and in order to establish our rule it is necessary to destroy their government and restore our national state. Looking at the matter this way, we do not hate the Manchu people, but only hate those Manchus who have harmed our people.¹

Of course, anti-Manchuism had a whole range of viewpoints, from the most racialist and violent to quite moderate ones. Sun Yat-sen was one of the moderates on this point. It is known that when T'ung-meng-hui was about to be established, there was a discussion on the name of the new organization. Some suggested that it should be called Tui-Man T'ung-meng-hui (對滿同盟會), or United Anti-Manchu League, but Sun Yat-sen strongly opposed this, saying that the Manchus who would like to have revolution in China should also be given a chance to join the revolutionary party.²

¹ Hu Han-min and Wang Ching-wei, "Report on the general meeting and speeches at the celebration of the first anniversary of the present journal on December 2", MP.10, 81-114.
² Chün-tu Hsüeh, Huang Hsing and the Chinese Revolution, p.42.
Second Principle of Min-pao

The first aim of the T'ung-meng-hui revolutionaries was to overthrow the evil Manchu government; the second was to build a new China. Revolutionary uprisings throughout the Ch'ing dynasty sought to "overthrow Ch'ing and restore Ming", that is to establish a new dynasty of Chinese origin. In the Hsing-Chung-hui's oath (1894) there was a new formula: not only to overthrow Ch'ing and restore China, but to establish a republican form of government. This was evidence of a new phase in Chinese political thought. The expression ho-chung cheng-fu 合衆 政府 was used at that time to convey the idea of a republic.

Min-pao continued this line of development of revolutionary thought. Its second principle was "to establish a republican form of government" (kung-ho cheng-t'i 共和政體). The same idea was formulated

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1 The origin of the term kung-ho presents a problem. E. Ching, for example, offers a rather unusual explanation: "Republic, kung-ho, term used in Chinese history for a period during the reign of Chou Li Wang 周厲王 878-827 B.C., when the tyrannical ruler was ousted and Prime Minister Chou Kung Pai 周共伯 (also named Ho 和) was chosen to run the government". E. Ching, "Translation or Transliteration: A Case in Cultural Borrowing", Chinese Culture, VIII, no.2 (June 1966), p.114.
as "to establish a republic" in the T'ung-meng-hui's oath and constitution and as "democracy" (min-ch'üan chu-i) in Sun's Three Principles.

Hu Han-min explained this principle in the editorial "Six main principles of Min-pao":

Revolutions broke out in China one after another in the past, but because the political system was not reformed, no good results ensued. Thus the Mongol dynasty was overthrown by Ming, but within three hundred years the Chinese nation was again on the decline. For although the foreign rule was overthrown and a Chinese regime was installed in its place, the autocratic form of government remained unchanged, to the disappointment of the people.

According to the general theory of the government, the opposite of autocracy is republican government, which, broadly speaking, may be divided into three kinds: first, aristocracy; second, democracy; and third, constitutional democracy. The latter is not only different from aristocracy, but also from absolute democracy.

People who depend on hearsay all argue that the Chinese nation lacks the tradition of democracy in its history, thus undermining the morale of our patriots. Alas! They are not only ignorant of political science, but unqualified to discuss history. The greatest difficulty in establishing a constitutional government, as experienced by other countries, is the struggle of the common people against both the monarch and the nobility. The constitutional government was established without difficulty in America because after its independence there was no class other than the common people. One of the great features of Chinese politics is that since the Ch'in and Han dynasties there has existed no noble class (except for the Mongol and Manchu dynasties when a noble class was maintained according to their alien systems). After the overthrow of the
Manchus, therefore, there will be no distinction between classes in China (even the United States has economic classes, but China has none). The establishment of constitutional government will be easier in China than in other countries...

We agree with Herbert Spencer, who compared the difficulty of changing an established political system to that of changing the constitution of an organism after its main body has been formed. Since constitutional democracy can be established only after a revolution, it is imperative that following our revolution, only the best and the most public-spirited form of government would be adopted so that no defects will remain. Absolute government, be it monarchical or democratic, is government of injustice and inequality. As to constitutional monarchy, the demarcation between ruler and ruled is definite and distinct, and since their feelings toward each other are different, classes will arise. Constitutional democracy will have none of these defects, and equality will prevail.

We can overthrow the Manchus and establish our state because Chinese nationalism and democratic thought are well developed. When we are able to do this, it is inconceivable that, knowing the general psychology of the people, we should abandon the government of equality and retain the distinction between ruler and ruled.\footnote{Hu Han-min, "Six main principles of Min-pao", MP.3.[9-11]. This translation is from Wm. Theodore de Bary, Wing-tsit Chan, Burton Watson, \textit{The Sources of Chinese Tradition}, pp.764-765.}

He was echoed by Ch'\-en T'ien-hua in another article, which stated:

China has been sinking into slavery under an alien race for more than two hundred years; however, recently the principle of nationalism has constantly increased in influence. If we revolt against this foul-smelling, dirty, defective, and evil old government, and seek the
most beautiful and the most suitable form of government, nothing would be better than republic.¹

The second principle, however, was not as straightforward and clear-cut for the Chinese revolutionaries as the first one. Min-pao's editors particularly, being in a way responsible for the discussion, explanation and propaganda of this principle, felt difficulty in carrying out this task.

Most of the leading T'ung-meng-hui intellectuals understood that, although it was quite definite that no courtly or imperial government should ever appear in China after the revolution, it would be impossible to establish a republic immediately after the revolution. Some kind of transitional stage would be necessary for the early post-revolutionary period.

This problem was discussed by the revolutionaries and particularly by the Min-pao's editors. Wang Ching-wei quoted Sun Yat-sen's opinion on this point in one of his leading articles. Sun said, according to the quotation, that in the immediate post-revolutionary period there should be a so-called provisional constitution (yüeh-fa

¹ Ch'en T'ien-hua, "China should inaugurate a democratic form of government", MP.1.41.
Military government (chün-cheng 军政, or chün-cheng-fu 軍政府) should take control; it would have exclusive rights over military matters and full political power. This military government would then lead people to establish gradually their own local administrative organs, an initial form of local government. According to Sun, military government and the growing and developing local government would each check the power of the other and prevent the usurpation of rights and break-down of the provisional constitution. In such a way people would learn the qualifications necessary for being the citizens of a republic, and the provisional constitution would in time become the true constitution (hsien-fa 憲法).

"Constitutional democracy (min-ch'üan li-hsien cheng-t'í 民權立憲政體) would then have the stability and peace of a great rock".¹

Ch'en T'ien-hua, in his article "China should inaugurate a democratic form of government" held a somewhat different view, but also the one which expressed the same awareness of future difficulties and of the necessity to have some transitional stage after the revolution. He wrote:

We consider that the only way to save China is to establish people's sovereignty and democracy. However, the initial step which will precede this is to adopt the system of enlightened despotism, which we consider to be preparation for people's sovereignty and democracy. The very first step is revolution.¹

Sun Yat-sen later developed this view of the necessity of having a political tutelage in the speech at the first anniversary of Min-pao, when he discussed his three principles. Sun said then that his second principle (min-chüan chu-i) was the cause of the political revolution. He went on to say that "political revolution would result in establishment of a constitutional democracy".²

His audience was told that in the future China would become a new state, known as Chung-hua-min-kuo 中華民國 and that it would be a constitutional democracy of a new type, not merely patterned after the systems in America or England.

The constitutions of former times cannot be applied at present. In my opinion, the constitution of our future Chung-hua-min-kuo should be created on a new principle, called

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² Hu Han-min and Wang Ching-wei, "Report on the general meeting and speeches at the celebration of the first anniversary of the present journal on December 2", MP. 10.86.
quintuple authority (wu-chüan 五權). This quintuple authority would consist, apart from the three authorities that I had already mentioned (i.e. those of English constitution - executive, legislative, and judicial), of two more - supervisory authority and disciplinary authority.

Third Principle of Min-pao

The third principle of Min-pao was "to nationalize land". This idea found expression in the phrases "to equalize land rights" in the T'ung-meng-hui's oath and constitution and "the principle of the people's livelihood" (min-sheng chu-i) in Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles.

Solutions to China's socio-economic problems were not presented in the program of the early stage of the revolutionary movement in China. While both nationalism and democracy, expressed in the first and second principles of Min-pao, were present from the very beginning of the modern revolutionary movement (1894), the idea of the social revolution was added only in the years that followed.

The Hsing-Chung-hui's oath of 1894-1895 consisted of the aims to overthrow the Manchu rule in China and to

1 Hu Han-min and Wang Ching-wei, "Report on the general meeting and speeches at the celebration of the first anniversary of the present journal on December 2", MP.10.93.
establish a republic. In the years 1895-1898 Sun Yat-sen travelled in Europe and became acquainted with the progressive Western works. He also saw the shortcomings of the Western political and social system and the rise of socialist ideas, and after a while he enlarged his original revolutionary platform.¹

This became apparent in 1903, when a group of the new revolutionary converts in Tokyo took an oath drafted by Sun, which included the promise "to equalize land rights." However, at this stage the declaration of this principle was not widely known.

It is quite clear that the ideas of the social revolution in China, no matter how it was formulated in Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles, T'ung-meng-hui's oath, and Min-pao's principles, originated at that stage from Sun's development of thought. In 1900 he had discussed socialism with some of his revolutionary comrades in Tokyo and quoted examples of early socialist ideas in China.

When the T'ung-meng-hui was founded, Sun Yat-sen insisted on the adoption of this principle. There was some disagreement, but Sun Yat-sen, convinced that he was right, provided explanations of this principle to those in doubt, and finally it was accepted.

In 1903, in the "Introduction to the first issue" in Min-pao, Sun Yat-sen expressed this idea for the first time in writing. Min-pao gets the credit for being the first publication to advocate and popularize this principle. However, in Min-pao it was re-formulated as "to nationalize land". One reason for this could be that, although the Min-pao editors were in accord with Sun Yat-sen and the T'ung-meng-hui, they preferred to modify the expression and make it more clear and less radical. This is understandable in the light of the fact that Min-pao was left with the task of explaining and advocating this principle to readers, and for nearly all the readers this principle was an entirely new concept. Min-pao's task was made more difficult by a certain ambiguity in Sun's terminology, a difficulty which Min-pao's editors compounded by using further terms in the course of explanation.

Sun Yat-sen had used the expression min-sheng chu-i. It is not certain whether it was synonymous with socialism,
for which an expression borrowed from Japanese was used - she-hui chu-i. Feng Tzu-yu claimed that prior to Min-pao's "Introduction to the first issue" Sun Yat-sen had himself used the expression she-hui chu-i and then switched to min-sheng chu-i. In one of Feng Tzu-yu's articles in Min-pao the expression min-sheng chu-i was supplied by the English translation in brackets which read "socialism", and followed by the explanation that that was what Japanese translated as she-hui chu-i. The text of the Feng Tzu-yu's article on this subject leaves no doubt that the two terms were used interchangeably. In another article in Min-pao Chu Chih-hsin explained in a note to readers that she-hui-chu-i was in fact the Japanese translation of min-sheng chu-i. However, in one of the Min-pao's articles it was said that by the term min-sheng chu-i, Sun Yat-sen meant "demosology" and not "socialism".

1 Feng (2).3.216.
3 Chu Chih-hsin, "Discussion from the socialist point of view on the nationalization of railways and on the official and private management of Chinese railways", MP.4.45.
4 Hu Han-min, "Replying to the critics of the principle of people's livelihood", MP.12.126.
The same difficulty of definition followed the expressions "to equalize land" and "to nationalize land". Again, there was Feng Tzu-yu's statement that "equalization of land rights means the nationalization of the land in China".¹

The nationalization of land was Min-pao's third principle, and Hu Han-min explained it to readers as follows:

The affliction of civilized countries in the modern age is not political classes but economic classes. Hence the rise of socialism. There are many socialist theories, but they all aim at levelling economic classes. Generally speaking, socialism may be divided into communism (kung-ch' an chu-i 共產主義) and collectivism (kuo-ch' an chu-i 國產主義), and nationalization of land is part of collectivism. Only constitutional democracies can adopt collectivism, for there the ruling authority resides in the state and the state machinery is controlled by a representative legislature... Not all collectivist theories can be applied to China at her present stage of development. But in the case of land nationalization we already have a model for it in the well-field system of the Three Dynasties, and it should not be difficult to introduce land nationalization as an adaptation of a past system to the present age of political reform.

Nationalization of land is opposed to private ownership. It is based on the theory that since land is the essential element in production and is not man-made, any more than

sunshine or air, it should not be privately owned...

There are various measures for carrying out land nationalization, but the main purpose is to deprive people of the right of ownership, while permitting them to retain other rights over land (such as superfices, emphyteusis, easement, etc.) And these rights must be obtained by the permission of the state. There will be no private tenancy, nor will there be any permanent mortgage. In this way the power of the landlord will be wiped out from the Chinese continent. All land taxes levied by the state must have the approval of parliament; there will be no manipulations for private profit, nor heavy taxes detrimental to the farmers' interests. Profit from land will be high, but only self-cultivating farmers can obtain land from the state. In this way people will increasingly devote themselves to farming and no land will be wasted. Landlords who in the past have been nonproductive profiteers will now be just like the common people. They will turn to productive enterprises and this will produce striking results for the good of the whole national economy.

Min-pao published material to support and popularize its explanations of the land nationalization program. An article entitled "Essential meaning of the renovation of the draft of Chih-kung-t'ang" (MP.1.130-143) was drafted in America with the help of Sun Yat-sen who managed to overcome opposition of some Chih-kung-t'ang members and include "equalization of land" into the program of that

1 Hu Han-min, "Six main principles of Min-pao", MP.3. [11-14]. This translation is from Wm. Theodore de Bary, Wing-tsit Chan, Burton Watson, The Sources of Chinese Tradition, pp.766-7.
secret society. In the first issue of Min-pao one may also find Liao Chung-k'ai's translation of the preface to Progress and Poverty by Henry George (MP.1.122-130), made by Liao at Sun's request. In the second issue Min-pao's editors also published "Resolutions of the Society for the Rehabilitation of Land Rights", written by Miyazaki Tamizō, member of that society. Subsequently Min-pao's editors reprinted Feng Tzu-yu's article "Principle of people's livelihood and the future of the Chinese political revolution" from the Hongkong revolutionary newspaper Chung-kuo jih-pao, where it had appeared earlier in the year. This interesting article dealt with the problem of the social revolution in China in some detail.

Two scholars of modern China, Robert A. Scalapino and Harold Schiffrin, made an interesting and valuable study of the program of the social revolution in China, as advocated by Sun Yat-sen and T'ung-meng-hui. It is significant that their research and conclusions are based entirely on Min-pao's leading articles on the social revolution and min-sheng-chu-i, namely, Hu Han-min's explanations of the third principle of Min-pao in "Six

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main principles of Min-pao" (MP.3.1-22), Feng Tzu-yu's "From Chung-kuo jih-pao: principle of people's livelihood and the future of the Chinese political revolution" (MP.4.97-122), Chu Chih-hsin's "Why the social revolution should be carried out simultaneously with the political revolution" (MP.5.43-66), as well as several articles of refutation of Hsin-min ts'ung-pao's criticism of this principle.

In my opinion, the article of R.A. Scalapino and H. Schiffrin covers well the Min-pao's propaganda of the social revolution, and since I agree with the conclusions reached by the authors, it is not necessary to discuss it here in detail. Their final comment serves as an excellent summary of the journal's position. The authors wrote about the early advocates of the social revolution in China, i.e. about Min-pao's editors:

To a large number of Chinese students who had previously been dedicated only to nationalism and democracy, they brought the gospel of socialism, interpreted with sympathy and even fervor. To young men who had previously given their greatest attention to Darwin, Spencer, Washington, and Mazzini, they introduced Marx, Bebel, Lasalle, and many other Western socialists along with countless members of the social reform school. Building upon certain traditional Chinese themes, and the novel ideas of evolution, science, and progress, they presented a new vocabulary drawn from Western socialist terms and the stimulating theories that went with this vocabulary. The fact that
they did not always understand these theories completely, and did not always accept them either, cannot detract from the significance of the presentation.¹

Fourth Principle of Min-pao

The last three principles of Min-pao - the fourth, fifth, and sixth - all dealt with problems of the foreign policy of the T'ung-meng-hui.²

Min-pao's fourth principle was "to maintain true peace in the world". Hu Han-min explained this principle to readers as follows:

² Only once did Min-pao state its principles in a foreign language on its pages. On the last page of the third issue there appeared the following statement in English:
Translator of this statement is not known, and the editor's name is rather puzzling. As for the so-called principal objects, they look like an abbreviated version of Min-pao's six principles. It is difficult to say what was intended by this English-language statement, whether it was meant to be read by foreigners, not necessarily English only, and why it appeared in one issue only.
Since people do not know the true nature of revolutionaries they come to the conclusion that revolutionaries want to destroy and explode everything; this is however, not in their nature....The primary wish of the revolutionaries is to aim at the establishment of peace. As for the revolution advocated by our party, we aim to destroy only one petty Manchu government, so that it would be completely deprived of its political power and expelled from its position of overlord....By overthrowing this evil government, we shall directly create the happiness of the Chinese citizens and indirectly create peace in the world.¹

Hu Han-min further explained to readers that all civilized countries in the world, who wished to have prosperity and good relations with others, supported the preservation of peace. He then discussed the international situation, which was not very stable at the time, and the problem of the balance of power, which loomed large in the calculations of countries like England, France, Russia, and Germany. The Far-Eastern problem had not yet been settled by them.²

Hu Han-min offered a new solution to this problem, speaking from the point of view of the revolutionaries:

If we want to seek true peace, we should begin by making China an independent and strong state. When China becomes strong and independent, the

¹ Hu Han-min, "Six main principles of Min-pao", MP.3.[14].
² Ibid., MP.3.[14-15].
Far-Eastern problem will be settled, and the problem of the balance of power will also be settled.¹

He further wrote that at present in China an evil government ruled at the top and the nation was oppressed at the bottom, and so government and citizens were truly public enemies. And again he returned to his formula of peace:

When the Manchu government goes, China will become strong; and when China is strong, the Far-Eastern problem will be settled, and the true peace in the world will be observed. It is the Manchus who have really brought about our present-day distress.²

It was stressed again and again to the Min-pao readers that by overthrowing the Manchu government, they would directly create the happiness of the Chinese people and indirectly create peace in the world.

Min-pao's fourth principle, the maintenance of the peace on earth, was explained to readers not abstractly but with the illustration from the current situation. Readers were told that foreign powers contended with each other for the supremacy and the largest spheres of power and influence, and this desire for power and wealth and

¹ Hu Han-min, "Six main principles of Min-pao", MP.3.[15].
² Ibid., MP.3.[16].
the fear of being left behind kept them in balance. Strong foreign powers like England, France, Russia, Germany, America, and Japan, all acted according to this principle of the balance of power. It was only in the Far East that China's weakness created the so-called Far-Eastern problem. Hu Han-min then referred to Sun Yat-sen's work *The True Solution of the Chinese Question* (1904), where this problem was also discussed, and continued to stress the main solution offered by Min-pao, namely, China's attainment of independence.

In this explanation of Min-pao's fourth principle, Hu Han-min also criticized the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of 1902, which was formed without China's participation in it. Japanese politician Okuma Shigenobu in his statement about the treaty claimed that it was a necessary thing to do, as the Chinese government was inactive and tried only to push foreign powers against each other for its own gain and that attempts to overthrow it were not successful. Since such a government could not be trusted, the Anglo-Japanese treaty was necessary to keep the balance of power. Hu Han-min strongly disagreed with Okuma's opinion and put forward the idea expressed by Sun Yat-sen in the *True Solution of the Chinese question*: Manchu government was the real cause of the instability in the political
situation in the Far East and it was necessary, first of all, to remove it.

Fifth Principle of Min-pao

The fifth principle of Min-pao was "to advance cooperation between the citizens of China and Japan". In spite of the fairly recent Sino-Japanese War and continued aggressive intentions of Japan towards China, the Chinese revolutionaries of T'ung-meng-hui adopted a policy of cooperation with the Japanese people. This policy may be explained in view of the Japanese help given to the Chinese revolution.¹ For a complex variety of political and personal reasons Japanese contributed towards the Chinese revolution in various ways. Sun Yat-sen received help from Japanese several times prior to the formation of T'ung-meng-hui, and T'ung-meng-hui itself was founded on Japanese soil, with help and finance from several Japanese. On the whole, in 1900-1907 there were two groups, which for different reasons sympathized with the Chinese revolutionaries. On one side there were certain personalities and parties in the Japanese government, who

¹ This aspect of the Chinese revolution is described in Marius B. Jansen, The Japanese and Sun Yat-sen, passim.
distrusted the Manchu government and had some hopes that the revolutionaries might create a new government in China, with Japanese aid. On the other side, there were Japanese adventurers, early anarchist-socialists and pro-revolutionaries, who were personally connected with the Chinese revolutionaries.

Since T'ung-meng-hui's headquarters, that is the editorial office of Min-pao, was on Japanese soil, the Chinese revolutionaries could not help being friendly towards their supporters and sympathizers, even if they were not exactly pro-Japanese.

Again one has to turn to Hu Han-min's explanatory editorial on Min-pao's six principles, as it was the most detailed and comprehensive statement of Min-pao's program. Hu Han-min explained to readers that there were two parties in Japan: one aggressive, and the other inclined towards assimilation (absorption) policies. The former was not very large, while the latter held great power. However, assimilation was not a way of equality. Chinese citizens, continued Hu, might also be divided into two groups: anti-Japanese and pro-Japanese. The first group though, he claimed, was not very powerful. ¹

¹ Hu Han-min, "Six main principles of Min-pao", MP.3. [17-18].
Not much space was devoted to this principle since the practical advantages of cooperation with the Japanese were obvious to the editors of Min-pao.

Sixth Principle of Min-pao

The sixth principle of Min-pao was "to seek help for the cause of China's renovation from every country in the world". It was in fact an entreaty to foreign powers to keep neutral during the coming revolution and avoid helping the Ch'ing government. This principle touched on a very serious problem - relations with foreign powers and anti-foreignism. Prior to the establishment of T'ung-meng-hui and the appearance of Min-pao, revolutionary writings often expressed anti-foreign ideas.

In order to have foreign powers on their side, the revolutionaries stated that they would respect the interests of foreign powers and remain on good terms with them when the revolutionary government came to power in China. This was, for example, clearly stated in the Declaration to Foreign Powers prepared by the T'ung-meng-hui in 1906.¹ This declaration contained a seven-point

program concerning the foreign powers which was quite favourable to foreign interests and protecting the rights of foreign powers in China. Sun Yat-sen was probably the chief proponent of this policy of good will and promises to the foreign powers, though he too, like other revolutionaries, had no illusions about the foreign powers' intentions in China. The reason for such policy was purely diplomatic. The foreign powers did help the Ch'ing to defeat the Taipings, and it was thought better not to provoke them with anti-foreign statements. The chief enemy, for the time being, was the Manchu government.

Hu Han-min wrote in the "Six main principles of Min-pao:

When we have a new government in the place of the old, and when we make a great nation into a strong state, we will make friends of our good neighbours and will have social intercourse with all the countries; and who would not be glad of it?

Explaining the idea of this principle to readers, Hu Han-min wrote that some might disagree with it, saying that though England helped Greece to achieve its independence and France helped Italy, this was past history, for at present foreign powers had cruel minds and...

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Hu Han-min, "Six main principles of Min-pao, MP.3.[19].
one should really fear their help, as it all might end in intervention, partition of the country and similar disasters. Hu Han-min replied to this imaginary opponent:

The help, which we are speaking of, does not necessarily mean that we would actually seek help from foreigners. If the foreigners would not oppose us and act according to the international law and proclaim their neutral position, then we would receive a great bounty.¹

Hu Han-min also claimed that the Chinese revolutionaries regarded the preservation of world peace as their duty, and foreign powers surely could not oppose this idea. He explained further, that according to international law, a new government should acknowledge all the foreign treaties made by the old.

When our revolutionary army arises, we will definitely keep faithfully to international law and act according to it. When the Manchu government is expelled, the newly established government will recognize the old treaties; if several provinces split and proclaim their independence, even then the claims of the foreign powers would certainly be observed without any loss to foreign powers.²

This principle of goodwill towards foreign nations and the hope for their help or at least non-interference in case of revolution ran somewhat contrary to popular

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¹ Hu Han-min, "Six main principles of Min-pao, MP.3.[20].
² Ibid., MP.3.[21].
feelings of anti-foreignism. In 1905 and particularly in 1906 there had been several anti-foreign boycotts and disturbances. In order to explain this principle more fully and explicitly, Hu Han-min specially wrote a lengthy study, which ran through a number of issues, titled "Anti-foreignism and international law".  

Chang Ping-lin made an interesting comment on this principle, though it was published at a much later stage, in July 1908. It can be found in Chang Ping-lin's reply to a certain Yu-min 祐民. Yu-min was probably a transcription of a name of an unknown Indian friend of Chang Ping-lin, who seems to have written to Chang about mutual help and support between India and China and about help from other countries.

Chang Ping-lin replied in part:

You, sir, say that at the dawn of our independence we should rely on other countries and you refer to Italy's case as proof. However, Italians and English and French are all white people, and therefore, if persuaded, they might help each other. Chinese people and white people are of entirely different races, and our feelings are

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2 Hu Han-min, "Anti-foreignism and international law", MP. 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13.
usually different, so that even if we begged them, it is not certain that they would help us.

Chang further reminded his Indian friend that foreign powers had not helped India and Annam to achieve their independence, and that although they had not yet taken China, they glared at it like tigers. Revolutionaries should not deceive themselves, thinking that foreign powers would help their lonely revolutionary army; only when the revolutionaries succeeded and became strong, could they establish friendly relations with foreign powers and seek their assistance and cooperation. He wrote:

...to speak about the true independence of China is to recover Wei-hai and Ch'ing-tao, to stop Shanghai from being the common property of foreign powers, to prevent our eighteen provinces from being the spheres of influence of various countries. Of course, it would be better if white people did not know about these intentions, for this is sufficient to make them angry. We do not want to cause their anger, so we keep our mouths shut and do not utter a single word about that.

Formerly Min-pao had stated its six principles, and first four of them need no further declarations. As for the last two - the one which says "to seek help for the cause of the China's renovation from every country in the world", is not very clearly expressed. However, if the governments of the foreign powers would not help us, some individuals might, and so we say that we want to "maintain the true peace in

1 Chang Ping-lin, "Reply to Yu-min", MP.22.130.
the world"....We say this to make people of Europe and America refrain from occupying Asia, to make all the nations of Asia restore their countries. We have not formerly proclaimed and explained this principle fully, so now I have brought it to light.¹

These six principles remained Min-pao's slogan through its entire publication and were, in fact, the essence of Min-pao's revolutionary ideology. Hu Han-min told readers that these six principles were all united by one great principle, and that was the principle of revolution (ko-ming chu-i 革命主義).²

Promulgation and propaganda of these six principles in Min-pao may be described as follows. First of all, readers were presented with the statement of the Min-pao's six principles on the last page of every issue. Then there was Hu Han-min's leading article "Six main principles of Min-pao", which was written, as was said in the introduction, in answer to numerous queries received by the journal. Sun Yat-sen's "Introduction to the first issue" and his speeches (one at the welcome meeting in his honour and another at the celebration of the first anniversary of Min-pao), which were reported in Min-pao,

¹ Chang Ping-lin, "Reply to Yu-min", MP.22. 130-131.
² Hu Han-min, "Six main principles of Min-pao", MP.3.[22].
introduced readers to his san-min chu-i and reinforced Min-pao's first three principles. Apart from this basic material which dealt with the principles as program and ideology, readers were offered the explanation and discussion of each of the first three principles as such.

Thus, nationalism, or rather anti-Manchuism, was the topic of Wang Ching-wei's "Citizens of the nation" (MP.1 and 2), and it was predominant in the articles which expressed Min-pao's opposition to the Manchu attempts at establishment of a constitution, such as Chu Chih-hsin's "Even if the Manchu government wants to establish a constitution, it is not able to do so" (MP.1), Wang Tung's "Establishment of constitution in China must be preceded by revolution" (MP.2), Wang Ching-wei's "Let all those who hope for the establishment of Manchu constitution listen to this" (MP.3 and 5), and others. Since anti-Manchuism permeated all the articles and items in the journal, it made the most powerful appeal to readers.

The intention to create a republic in China was not discussed on any significant scale. Apart from the above-mentioned Hu Han-min's "Six main principles of Min-pao" and Sun Yat-sen's speeches, there were only Ch'en T'ien-hua's "China should inaugurate a democratic form of government" (MP.1) and some sections in Wang Ching-wei's
"Citizens of the nation" (MP. 1 and 2). The idea of the nationalization of land was studied in some detail in Feng Tzu-yu's article "Principle of the people's livelihood and the future of the Chinese political revolution" (MP. 4), which was reprinted from Chung-kuo jih-pao, and in Chu Chih-hsin's "Why the social revolution should be carried out simultaneously with the political revolution" (MP. 5).

This material might seem rather meagre if treated isolated from the rest of the journal. However, as will be seen from the following chapters of this work, the ideas expressed in Min-pao's principles were brought across to readers in many indirect ways. Propaganda of the first three principles particularly, was carried out through the polemic with the organ of the reformers, Hsin-min ts'ung-pao. It is here that one finds the most eloquent discussion and defence of the Min-pao's principles.

In this chapter an attempt was made to show how these six principles of Min-pao were stated in the outline form on the last page of every issue of Min-pao and how they were presented and explained to readers. Despite shifts in the emphasis, additions and omissions, which occurred over the five years that followed, these principles retained their basic form through to the final issue of the journal.
CHAPTER IV

FOUR STAGES OF MIN-PAO'S PUBLICATION

In studying the development of revolutionary thought in Min-pao and the history of Min-pao's publication, I have noticed four distinct stages. These four stages, caused by changes in the editorial staff and by new developments in the general situation, were marked by certain shifts in emphasis in the propaganda. These four stages by no means represent four abrupt divisions; on the contrary, they are closely interconnected. The shifts in emphasis in the propaganda were perfectly natural, and indeed if Min-pao had remained rigid and absolutely dogmatic in its propaganda, it would have failed to keep in touch with the times. After all, Min-pao was published over a period of five turbulent years.

Prior to the establishment of the T'ung-meng-hui and publication of Min-pao, Chinese revolutionary thought was not fully developed. Revolutionary writings of the pre-1905 period concentrated primarily on anti-Manchu propaganda. Min-pao not only continued and intensified the ideology of anti-Manchuiism, but broadened the program
and platform of the Chinese revolution. This is clearly seen through an analysis of the four stages through which the journal passed.

It cannot be emphasized too greatly that despite all the shifts in emphasis in the propaganda and despite changes in the editorial staff and certain intra-party dissentions within T'ung-meng-hui, throughout its existence Min-pao did have a clear, unifying, and unflinching line of propaganda, and that was the conviction that anti-Manchu revolution was necessary and inevitable in China.¹

Of course, many articles in Min-pao expressed contradictory points of view on a wider variety of subjects, for Min-pao was intended to be a forum for discussion. While it always followed its main line of propaganda, within certain limits its editorial writers were apparently free to express their views.

Liang Ch'i-ch'ao once attacked Min-pao for the contradictions which he found in the discussions on republicanism in the two first issues of Min-pao, namely in Wang Ching-wei's "Citizens of the nation" (MP. 1 and 2)

¹ For a different view on Min-pao's consistency of propaganda see M. Gasster, Currents of Thought in T'ung-meng-hui, p.272.
and Ch'en T'ien-hua's "China should inaugurate a democratic form of government" (MP.1).¹

Wang Ching-wei's reply to this criticism reveals the opinion of Min-pao's editors on this point. He wrote that his views and those of Ch'en T'ien-hua or any other colleague need not be the same, as they were different individuals, and such factor could not be used to blame the party or the journal for divergencies and contradictions. At the time of making decisions, the party's statements should be uniform for all members, and these decisions should then be uniformly put into practice; however, at the time of discussions everyone had freedom to express his thoughts and opinions.² Min-pao was obviously reserved not only for the propaganda of party's decisions, but also for discussion and the search for the best solutions to problems.

The First Stage of Min-pao's publication (MP. 1 - MP. 5)

The first stage of Min-pao's publication covered the period from November 1905 to June 1906. It was an initial

¹ Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "On enlightened despotism", HHSL.2.188.
² Wang Ching-wei, "Refutation of the most recent anti-revolutionary theory of Hsin-min ts'ung-pao", MP.4.3.
stage of the publication, and the main editorial writers Hu Han-min, Wang Ching-wei, Wang Tung, Ch'en T'ien-hua, Sung Chiao-jen, and Chu Chih-hsin proclaimed and explained the main ideology of the journal - the six principles of Min-pao, which were based on Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles, and their various aspects. At this stage the journal's main task was propaganda and explanation of these principles and defence of them against Hsin-min ts'ung-pao's criticism.

The main topics of the first stage may be defined as follows: declaration, explanation, and dissemination of Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles and of the six principles of Min-pao; the simultaneous realization of the first three of Min-pao's principles; opposition to the establishment of a constitution by the Manchu government; discussion of the problem of nationalization of railways; discussion of the methods and strategy of revolution.

Apart from these leading topics, the intention to oppose and defeat Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's Hsin-min ts'ung-pao was brought into the open with the declaration of war against Hsin-min ts'ung-pao. 1

1 "The main points of dispute between Min-pao and Hsin-min ts'ung-pao". MP.3, special supplementary page at the end of the issue.
It must be pointed out that much of what will be said about this initial stage of *Min-pao*’s publication is true of the entire journal, particularly when the journal’s platform of six principles is concerned. Throughout subsequent shifts in emphasis in the propaganda, the main direction and aim of propaganda remained the same.

In the previous chapter the six main principles of *Min-pao* were discussed to some extent, and so there is no need for further discussion. One can only stress once again that the spirit of these six principles dominated all the ideas, solutions, and attitudes, expressed in *Min-pao*’s leading articles.

The simultaneous realization of the first three of *Min-pao*’s principles

For the revolutionaries there were no doubts that revolution should be carried out in China; the discussions in *Min-pao* centered on the problems of how and why it should be done. It can be said that the first three principles of the *Min-pao*’s six (that is, to overthrow the present evil government, to establish a republican form of government, and to nationalize land) represented to the Chinese revolutionaries three kinds of revolutions—national, political, and social. *Min-pao* advocated not
only all three but also their simultaneous realization in China. Of course, there were no queries about the simultaneous realization of racial and political revolutions, because the overthrow of the Manchu government, both as an alien government and as a despotic monarchist one, was to be achieved in one action. However, the simultaneous realization of political and social revolutions needed special explanation, especially because of the certain ambiguity of the idea of the social revolution for many Chinese of that period. Such explanation was provided by Min-pao through Chu Chih-hsin's article "Why the social revolution should be carried out simultaneously with the political revolution".¹

In this well arranged and planned article, Chu Chih-hsin had discussed, for the benefit of the readers, a number of important problems, such as the causes of social revolution, points of connection between social revolution and political revolution, reasons why the two should be carried out simultaneously, and the subsequent results of such simultaneous action. He wrote:

¹ MP. 5. 43-66. This article is described and analyzed in R.A. Scalapino & H. Schiffrin, "Early socialist currents in the Chinese revolutionary movement", JAS, XVIII, 3 (May 1959), on pp.329-331.
Social revolution may broadly be defined as a process when the social structure is urgently forced to undergo a great change. Therefore, political revolution may also be called a kind of social revolution. The revolution of the socio-economic structure...may therefore, be narrowly defined as social revolution.¹

Chu Chih-hsin said that, although his article was prompted by the Hsin-min ts'ung-pao's criticism of Min-pao's policies, "the main reason for the present discussion is to make people understand the reason why social revolution should be carried out simultaneously with the political revolution".² Hsin-min ts'ung-pao's attack, to which Chu referred, was aimed against the socialist policies of Min-pao, namely the nationalization of land, and will be discussed later.³

Since social revolution meant socialism, Chu devoted some attention to it in his article. He explained that people who had opposed socialism were in fact against pure communism, but "what we advocate is state socialism".

¹ Chu Chih-hsin, "Why the social revolution should be carried out simultaneously with the political revolution", MP.5.43.
² Ibid., MP.5.43.
³ See Chapter V.
He declared to readers:

We advocate the simultaneous realization of the social and political revolutions. In this lengthy essay I would like to submit my research of the advantages and disadvantages of the inter-relation between these two, and to define the success and failure of the practical application of this policy, and also to add some criticisms of my own - all this in order to make our citizens clearly see this principle and clearly realize the parallel purpose of these two revolutions. Such are the limits of the present discussion. However, it will not bring good results very speedily, and I am afraid that those who have no knowledge of the problem will come in swarms to criticize it.¹

Chu then explained to the citizens that the causes of the social revolution lay in the evil practices and corruption of the socio-economic structure, such as the system of laissez-faire rivalry, absolute recognition of the rights of private property, and so on. It was revolutionaries' duty to change this system of the inequality between rich and poor.

Chu Chih-hsin stated that there were two major categories of revolutionary movements. First one was when political and social revolutions had the same object, and

¹ Chu Chih-hsin, "Why the social revolution should be carried out simultaneously with the political revolution", MP.5.45.
² Ibid., MP.5.43.
the second when their objects were different. The second category might be subdivided into two: 1) when the subject of the political revolution was the object of the social revolution, and 2) when this was not so. In Chu Chih-hsin's opinion, China's place in this structure belonged to second category, case two, that is the situation when the subject of the political revolution and the object of the social revolution were different. Chu Chih-hsin explained that China certainly had cause for a social revolution, although in China rich people were not the same as those who held actual power in the government. Political revolution in China was aimed at the Manchu court, while social revolution was aimed at rich bourgeoisie. However, he stressed that the wealthy people in China would not be harmed by the revolutionary government; the measures would be concentrated on the abolition of monopolies and at the gradual equalization of the distribution of wealth.

Chu Chih-hsin also assured readers that this simultaneous realization of the political and social

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1 Chu Chih-hsin, "Why the social revolution should be carried out simultaneously with the political revolution", MP.5.53-57.

2 Ibid., MP.5.59-60.
revolutions would not be a very difficult process for China, first of all because in China the gap between the rich and the poor was not too great, and secondly because China in its historical past knew a variety of socio-economic policies advantageous to the poor people.\(^1\)

Opposition to the establishment of a constitution by the Manchu government.

Revolutionary ideology, expressed in the *Min-pao*’s six principles, pre-determined *Min-pao*’s attitude to various contemporary events and problems. The core of revolutionary ideology was anti-Manchuism. Every act of the Manchu government, whether it was reforms, or attempts at establishment of a constitution, or nationalization of railways, or sale of mines, was criticized and opposed not only because of its undesirability from the revolutionary point of view, but also because it was the Manchu government that initiated it. Those who supported the Manchu government or even some of its policies were also attacked by *Min-pao*.

Therefore, apart from discussing and explaining the revolutionary ideology of T'ung-meng-hui which it

\(^1\) Chu Chih-hsin, "Why the social revolution should be carried out simultaneously with the political revolution", MP.5.62-63.
represented, Min-pao also had to work out definite standpoints in relation to various events and problems of its time.

The establishment of the T'ung-meng-hui and the publication of Min-pao coincided with the Manchus’ last efforts to strengthen their position and better the situation in China. One such effort was the establishment of a constitution in China.

After the disastrous end of the Boxer Rebellion, the Manchu government inaugurated various reforms in administration, military organization, education, and other sections of political and social life. The years between 1901 and 1905 witnessed the gradual implementation of these reforms, aimed at the improvement of the situation in China. In the second half of 1905, under pressure from several quarters, who saw in Japan’s victory over Russia in 1905 the victory of constitutionalism, the old Empress Dowager agreed to begin preparations for drawing up of a constitution. China was to become a constitutional monarchy. A commission of five ministers was selected to go abroad to study the constitutional systems of other countries. Wu Yüeh’s unsuccessful attempt to assassinate them delayed this trip for several months; finally, the commission left China at the end of 1905. In the middle
of 1906 they presented the throne with a summary of their findings, and an edict of September 1, 1906, proclaimed the government's intention to establish a constitution. 1

The establishment of a constitution was a question of great importance for China, and the revolutionary camp could not be indifferent to it. The revolutionaries, through Min-pao and later through other revolutionary periodicals, stated their basic objections. Here, as in many other matters, the revolutionary attitude was to a great extent pre-determined by anti-Manchu feelings. A constitution was to be prepared and established by and for the Manchu government, and thus it was a Manchu constitution. For that reason it was to be criticized and rejected by revolutionaries.

The first revolutionary opposition to the establishment of a constitution was the most violent: Wu Yüeh threw a bomb at the five departing ministers at the Peking railway station. High officials escaped serious injury, but were apparently too frightened and upset to go

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on with their trip as planned. Wu Yūeh lost his life in the attempt. His attack was not a mere act of violence and terror; he was protesting against the Manchu government and its attempt to establish a constitution. In his "Statement of views", apparently written sometime in August-September 1905 and later posthumously published in Min-pao, he said: "All my life I have considered myself a Chinese revolutionary, and I will not submit to this worthless establishment of a constitution by an alien race and would rather sacrifice myself...."¹ It so happened that Wu Yūeh's name was not known immediately after the explosion, and he was first referred to in Min-pao as an "unknown hero".² Later Min-pao learned his identity and obtained some of his writings. Subsequently published in Min-pao, they were of great propaganda value. Though not a member of any revolutionary party, Wu Yūeh read some of the early revolutionary writings and was deeply influenced by them. In his "Statement of views" Wu Yūeh wrote that "to establish new state of Han people for our four hundred million compatriots is only a Heaven-

¹ Wu Yūeh, "Statement of views", MP.3.[3].

² Ch'en T'ien-hua, "How strange are the expressions of condolence by every school and publishing house in Shanghai to five ministers who were to go abroad!" MP.1.108.
appointed duty, and the only way to do so is to overthrow the parasitic old government of an alien race",¹ because "the Manchu government is really the biggest obstacle in China's way to becoming prosperous and strong country".²

He wrote that the Manchu imperial house had no qualifications to establish a constitution in China; it had always treated the Chinese people badly, and the constitution established by the Manchu government would never be advantageous to the Han people.

These views of a young Chinese patriot corresponded with the views of Min-pao, and it was not surprising that his "Statement of views" was published in Min-pao with some editorial comment. "The patriot Wu Yüeh is the only one who could shed his blood and die for his nation, and his courage is unsurpassable", said the editorial introduction to the "Statement of views". Earlier, Ch'en T'ien-hua defended Wu's act in the pages of Min-pao against the attacks and expressions of pity for the high commissioners in some of the Shanghai newspapers.³

¹ Wu Yüeh, "Statement of views", MP.3.[2].
² Ibid., MP.3.[3].
³ Ch'en T'ien-hua, "How strange are the expressions of condolence by every school and publishing house in Shanghai to five ministers who were to go abroad!" MP.1.108.
assassination attempt was excellent revolutionary propaganda material against the establishment of a constitution, and Min-pao used it to the full. Wang Ching-wei wrote:

How sad it is that the attack of the hero Wu Yüeh was sufficient to cool off the bravery of the Manchu barbarians and to enlarge the spirit of patriots, but was not sufficient to arouse those reactionaries from their dreams!¹

Min-pao attacked preparations for a constitution from its first issue and did so continually. The main argument against the Manchu constitution was that it would be a constitution by an alien government, a constitution by those who had conquered and subjugated China.

Wang Ching-wei wrote that the only reason the Manchus had for the establishment of a constitution was their desire to strengthen their political power in order to continue their subjugation of the Chinese nation. He admitted that an absolutely perfect constitution would indeed result in Sino-Manchu equality and friendship. But such a constitution would not be established in China at present. Manchu government was government by an alien

¹ Wang Ching-wei, "Let all those who hope for the establishment of Manchu constitution listen to this", MP.3.[1].
race, and as such it would always put its own interests and the interests of its own race first.¹

Chu Chih-hsin continued Wang Ching-wei's opposition in the article significantly entitled "Although the Manchu government wants to establish constitution, it is not able to do so". He wrote:

I would like to tell everyone that the establishment of a constitution is a difficult matter, and only we, the Han people, can establish it. And if we, the Han people, want to establish a constitution, we must have a revolution first. It is impossible for the Manchus to establish a constitution.²

Han people could not forget their national hatred towards the Manchus and disregard more than two hundred years of subjugation; since there was no unity between these two nations before the constitution, there was even less chance that it would be created after the establishment of a constitution. "Differences between the Manchus and Chinese did not come from not having a constitution, so how can establishment of a constitution eradicate them?" - he exclaimed.³

² Chu Chih-hsin, "Although the Manchu government wants to establish a constitution, it is not able to do so", MP.1.31.
³ Ibid., MP.1.35.
Wang Tung carried on anti-constitution propaganda. The title of his article was also revealing enough: "The establishment of a constitution in China must be preceded by revolution".¹

Such was the criticism of the Manchu preparations in November 1905 - January 1906, when plans were still rather vague. At the end of January 1906 Ito Hirobumi, one of the makers of the Meiji Constitution, visited China and gave talks to the Chinese high officials on the constitution in Japan. This visit, Ito's speech, and the receptive mood of the Chinese officials were discussed in Min-pao at some length.²

Min-pao told its readers over and over that "unless China had a political revolution, it could not establish a constitution; unless China had a racial revolution, it could not establish a constitution".³

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¹ Wang Tung, "The establishment of a constitution in China must be preceded by revolution", MP.2.[1-10].
² Wang Ching-wei, "Let all those who hope for the establishment of Manchu constitution listen to this", MP.3.[1-17] and MP.5.1-41.
³ Wang Ching-wei, "Let all those who hope for the establishment of Manchu constitution listen to this", MP.5.1.
The problem of nationalization of railways

Another important problem in the first decade of the 20th century was railways. In the last decade of Ch'ing rule the financing and building of railways became a cause of great agitation. Provincial leaders and merchants strongly opposed government attempts at nationalization of railways, because this meant foreign financing. This opposition, for example, flared up in 1905 in connection with the Canton-Hankow Railway. The American China Development Company received a concession for the Canton-Hankow Railway in 1898, but by 1904-1905 lost it to Belgian interests. This fact caused protests from China and the Americans managed to regain the concession. They then decided to sell it to China. Merchants of the provinces involved - Hunan, Hupeh, and Kwangtung - jumped at the chance and agreed to buy it and finance the construction of the railway themselves. When they failed to raise the required sum, Chang Chih-t'ung managed to gain the concession by obtaining loan from the colony of Hongkong. The Canton-Hankow Railway was typical of

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1 E-tu Zen Sun, *Chinese Railways and British Interests*, p.41.

2 Ibid., p.74.
several similar attempts by the gentry and merchants to redeem railway concessions and try their own hands at financing the construction of railways. They were attracted by the new sphere of investment. Subsequently the struggle between provincial leaders and the government developed and later led to the general opposition to the government. Of course, various attempts had been made to solve the antagonistic interests of the government and provinces, such as merchant management, government management, merchant management under government supervision, but were all in vain.

Min-pao expressed its attitude on this problem in an article by Chu Chih-hsin, "Discussion from the socialist point of view on the nationalization of railways and on the official and private management of Chinese railways" (MP.4). Chu Chih-hsin explained to his readers that there were two antagonistic sides in the struggle: on one side there were those who wanted official (i.e. government) management of railways and on the other those who wanted commercial (i.e. merchant) management. Both were far from advocating the true nationalization of railways. Nationalization of railways, explained Chu, was not the same as official management of railways, and in its
principles and aims it clashed with commercial management. Then Chu Chih-hsin put forward Min-pao's opinion on the problem:

(1) Nationalization of railways means restricting the dictatorship of the privately-managed natural monopolies and thereby achieving social aims by returning the right of railway management to the administrative policies of state and public.
(2) State and public management of railways means that it is a public establishment and should be considered in the same spirit as official undertakings.
(3) Official management of railways is one of the methods of collecting taxes, and in financial science is called a quasi-public economy, and it is therefore different from nationalization of railways.
(4) Merchants' management of railways is opposed to the theory of nationalization of railways and can be done only when there is no alternative, but with severe public supervision to prevent the dictatorship.¹

Methods and strategy of revolution

In the leading Min-pao editorial, "Six main principles of Min-pao", Hu Han-min concluded his discussion of the six principles with the statement that the six principles were all united by one great principle, and that was the principle of revolution.²

¹ Chu Chih-hsin, "Discussion from the socialist point of view on the nationalization of railways and on the official and private management of Chinese railways", MP.4.45-46.
² Hu Han-min, "Six main principles of Min-pao", MP.3.[22].
Min-pao was primarily a journal which stated and explained the theory and ideology of revolution, its principles, its causes, its aims. The practical side of revolution was seldom discussed. Actual revolutionary uprisings which were staged by T'ung-meng-hui at the end of 1906 and in 1907 were prepared in secrecy; the same secrecy surrounded methods and actual plans of uprisings.

However, during the first stage of Min-pao's publication an interesting article was published in Min-pao which provides an insight into some of the early ideas on revolutionary strategy and technique of the T'ung-meng-hui. On the whole, one might say that T'ung-meng-hui revolutionary techniques continued the tradition of early revolutionary organizations. For example, one of the earliest revolutionary organizations of Chinese overseas students, Chün-kuo-min chiao-yü hui 軍國民教育會 (Society for Military Education for Citizens) planned to overthrow the Manchu government with the aid of the propaganda of revolutionary ideas, organization of armed revolts, and assassinations of important Manchu personages.  

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1 Feng (2).1.109-112.
The article in question discussed the methods of starting an uprising. The author, whose pen-name meant "To strike the Manchus" (P'u-Man 撃滿), wrote:

There are many ways to start an uprising. Let us discuss the three main ones. The first is to choke (throttle) them (o-hang 扼腕) - that is to defeat their (Manchu) capital at Chien-ling 亀領 in order to come to inner China. The second is to back into one corner (fu-yü 貞隅) - that is to take forcibly one part of the country and advance on the enemy breaking his defences. The third is to gather together (swarm like bees) (feng-ch'i 蜂起) - that is to advance separately and speedily in order to make government collapse and give up its power and influence. Which of the three would be most suitable for the present-day revolutionary army?

The author then proceeded to discuss the first scheme to start an uprising, which was, as he said, often used by the revolutionary armies in Europe. However, it would not be suitable for the Chinese revolutionary army, because the Chinese revolution was not a revolution of city people, as was often the case in Europe, but a revolution of the common people (i-pan jen-min —一般人民). In the course of such a revolution, it would be impossible to seize the capital and make it a military base of operations. After going into several examples from Chinese history of

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1 It might have been Wang Ching-wei. See Appendix II.
2 P'u-Man, "Discussions on revolution: essay on starting uprising", MP.3.[1].
failure of such schemes, the author discussed the second scheme, that of "backing into one corner". This scheme, sometimes also called the scheme of a military base of operations, was also not suitable, in the author's opinion, for the Chinese revolutionary army, because of the danger of having one place opposed to the whole empire. Numerous historical examples were given and discussed for the benefit of the readers.¹

His main conclusion and advice was:

The revolutionary army may succeed by using the first scheme, but it is not suitable for starting the uprising itself; by using the second scheme, one can secure the base for a revolutionary army, but one cannot go on with the realization of subsequent plans. Let us examine our history—in general, when the end of a dynasty was marked by defeat and destruction, surely it was because revolutionary armies swarmed like bees and spread all around.²

The author then gave numerous examples from Chinese history, describing such events as the fall of Ch'in, the fall of the Sui, the Yuan and Ming dynasties; he particularly stressed the cases when the dynasties were defeated by what he called a "people's revolution" (jen-min chih ko-min 人民之革命).

¹ P'u-Man, "Discussions on revolution: essay on starting uprising", MP.3.[1-9].
² Ibid., MP.3.[4].
A people's revolution is not a contest between one revolutionary organization and one government; there is usually only one government and numerous revolutionary organizations, all aiming to overthrow the government. When these numerous revolutionary organizations rose all at the same time, scattered like the stars and spreading themselves like bees, here falling and there rising, losing in the west and winning in the east, but never ceasing and finally achieving the collapse of the government, then all the people in the empire would be aroused and would act as the government's enemies.¹

And again:

Surveying comprehensively the means of the decisive victory and their drawbacks, we can come to the conclusion that from now on our plans for the revolutionary army should not be sudden (careless). We should first plant the principle of the citizenship (kuo-min chu-i) and the principle of the nation (min-tsu chu-i), and, secondly, we should build the politics of the constitutional democracy, in order to put into practice the principles of freedom, equality, and universal love. These two matters are the root of it all...²

The Second Stage of Min-pao's publication (MP.6 - MP.13)

The significant factor about the second stage of Min-pao's publication is that something new was added, namely the leading argicles by its new editor Chang Ping-lin, introducing new themes and a unique view of

¹ P'u-Man, "Discussions on revolution: essay on starting uprising", MP.3.[6-7].
² Ibid., MP.3.[10].
revolutionary ideology. Chang Ping-lin's arrival in Tokyo and his acceptance of the editorship of Min-pao in July 1906 marked a new stage in the history of the journal.

Chang Ping-lin started his work in Min-pao with the publication of an "Address", the text of a speech he had delivered to the audience at the welcome meeting organized in his honour in Tokyo. In his speech he gave his listeners a brief account of his life and his struggle against the Manchus and put forward his opinion about the way to deal with contemporary problems.

This speech is very important; it is truly the key to understanding the ideas of Chang Ping-lin during this period. These ideas, by virtue of their appearance in Min-pao, were also representative of certain aspects of Min-pao's ideology and functioned as propaganda material and instruction to its readers.

In this "Address" Chang Ping-lin, first of all, described his conversion to revolutionary ideology through reading the works by the Ming loyalists. During his previous visit to Japan in 1902 there were not many students prepared to adopt revolutionary ideas, but now, in the middle of 1906, he could see great progress in their thinking. He also said that he had often been called
madman for his views, but he was ready to accept such a name and stick to his views.¹

Chang Ping-lin declined to discuss such matters as politics, law, and military studies, as his audience of students was already well conversant with them. Instead he stressed something that they could not be expected to understand from study - that individuals' emotions were of primary importance.²

He then stated the main idea of his platform:

If we wish to fulfill our feelings, there are two important things to be attained: the first one is to use religion to develop faith in order to advance the morality of the citizens, and the second is to use our national essence to stimulate racial temperament in order to advance patriotic enthusiasm.³

These two matters of concern: religion - faith - morality, and national essence - racial temperament - patriotic enthusiasm, were the focal points of Chang Ping-lin's revolutionary ideology. For him, revolution should begin within an individual person.

² Ibid., MP.6.4.
³ Ibid., MP.6.4. The Chinese version of this platform is:  

yung tsung-chiao fa-ch'i hsin-hsin, tseng-chin kuo-min ti tao-te 用宗教發起信心，增進國民的道德．
yung kuo-tsu chi-tung chung-hsing, tseng-chin ai-kuo ti je-ch'ang 用國粹激動種性，增進愛國的熱腸．
In his leading articles, written during the second stage, Chang Ping-lin developed the ideological basis of his main statement, particularly the basis for the creation of morality, which for him was a matter of utmost importance for the success of the revolution.

As can be seen from his first formula (religion - faith - morality), religion was a very important and necessary thing for the revolutionary-minded individual. "Without religion - he wrote in his "Address" - it would be impossible to advance morality". But what kind of religion?

Confucianism, Chang said, was originally very good, but its disadvantage was that it made people want prosperity and honours.

At present we want to realize a revolution and we advocate democracy, but if we get mixed with the slightest intention of having riches and honours, it would be like a case of bacteria destroying the whole body. Therefore, we definitely cannot use Confucianism.

As for Christianity, continued Chang, it might be very valuable to use in the West, but it was of no advantage to China, because Chinese people, if they

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1 Chang Ping-lin, "Address", MP.6.4.
2 Ibid., MP.6.5.
adopted Christianity, would then not worship God, but would worship Western imperial power. Moreover, Christianity was such that when uncivilized people used it, they advanced and progressed culturally, but civilized people, like Chinese, would be turned into barbarians, if they practised it.¹

Chang Ping-lin's choice was Buddhism, and not Buddhism in general, but its two Chinese branches — Hua-yen 華言, and Fa-hsiang 法相.²

Some might argue, said Chang, that although the Chinese branches of Buddhism had already been practised for many centuries, they had not proved efficacious. The answer was that all religions might be divided into three groups: polytheistic, monotheistic, and atheistic, in the same way as political systems could be divided into aristocracies, monarchies, and republics. It was necessary to pass consecutively through all stages; in both cases breaking the sequence would lead to confusion. One should pass from polytheism to monotheism, and thence to atheism in order to reach the desired results. However, what had happened in China was that Chinese ancient Taoism, which

¹ Chang Ping-lin, "Address", MP.6.6-7.
² Ibid., MP.6.7.
was polytheistic according to Chang Ping-lin, was followed by atheistic Buddhism, which naturally led to confusion and harm. When monotheistic Christianity arrived in China and superceded polytheistic Taoism, it prepared the way for the new and proper emergence of atheistic Buddhism. Chang argued that re-emergent Buddhism should now be used as the religion to advance revolutionary morality.¹

Some might argue, continued Chang, that the practice of Buddhism in India did not give any favourable results; on the contrary, India was destroyed. The answer was that India had only Buddhism to hold to, but no politics or law; this absence of strong politics and law led to India's destruction. Japan was an example of a country which worshipped Buddhism and enjoyed prosperity due to its politics and law. Therefore, China with her politics and law need not fear India's destiny.²

There was one more argument which could be put against him, said Chang Ping-lin.

Some say that Buddhism regards all human beings as equal, and so it would not be consonant with the rise of nationalism and the idea of overthrowing the Manchus and restoring China. Those who say so do not understand that Buddhism

² Ibid., MP.6.8.
mostly stresses equality and that all things that hinder equality must be rejected. So why should not we overthrow the Manchu government which treated our Chinese people absolutely unequally?¹

Buddhist scriptures, in fact, authorized the destruction of any ruler who treated his subjects harshly and unjustly. Therefore, said Chang, "the promotion of Buddhism is very important for the morality of the society and the morality of our revolutionary army".²

Looking more closely at the terminology used by Chang Ping-lin, one finds him using the expression tsung-chiao for religion. For Chang this term meant an ethical system or philosophical outlook, a religion without gods. Therefore, he could regard Buddhism as atheistic³ and select it as a religion to be used to advance morality.

Atheism (wu-shen-chiao - religion without gods) was advocated by Chang Ping-lin in one of his leading articles; he discussed monotheism and materialism, and their connection with atheism.

The theory of materialism is very close to equality. The theory of monotheism esteems only one deity, and so it is far from equality. If

¹ Chang Ping-lin, "Address", MP.6.9.
² Ibid., MP.6.9.
³ Ibid., MP.6.9.
we want to make all human beings equal, we must destroy the godly religion (shen-chiao 神教).\(^1\)

In this case he used the expression shen-chiao, that is religion, implying the existence of gods, or worship of gods. He criticized monotheistic religions such as Christianity and Indian Vedanta, as well as pantheism. He concluded the article with the discussion that the theory of the existence of God or gods had no sound basis.\(^2\)

Chang Ping-lin strongly advocated the importance of religion for the advancement of morality, and so the problems of religion, as an ethical and philosophical system, were discussed in several of his leading articles written during this stage.\(^3\)

One such leading article was entirely devoted to the questions of morality. Chang Ping-lin told his readers that "the decline and fall of morality was truly the very root of the loss of the country and destruction of the race",\(^4\) and therefore, morality was absolutely necessary

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1 Chang Ping-lin, "On atheism", MP.8.2.
2 Ibid., MP.8.2 - 12.
3 See, for example, such articles as "On atheism" (MP.8), "Revolutionary morality" (MP.8), "On establishment of religion" (MP.9), "On unselfishness" (MP.11), "On the warning to the new party" (MP.10).
4 Chang Ping-lin, "Revolutionary morality", MP.8.15.
for the revolutionaries who aimed to restore their country and race.

At present, China is not short of clever schemes, but of sincerity and faithfulness; it has the ability to come to terms with circumstances, but lacks public purity.¹

Therefore, Chang's credo was: "without morality there could be no revolution",² and as such it also became Min-pao's credo.

To provide readers with examples, Chang Ping-lin described the Reform Movement of 1898 and the unsuccessful uprising of 1900 and concluded that both failed simply because of lack of morality among its members.³ He claimed that the aims of the reform political movement were much easier to achieve than those of the revolutionaries, but because of the corruption of morality they inevitably failed.⁴

In this study of the problems of morality, Chang also examined the attitude toward and the standards of morality in various classes and professions in the society, and his

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¹ Chang Ping-lin, "Revolutionary morality", MP.8.16.
² Ibid., MP.8.18.
³ Ibid., MP.8.19.
⁴ Ibid., MP.8.19.
conclusion was that the peasants, the men who till the earth and produce food by hard labour, had the highest regard for morality.¹

Chang Ping-lin had also advised readers how to attain the revolutionary morality, stressing again and again that without morality no revolution could be achieved. His main advice was that four principles should be upheld by every person, namely, sense of shame (chih-ch'ih 知耻), profundity (chung-hou 重厚), purity (keng-chieh 謹介), and faithfullness (pi-hsin 必信). The first three principles were taken from Ku Yen-wu's Jih-chih-lu, and the last one was added by Chang himself.²

From all that has been said it may be noted that Chang Ping-lin, unlike many other revolutionaries, was deeply concerned about the moral qualities of the revolutionaries, and that he envisaged an ideal revolutionary, a person of high and unquestionable morality, beyond all corruption, selfishness and greed. Such human beings would be able to carry through the revolution and restoration of China.

¹ Chang Ping-lin, "Revolutionary morality", MP.8.20.
² Ibid., MP.8.27-31.
Chang's second concern was to use the national essence to stimulate racial temperament in order to advance patriotic enthusiasm. This goal was also discussed by Chang in his "Address".

The concept of kuo-tsui, national essence or national heritage, was also an important part of Chang Ping-lin's ideology. Under national essence Chang Ping-lin understood, as he explained to readers, the Chinese language and literature, Chinese system of law, and the lives of great Chinese men.

In his "Address" Chang Ping-lin discoursed on the richness and unique characteristics of the Chinese language and ancient Chinese philology. Their study was very important not only for the understanding of ancient records and histories, but also for creating new terms and expressions demanded by the new age. One would not be able to do this properly without a knowledge of Chinese philology. 1 Then, he went on to say, the Chinese system of law should be studied and respected. Although the Chinese political system had always been monarchical and despotic in form, it had some excellent points, unparalleled in any other country. One, for example, was

the system of equal fields (chün-t'ien 均田), which, as Chang said, truly corresponded to socialism. Many aspects of Chinese criminal law and the examination system were also very close to socialism.¹ As he pointed out,

> Our present respect for our Chinese system of laws and regulations is, in fact, a respect for socialism; we must change what is wrong and protect what is right.²

As for the examples of Chinese heroes and patriots in the course of the Chinese history, Chang said that people should learn about them and follow their example. They should be remembered in order to advance the individual's own patriotism.³

Such propaganda for enhancing respect for and study of the Chinese national heritage was remarkable in view of the general tendency of Chinese intellectuals of that time to stress modernization and Westernization. Although Chang Ping-lin did not develop this part of his revolutionary program to any great extent in the pages of Min-pao, he continued to remain on the editorial staff of the Shanghai-published journal Kuo-tsui hsüeh-pao 國粹學報 (National Essence). The aims of this journal, published

² Ibid., MP.6.13.
³ Ibid., MP.6.13-14.
from the beginning of 1905 up to the revolution of 1911, were "to spread national learning, and to preserve the national essence".

Chang Ping-lin's words about the preservation and study of the national essence found a ready response. In the seventh issue of Min-pao, in the Contributed Articles section of the journal, one can find "Introduction to the Society for the Study of National Learning" (Kuo-hsüeh chiang-hsi hui 国學講習會). The anonymous author of this introduction (signed "Founder of the Society") wrote that although it was not enough to depend only upon national learning to establish the state, the state could never become independent without the development of national learning. He wrote:

I have heard that it might happen that the state was lost while national learning remained, but I have never heard of a case where national learning was lost and the state was formed without it!1

The author then described how the newly-formed Society invited Chang Ping-lin, "the Mountain T'ai of the national learning circles", 2 to deliver a lecture to its

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2 Ibid., MP.7.129.
members. This Society apparently did not last long, but sometime in October - November 1906 a similar society was created, the Society for the Promotion of National Learning (Kuo-hsüeh chen-ch'i she 國學振起社). Its establishment and activities were reported in the announcement and advertisement pages of Min-pao; Chang Ping-lin was elected president of this society.¹

While it can be seen that Chang Ping-lin's editorship introduced a fresh approach in many directions, he did not transform Min-pao into a completely new creation. It is equally noteworthy that he continued previous editorial policy in important respects. During this period, the main editorial writers of the first stage - Hu Han-min, Wang Ching-wei, Wang Tung, and Chu Chih-hsin - carried on Min-pao's general line of revolutionary propaganda in the same spirit as in the first six issues, that is during the first stage. Various aspects of Min-pao's six principle continued to be discussed and the opposition to the Manchu establishment of a constitution went on.

At the end of 1905, Manchu plans to establish a constitution were still rather vague, but in 1906 they

¹ MP.8. Fourth page of announcements and advertisements in the beginning of the issue.
gradually began to take shape. In the middle of 1906 the members of the constitutional mission of 1905-1906 submitted to the throne their findings and recommendations, and the edict of September 1, 1906, officially proclaimed the government's intention to establish a constitution.

After all these developments, a general picture of the intended constitution began to emerge. The main points of the new constitution were as follows: the establishment of a constitution would be gradually realized in the next 10 or 15 years; it would be patterned after that of Japan; a general trend toward centralization would be put into practice, through such measures as restriction of the authority of governors-general and governors, and so on.

While the idea of the establishment of a constitution in China sounded quite promising to many intellectuals in China and was hailed in several quarters, from the revolutionary point of view, it was, of course, just another trick of the Manchus to enslave Chinese people. Min-pao had already explained to its readers that "unless China had political revolution, it could not establish a
constitution, and unless China had racial revolution, it could not establish a constitution". ¹

While during the first stage the Manchu attempts to establish a constitution were criticized as such - primarily because revolutionaries believed that the Manchus had no right and no capacity to establish a constitution and that any such attempt should be preceded by revolution and restoration of the Chinese sovereignty, now, during the second stage, the concrete aspects of the future constitution were attacked.

"Alas, in what position would our citizens be, if the Manchu government used the constitution to put into practice centralization?" - wrote Wang Ching-wei. ² He had particularly attacked the measures which were intended to produce centralization within the Ch'ing empire. He explained to the readers of Min-pao that:

The centralization which is planned by the Manchu government is bound to result in the situation where a minority nation would govern the majority. The Manchus are a minority nation which have subjugated the majority Han nation. Now the Manchus want to consolidate their power

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¹ Wang Ching-wei, "Let all those who hope for the establishment of the Manchu constitution listen to this", MP.5.1.
in order to stay for long in their position as conquerors.¹

He then described to readers in some detail what centralization (chung-yang chi-ch’üan 中央集權) and decentralization (ti-fang fen-ch’üan 地方分權) were, how unsuitable the Manchus were to rule over China, and how time and again they had attempted to effect centralization in China.²

Wang Ching-wei wrote that all Manchu attempts and plans for centralization aimed at the attainment of political power for the Manchu race. This political power in the hands of the Manchu race would lead to utter extermination of the Han race. Consequently, the constitution which aimed at the centralization would result in the destruction of the Han race.³ Wang wrote that the Manchus

...use the establishment of a constitution as an outside coating, while they use the centralization as an inside lining; they use the establishment of a constitution as a bait and centralization as a hook; so that outwardly they fulfil the hopes of the Han people and secretly

¹ Wang Ching-wei, "The Manchu constitution and national revolution", MP.8.35.
² Ibid., MP.8.35-42.
³ Ibid., MP.8.43.
they promote the real power of the Manchu people. This is truly the best anti-Han policy!¹

Wang Ching-wei also criticized those Chinese citizens who were deluded into welcoming the establishment of a constitution. There were, Wang wrote, four kinds of opinions on the constitution. First of all, there were those who knew that this Manchu constitutional system would thwart people's rights and cause the destruction of the people, and so they definitely opposed the Manchu constitution. The second group, while realizing all the harm which this constitution would bring to the people, nevertheless accepted it for personal profit. The third group did not know the real limits of this constitution and admired it because of the success of constitutional systems in other countries. The fourth knew the real limits of this constitution but had not truly realized how empty it really was.²

Min-pao considered its own task to be to explain to those who were ignorant or misled that the establishment of a constitution by the Manchus was worthless. Min-pao aimed to lead people in their opposition to it. Wang

¹ Wang Ching-wei, "The Manchu constitution and national revolution", MP.8.43-44.
² Ibid., MP.8.44-45.
Ching-wei further discussed what he called "methods which should be employed by the citizens in connection with the Manchu establishment of a constitution, in order to realize the revolutionary cause". The first thing was to seize the autonomous power of the local authorities, and the second was to recover the central power. Wang Ching-wei elaborated on these two steps in some detail and then concluded that while...

...the central power was still in the hands of the Manchu race, the so-called enlightened despotism and the establishment of a constitution would completely destroy the Han people. Revolution is the only way to recover the power to govern.

It is noteworthy that the second stage of Min-pao's publication was, for the most part, one of the best periods of T'ung-meng-hui's existence. It was a period free from the dissensions and ill-feeling within the core of the party, which lay in the future. In December 1906 Min-pao's first anniversary was celebrated in Tokyo; it was a happy occasion for all the revolutionaries present. It was, in a way, an anniversary not only of Min-pao but

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1 Wang Ching-wei, "The Manchu constitution and national revolution", MP.8.46.
2 Ibid., MP.8.46.
3 Ibid., MP.8.54.
of the entire revolutionary party. All the important personalities of the revolutionary party - Sun Yat-sen, Huang Hsing, Chang Ping-lin, Wang Ching-wei, Hu Han-min, and others, were at that time in Tokyo and all attended the first anniversary celebration.

The Third Stage of Min-pao's publication (MP.14 - MP.24)

The third stage of Min-pao's publication covered the period from June 1907 to October 1908. As was said above, the first and second stages had been characterized by unity and growing hopes among revolutionaries, which culminated in the celebration of Min-pao's first anniversary, the first anniversary of the T'ung-meng-hui revolutionary movement. At that meeting, attended reportedly by five thousand students, all the important figures of the Chinese revolutionary movement were present, and speeches, full of hope and revolutionary spirit, were made, in addition to the discussions and meetings held within the leadership of the party. The future of the revolutionary movement must have looked promising in those days of early December 1906.

However, rough waters awaited the revolutionaries. A few days after the December celebration, several uprisings broke out in the provinces of Kiangsu and Hunan. These
uprisings, known as P'ing-Liu-Li 萍浏醴 uprising, were not planned by T'ung-meng-hui, but some of the local T'ung-meng-hui members took part in them.

The Ch'ing government suppressed the uprisings and did its best to crush the whole revolutionary movement. Many people were arrested and executed. Min-pao was proscribed. New pressure was brought to bear upon the Japanese government which harboured revolutionaries, and so the Japanese government requested Sun Yat-sen to leave Japan and continue his revolutionary activities elsewhere. He was given money both by the Japanese government and by a certain Japanese sympathizer to ease his departure.

In March 1907 Sun left for South-East Asia where he planned to set up a base for himself. He was joined by Hu Han-min and Wang Ching-wei who were to help him in his revolutionary plans.

It was precisely at this point that T'ung-meng-hui was rocked by internal dissensions and disagreements over comparatively trivial matters. Before his departure, Sun Yat-sen had a strong disagreement with Huang Hsing over the design of the revolutionary flag, and as soon as Sun left Japan he was openly blamed by Chang Ping-lin for taking a large sum of money with him and not leaving enough for Min-pao.
Of course, these disagreements and the ill-feeling that accompanied them did not become known to T'ung-meng-hui's rank and file and were never mentioned in Min-pao, but the fact that they occurred at all in the very leadership of the party was indicative of the decline of T'ung-meng-hui's unity. And indeed, before long, Chang Ping-lin, T'ao Ch'eng-chang and several others launched a campaign to remove Sun Yat-sen from the leadership of the party.

For Min-pao the departure of Sun Yat-sen, Wang Ching-wei and Hu Han-min was very important. First of all, although Sun was absent from Japan from the end of 1905 to the end of 1906, this time his departure was not of his own free will and he could not return to Japan in the near future. It meant that Sun had to establish his base somewhere outside of Japan, and since Sun was the leader, the president of T'ung-meng-hui, this fact somewhat diminished the importance of T'ung-meng-hui's headquarters in Tokyo. Its position as a centre of revolutionaries in exile gradually diminished throughout 1907 and 1908.

Secondly, the departure of Wang Ching-wei and Hu Han-min was a blow to Min-pao. They were indeed the most significant editorial writers; both worked for Min-pao without interruption through the first and second stages.
of Min-pao's publication; both were the main opponents of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's Hsin-min ts'ung-pao. Now the journal was entirely in Chang Ping-lin's hands, and Hu and Wang's places were gradually taken by Chang's followers, the most important being Liu Shih-p'ei, Huang K'an, Ch'en Ch'ü-p'ing, T'ao Ch'eng-chang and T'ang Tseng-pi. Chang Ping-lin and his followers were, for the most part, not as young as the editorial writers of the first and second stages, and they were largely men with classical Chinese education, not influenced by the Western ideas as much as Sun, Wang and Hu were. For them, in Chang Ping-lin's words,

revolution is not a revolution, but restoration (kuang-fu — restoration of the Chinese race, restoration of the Chinese regions, restoration of the Chinese political power.\footnote{Chang Ping-lin, "Revolutionary morality", MP.8.13.}

On the whole, the journal still remained the revolutionary organ of T'ung-meng-hui and continued to advocate Min-pao's six principles with their unifying idea of revolution. It still remained the ideological organ of the Chinese revolution.

This stage was characterized by the following features: an intensified anti-Manchuism, with growing
emphasis on its historical and traditional background; discussion on the establishment of a new political system in post-revolutionary China; concern over the socio-economic situation in China; propaganda advocating terrorism and assassination as revolutionary methods.

As one can see, the problems for discussion and propaganda remained largely the same, especially in the first three topics stated above, but certain shifts in the emphasis of propaganda became more and more noticeable. These shifts were caused not only by changes in the editorial staff, but also by a change in the general situation of the revolutionary movement.

One of the main characteristics of the third stage was an intensification of anti-Manchuism. It was, in many ways, the continuation of the propaganda of the first principle of Min-pao, "to overthrow the present evil government". The reasons for the increasing intensification of this line of propaganda were many. The repeated failure of uprisings from the end of 1906 and throughout 1907, continued attempts by the Manchus at various reforms and the proposed establishment of a constitution, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's criticism of revolutionary ideas, criticism of nationalism and anti-Manchuism by the organ of Chinese anarchists Hsin-shih-chi,
weakening of unity among revolutionaries, all this prompted Min-pao's editors to devote more attention to their foremost and strongest principle. For Chang Ping-lin and his followers this was indeed the principle of revolution— to expel the Manchus and restore Han rule; everything else was secondary to that aim. Therefore, they tended to stress more and more the historical, traditional background of the anti-Manchu struggle. Many leading articles were devoted entirely to the task of describing the end of Ming and the conquest of China by the Manchus, reminding readers again and again how their nation became enslaved by the Tartars and thus filling their minds and hearts with shame and hatred toward their enslavers.¹

Our national territory has been lost for some three hundred years, and so our splendid country and our noble people are, alas, under the rule and law of the Tartars. Our people live in this dark and gloomy age. The most urgent matter now is certainly the destruction or survival of our race and not the virtue or wickedness of the government.²

¹ Character 虏 was often used in Min-pao and similar publications to refer to the Manchus. One of its meanings is "to take captive, a prisoner", and another— "barbarians, Tartars". Manchu court was often called in Min-pao a Tartar court (賊庭).

² Huang K'an, "The single principle of driving out the Manchus", MP.17.15.
Therefore, from the fourteenth issue of Min-pao, such leading articles as Liu Shih-p'ei's "Success and failure of the Ch'ing scholars" (MP.14.23-38) and his "The Manchus were never China's subjects" (MP.14.39-111, MP.15.35-62, MP.18.1-25), Huang K'an's "The single principle of driving out the Manchus" (MP.17.15-23), Ch'en Ch'ü-ping's "The earliest relations between the Ming and Ch'ing" (MP.19.33-41), and "At the end of Ming the Manchus were considered in China as enemies" (MP.20.1-21) written by someone under the pen-name of Ssu-ku思古 were all meant to supply the readers with the historical background of anti-Manchuism and arouse in them feelings of deep hatred toward the Manchus.

A significant announcement appeared in the nineteenth issue of Min-pao (February 1908), which openly declared this particular shift in the emphasis of its propaganda. The announcement, published on the first page of the announcements and advertisements in the beginning of the nineteenth issue, stated that from the twentieth issue onwards the present journal would modify its contents; it would concentrate more on historical facts as the basis on which to develop nationalism, in the hope of stirring people's feelings. Therefore, the journal asked interested readers to send essays, materials, and all
sorts of entries about the end of Sung, end of Ming, and reasons for the fall of Ming and Ch'ing's rule in China, for publication in the journal.¹

However, this new policy, though obviously promoted by Chang Ping-lin and his group, particularly T'ao Ch'eng-chang, who was the editor of twentieth, twenty-first, and twenty-second issues of Min-pao, did not express their views only, but to some extent was adopted in response to the interests of the reading public. In 1908 many pamphlets and books appeared on the history of Ming and the Manchu invasion.² Another reason for this intensified propaganda of anti-Manchuiism was that the revolutionaries feared that in view of the proposed establishment of a constitution by the Manchu government, the Manchu rule might become more acceptable to the people.

The propaganda for unrelenting anti-Manchuiism was supported by arguments which attempted to build the theoretical basis for this ideology. Chu Chih-hsin wrote

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² Chang Yu-ying, "A bibliography of publications concerning the revolution of 1911", CKCP.1.140-183.
in the leading article "Psychological nationalism (kuo-chia chu-i)"

Recently those who advocate the principle of the state (kuo-chia chu-i) in order to oppose the principle of the nation (min-tsu chu-i) daily increase in number. Although their theories were defeated by us a long time ago, people still believe them, because they are influenced by the word kuo-chia.¹

He further explained that state (kuo-chia) had two meanings. The first one was from the legal point of view. According to it, state, which was observed objectively, was regarded as a governing authority in action, without any queries about position and rights of the rulers. The second one was from psychological point of view; in this case, state was observed subjectively as an entity to which people wanted to belong on racial and historical grounds.²

He then explained that, according to the definitions above, the Manchu state was the state based on legal principles and not on psychological ones, and therefore Chinese nation should follow kuo-chia chu-i, which was based on theory of state from psychological point of view, i.e. the psychological kuo-chi chu-i.³

¹ Chu Chih-hsin, "Psychological nationalism", MP.21.13. Both kuo-chia chu-i and min-tsu chu-i are usually rendered into English as nationalism.
³ Ibid., MP.21.15-16.
Thus, the first principle of Min-pao, "to overthrow the present evil government", which was put forward late in 1905, had been slowly transformed in the last half of 1907 and beginning of 1908 into intense anti-Manchuism strongly fed by the memory of the Manchu invasion and the submission of China in the middle of the 17th century. Expulsion of the Manchus was now a problem of the utmost importance, with all the other principles and problems secondary to it. Chang Ping-lin openly told readers:

Our aim is simply to restore our ancestral land. Restoration is the duty we are charged with; it is what is dictated by our circumstances. After the restoration there is no alternative but to proceed to the establishment of a republic. But that is not our duty, nor is it dictated by our circumstances.¹

When revolutionaries asked themselves, "what should we do to save China?", the answer was, "overthrow the Manchu rule in China". The next question, as to what would follow then, was not as easy to answer as the first one, and there was a tendency to give it less attention and put it in a secondary position. It was generally agreed by the T'ung-meng-hui revolutionaries that the best solution was to establish a republic in China, in

accordance with Min-pao's second principle. Some of the leading articles in the first and second stages of Min-pao's publication discussed this second principle, and the future establishment of a republic in China was one of the key points in the polemics with Liang Ch'i-ch'ao.

In spite of the emphasis on anti-Manchuism, during the third stage some leading articles were devoted to the government of the future China. Moreover, in June 1907 the socialist-anarchist journal T'ien-i-pao was first published in Tokyo by Liu Shih-p'ei and his wife Ho Chen; at the same time in Paris a group of Chinese anarchists launched the publication of Hsin-shih-chi. A few months later, in August 1907, Liu Shih-p'ei and Chang Chi established in Tokyo the Society for the Study of Socialism (She-hui chu-i chiang-hsi hui 社會主義講習會). Ideas of socialism and anarchism began to circulate in revolutionary circles, and Min-pao was connected with these publications and organizations. Although not many revolutionaries became converted to socialism and anarchism, these ideas made them more aware of the political, social and economic problems of the age.

In Min-pao a number of leading articles, written almost exclusively by Chang Ping-lin, discussed the problems of government and future political system in
China. Chang Ping-lin's thought dominated the third stage to an even greater extent than the second. Although the development and flights of Chang Ping-lin's thought form a fascinating subject of study, they have to be outlined here only briefly, primarily in relation to Min-pao.

Chang Ping-lin's ideas about the future China were quite outstanding and of an utterly theoretical character, completely divorced from reality and practical application. He told readers that if it was necessary to establish some kind of government in China after the expulsion of the Manchus, a republic would probably be the best to adopt as a preliminary step. Then he proceeded to describe to readers the ideal state of things, the attainment of the Five Negations (wu-wu 五無 ) in some hundred years' time. These Five Negations, according to Chang Ping-lin, were: wu-cheng-fu 無政府 (no government), by which he meant complete abolition of government, private property, and family; wu-chū-lo 無聚落 (no definite abodes), complete abolition of fixed national territory and boundaries; wu-jen-lei 無人類 (no human beings), abolition of mankind, by which Chang meant Buddhist idea of men being able eventually to transcend the world; wu-chung-sheng 無衆生

Chang Ping-lin, "On five negations", MP.16.2.
(no living beings), abolition of all living creatures; and finally, wu-shih-chieh 無世界 (no world), complete abolition of everything that is world and life, and therefore the attainment of the Great Void (t'ai-hsü 太虚). This was, in Chang's opinion, the supreme good.¹ Such ideas were, of course, somewhat surprising to find even in a revolutionary journal. They can be understood in light of Chang Ping-lin's attraction to Buddhism.

All these measures for the achievement of the Great Void through absolute negation were to be realized only in a distant future.² Chang Ping-lin never forgot to concede that for the time being, in the century that had just begun, it was necessary to have a state and government.³ Establishment of a republic in China was seen by Chang Ping-lin as a kind of preliminary step toward the ultimate goal of the supreme good.⁴

In July-August 1908 the Manchu government became active with several measures, such as plans for the establishment of provincial assemblies, further

² Ibid., MP.16.4.
³ Chang Ping-lin, "On state", MP.17.12.
⁴ Chang Ping-lin, "On five negations", MP.16.2.
preparations for the establishment of a constitution, elections and parliament, all of which were intended to put the Manchu government in a better light and to weaken the revolutionaries' indictment of its rule.

Partly because of the intentions of the Manchu government and partly as a result of serious thinking and deep doubts caused by the situation in the revolutionary movement and in China, Chang Ping-lin changed his attitude to the idea of republic and parliament. Formerly he thought that the republic should take form of a parliamentary republican government, perhaps slightly modified and improved.¹

In October 1908 Chang Ping-lin wrote a special leading article, entitled "Should we have the parliamentary representative system or not?", in which he criticized the system of representative government as unequal, feudal, and inferior, and indicted the Manchu government for its attempts to introduce such a system to China.² He explained to readers that a representative parliamentary system would create a class system, and that it would end

¹ Chang Ping-lin, "Explanation of Chung-hua min-kuo", MP.15.1-17.
² Chang Ping-lin, "Should we have the parliamentary representative system or not?", MP.23.1-8.
up producing numerous "emperors" in the government instead of only one.\(^1\) He put forward a number of proposals which, in his opinion, would be suitable for China to adopt after the revolution. He spoke about the president as a head of the government, who would look after administration, defence, and would represent China in foreign affairs.\(^2\) However, his power would be limited by the right of the people to express their decisions through special representatives in times of crisis.\(^3\)

Chang Ping-lin's leading articles in *Min-pao* caused a wide range of reaction: some admired them, some criticized, some queried various points, and some complained about the difficulty of his style and his use of Buddhist terminology.\(^4\)

Chang Ping-lin's preoccupation with Buddhism came under attack from a certain Meng-an (a pen-name) of *Tung-ya yüeh-pao* 東亞月報 (*East Asia Monthly*). He

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1. Chang Ping-lin, "Should we have the parliamentary representative system or not?", MP.23.10.
2. Ibid., MP.23.11.
3. Ibid., MP.23.12.
4. See, for example, Chang Ping-lin's afterword to "On unselfishness" (MP.11.16-17), and Chang Ping-lin's "Letter to a friend" (MP.10.[1-4]), "Reply to T'ieh-cheng" (MP.14. 113-122), "Reply to Meng-an" (MP.21.126-133).
particularly criticized Chang Ping-lin's leading article in the nineteenth issue of Min-pao, entitled "On the origin of Mahayana Buddhism". Meng-an asked sarcastically whether such essays were sufficient to get rid of the evil government and establish a republic. He stated that this old religion was inadequate to deal with the problems of the day, and that none of Min-pao's principles could be attained with such ideology.

Min-pao has become a Buddhist journal; otherwise, where do all these theories come from? Min-pao should be the people's voice, not a Buddhist voice....If several millions of people all become Buddhist priests, who would produce food? Who would fight to stop enemies? That is the reason why India has finally perished. Does China have to have the same illness?¹

Chang Ping-lin's reply to this criticism is very interesting. It shows, for one thing, that in spite of all intra-party disputes and formation of Kung-chin-hui, Chang Ping-lin, as the editor of Min-pao, still defended and advocated the six principles of Min-pao and their future realization. He replied to Meng-an:

I would like to ask Meng-an: as far as Min-pao's six principles are concerned, can they be realized by themselves or do you expect our people to put them into practice? If we expect people to put them into practice, then cowards are not sufficient to realize these principles,

empty and dissolute persons are not sufficient to realize them, vulgar and mean persons are not sufficient to realize them, and false persons are not sufficient to realize them. It is only with resolution and fearlessness that one controls cowardice, with seclusion and pure actions one controls emptiness and dissoluteness, with thoughts about one's own self and with single-minded reverence one controls vulgarity and meanness, and with avoidance of lying one controls falsehood. Of these several qualities, we can find one or two expressed in the code of moral principles of various religions, but the only one which would suit China's customs is Buddhism.\(^1\)

On the whole, one might say that the problem of the future form of government in post-revolutionary China was not solved in the pages of Min-pao. During the first two stages, the republican form of government was advocated without going deeply into any practical applications. In the third stage Chang Ping-lin's discussions on this topic complicated the problem and were indicative of the lack of a definite solution.

Openly, for the sake of propaganda, Min-pao still held to its six principles, including the second one, "to establish a republican form of government".

Anarchism was never chosen as a suitable solution for China's future government. It is necessary to point out that the Chinese characters for anarchism (wu-cheng-fu

\(^1\) Chang Ping-lin, "Reply to Meng-an", MP.21.127.
(無政府主義) literally mean "the principle of the absence of the government". Even Chang Ping-lin believed that in his age and time to have a form of government was unavoidable. He was supported by Lei Chao-hsing, who wrote a leading article "On government" for the seventeenth issue of Min-pao.

Lei Chao-hsing said that it was necessary to follow the tide of the time (運會). In this situation, he said,

Our party's revolution against the Manchus in order to establish a republican government should really take advantage of the tide of the time.... We maintain that to have no government is to despise the tide of the time and be too extreme; and to avoid anti-Manchu revolution in the establishment of a republican government is to neglect the tide of the time and be behind it.... Excess is as bad as deficiency.¹

So readers were told that it was necessary to propose a new form of government in order to oppose the Manchu government.

Although in theory we strike at government, in reality we try to build a government ourselves... If we want to get rid of a government, we must first create a new one with which to oppose the old...

Therefore, since they (the Manchus) have established a government, we shall also establish a government. They plan to use government to achieve the oppression of the whole country,

¹ Lei Chao-hsing, "On government", MP.17.94-95.
while we plan to use government to oppose the oppression of the whole country. If we have no government, then both national rule and foreign relations will be without someone to select and bring forward important matters. If the tide of the time has not reached the state of being without government and we enforced it, stepping ahead of our time, we would not be following the tide of the time, and time would utterly destroy us.\(^1\)

The author stressed that adoption of anarchism by the revolutionaries would only strengthen the Manchu government, but he conceded that in the period of propaganda, anarchism and nationalism could complement each other.\(^2\)

Concern over the socio-economic situation in China also characterized the third stage of *Min-pao*’s publication. Trying to work out ways of solving economic problems in China was difficult for the revolutionaries, which is not surprising. Sun's idea of equalizing land rights, which was expressed in *Min-pao*’s third principle as "to nationalize land", was both novel and difficult to explain. The propaganda of this principle was virtually abandoned during the third stage. Moreover, in the middle of 1907 an organization Kung-chin-hui was established in

\(^1\) Lei Chao-hsing, "On government", MP.17.90-93.
\(^2\) Ibid., MP.17.95-96.
Tokyo. Its aims were almost the same as those of T'ung-meng-hui, except for one significant change: instead of the pledge "to equalize land rights" Kung-chin-hui members vowed "to equalize human rights". Many of the T'ung-meng-hui members in Tokyo joined this organization, including some members of the Min-pao editorial staff.

Nevertheless, Min-pao's six principles remained untouched, and some of the leading articles were devoted to the plight of the poor people, particularly that of peasants. The problem of economic inequality continued to occupy revolutionary intellectuals, although they failed to reach a definite and acceptable solution.

For example, Liu Shih-p'ei in a leading article entitled "Sympathy with peasant lease-holders" discussed the celebrated ching-t'ien system, and debated its good and bad points.¹

In another article on the economic problems, "Sympathy with the poor", its author Huang K'an wrote that "the poverty of people's livelihood had never been as extreme as in China today".² Rich people were few, he wrote, but those in extreme poverty were innumerable;

² Huang K'an, "Sympathy with the poor", MP.17.25.
moreover, because of their poverty, poor people remained ignorant and stupid, while rich people received education and snatched all the ranks and rewards.¹

Huang said that if he himself was standing in front of all these poor people, he would tell them:

We are poor not because it is handed to us from the past; rich people have taken our property and this is why we are so poor. This is unfair, and so we ask Heaven to help us to kill all these rich people and revenge ourselves, to restore the truth of equality, or rather die in our quest for equality, for we are not born to be so defiled. If this will end in success, then it will be a good thing for all the poor, and if not, - let the whole China be a big grave, where we all die together with the rich. We'll never regret it.²

The shifts of propaganda, described above, were significant in their own way, but they were still within the limits of the three-fold idea of revolution: national (i.e. anti-Manchu), political (i.e. anti-monarchical), and social (i.e. the one seeking solution to economic inequality in China).

However, during this third stage an entirely new trend of propaganda appeared, and that was propaganda advocating assassination as a method of revolutionary

¹ Huang K'an, "Sympathy with the poor", MP.17.25.
² Ibid., MP.17.32.
struggle and as an act of individual heroism and courage. The appearance of this new trend had its reasons: by the end of 1907 and the beginning of 1908 the future of the revolutionary movement looked gloomy. The years 1906 and 1907 were marked by the repeated failure of revolutionary uprisings, and this, to some extent, explains the search for new methods of revolutionary struggle.

Assassinations were, of course, not new in Chinese history, and in the recent years closer acquaintance with Western and particularly Russian revolutionary movements had introduced Chinese to the use of acts of terrorism and assassination in the revolutionary movement. The modern Chinese revolutionary movement, prior to the establishment of T'ung-meng-hui, produced several daring assassins. In 1900 a young Chinese, Shih Chien-ju 亊堅如, was executed for an assassination attempt on the life of the Manchu

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1 In the ancient Chinese history one can find several daring assassins, whose names became well-known in China; see Shih-chi, vol. 5, pp. 2515-38. Some of these famous assassins were mentioned in Min-pao's articles in connection with propaganda advocating assassinations: Chang Liang 張良 (see MP.16.94), Chuan Chu 髓諸 (see MP.16.94 and MP.17.117), Ching K'o 荆軻 (see MP.16.94; MP.18.28; MP.18.118), Nieh Cheng 聶政 (see MP.16.94; MP.17.117; MP.18.28; MP.18.118).
governor-general of Canton, Te-shou 德寿. In November 1904 Wan Fu-hua 萬福華 attempted to assassinate Wang Chih-ch'un 王之春, former governor of Kwangsi. In September 1903, just at the time T'ung-meng-hui was being established in Tokyo, Wu Yüeh lost his life in an unsuccessful assassination attempt on the lives of the five high commissioners of the Manchu court.

Wu Yüeh's daring assassination attempt, as was already noted, was valuable to the revolutionary movement not only for the heroic deed itself, but also because Wu Yüeh left behind him a fine legacy of revolutionary writings. Their propaganda value had been immediately appreciated by the Min-pao editors, for in the third issue of Min-pao there had appeared his "Statement of views", apparently smuggled out of China and delivered to Min-pao. At this stage the editors used Wu's writings as propaganda against the Manchu intentions to promulgate a constitution.

Now, more than a year later, Min-pao editors managed to obtain more of Wu Yüeh's writings and published them in a special Appendix to the journal's first anniversary supplement, T'ien-t'ao, together with several photographs. The editors used these later writings as an early shot in their campaign to promote assassination. These writings
show that Wu Yüeh's action was the result of deeply thought out conviction.

Wu Yüeh described his conversion to revolutionary ideas through reading early revolutionary writings. He went through a fairly typical transformation of many young Chinese - first, admiration for the writings and ideas of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and then gradual disenchantment and transfer to the revolutionary camp.¹

For the most part, Wu Yüeh's writings contained passionate expressions of hatred toward the Manchus and his own ideological basis for assassination. He wrote:

They (i.e. the supporters of the emperor, the Manchu constitution, and the Manchu government) want to keep the Han race in constant submission and plan that the Manchu descendants be emperors of China throughout all ages. Therefore I constantly wish to kill them all. However, they (i.e. these supporters of the Manchus) all are Han people, and all Han people have become slaves of Manchu chieftains. The Manchu chieftains made them slaves and willingly injured my compatriots in order to profit their alien race....Thereupon I constantly think about opposition to the Manchus. There are two ways to achieve overthrow of the Manchus: one is assassinations, another - revolution. Assassinations are the cause, revolution - result. Although assassinations may be done by individual persons, revolution would not be achieved without united force of numbers. The present age is not that of revolution, but a true period of assassinations.²

¹ See Chapter V, pp.206-207.
² "Wu Yüeh's writings", T'ien-t'ao, [2-3].
In his search for possible victims for assassination, Wu Yüeh distinguished two kinds of hateful Manchus: those who enslaved the Han race and those who would destroy it; the former existed now, and the latter in the future.

If Yehonala (i.e. the Empress Dowager) has not enslaved our Han race - who has? If the traitor and bandit T'ieh-liang (鉄良, Manchu official, head of Ministry of War in 1905-7) has not destroyed our Han race - who has? To kill Yehonala would be difficult, but it is easy to kill T'ieh-liang. Assassination of Yehonala would be advantageous at present, while assassination of T'ieh-liang would be advantageous for the future. Assassination of Yehonala would remove their main power, while assassination of T'ieh-liang would remove assistance to that power.

These writings of Wu Yüeh appeared in Min-pao in April 1907, almost two years after his unsuccessful attempt. Although one hesitates to draw a direct connection between the publication of these writings in April 1907 and the events of the next few months, nevertheless, on July 6, 1907, a Chinese teacher Hsü Hsi-lin 投錫麟 shot the Manchu governor of Anhwei, En-ming 恩銘, at the graduation exercises of the police school in Anking, in an unsuccessful bid to spark a planned uprising which had just been discovered. Hsü Hsi-lin, though not a member of T'ung-meng-hui, belonged to

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1 "Wu Yüeh's writings", T'ien-t'ao, [3].
revolutionary organization Kuang-fu-hui, which had among its leaders the Min-pao's editor Chang Ping-lin. After the failure of this uprising, Hsü Hsi-lin and his revolutionary comrades were executed in July 1907.¹

It is difficult to be absolutely sure of the direct connection between Hsü Hsi-lin's assassination attempt and the publication of Wu Yüeh's writings in Min-pao, but the time and sequence of these events do show some development of this trend toward violence in word and deed in the Chinese revolutionary movement.

These events produced an immediate reaction from the press and intellectuals; the revolutionary press in particular devoted many of its pages to the glorification of the heroes.

In the sixteenth issue of Min-pao of September 1907, which was the issue that followed the events, photographs and articles about Hsü Hsi-lin, Ch'iu Chin, and their revolutionary comrades appeared, and following issues also contained some material about the heroes.²

¹ "Hsü Hsi-lin's uprising and the trial of Ch'iu Chin", HHKM.3.1-214.
² See illustrations in MP.16 and 17, and Wang Tung, "Assassination of En-ming, the governor of Anhwei (MP.16. 101-108); "In memory of Hsü Hsi-lin, Ch'en Po-p'ing, Ma Tsung-han, and Ch'iu Chin" (MP.17.117-118); "Biography of Hsü Hsi-lin" (MP.18.115-118).
In the very end of 1907 and in the issues published during 1908, several articles, extolling the qualities of courage, determination and personal heroism, appeared in Min-pao. The character hsia 侠, which can be rendered as generous, bold, magnanimous, brave, heroic, or, as a noun, knight or knight-errant, came into constant use. One leading article, entitled "Definition of hsia" aimed to explain to readers the qualities, which made a hero or hsia. Thus, the hero (hsia-che 侠者) is, first of all, one whose aim is to assist the people. He should have the ability to put his ideas into practice, and, though his path is full of danger, his mind is at peace, his actions are prompt, and he remains concealed.\(^1\)

Encouragement of personal heroism, courage and determination reached its highest pitch in T'ang Tseng-pi's article "Psychology of revolution". The Japanese government, in stating its reasons for the ban on Min-pao, indicated that this particular article, which appeared in the twenty-fourth issue of Min-pao, violated public peace and order. Although it seems quite certain that in its banning of Min-pao the Japanese government complied with the request of the Ch'ing government for the reasons of

\(^1\) Huang K'an, "Definition of hsia", MP.18.27-30.
its own, the contents of the article were indeed especially radical and violent.

T'ang began with an exclamation of deep sorrow:
"Alas, China is lost!....It is not lost by the people - but by the upper classes; it is not lost through lack of talent and knowledge - but through lack of moral courage". The influence of Chang Ping-lin's image of a true revolutionary was quite obvious here; the author stated that

...in order to get rid of all that is wrong with us, we should not be frustrated by outside appearances, we should quieten our minds and settle our dispositions, we should highly esteem the truth and aim at the moral principles of each individual, and we should not be confused by popular tendencies.

He then called upon his comrades to follow the example of the Indians and Russians in their struggle to save their countries. He presented readers with an image of the fearless, sage-like, determined revolutionary, which could be found, so he thought, among Russian nihilists and Indian philosophers.

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2 Ibid., MP.24.29.  
3 Ibid., MP.24.29-30.
The author then proposed a method of dealing with China's current situation. He wrote that the Manchus, in their rule over China, were supported by the cowardly and corrupt officials. One of the tasks of the revolutionary party should be to eliminate these assistants and agents of the Manchu power in China, and the Manchu power would collapse quickly without their support.

The instruments that we use to eliminate them should not be confined to military organization. Daggers, guns, and bullets used by individual persons should also be employed. The spirit of Huang-ti is what our people rely upon and we should follow it carefully. We should, for the moment, labour earnestly in the hope of destroying the Manchus. As for the reforms, rule of the state, and other local needs, these await the next generation.¹

This propaganda of individual action, aimed at the speedy destruction of the Manchu regime, went side by side with the realization that high moral principles were as necessary as courage.

As for the cause of our revolution, we would not be able to overthrow the Manchus without military force, and we would not be able to hold out for long without morality; furthermore, if we do not accept the sorrows of our society, do not uphold infallible purity, do not begin our work by practising austere customs and putting up with a puritannical life, then we will not be able to protect ourselves from laziness and greed.

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and subsequently will reach a situation where our revolution will collapse.¹

T'ang Tseng-pi expressed his wish that the Chinese people become as pure and peaceful, as frugal and firm as Indians, and that they have the same courage and determination as Russians. He further proposed that the essence of hsia, which characterized both Indians and Russian nihilists, should be encouraged.

We want to substitute secret slayings and assassination for military action, and we want to substitute straightforward individual action for united group action. Our aims would still be the same, and so we would still be called a party, but our actions would be on an individual basis. This is the right way to start.²

All these ideas about the morality and purity, courage and determination of every individual revolutionary, about the necessity to begin with individual actions of assassination, as expressed in T'ang Tseng-pi's rather violent article, culminated and confirmed the new trend in revolutionary ideology. This new trend was initiated probably by Chang Ping-lin's constant reiteration of the necessity to have revolutionary morality and further developed by the

¹ T'ang Tseng-pi "Psychology of revolution", MP.24.32.
² Ibid., MP.24.34.
propaganda of personal heroism and determination. One may see in it a desperate bid to boost revolutionary morale, which had been deflated by the constant failure of uprisings and by intra-party conflicts.

The Fourth Stage of Min-pao's publication (MP.25 - MP.26)

After Min-pao was banned by the Japanese government in October 1908, several attempts were made to resume its publication either in America or in South-East Asia. These led to nothing. It seemed that this was the end of Min-pao. However, in January and February 1910 two more issues came out, twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth. They were entirely a product of Wang Ching-wei, who arrived to Japan in 1909 in order to engage in collection of both funds and the equipment necessary for his assassination plan. During his stay in Tokyo, he managed to publish two last issues of Min-pao, disguising them as a Paris publication. After that he left for China to put his assassination plan into operation.

Fourteen months had passed between twenty-fourth issue of Min-pao (October 1908) and twenty-fifth (January 1910). These fourteen months were marked by a comparative inactivity in revolutionary circles. This inactivity prompted Wang Ching-wei to embark on daring act. In
China, in the Manchu court, several big changes had occurred in this period: on November 14, 1908, Emperor Kuang-hsü, a near prisoner for ten years, died, and on November 15, 1908, Empress Dowager followed him. A new emperor, a mere child, ascended on the throne.

Although the revolutionary movement seemed to be at a low ebb and the future looked gloomy, Wang Ching-wei's two last issues of Min-pao were filled with courage and determination.

For the first issue of the newly-resumed publication of Min-pao, Wang Ching-wei wrote an article "On revolutionary trends", which was concluded in the final, twenty-sixth issue. This article is interesting because in it Wang Ching-wei attempted to make a review and analysis of the revolutionary movement in China up to 1910. He wrote that ever since 1900 the revolutionary movement gradually developed in China and that from the end of 1906, which was marked by P'ing-Liu-Li uprising, waves of uprisings broke periodically in the provinces of Anhwei, Chekiang, Kwangtung, and Yunnan. These uprisings, though crushed unmercifully, influenced the people who were ready and willing to help revolutionaries. The Manchu government was afraid of this growth of opposition and retaliated with the so-called "simultaneous application of
hard (ch'iang-han 强 悍 ) and soft (yin-jou 隱 柔 ) policies". In Wang's opinion, this simultaneous application of hard and soft policies found its expression in the Manchu attempts to establish a constitution in China that was meant to repress (hard policy) and deceive (soft policy) the Chinese people at one and the same time.²

It seemed to Wang Ching-wei that those who discussed all these problems were asking:

Can the Manchus finally establish a constitution upholding the sovereignty of the monarch, protecting their own despotism, and subjugating the Han people forever? Or would the result of such actions be to provoke the anger of the people and so further the revolutionary advance? Would the Han people finally fall into the clutches of the Manchus and would revolutionary ambitions be defeated? Or, on the contrary, would all the secret schemes of the Manchus bring about the consolidation of the secret forces of revolution?³

In order to answer to these important questions, Wang Ching-wei, first of all, explained the revolutionary principle.

The revolutionary party is the party of the people. It is at one with the masses (p'ing-min 平民 ) in its position, its feelings, cares and sufferings. In the midst of the masses, it

¹ Wang Ching-wei, "On revolutionary trends", MP.25.[2].
² Ibid., MP.25.[2].
³ Ibid., MP.25.[3].
unites with those who are willing to accept responsibility, and so it forms an organization, which is subsequently named a party (tang 党). For this reason, the principle of revolution (ko-ming chih chu-i 革命主義) cannot be created by members of the party, but develops itself from the sufferings endured by the masses. If one wants to get rid of the revolutionary party, he should first get rid of the principle of revolution, and this is not possible, in its turn, without first getting rid of the sufferings endured by the masses. As the masses are forced to suffer more and more every day, the principle of revolution increases accordingly, and so the strength of the revolutionary party grows greater and greater every day. Therefore, the establishment of a constitution by the Manchus...would directly and indirectly increase sufferings of the people, and, accordingly, it would of necessity make the principle of revolution acceptable to all and inevitably increase the actual strength of the revolutionary party.¹

Wang Ching-wei's argument was, then, that the Manchu establishment of a constitution would in fact only help the revolutionary progress in China. "Manchus want to obstruct the progress of revolution by the establishment of a constitution - how could they know that it would only help the progress of the revolution!" - he exclaimed.² It was obvious to him that the establishment of a constitution in China would only increase the people's sufferings.

¹ Wang Ching-wei, "On revolutionary trends", MP.25.[3].
² Ibid., MP.25.[4].
People's sufferings (or rather, the sufferings of the people's livelihood - min-sheng chih t'eng-k'u) were considered by Wang of paramount importance. He wrote: "If one wants to examine revolutionary trends, he should inquire into the people's sufferings".¹ This inquiry into the people's sufferings was in fact the gist of the whole article.

It is interesting to note here that by that time, 1909-1910, Sun's third principle min-sheng-chu-i was virtually discarded from the revolutionary program, and yet Wang Ching-wei, perhaps inevitably, returned to the problem of min-sheng (people's livelihood) in his attempt to analyze the revolutionary trends of his time. He found them to be in direct connection with people's livelihood and the people's sufferings. He described further the bitter sufferings of the people, which were inflicted upon them by the Manchus' rule in the country itself and by the Manchus' incompetence in foreign relations, and concluded that the future revolution was absolutely unavoidable in China.²

² Ibid., MP. 25 and 26, passim.
During the publication of these two last issues, Wang Ching-wei was preparing for the realization of his assassination plan, and in some articles published in these last two issues he put forward his own justification of his actions. One such leading article was entitled "Revolutionary determination", and Wang Ching-wei signed it not with his usual pen-name Ching-wei, but with a new one - Shou-yüeh, which means "to attend to that which is of the most importance".

In that article he wrote that the revolutionaries should not be afraid of death and should not shrink from doing what they thought to be right. He stressed courage and the feeling of commiseration, which he illustrated by the following explanation. If a child fell into a well, it was natural for a person to rush forward to save him, without any calculations about the pro and con of such action.

We, revolutionaries, regard ourselves as fuel and pans. When put together, we can produce a meal. When the meal is ready - let our four hundred million people come and have a feast!¹

On this note Wang Ching-wei left his readers and departed for Peking to carry out his assassination plot.

¹ Wang Ching-wei, "Revolutionary determination", MP.26.[8].
With his departure Min-pao's publication finally came to an end.

CHAPTER V

MIN-PAO'S POLEMICS WITH TEN OPPONENTS

In the two preceding chapters Min-pao's basic ideology was studied in some detail. As we have seen, Min-pao always stood in direct opposition to the Ch'ing government and aimed to promote the overthrow of this government. However, Min-pao was an extreme expression of opposition to Ch'ing rule, and its aims and solutions were quite unacceptable to some forces of opposition.

Min-pao, as the spokesman for the revolutionary party, was in deep conflict with reformers. Even after the defeat of the Reform Movement of 1898, when the reform party had to consolidate its position overseas, reformers rejected revolution as the way to save China and engaged in verbal battles with the revolutionaries. One of Min-pao's main tasks was to defeat the reformers in ideological battle and convert their supporters to revolution.

At a later stage, in the middle of 1907, some of the ideas expressed in Min-pao, particularly its propaganda aimed at promoting nationalism and anti-Manchouism, were seen...
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At a later stage, in the middle of 1907, some of the ideas expressed in Min-pao, particularly its propaganda aimed at promoting nationalism and anti-Manchuism, were
contradicted by a revolutionary-anarchist journal

Hsin-shih-chi 新世紀 (New Century), published by a group
of Chinese anarchists in Paris, some of whom joined
T'ung-meng-hui. This was an argument within the
revolutionary camp.

Min-pao's polemics with Hsin-shih-chi did not attain
the importance of the anti-reform campaign, but it had a
bad effect on the revolutionary movement. The ideological
war with reformers strengthened the position of the
revolutionaries, because many young intellectuals were won
over by Min-pao, and on the whole one might say that
argument ended in Min-pao's favour. On the contrary, the
small dispute with Hsin-shih-chi was tied up with intra-
party antagonism and for that reason was harmful to the
movement as a whole.

Apart from these two main polemical battles, Min-pao
had only occasionally published critical articles or
refutations, directed against anti-revolutionary or anti-
nationalist ideas expressed in some periodicals or books.

Min-pao versus Hsin-min ts'ung-pao

The Reform Movement, led by the Chinese scholar and
philosopher K'ang Yu-wei, began in 1895 and reached its
peak in 1898, when K'ang Yu-wei won the support of the
young emperor. After the defeat of the movement K'ang Yu-wei and some of his followers managed to escape overseas, and in exile they continued their reform propaganda and established a network of organizations. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, K'ang's most important and brilliant follower, worked in Japan, where he published successful reform periodicals.

In these six years from 1895 to 1900 Sun Yat-sen and his followers made several attempts to cooperate with the reformers. In spite of the marked differences in ideas, the revolutionaries wanted to unite the two parties and work together for the salvation of China. The failure of these attempts at cooperation have been well described by Yen-p'ing Hao.

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1 Yen-p'ing Hao, "The Abortive Cooperation between Reformers and Revolutionaries (1895-1900)", Papers on China, vol.15, pp.91-114. His conclusion is that "as a result first of K'ang Yu-wei's emotional self-assertion and then Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's rational choice, the moves towards cooperation between reformers and revolutionaries never succeeded in bearing fruit, with tragic results for modern China" (p.110). He also points out that K'ang Yu-wei wished to have power and leadership in the modern movement, and this was the reason for his refusal to cooperate; moreover, he belonged to the scholar-gentry class and despised Sun Yat-sen and his rebels. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, who was at one stage willing to cooperate with Sun, was recalled from Japan to Honolulu by K'ang Yu-wei to prevent this cooperation. Later Liang also strongly opposed the revolutionaries.
The ideological war between the reformers and revolutionaries began long before the Min-pao's publication. From 1900 onwards the Hongkong revolutionary newspaper Chung-kuo jih-pao began to deliver attacks on the ideas expressed in the reform newspapers Shang-pao (Commercial Paper) of Hongkong and Ling-hai-pao (Canton) of Canton. In Japan, the revolutionary journal Kuo-min-pao became one of the first students' publications to attack reformers and their criticism of revolution. Its editor, Ch'in Li-shan, had worked for Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's journal Ch'ing-i-pao in 1899 and took part in 1900 in T'ang Ts'ai-ch'ang's uprising. After its defeat, he escaped to Japan, and, together with several other escapees, blamed K'ang and Liang for the failure of the uprising.

In 1902 K'ang Yu-wei published a book entitled Pien ko-ming shu (Discussion of Revolution); it was written in the spirit of opposition to rising revolutionary sentiment among overseas Chinese and in China itself. His main principles were opposition to anti-Manchuism, defence of the Manchu dynastic rule, and propaganda for constitutional monarchy.

In 1903 there appeared a refutation of K'ang's book - Po K'ang Yu-wei shu (Refutation of K'ang...
Yu-wei) written by Chang Ping-lin. At the same time the Shanghai revolutionary newspaper Su-pao, where Chang Ping-lin was one of the editorial writers, also launched an attack on the reformers. In 1903 this ideological battle between reformers and revolutionaries increased in scale, as can be seen from the reform and revolutionary press. When Su-pao was closed, Kuo-min-jih-jih pao continued anti-reform criticism. A collection of revolutionary articles, under the title Huang-ti-hun, was published as a direct answer to Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's earlier work Chung-kuo-hun (Spirit of China).

In 1904 Sun Yat-sen joined issue with an article, which appeared in the Honolulu revolutionary newspaper Lung-chi-pao (Abundant Records). In the same year the revolutionary newspaper Min-sheng jih-pao (People's Livelihood Daily) engaged in polemics with reform organ Hsin Chung-kuo pao (New China), both published in Honolulu. In San-Francisco in 1904 the revolutionary newspaper Ta-t'ung jih-pao (Cosmopolitan Daily) attacked the reform paper Wen-hsing pao (Literary Revival).  

1 For the detailed information about the polemics between reformers and revolutionaries see CHWH.I.vol.15.
Such was the state of relations between the reformers and revolutionaries prior to the appearance of Min-pao.

The influence of this early clash between reformers and revolutionaries may be seen, for example, from the following passage from the assassin Wu Yueh's posthumously published writings:

My friend gave me a book entitled Ko-ming-chün (Revolutionary army) to read, and I read it three times without putting the book down. It so happened that at that time Liao-ning was seized and all newspapers spread warnings, and then I realized that the loss of my motherland was dangerously close; all my former humble thoughts were transformed. However, I had not yet thought whether the dynasty was of an alien race or not. Some time later, that person lent me Ch'ing-i-pao. I have not yet finished reading it, when I realized that the author's ideas had become my own. I daily talked about the establishment of a constitution and every day I hoped for its establishment. I told people that the Empress Dowager obstructed the affairs of the state and the Emperor was sacred and illustrious. Those who were against K'ang and Liang criticized and opposed this, and I asked myself whether my trust in Liang's theories put me in his camp. Again, some time later, I read such revolutionary periodicals and books as Chung-kuo pai-hua pao (China Pai-hua Newspaper), Ching-chung-pao (Alarm-bell), Tzu-yu-hsüeh (Blood of Freedom), Sun I-shan (Sun Yat-sen), Hsin Kuang-tung (New Kwangtung), Hsin Hu-nan (New Hunan), Kuang-ch'ang-she (Elocuence), Jang-shu (To drive them out), Ching-shih-chung (Alarm-bell to Arouse the Age), Chin-shih Chung-kuo mi-shih (Secret history of modern China), Huang-ti-hun (The Spirit of Huang-ti), and thereupon my thoughts again changed. As for my ideas, I knew now that
formerly Liang's thoughts had almost misled me. Liang's propaganda for Manchu chieftains could be discussed in detail by those with revolutionary ideology, without waiting for my queries. I hate Liang's theories because they had misled me, but his misleading of my compatriots cannot be stopped. I would rather that my compatriots be unawakened stupid people of the Han race than be half-awakened by this Manchu running-dog.1

It was Min-pao's function to oppose not only reformers in general, but Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and his journal Hsin-min ts'ung-pao in particular. How did this come about?

Before the failure of the Reform Movement in the autumn of 1898, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao sincerely advocated political reforms, as K'ang Yu-wei envisaged them, but he did not remain in K'ang's shadow for long. After 1898, in the first few years of his exile in Japan, Liang became an ardent nationalist. His collection of articles "On the renovation of the people", published in 1902 in Hsin-min ts'ung-pao, expressed his belief that the people were the real substance of the state and that the people should be reformed first of all. At that time he wrote favourably about the revolution against the Manchus in order to destroy their inefficient regime. During this period, from 1898 to 1903, Liang was fairly close to the ideas of

1 "Wu Yüeh's writings", T'ien-t'ao, pp.1-2 of introduction
the revolutionaries and influenced many young students towards nationalism.

After his trip to America in 1903, Liang's ideas changed. Several factors brought this change: K'ang Yu-wei's constant pressure to keep Liang in the reform camp, the influence of the Swiss political scientist Bluntschli whose writings Liang first read in Japanese translations in 1903, antagonism towards the revolutionaries who kept attacking the reform camp, and Liang's disappointment in Western, particularly American, democracy, as he saw it during his 1903 trip. All this contributed to the appearance of new ideas in Liang's journal *Hsin-min ts'ung-pao*. He wrote now that there were no important differences between Chinese and Manchus, and instead of revolution against the Manchus, the Chinese should strive together with them to save China. Liang, using Bluntschli's ideas as proof, claimed that the Chinese people were not ready for a republican state.¹ This return to a more conservative thought cost Liang his undisputed influence among many young intellectuals. Many of them were introduced by him to the new ideas and

¹ On Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, see J. Levenson, *Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and the Mind of Modern China*; Y.C. Wang, *Chinese Intellectuals and the West*, pp.212-228.
thoughts of the revolution, and when he changed his views, many of them left him and sought new leaders. They turned to T'ung-meng-hui.

Liang's Hsin-min ts'ung-pao, Min-pao's chief opponent, was published with some interruptions for approximately four years; from the beginning of 1902 to the last quarter of 1907. Twenty-four issues were produced in each of these four years of publication, thus making the total number of Hsin-min ts'ung-pao issues ninety-six. Hsin-min ts'ung-pao reflected Liang's ideas and the changes in his ideas. Apart from being a platform for Liang and other reformers, it contained various interesting articles on an amazingly wide variety of subjects. Each section in Liang's journal provided its readers with new material for thought. His journal, though proscribed in China, was smuggled in and widely read among students and intellectuals. The influence of Hsin-min ts'ung-pao was great, especially in the first two years of publication, and the revolutionaries understood that they had to fight Hsin-min ts'ung-pao in order to win more ideological and financial supporters. They had a formidable enemy.

The ideological war between Min-pao and Hsin-min ts'ung-pao may be divided into three periods: from
November 1905 to April 1906; from April 1906 to March 1907; and from March 1907 to October 1907.

The first period, from November 1905 to April 1906, may be called a period of preliminary attacks. In the first three issues of Min-pao, which came out during this period, one can find many attacks on reformers and their ideas, particularly on Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, but there was not yet a single article, specifically written for and entirely devoted to refutation of Hsin-min ts'ung-pao. On the contrary, attacks on reformers seemed to be secondary topics in the articles otherwise devoted to discussion of other problems. Typical of such articles were Wang Ching-wei's 'Citizens of the nation' (MP. 1 and 2), Ch'en T'ien-hua's 'China should inaugurate a democratic form of government' (MP. 1), Wang Tung's 'Establishment of constitution in China must be preceded by revolution' (MP. 2), and several others. In these articles some of Liang's views were attacked, often involving his writings published two or three years previously. Min-pao also published a full text of the speech made by Hu Han-min in October 1905 at the meeting in memory of those who lost their lives in 1898 and 1900. This meeting was organized by the reformers and their supporters, but Hu Han-min
unexpectedly made his speech and severely attacked both K'ang and Liang.

Prior to the appearance of Min-pao, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao was, from time to time, attacked in the various revolutionary periodicals of Chinese students in Japan, mostly for his criticism of revolution. He always chose to ignore these attacks, apparently considering them unimportant. But Min-pao's attacks made him decide to answer his opponents. At that time, during the first period of ideological war, Liang became preoccupied with Ch'en T'ien-hua's views. It was perhaps due to the fact that Liang Ch'i-ch'ao regarded Ch'en highly and had little respect for other editorial writers of Min-pao.\footnote{Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Further discussion of the gain and loss from racial revolution and political revolution", HHSL.2.196 and 219.} Ch'en T'ien-hua had his share of doubts about the best way to save China, and at one time, early in 1905, was very close to the ideas of the reformers. However, since Sun Yat-sen's arrival to Japan and the establishment of T'ung-meng-hui, Ch'en T'ien-hua definitely joined the revolutionary camp. Yet his writings in Min-pao were more complex and more moderate than those, for example, of Wang Ching-wei. Liang and other reformers paid Ch'en the
compliment of special article which they published in Hsin-min ts'ung-pao after his suicide.¹

In his article "China should inaugurate a democratic form of government" (MP. 1), Ch'en T'ien-hua discussed and criticized some of Liang's ideas, though not referring to Liang directly, and in conclusion stated:

We consider that the only way to save China is to establish the people's sovereignty and adopt democracy. However, the initial step which will precede this is to adopt the system of enlightened despotism, which we consider to be preparation for people's sovereignty and democracy. The very first step is revolution.²

These words attracted Liang's attention, and he soon wrote a lengthy article, entitled "On enlightened despotism" (HMTP. 73-75, 77). It was written partly in reply to Ch'en's statements and partly to explain Liang's own views. In the first seven sections of the article he explained and discussed the idea of the system of enlightened despotism in great detail, and in the eighth, dealing with the application of enlightened despotism to China, he thoroughly attacked Min-pao and all its

¹ Fu-su, "Sad feelings concerning the patriot Ch'en's suicide", HMTP.74.
principles and ideas. What Liang had to say about revolution was so important to him that he interrupted publication of "On enlightened despotism" (HMTP.73-75, 77), and in the seventy-sixth issue of Hsin-min ts'ung-pao published another essay "Further discussion of the gain and loss from racial revolution and political revolution". This article, like "On enlightened despotism", was also prompted by Ch'en T'ien-hua's ideas, which were analyzed and criticized by Liang. This preoccupation of Liang with Ch'en's ideas did not prevent him from delivering very strong attacks on the views expressed by Sun Yat-sen, Wang Ching-wei and others, in the above-mentioned two articles.

In the "Further discussion of the gain and loss from racial revolution and political revolution" Liang criticized Min-pao's six principles in the following way:

I have just seen the six main principles, advocated by a Tokyo-published journal of the Racial Revolution Party; they are: 1) to overthrow the present evil government; 2) to establish a republican form of government; 3) to maintain true peace in the world; 4) to nationalize land; 5) to advocate cooperation between the citizens of China and Japan; 6) to seek help from every country in the world for the cause of China's renovation. When I saw

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1 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao quoted Min-pao's principles in the order given on the last page of every issue of Min-pao. For a different order, which was accepted in the discussions, see Hu Han-min, "Six main principles of Min-pao". MP.3.[1-22].
them, I became confused. I still do not know what they say.

The first principle, to overthrow the present evil government, contains the idea of political revolution, and though the words used are not very clear, it is quite reasonable.

As for the second, to establish a republican system, I have already, in this article and in Chapter 8 of my "On enlightened despotism", explained to them that this principle has no firm basis.

The third principle, to maintain true peace in the world, is expressed prematurely. You, gentlemen, should first maintain peace in our own country. When our country is independent, and other countries still have doubts about our savage disposition and intention to invade the whole world, then it will be the time for us to express ourselves.

As for the fourth - land nationalization - if you, gentlemen, were born in Utopia, then you could put it into practice, but since you still cannot escape from the real world, then you can talk about it only in order to amuse yourselves.

The fifth principle, to advocate cooperation between citizens of China and Japan, may be called a very strange one. If you mean as cooperation that which belongs naturally to international intercourse, then what country should not cooperate? Why talk only about Japan? If you talk about Japan, then, apart from Japan, would all other countries be opposed? If the so-called cooperation belongs to the sphere of legal matters, since you name citizens of the two countries, where does this cooperation come from? If it means to join Japan to China, it is wishful thinking. If it means to join China to Japan, then, although you, gentlemen, may wish to sell our country to Japan, I am afraid that our four hundred million people might not let you do it.

The sixth principle, to seek help from every country in the world for the cause of China's renovation, is also very strange. The cause of China's renovation is China's sovereignty - why should you ask people to help or not to help? The demands that you speak
about may not necessarily be complied with. And if by any chance the countries would not help, cannot we then have a renovation? Moreover, has not China already lost its qualifications for independence? Alas, I know what you mean: to demand other countries to recognize your new republican government, but you do not dare to say it clearly, and you change words to deceive yourselves...

To regard all this as a platform and to announce it to everyone is to show clearly to the people that in all the party there is not a single man with common sense. After I read your journal, I can truly say that, apart from Ch'en T'ien-hua's articles, there was not a single word that is not a dreamy talk in sleep. I cannot refute it all, for it would be a waste of brush and ink.

I have only discussed their platform so that together with learned people in our country we may criticize it.¹

These two articles and their criticism of all that Min-pao advocated apparently infuriated Min-pao's editors, and an open declaration of war followed. Thus began a second round of polemics, from April 1906 to March 1907, which was characterized by open and heated argument on a grand scale. It was primarily a battle between Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Wang Ching-wei, who was helped by Hu Han-min, Wang Tung, and other members of the Min-pao's editorial staff. In this period one may find not only articles, but whole issues of both Min-pao and Hsin-min ts'ung-pao devoted almost exclusively to polemics.

¹ Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Further discussion of the gain and loss from the racial revolution and political revolution", HHSL. 2.218-219.
Min-pao's declaration of war ran as follows:

The Main Points of Dispute between Min-pao and Hsin-min ts'ung-pao.

Recently Hsin-min ts'ung-pao, in its two essays published this year - "On enlightened despotism" and "Further discussion of the gain and loss from the racial revolution and political revolution" - discussed the great problem of China's destiny. The present journal considers that if the great problem of China's destiny was dealt with as Hsin-min ts'ung-pao suggests, China would immediately be lost. Therefore, from issue number four on, we shall emphatically state our criticism of it in the hope of solving this great problem together with our fellow-citizens. Now, first of all, we shall set forth the main points of dispute, in order to inform our readers.

1. Min-pao advocates a republic; Hsin-min ts'ung-pao advocates despotism.
2. Min-pao hopes for a democratic constitution for our citizens; Hsin-min ts'ung-pao hopes for enlightened despotism for the benefit of the government.
3. Min-pao regards the government as evil and therefore hopes for a national revolution; Hsin-min ts'ung-pao regards citizens as evil and therefore hopes for a despotic government.
4. Min-pao, hoping for a democratic constitution for our citizens, encourages education and revolution in order to achieve this aim; Hsin-min ts'ung-pao hopes to have enlightened despotism for the benefit of the government, but we do not know to what extent they may fulfil their hopes.
5. Min-pao advocates political revolution and racial revolution at the same time; Hsin-min ts'ung-pao advocates enlightened despotism for the benefit of the government and at the same time advocates political revolution.
6. Min-pao believes that national revolution, if regarded from the point of view of overthrowing despotism, is in fact political revolution, and if regarded from the point of view of expelling an alien race, is racial revolution; Hsin-min ts'ung-pao believes that
racial revolution and political revolution are mutually exclusive.

7. Min-pao believes that political revolution should be achieved by actual force; Hsin-min ts'ung-pao believes that political revolution should be achieved only by demands.

8. Min-pao believes that in the revolutionary cause only real force is important and it does not choose to make demands; Hsin-min ts'ung-pao believes that if demands are not complied with, one should still continue one's warnings.

9. Hsin-min ts'ung-pao believes that its warnings should include assassination and the refusal to pay taxes; Min-pao believes that assassination and the refusal to pay taxes are only part of the real force revolution, and that revolution should be a full-time occupation.

10. Hsin-min ts'ung-pao spreads slander about the revolution and encourages nihilist parties; Min-pao believes that nihilist parties all regard revolution as their aim and do not concern themselves merely with assassinations.

11. Min-pao believes that a republic is the aim of revolution; Hsin-min ts'ung-pao believes that revolution, on the contrary, will achieve despotism.

12. Min-pao, examining the future of the world, realizes that social problems should be settled and therefore advocates socialism; Hsin-min ts'ung-pao considers that socialism is simply an instrument to incite beggars and vagrants.

The twelve statements above are the main points of dispute. In the fourth issue of Min-pao, which will come out soon, some of these points will be settled, and from the fifth issue onwards we shall continue our dispute further, and we ask our citizens to make an honest decision on these problems.  

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1 "The main points of dispute between Min-pao and Hsin-min ts'ung-pao", MP.3. Special supplementary page at the end of the issue.
After this declaration of war in April 1906 the ideological war intensified. Thousands and thousands of words were written and printed in both Min-pao and Hsin-min ts'ung-pao; arguments and key statements were repeated over and over, some of them set out in heavy type in the text for greater emphasis; opponents accused each other of making grave and dangerous mistakes, of misunderstandings and blindness, of spreading lies and slander, of lack of knowledge of history, logic, law, politics, of the lack of patriotism, and so on. Min-pao's main representatives in this polemical war were Wang Ching-wei and Hu Han-min.

While during the first stage, the arguments put forward by both sides had been scattered haphazardly through a number of articles dealing ostensibly with other subjects, and attempted to cover the whole field of polemics, jumping from one point to another, now, in the second stage, as polemics became more and more heated and serious, both journals produced articles, which were entirely devoted to the criticism or defence of clearly defined viewpoints.

In the following analysis of the polemics between Min-pao and Hsin-min ts'ung-pao I do not propose to go into all the details of the ideological war, although this war
between reformers and revolutionaries forms a fascinating but barely explored topic for study.\(^1\) The aim here is to indicate the main points of disagreement between Min-pao and Hsin-min ts'ung-pao and to show the role of this dispute in Min-pao's general propaganda.

The backbone of Min-pao's ideology was Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People, and Min-pao's six principles expressed their practical application as seen by the leaders of T'ung-meng-hui at that time.

It is very important to note that Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, editor and main writer of Hsin-min ts'ung-pao, was not against any of the Sun's principles as such, and he was, in fact, one of the first Chinese intellectuals to introduce the ideas of nationalism, democracy, and socialism to China. It was the application of these ideas to contemporary China, as envisaged by Sun and his party that was entirely unacceptable to him. Min-pao clearly indicated from its first issue that nationalism (min-tsu

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\(^1\) Some aspects of the polemics on the issues of racial and political revolutions are described in M. Gasster, *Currents of Thought in T'ung-meng-hui*, Chapters III and IV, pp.73-174, and some aspects of the polemics on the issue of social revolution - in R. Scalapino and H. Schiffrin, "Early Socialist Currents in the Chinese Revolutionary Movement", JAS, XVIII, 3 (May 1959), pp.321-342.
chu-i) meant an anti-Manchu racial revolution, that democracy (min-ch'üan chu-i) meant a political revolution and the subsequent establishment of a republic in China; and that socialism or the principle of people's livelihood (min-sheng chu-i) meant a social revolution through land nationalization.

Liang Ch'i-ch'ao did not agree with this application of nationalism, democracy, and socialism. His main belief was that, for the time being, only political revolution was necessary for China. He wrote in Hsin-min ts'ung-pao:

In any case, the political revolution is the only way to save the country; the so-called racial revolution and social revolution, as everyone knows, are diversions which would bring no profit and only obstruct the realization of political revolution.¹

The political revolution, in Liang's view, was to be achieved through demands and not insurrections.² The result of such revolution should be the adoption of a system of enlightened despotism in order to prepare the country and the people for the establishment of a constitution in China.

¹ Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Miscellaneous answers to a certain journal", HMTP.84.1-2.
² Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "On enlightened despotism", HHSL.2.190.
Therefore, the ideological war between Min-pao and Hsin-min ts'ung-pao centered on the three main topics:

- Racial revolution and anti-Manchuiism
- Political revolution and a republic
- Social revolution and land nationalization

Racial revolution and anti-Manchuiism, as was said many times before, was the dominant and unifying factor of Min-pao's propaganda. Revolutionaries, from the very beginning of their movement, stated again and again that the Manchus were an evil alien race, and this alien and inferior race, using military force, conquered China and submitted it to its rule. The Manchus brought only suffering, distress, and humiliation to the Chinese people, and under their hateful yoke China became a 'lost' country, a wang-kuo.

Liang Ch'i-ch'ao looked at the situation from a different point of view. He wrote, explaining his views:

I have no affection for the Manchus....Whenever I read Ten Days of Yang-chou and the Massacre of the City of Chia-ting by the Manchu conquerors, my eyes overflow with warm tears. Therefore, several years ago, I advocated anti-Manchuiism; even though my teacher and my friends reprimanded me every day, I refused to change my mind, and even today my feeling is still the same....If there is a way with which one can save the nation and at the same time help us to take revenge against Manchus, I would certainly be delighted to follow it. Unfortunately, the two, the saving of the nation and the revenge, are incompatible, for to take revenge it is necessary to have violent revolution, and a
violent revolution must necessarily...terminate the life of the nation....I prefer to bear humiliation under the Manchu regime rather than become a man without a nation.¹

For Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, China was not a 'lost' country under Manchu rule; he feared that violent revolution would make the situation worse, and he did not want to be guilty of destroying his own country. He was prepared to state at a later stage that the Manchus were now in fact Chinese, just like other national minorities in China, and that they had become sufficiently assimilated by the Chinese. Moreover, they were China's former subjects and now became China's rulers, so that the present government was a Chinese government. The only necessary thing for China was the political revolution; racial revolution should be avoided at all costs, as its violence would bring innumerable disasters such as insurrections, foreign intervention, the partition of the country and the final destruction of China.

All these views, eloquently expressed by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao in such articles as "Further discussion of the gain

¹ Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Further discussion of the gain and loss from the racial revolution and political revolution", HHSL.2.237. The translation is from Li Chien-nung, The Political History of China, 1840-1928, transl. by S.Y. Teng and J. Ingalls, p.207.
and loss from racial revolution and political revolution" (HMTP.76), "Miscellaneous answers to a certain journal" (HMTP.84-86), "China is not lost" (HMTP.86), were in direct opposition to Min-pao's principles of nationalism and anti-Manchuiism. Liang Chi-ch'ao, who never mentioned Min-pao by its title, criticized a "certain paper's" (mou-pao 某報) theory of racial revolution and of dire necessity to overthrow the Manchu government. Since his articles of criticism and refutation were aimed at the same audience, which Min-pao wished to convert to revolution, Min-pao launched an attack on Hsin-min ts'ung-pao's defence of the Manchus.

In one of the several articles of refutation devoted to this side of polemics, with a revealing title "Upbraiding the shamelessness of the Manchu defenders", Wang Ch'ing-wei explicitly stated Min-pao's opinion about the Manchus and anti-Manchuiism. He began by saying:

If we want to discuss whether the Manchu conquest made China a lost country or not, we should first inquire whether the Manchu people belong to the Chinese people or not. This is the most important point. If the Manchu conquest did not make China a lost country, then this conquest was not different from all other inner disorders, and the result of inner disorder is rebellion against imperial rule, but not defeat of China. If, however, the Manchu conquest made China a lost country, then it was, in fact, a foreign aggression, and the result of foreign aggression is that China loses her power
and influence as a state and the Manchus use their power and influence over China. In such a case China is lost under the Manchu invasion.loom in China. In such a case China is lost under the Manchu invasion.  

His next step was to prove that the Manchus were not Chinese people. First of all, Wang Ching-wei argued, the Manchus had not gained Chinese nationality (Chung-kuo chih kuo-chi) in the Ming period, and even though they were said to have been subjects of China, they could not be called Chinese people. This absence of Chinese nationality was regarded by Wang as a factor of the utmost importance in considering the Manchu problem. Even though the Manchus had received some Chinese official ranks in the past, this fact alone did not qualify them to be Chinese. They had never been on the register of Chinese nationality, said Wang, and moreover, they were not assimilated within Chinese and had no desire to be so. They had never regarded themselves as people of China.  

The Manchus' attitude toward China before and after the conquest was not the same, but in both cases they were not the people of China... Before their conquest of China, the Manchus' attitude to China was that of foreigners, and

1 Wang Ching-wei, "Upbraiding the shamelessness of the Manchu defenders", MP.12.157-158.
2 Ibid., MP.12.158-172.
3 Ibid., MP.12.171.
after the conquest of China they acted like a
nation of conquerors. They cannot enter the
ranks of our citizens.¹

Wang Ching-wei further told his opponent Liang, to
whom he referred as "shameless defender of the Manchus",
and readers of *Min-pao* that before the Manchus established
their state, they were one of China's vassal states, and
after the establishment of their own state, they became an
enemy of China. When, as a result of military victory,
the Manchus conquered China and ruled there for more than
two hundred years, China was indeed lost.²

The only true responsibility of our people is to
get rid of these Tartars and restore China. Is
not our opponent Liang a Chinese? The pain of
the loss of the country cannot be forgotten for
a single day, and plans for the restoration
cannot be left for a single day.³

In conclusion, Wang Ching-wei discussed the aim of
anti-Manchuiism.

Our anti-Manchuiism is opposition to the evil
Tartars who destroyed our state, and it is not
opposition to a single evil ruler who usurped
our throne.⁴

¹ Wang Ching-wei, "Upbraiding the shamelessness of the
Manchu defenders", MP.12.172.
³ Ibid., MP.12.181.
⁴ Ibid., MP.12.182.
Wang further wrote that the conquerors and the conquered who lived side by side in one state were really like water and fire towards each other: entirely incompatible.

Several more articles written in the same spirit appeared in Min-pao during the period of its polemics with Hsin-min ts'ung-pao; they all claimed and produced various grounds of proof that ever since the Manchus had conquered China, China lost its sovereignty and that the present government was in no sense anything but a Manchu government. Some articles produced a great mass of historical data and various quotations to support statements that the Manchus had never been China's subjects, that at the end of Ming they were regarded as enemies, and so on. In these articles Liang was referred to as a shameless defender of the Manchus, as a person who treated bandits and traitors as his parents, and readers

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1 Wang Ching-wei, "Miscellaneous refutations of Hsin-min ts'ung-pao", MP. 10 and 11. The first two parts of this article, in MP. 10 and 11, are subtitled: "Ever since the Manchus had invaded China, it became a lost country, and the present government is a Manchu government and not Chinese government".

2 Liu Shih-p'ei, "The Manchus were never China's subjects", MP.14, 15, 18. Ssu-ku, "At the end of the Ming the Manchus were regarded in China as enemies". MP.20.
were asked to be careful of Liang's slander and lies and make their own judgement after reading the true facts presented by Min-pao. It was stated in Min-pao that in recent years the people of the Han race have all realized that 'those of a different kind should be hoed out' (fei-chung pi-ch'u 非種必锄), and so the theory of anti-Manchuism daily increased. However, the tiny minority of Manchu people also introduced anti-Han theories on a great scale. If we look at the Manchu and the Han nations, the former race, prior to its settling in China, was not only racially different from the latter, but also belonged to a different state. This can certainly be checked in the remaining records. However, the shameless followers of the Manchus, who treat these Manchu thieves as their fathers, say now that from the Ming times the Manchus had already been China's subjects. They further say that since the Manchus from being China's subjects became China's sovereigns, the state is not really lost. Therefore, they put forward the theory that China is not lost and they use it to block the mouths of those who are against the Manchus, and toady to the Manchus.¹

Anti-Manchuism was the most important point of disagreement between Min-pao and Hsin-min ts'ung-pao. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's rejection of anti-Manchu revolution as the way to save China caused a burst of eloquent defence of anti-Manchuism; it was also partly responsible for the intensification of this ideology in the third stage of

¹Liu Shih-p'ei, "The Manchus were never China's subjects", MP.14.39.
Min-pao's publication. But it was not the only point of disagreement.

Throughout the ideological war Liang Ch'i-ch'ao unswervingly held to his main conviction that "political revolution is the one and only way to save the country".¹

He advised his opponents writing for Min-pao that

If you wish to have racial revolution, you should advocate despotism and not a republic; if you wish to have political revolution, it should be achieved by demands and not by insurrections.²

Liang's interpretation of political revolution was that

...political revolution happens when despotism is uprooted and a constitution is established, no matter whether it is a constitutional monarchy or constitutional republic. If constitutionalism is not achieved, it does not matter whether the basic forms of the dynastic court or government undergo change, or whether monarchical despotism becomes republican despotism, it cannot be called political revolution.³

In Liang's opinion, China should have a gradual and peaceful revolution, as a result of which a system of

¹ Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Miscellaneous answers to a certain journal", HMTP.84.1-2.
² Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "On enlightened despotism", HHS.2.190.
³ Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Further discussion of the gain and loss from the racial revolution and political revolution", HHS.2.199.
enlightened despotism should be established as a preparation for the establishment of a constitution. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao challenged his opponents with his basic belief that at present China could on no account have a constitutional republic, and it was not yet ready even for a constitutional monarchy; only enlightened despotism was acceptable in the current situation.¹

Revolution, as planned by the Chinese revolutionary party, would, according to Liang, bring only great disaster to China. Liang explained to his opponents and to general readers:

Present-day China can certainly be called a despotic monarchy, and therefore if one wants to change it over to a constitutional republic, such a change must be preceded by revolution. However, revolution would never achieve a republic, but on the contrary would lead to despotism.²

Through the study of the works of Bluntschli, Bornhak and several other Western and Japanese political philosophers, popular among the Japanese and Chinese intellectuals of the day, Liang had derived his major premise, that "once all citizens had the ability to put parliamentary politics into practice, they had the

¹ Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "On enlightened despotism", HHSL.2.165.
² Ibid., HHSL.2.179.
qualities necessary to become republican citizens". He argued that present-day Chinese citizens had no ability to put parliamentary politics into practice, and so it was obvious that they were not ready for a republic. Since in China there were not yet people with the qualifications for republican citizens, plans for a constitutional republic should be abandoned for the time being. These republican qualifications (kung-ho tzu-ko 共和資格) could not be produced and reared in a short period of some months even under normal conditions, let alone by a revolutionary army and in a period of violence and disorder. China and its people were not ready for a constitutional republic.  

All these arguments put forward with Liang's usual eloquence and heavily supported by quotations from Western political philosophers, threatened Min-pao's position on political revolution in China. Min-pao immediately began
the defence of its plans to overthrow the monarchy and to establish a republic. Its editorial writers mounted a fierce counter-attack on Liang.

Wang Ching-wei was the main force behind this counter-attack. He produced a number of interesting articles, in which he argued Min-pao's case for a republic and democracy in China. He wrote in reply to Liang:

...our aim is to achieve constitutional democracy (min-ch'üan li-hsien 民權立憲).... However, our opponent states that the system of enlightened despotism should be used as a preparation for a constitution; therefore, his final aim is the establishment of a constitution, but not a constitutional democracy.... As for our plans, we think that present-day China cannot establish a constitution without revolution.

In several lengthy and eloquent articles Wang Ching-wei defended Min-pao's belief that without both racial and political revolutions no establishment of a constitution was possible in China. He stated that Chinese revolutionaries, together with all Chinese citizens, wanted to establish constitutional democracy in China, and it could be done only through revolution. China was oppressed by an alien and despotic government and had no hope of a peaceful democratic constitution, achieved by reasoning and demands.

1 Wang Ching-wei, "Refutation of Hsin-min ts'ung-pao's most recent anti-revolutionary article", MP.4.11-12.
2 Ibid., MP.4.1-43.
Wang Ching-wei also strongly criticized Liang's doubts about the ability of Chinese citizens. He maintained that the Chinese certainly had the qualifications necessary to be citizens of a republic. How could Liang imply by his statements that the Manchus would be able to establish a constitutional democracy and the Chinese would not?! Min-pao's statements on this topic were filled with strong anti-Manchu feelings and with the hopes for China's glorious future, and its optimism had more powerful appeal than Liang's doubts.

No less heated were the arguments over the third area of ideological warfare, namely, social revolution and land nationalization. While one writer in Min-pao claimed that "when Hsin-min ts'ung-pao had not attained its aim in its attacks on our anti-Manchuism, it had turned to the attack on our weaknesses and criticized our theory of land nationalization", in fact Liang Ch'i-ch'ao from the very beginning of the dispute had stated his definite disagreement with all three leading principles of Min-pao.

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2. Chu Chih-hsin, "Land nationalization and administration of finances", MP.15.67.
Occasional outbursts of criticism of Min-pao's program of social revolution may be found in the articles written by Liang in the early stage of the argument: in "On enlightened despotism" and "Further discussion of the gain and loss from racial revolution and political revolution". In addition, at a later stage in the polemics, Liang produced several leading articles, aimed entirely at the discreditation of Min-pao's min-sheng chü-i and land nationalization program. His lengthy essay, "Miscellaneous answers to a certain paper" (HMTP.84-86) had a special chapter entitled "Is a social revolution necessary in present-day China?" (HMTP.86).

Liang's answer to this question was that a social revolution was not necessary in China. He believed that the answer to China's economic problems should be found in industrial, not agricultural production. Land nationalization, as proposed by Min-pao, was particularly criticized by him, as entirely unsuitable. He offered his own solution: private capital should be encouraged and developed under the control of the state; however, public control should be introduced for such things as taxation, laws and regulations concerning utilities, factories, monopolies, and so on. Although Liang did not oppose socialism in principle, he said that what China needed was
some social reforms, carefully introduced and carried out under the future constitutional system.

In this disagreement over the solution of China's socio-economic problems, just like in disagreements over anti-Manchuism and republicanism, the editors of Min-pao had to defend their positions by providing the necessary explanations. While the defence of anti-Manchuism and of the republicanism in future China was comparatively easy to put forward, land nationalization program was admittedly Min-pao's weak point. However, they could not let Liang Ch'i-ch'ao to prevail here.

First of all, it was strongly denied that land nationalization, as Liang claimed, would result in violent and forcible seizure of the land of rich landowners. Sun Yat-sen, in his speech at the Min-pao's first anniversary celebration, stated that only the future increases in land prices would be taken by the state.

Min-pao editorial writers Hu Han-min and Wang Ching-wei, who counter-attacked Liang, explained to him and to readers that the aim of land nationalization, which was claimed to be identical with the equalization of land rights, was to do away with monopoly of land by a handful of rich people. They described then, how this might be achieved. The value of land would be estimated, and then
the land would be bought by the state. As a result of this, all the wealth from landownership would belong to the state, which would lease the land to farmers and invest capital in various future industries.

Min-pao basically agreed with Liang that China should be industrialized, but the methods chosen by revolutionaries were quite different from those proposed by Liang. The state would be the landlord and the future capitalist, and the state would have monopoly over industry, communications, and so on. Land nationalization was the first step to China's future industrialization. Of course, Min-pao editors conceded that it would be a gradual process because of the difficulties involved.¹

One of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's reasons for the rejection of revolution in general terms was that revolution would lead to internal disorder, foreign intervention and the partition of China. He wrote that foreign powers glared covetously at China and only the balance of power was preventing them from intervening and partitioning the country; and he warned that once insurrection broke out in

¹ Hu Han-min and Wang Ching-wei, "Replying to the critics of the principle of people's livelihood", MP.12.45-155.
China, foreign powers would move in and dismember the country as they wished.¹

Min-pao had to defend its constant call to revolution against this impressive argument. Wang Ching-wei wrote:

Hsin-min ts'ung-pao put forward the theory that revolution would create inner disorder.... Therefore, our journal should make its position clear: 1) political revolution should be carried out simultaneously with racial revolution; 2) social revolution should be carried out simultaneously with political revolution; 3) revolution would not lead to partition; 4) revolution would not lead to internal disorder. ...The first two matters concern the main body of our principles...and the second two concern the practical application of our principles.²

To counter Liang's influence, Min-pao explained to its readers that

The revolutionary case regards construction as its aim and destruction as its method. Speaking about racial revolution, we regard the restoration of the national state as our aim and the destruction of the influence of an alien race as our method. Speaking about political revolution, we regard the speedy establishment of constitutional democracy as our aim and the destruction of the present evil government as our method. Speaking about social revolution, we regard the realization of state socialism as

¹ Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Further discussion of the gain and loss from the racial revolution and political revolution", HHSL.2.215.
² Wang Ching-wei, "Refutation of the theory that revolution would cause inner disorder", MP.9.27.
our aim and the destruction of our imperfect socio-economic organization as our method.¹

Min-pao's editors argued that revolution would create neither the internal disorder (nei-luan 内亂 ) nor partition of the country (kua-fen 瓜分 ), and that on the contrary, revolution would stop these disasters. It was said that the reason for the danger of partition lay in China's inability to be independent, which in its turn made world peace uncertain. The Manchus were naturally blamed for China's sad position on the international scene, and it was claimed that their removal would make China strong and independent.²

When in March 1907 Wang Ching-wei and Hu Han-min left Japan to follow the exiled Sun Yat-sen to South-East Asia, the ideological war was already gradually coming to an end. During this third last period from March 1907 to October 1907 polemical battle was continued by other members of the editorial staff of Min-pao, but by that time most of what was to be said, had been said by both sides. The actual polemics between Min-pao and Hsin-min ts'ung-pao

¹ Wang Ching-wei, "Refutation of the theory that revolution would cause inner disorder", MP.9.28.
virtually ended by the middle of 1907, though several articles, outlining general state of things between the reformers and revolutionaries, appeared in both periodicals for some time.¹

This last period of the ideological battle was also marked by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's attempts to establish a new political society Cheng-wen-she (Political Learning Society) in July 1907. Revolutionaries' warfare against Liang and his group immediately spread to this new society. The main aims of this organization were the establishment of parliament in China, collation of laws and judicial independence, local self-government, and equal rights in international relations. When Cheng-wen-

¹ There were two attempts to stop the dispute, both initiated from Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's side. In August 1906, there appeared in Hsin-min ts'ung-pao a letter entitled "Remonstration to stop the dispute" (HMT p. 83); it was signed Fu-kung which is most probably pen-name of Liang's close follower Hsü Fu-su 徐佛蘇. However, revolutionaries had no intention of having an armistice, and the suggestion was rejected by Min-pao. See Wang Ching-wei, "Reply to Fu-kung", MP.9.101-111, and T'an-fu, "Reformation of Fu-kung's 'Remonstration to stop the dispute'", MP.10. In January 1907 Hsü Fu-su again made an attempt to reconcile two sides. He approached Sung Chiao-jen with Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's proposal to discontinue the refutations. (Sung, Diary, Jan. 10, 11, 31, 1907). Min-pao's editors again would not agree to this. Their rejection of reconciliation shows that they, feeling confident in their success, wanted to defeat Liang to the end and thus to win more ideological and financial supporters.
she had its first meeting in Tokyo, numerous Chinese and Japanese from intellectual circles in Tokyo attended it. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, however, was rudely interrupted in the beginning of his inaugural speech by a group of revolutionaries, including some members of Min-pao's editorial staff, who came to the meeting for this purpose, and managed to take command of it and disperse it. This event was duly reported in Min-pao.\footnote{Chang Ping-lin, "The circumstances of the break-up of Cheng-wen-she meeting", MP.17.[1-8], inserted after p.108; Chang Ping-lin, "True circumstances of the dissolution of Cheng-wen-she", MP.24.74-77.} But the ideological aspect of the Min-pao's dispute with Liang Ch'i-ch'ao was not revived by this incident. In October 1907 Hsin-min-ts'ung-pao ceased publication and by that time the dispute was dead. Strangely enough, the event brought no special comment from Min-pao.

It had already been pointed out in the beginning of this chapter that the dispute between reformers and revolutionaries started before the appearance of Min-pao. However, prior to 1906 it was confined to several isolated shots.

At the time when Min-pao began to be published, there were no significant revolutionary periodicals in exile,
and so Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's Hsin-min ts'ung-pao, the leading organ of reformers, was quite popular. Min-pao, as a leader of revolutionary press, stood in direct opposition to Hsin-min ts'ung-pao, and the polemics between these two was, therefore, of a great importance to both camps. It also explains the intensity and consistency of the disagreement.

Soon Min-pao's refutation of the views expressed in Hsin-min ts'ung-pao was supported by newly-published periodicals of similar views, particularly by Fu-pao. Then the dispute also spread to newly-appeared revolutionary press in the Chinese communities of South-East Asia, America, and Australia. Following Min-pao's example, they criticized local reform periodicals. Especially notable was the ideological dispute between revolutionary newspaper in Singapore, Chung-hsing jih-pao 中興日報, and reformers' Tsung-hui pao 總匯報, which went on after Min-pao's dispute with Hsin-min ts'ung-pao had ended. When Hu Han-min and Wang Ching-wei joined Chung-hsing jih-pao's editorial staff in 1908, they resumed their attacks on reformers, as they did it in Min-pao.²

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¹ See HHSL.2.543-557.
² See CHWH.I. vol. 15, pp.625-726.
The significant point about the dispute between Min-pao and Hsin-min ts'ung-pao was that it helped Min-pao editors to enlarge, develop, and clarify its principles, thus making them more understandable and acceptable to readers. It is difficult to imagine what kind of journal Min-pao would have been without this polemics and what kind of propaganda material would have filled the space occupied by polemical articles. Without wishing to overestimate the importance of this dispute, it still can be said that it greatly supported and strengthened Min-pao's position and helped it in its propaganda. Min-pao's defence of its first three principles, the explanations, proofs, and arguments, which were supplied in the course of that defence, made them more widely known and readily understandable to its readers.

Min-pao versus Hsin-shih-chi

In addition to the serious ideological dispute with Hsin-min ts'ung-pao, which lasted nearly two years, Min-pao had an important disagreement with the periodical Hsin-shih-chi 新世紀 (The New Century). This journal was published weekly from June 22, 1907, to May 21, 1910, by a group of Chinese anarchists in Paris. The chief editors were Li Shih-tseng 李石曾, Chang Ching-chiang
the last-mentioned soon becoming leader of the group. For almost a year after it was first published, Hsin-shih-chi did not clash on any ideological issue with Min-pao. In fact, they carried advertisements for each other.

There is no doubt that Min-pao and Hsin-shih-chi had a lot more in common than Min-pao and Hsin-min ts'ung-pao. Both Min-pao and Hsin-shih-chi were published by T'ung-meng-hui members and both were revolutionary organs in a sense that both wanted destruction of the present order in China. The difference was that while Min-pao might be called basically nationalist, democratic and socialist, Hsin-shih-chi was predominantly anarchist. Young anarchists of Hsin-shih-chi are well characterized by R.A. Scalapino and G.T. Yu as

...anti-religion, anti-traditionalist, anti-family, anti-libertine, anti-elitist, anti-government, anti-militarist, and anti-nationalist. They were pro-science, pro-freedom, pro-humanist, pro-violence, pro-revolution, pro-communist, and pro-universalist. ¹

Although Min-pao and Hsin-shih-chi did not clash at first, there was in this difference of outlook enough to make it likely that they would fall out sooner or later.

Added to the difference between the nationalist-democratic-socialist approach of Min-pao and the anarchist spirit of Hsin-shih-chi was an important element of personal enmity between the editors of the journals.

Long before the dispute broke out in the pages of Min-pao nationalist students in Tokyo under Min-pao's influence wrote critical letters to Hsin-shih-chi in Paris. They argued that, although anarchism as a theory had many good points, it was too impractical to adopt as platform. Anarchist rejection of any form of government or organization would make the revolutionary movement impossible. Nationalist revolution should be the first step for China. Hsin-shih-chi editors replied to their critics that instead of advocating the overthrow of the Manchu government, Chinese people should, first of all, aim at the downfall of monarchy in China. Nationalism was a narrow and backward ideology, which involved principle of revenge and hatred.¹

It is unlikely that these letters of Chinese students in Tokyo were sufficient in themselves to spark a full controversy.

Open disagreement was all the more likely in view of the personal enmity between Chang Ping-lin and Wu Chih-hui, the main editors of the journals in question.\footnote{In addition to what follows, it is also possible that their enmity further developed because Wu Chih-hui and his Paris colleagues took Sun Yat-sen's side, when, in the middle of 1907, T'ao Ch'eng-chang, Chang Ping-lin and several other members of T'ung-meng-hui attempted to dispose of Sun Yat-sen as a leader.} In 1901-1903 Chang Ping-lin, Wu Chih-hui, and another Chinese intellectual Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei 蔡元培 (1867-1940) were the leaders of progressive and revolutionary activities in the Shanghai student world. They established such organizations as Chung-kuo chiao-yü hui 中國教育會 (Chinese Educational Society) and Ai-kuo hsüeh-she 愛國學社 (Patriotic Society). In 1903 Chang Ping-lin and Wu Chih-hui joined the editorial staff of the Shanghai newspaper Su-pao. When the famous Su-pao case began, Chang Ping-lin stayed in Shanghai, thus letting himself be arrested, and the young author of Ko-ming-chün Tsou Jung came forward on his own. They were tried and sentenced to three years imprisonment, while Wu Chih-hui and some other members of the Su-pao staff managed to escape overseas. Chang Ping-lin and Tsou Jung's behaviour was reminiscent of that of the martyrs of 1898, when, it is said, some of them...
refused an opportunity to escape in order to die for the cause.

When Chang Ping-lin was released from prison and became editor of Min-pao, he wrote a biography of his dead comrade Tsou Jung, "The biography of Wei-tan", which appeared in the Japanese pro-revolutionary journal Kakumei hyōron (Revolutionary Review), number ten. In this account of Tsou Jung's life, Chang Ping-lin recalled events of the Su-pao case and accused Wu Chih-hui of cowardly behaviour at that time. When this accusation came to Wu Chih-hui's attention, he was in Paris working for Hsin-shih-chi, and he wrote to Chang, demanding proof of the statements and denying the accusations. An exchange of bitter and sarcastic letters followed.\(^1\)

After the first exchange of these vituperative letters between Chang Ping-lin and Wu Chih-hui, Chang Ping-lin wrote two articles which he published in twenty-first issue of Min-pao, both attacking the ideas expressed in Hsin-shih-chi. One article was entitled "Just discussion on anti-Manchuism", in which Chang strongly

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\(^1\) See Chang Ping-lin, "Reply to Wu Ching-heng", MP.19.115-118 and Chang Ping-lin, "Another reply to Wu Ching-heng", MP.22.131-135. Wu Chih-hui's letters may be found in HSC.28, 44 and 63.
defended anti-Manchuism and criticized anarchism. He wrote that although a ladle made of jade was precious, it was not suitable for practical use, and so it should not be employed; the same was true for philosophies which were too deep and mysterious for practical application.

Anarchism is not appropriate in present situation in China, and so it should not be applied. Its theories are shallow, incomplete, and cannot be compared to a philosophy. If we truly want all common people to have equality and freedom, then we declare that anarchism is not as good as wu-sheng chu-i 無生主義; and when we turn to China's urgent and critical situation at the present time, we declare that anarchism is not as good as nationalism. At present those who oppose anti-Manchuism are not much different from the constitutional party.  

Then Chang proceeded to defend anti-Manchuism against various attacks. Some people, he wrote, claimed that the Chinese nation came originally from western regions, seized lands of the Miao people and had kept them ever since. So, when the Han people think that Manchus, the invaders, should be opposed, they should look back at the Miao people whom they themselves invaded. Chang's answer to this statement was that there was no reliable historical evidence to prove that the Han race came from

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the West or that the Miao race was the first to settle. He embarked upon lengthy discussion of the argument, quoting from various historical texts, and finally concluded that from existing historical evidence it was obvious that the Han race had lived on Chinese soil prior to the Miao race.  

Another argument against anti-Manchuism was that it was immoral to inflict revenge upon sons and grandsons of those who invaded China long ago. Chang replied to that, that although guilt for crimes should not be transmitted from fathers to sons, the case of invasion was quite different. Chinese territory and Chinese political power had been seized by the Manchus in the past, and their descendants continued to keep it that way. Since they continued to hold on to what had been invaded, they were basically no different from the original invaders. "For this reason - wrote Chang - opposition to the Manchus is opposition to their imperial house, their officials, their officers and soldiers".  

1 Chang Ping-lin, "Just discussion on anti-Manchuism", MP.21.5.  
2 Ibid., MP.21.11.  
3 Ibid., MP.21.11.
He further wrote:

The Manchu government will never yield invaded territory and retreat of its own accord. The Han race certainly knows that this cannot be hoped for, and so we advocate anti-Manchuism. Manchu people who are attached to the government should be opposed by the Han race, and if the Han people are employed by that government, they become traitors to the Han and should be opposed along with the Manchus.¹

Throughout the entire article Chang never mentioned Hsin-shih-chi by name and his criticism of anarchism was confined to several lines on the first page; the rest of the article being an eloquent defence of anti-Manchuism. However, it was quite clear to all concerned who was the object of Chang Ping-lin's criticism. Hsin-shih-chi, ever since its appearance in June 1907 had criticized nationalism and especially anti-Manchuism. Its main argument ran as follows: the Chinese people should oppose monarchy as such, no matter whether it was a Manchu or a Han monarchy;² nationalism was really a kind of revenge, and the Miao people, who had lived in China long before

² Chen (pen-name), "A letter to Hsin-shih-chi from a certain person and answer". HSC.8.2-3.
the Han, had every right to inflict revenge upon the Han people for their invasion.¹

Min-pao also took exception to Hsin-shih-chi's propaganda in favour of the adoption of Esperanto.² This propaganda was in full accord with Hsin-shih-chi's general spirit of universalism.

Hsin-shih-chi advocated not reform or modernization of the Chinese written language, as was done by a number of individuals and societies in the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century,³ but the complete abolition of Chinese language and the adoption of Esperanto, which was known in Chinese as 'international language' (wan-kuo hsin-yü 萬國新語). Hsin-shih-chi had even carried a subtitle in Esperanto - La Tempoj Novaj (later changed to La Novaj Tempoj). In fact, the idea of an international

¹ Min (pen-name), "An extended discussion on the differences and similarities of nationalism, democracy, and socialism, and another reply to the letter on the interesting meaning of the opening statement of Hsin-shih-chi" 6.3-4.
² See, for example, articles "International language" (HSC. 6.3), "Report on International Language Society" (HSC.10.2), as well as items about the international language (Esperanto) in HSC.34, 35, 36, 40, 44, 45.
³ John de Francis, Nationalism and Language Reform in China, pp.39-42.
language like Esperanto was also rather popular among some of the Japanese anarchists. Japanese anarchist leader Kōtoku Shūsui, speaking at the inaugural meeting of the Society for the Study of Socialism in August 1907, apologized for speaking in Japanese and said that the international language would soon be spoken by all of them.¹

On the other hand, Chang Ping-lin who wrote the appropriate articles for Min-pao, was very much interested in traditional Chinese linguistics and advocated its study. He was not against modernization of Chinese writing, but his ideas on the preservation of the national heritage were in sharp contrast with Hsin-shih-chi's ideas of replacing Chinese language by Esperanto. Therefore, in the twenty-first issue of Min-pao his article "Refuting the argument regarding China's adoption of the international language" was published. This article is interesting not only for the criticism of Hsin-shih-chi's idea of the adoption of Esperanto, but also because Chang Ping-lin put

forward his own scheme for phonetic writing of Chinese language. ¹

Several more articles of criticism, written by Chang Ping-lin, followed and produced replies and counter-attacks from Hsin-shih-chi, but the ban on Min-pao in October 1908 cut this dispute short before it became too serious. ²

Such disagreements between Min-pao and Hsin-shih-chi over language reform and far more important disagreements over anti-Manchuiism were not beneficial to the revolutionary movement as a whole. These ideological clashes were intensified not only by the personal enmity between Chang and Wu, but also by the support which was given to Sun Yat-sen by Wu and his group at the time of Chang-Sun feud. These events produced ill-feeling, lack of cooperation, and distrust in the party. After the banning of Min-pao, Hsin-shih-chi published several small articles, bewailing the fact that the revolutionary movement should be rocked by clashes and disputes.

¹ Chang Ping-lin, "Refuting the argument regarding China's adoption of the international language", MP.21.49-72.
Apart from the two main battles with Hsin-min ts'ung-pao and Hsin-shih-chi fought by Min-pao in defence of its unrelenting anti-Manchuism and other points of its program, there were several isolated skirmishes with views expressed by individual writers.

Yen Fu's translation, with comments, of Edward Jenks' History of Politics (title of the Chinese translation was She-hui t'ung ch'üan 社會通誼) was, for example, criticized in Min-pao on several occasions. Yen Fu, an outstanding translator and commentator of many important Western works, such as Thomas Huxley's Evolution and Ethics, Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations and others, also searched for way to save China. In 1904-1905 he became convinced that the reforms introduced by the Manchu government would bring the right solution, and therefore opposition to the Manchus was regarded by him as extremely harmful. He strongly criticized nationalism and anti-Manchuism, declaring that these views were backward, retrogressive and harmful to modernization and progress.

These particular views of Yen Fu were criticized briefly by Wang Ching-wei in his "Citizens of the nation" in the first issue of Min-pao. Then in the second issue

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a special article "The most recent political views of Mr Yen of Hou-kuan", written by Hu Han-min, dealt with Yen Fu's criticism of nationalism and revolution.\(^1\) Hu Han-min stated in defence of the views of revolutionaries that only the superior Han race could achieve China's survival and happiness and it would be possible only with the expulsion of the inferior Manchus.

At a much later stage, in 1907, in the thirteenth issue of Min-pao, Chang Ping-lin published a leading article of his own, which was devoted entirely to Yen Fu's translation and comments of History of Politics.\(^2\) Like Hu Han-min, Chang criticized Yen Fu's interpretation of Chinese society and nationalism.

This criticism of Yen Fu's ideas is easily understood in the light of the fact that he, like Liang Ch'i-ch'ao in Hsin-min ts'ung-pao and Chinese anarchists in Hsin-shih-chi, though for different reasons, was undermining Min-pao's stronghold - nationalism.

Several Japanese newspapers were criticized, rather moderately, for various articles on China, which, in the

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1 Hu Han-min, "The most recent political views of Mr Yen of Hou-Kuan", MP.2.[1-17].

opinion of the Min-pao's editors, misinterpreted the true situation. For example, when in December 1906 P'ing-liu-Li uprising drew attention to China's revolutionary ferment, the event was discussed in the Japanese press. One newspaper, Kokumin shimbun, had criticized and mocked the uprising and the activities of Chinese revolutionaries. Min-pao took it as its task to give a reply. Hu Han-min, who wrote the reply, first of all criticized the reporter of Kokumin shimbun for his lack of knowledge of Chinese modern history, of China's relations with the rest of the world and the true fact of the Chinese revolutionary party. He wrote:

I am a member of the Chinese revolutionary party, and so I would like to reveal some misconceptions and correct the mistakes of your paper in connection with the problem of the Chinese revolution.

In this reply, again, as in almost all the articles of disagreement and refutation, the principle of nationalism was defended. Hu began his reply with the usual explanation that in a state where two antagonistic nations existed side by side, with the inferior minority

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1. The article was titled "Chinese revolutionary party" and appeared in Kokumin shimbun on January 9, 1907.
ruling over the superior majority, the only possible solution was to overthrow that rule.\(^1\) However, in direct contradiction to what *Kokumin shim bun* stated, Chinese revolutionaries did not blindly regard the Manchu government and the Manchu people as enemies; the anti-Manchuism which the Chinese revolutionary party advocated was not simply confined to the principle of revenge. Hu Han-min conceded that radical people's organizations in Chinese history had aimed at the extermination of the Manchu race, but that the present revolutionary party aimed only at the overthrow of the Manchu government and the restoration of the Han sovereignty. Revenge would never be directed at the Manchu people as such.\(^2\)

Apart from several articles of criticism directed at certain individuals or publications, *Min-pao* primarily stood in opposition to reformers and anarchists. As far as dispute with *Hsin-min ts'ung-pao* is concerned, it was mainly a disagreement between extreme force of opposition and a moderate one. Both journals

\(^1\) Hu Han-min, "Letter to *Kokumin shim bun* about the Chinese revolutionary party", MP.11.125.
\(^2\) Ibid., MP.11.126.
stood in opposition to the Ch'ing; however, one wanted revolution, and another - gradual reforms. It can probably be said that their dispute ended to Min-pao's advantage, because readers of both journals consisted mostly of young intellectuals, for whom the idea of sweeping the old, rotten, alien government and creating something new and modern was more appealing than gradual changes and enlightened despotism. Min-pao's ideas were in tune with the spirit of the decade and suited feelings of young intellectuals. The dispute itself was helpful to Min-pao's propaganda, as it enabled Min-pao to enlarge and explain its principles to a greater extent. After all, the aim of the polemics was not only to prove which side and which viewpoint was right, but also to win more supporters.

In case of the dispute with Hsin-shih-chi, the picture was quite different. Here both journals belonged to the revolutionary camp, and so their dispute was harmful to the movement. Hsin-shih-chi was the most extreme force of opposition, but the impracticability of its ideas and solutions made it rather pointless. It probably was not very popular among Chinese intellectuals, because it was too radical and too extreme. Min-pao had not bothered to criticize Hsin-shih-chi for nearly a year,
and it is quite possible that the personal animosity
between Chang Ping-lin and Wu Chih-hui made Chang pay
close attention to the anarchist journal and criticize it.

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primarily interested in the propaganda of revolution in
all its aspects and the defense of this propaganda against
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CHAPTER VI

MIN-PAO FURTHERS ITS AIMS

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This is well illustrated by the structure of the journal itself. Every issue began with the table of contents and several pages of illustrations. Then several
leading articles followed; some discussed one or the other aspect of revolutionary ideology, others attacked Hsin-min ts'ung-pao or other opponents. These leading articles usually occupied about half of each issue but occasionally took up as much as two-thirds of an issue. There was about 130-150 pages in each number. The second half of the issue was usually occupied by miscellaneous material of a lighter nature, grouped under various headings, such as Comments on Current Events, Contributed Articles, Novels, Translations, Collection of Short Notes, Record of Events, Collection of Short Pieces, Letters to the Editor, and Appendix. Not all of them appeared regularly in every issue.

Another notable point in this connection was that in most issues the pages were numbered in two ways: on the top of the page there usually was the number of the page of the journal in arabic numerals, and on the side of the page, as was customary in Chinese books, there was the number of the page of the article itself in Chinese numerals. For example, in the eighth issue of Min-pao Chang Ping-lin's article "Revolutionary morality" was on the pages 13-32 of the issue, and also had its own inside number of pages in Chinese - pages 1-20. The same applied to the above-mentioned sections. It was most
probably done for the following purpose: the issue could be easily pulled apart into individual articles and sections, which would then be smuggled, distributed or reprinted more conveniently. It is probable that articles of great importance were reprinted and distributed separately.

The miscellaneous small sections of the last half of each issue contained material of an interesting, semi-entertaining semi-educational nature. Sometimes they served as a kind of illustration to the theoretical matter in leading articles. Although they were included in the journal ostensibly to entertain readers with material of a lighter nature and to make the journal more lively and appealing, nevertheless, all this material aided the propaganda of revolution in many indirect ways. One hesitates to say how deliberate this selection of material was. It is more probable that Min-pao's editors, living as they were in the intellectual centre of Tokyo exiles, had varied interests, and their constant preoccupation with the idea of the Chinese revolution subconsciously influenced their choice of the additional material to enliven their journal.

While all this miscellaneous material was not outwardly much different from that of other Chinese
journals of the time, in Min-pao almost everything was marked with an undercurrent of revolutionary thought. In that sense, nothing was wasted in Min-pao.

Many illustrations and small articles were devoted to the memory of heroes of the Chinese revolutionary movement, both in the past and present. On the one hand, personal friendship with such heroes prompted Min-pao's editors to honour their dead comrades, and on the other hand their lives served as an example and illustration of what was said in the ideological articles.

Similarly there were illustrations, articles, and novels devoted to the revolutions and revolutionaries of other countries, particularly those of Russia, India, and some Asian countries; such entries served as an example, education, entertainment, and additional propaganda.

Interest in the socialist-anarchist movements of the world was also exhibited in Min-pao's pages, thus widening the intellectual horizons and reinforcing propaganda.

All this material, which on the surface appeared to be of secondary importance to the main ideological issues discussed in leading articles, had its own high propaganda value. Min-pao's consistency and intensity of propaganda in this direction was indeed remarkable.
Min-pao's editors apparently thought that no matter how eloquent and persuasive the theoretical propaganda for revolution, the journal must produce historical and contemporary examples of its doctrines, it must have its heroes who devoted their lives and finally died for revolutionary cause.

For this reason Min-pao devoted some of its pages to the heroes of the Chinese revolutionary movement. There was a set of three portraits, entitled "Great men of the Chinese national revolution", in the fifth issue of Min-pao. The three great revolutionaries selected by Min-pao were Chu Yuan-chang, Hung Hsiu-ch'üan, and Sun Yat-sen. This selection is very interesting. Chu Yuan-chang, at one time a Buddhist novice and later a wanderer, drove the Yuan Mongols out and became first emperor of the Chinese Ming dynasty. Hung Hsiu-ch'üan was the Taiping leader who considered himself the son of God and the saviour of China. The founder of the Ming dynasty and the Taiping leader were traditional and romantic heroes of China's struggle against all foreign invaders.

Hung Hsiu-ch'üan was particularly admired by Sun Yat-sen in his student days; Sun used to call him "the most significant anti-Manchu hero", and some of Sun's friends
even nicknamed Sun "Hung Hsiu-ch'üan".\(^1\) Books about the Taiping rebellion, such as *T'ai-p'ing chün-chan chi* (太平軍戰記) (reprinted in Tokyo in 1894), *T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo chan-chi* (太平天國戰記) (Tokyo, 1904), were widely read by Chinese students in Japan.

By including Sun Yat-sen's photograph in this set of the "Great men of the Chinese national revolution", the *Min-pao* editors wanted to say that he was the one to continue the cause of the first Ming emperor and of the Taiping leader. This issue, the only one with Sun's photograph, came out in June 1906, when Sun was away from Japan. By this time Sun's reputation as a revolutionary leader was well-established in the Chinese overseas world; moreover, he was the president of *T'ung-meng-hui*, the highest possible post in the Chinese revolutionary movement. At that time, in 1905-1906, his influence in *T'ung-meng-hui* was great. Ch'en T'ien-hua wrote in *Min-pao* that Sun Yat-sen was not only a national hero, but in his greatness belonged to the whole world,\(^2\) and that in worshipping Sun Yat-sen he really worshipped nationalism and its future

\(^1\) Ch'en Shao-pai, *A brief revolutionary history of Hsing-Chung-hui*, HHKM.1.24.

\(^2\) Ch'en T'ien-hua, "Report on the welcome given to Sun Yat-sen by the Chinese students in Tokyo", MP.1.68.
It is said that Sun Yat-sen's photograph used to be on the wall in the Min-pao office. In 1907 this cult of Sun had diminished due to various disagreements with Huang Hsing, Chang Ping-lin and some members of T'ung-meng-hui.

In another issue there was also a set of three photographs - Chang Ping-lin, Tsou Jung, and Shih Chien-ju 史堅如. At the time of the appearance of these photographs, Chang Ping-lin had just arrived in Tokyo and accepted the editorship of Min-pao. In the middle of 1906 Chang Ping-lin's popularity among revolutionaries and their supporters was no less than that of Sun Yat-sen. A young comrade of Chang Ping-lin, the talented writer Tsou Jung, died in prison just a few months before his release was due. This young man had been a devoted and active revolutionary all his short life; his famous pamphlet Ko-ming-chün was known to all revolutionaries. Chang Ping-lin deeply mourned the untimely death of his young friend, and it was only natural that his photograph should appear in Min-pao. A third hero in this set of
photographs was Shih Chien-ju, who was executed in 1900 for an assassination attempt on the life of the Manchu governor-general of Canton, Te-shou 德壽. Although he died so early in the course of the Chinese revolutionary movement, his name was not forgotten. Shih Chien-ju's name was used as a secret password for the meetings of early pre-T'ung-meng-hui revolutionary groups.¹

Analyzing the selection of these two sets of portraits of national heroes in the fifth and sixth issues of Min-pao, one notices that the honour was equally distributed between the distant past and the more recent times. The Ming emperor and Taiping leader symbolized the historical struggle of China for its independence; Tsou Jung and Shih Chien-ju were heroes of a more recent stage of modern revolutionary movement, and Sun Yat-sen and Chang Ping-lin were the leading figures of the contemporary movement.

As the revolutionary movement developed and grew in China, new heroes appeared, and Min-pao honoured them. The whole gallery of Chinese patriots pass before one's eyes as one leafs through Min-pao.

¹ Tsou Lu, 1.27.
There were photographs and writings of the unsuccessful assassin Wu Yüeh who lost his life in the attempt to blow up members of the high commission. His "Statement of views" had appeared, as was noted before, in the third issue of Min-pao with some editorial comments, where he was greatly praised for his courage and heroism. In the Min-pao anniversary supplement T'ien-t'ao a whole section of photographs and writings was devoted to Wu Yüeh. His heroic attempt undoubtedly made a great impression on revolutionary-minded students. Many poems were written about him. In the difficult times of 1908, when the revolutionary movement seemed to be at a low ebb after many failures and defeats, Min-pao published one more photograph of Wu Yüeh: it was apparently taken at the Peking railway station right after the explosion - Wu Yüeh's mutilated and bleeding body was held up by several Manchu guards.¹

Ch'en T'ien-hua, also honoured and mourned in Min-pao,² was a hero of different kind. His suicide in protest against Japanese regulations and as an exhortation to students made him a national hero, and he was mourned by

¹ MP.21.
² MP.2.
all his friends and numerous Chinese students. When his body was shipped to his native Hunan, a local branch of T'ung-meng-hui was planning a public burial for him and for another Chinese student who had committed suicide in Shanghai, but the authorities forbade this. Ch'en T'ien-hua, one must remember, was a talented and hard-working journalist (he wrote seven out of seventeen entries in the first issue of Min-pao), and his death was a great loss for Min-pao. His photograph appeared in Min-pao, and several of his writings, including the unfinished novel "Roar of the lion" and his "Letter written before committing suicide" were published in Min-pao posthumously.

An article on the life and death of another hero of Chinese revolution, Yu Chih-mo 禹之谟, who was executed in 1906 for planning an uprising, was published in Min-pao.1 Yu Chih-mo was a friend of Huang Hsing, and when T'ung-meng-hui was established in Tokyo in 1905, Huang Hsing sent Yu Chih-mo a message to organize a T'ung-meng-hui branch in Yu's native Hunan and push sales of Min-pao. Yu Chih-mo was successful in both undertakings, and due to his efforts Min-pao was circulated in Hunan.2

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1 Wu-li, "Yu Chih-mo is killed", MP.11.80-81.
2 Yao Yu-hsiang, "Record of the heroic death of Yu Chih-mo", HHKM.2.533-535.
New uprisings claimed more lives. Liu Tao-i was executed in January 1907 for his revolutionary activities in Hunan, connected with P'ing-Liu-Li uprisings. His photograph appeared in the twenty-fifth issue of Min-pao, and an article about him was included in the Appendix of the same issue.

An uprising in Anking in the summer of 1907 was planned independently from T'ung-meng-hui by some members of Kuang-fu-hui. The uprising failed despite the personal bravery of its leader Hsü Hsi-lin, who assassinated the Manchu official En-ming. The Anking assassination and attempt at revolt soon became known all over the country, and the execution of Hsü Hsi-lin and his comrades, including the woman-revolutionary Ch'iu Chin, led to an outburst of protests from Chinese intellectuals. Min-pao also published several articles about the assassination, attempted uprising and their heroes, as well as photographs of Hsü Hsi-lin, Ch'iu Chin and other comrades. ¹

¹ See illustrations in MP.16 and 17, and Wang Tung, "Assassination of En-ming, the Governor of Anhwei", MP.16. 101-108; "In memory of Hsü Hsi-lin, Ch'en Po-p'ing, Ma Tsung-han, and Ch'iu Chin", MP.17.117-118; "Biography of Hsü Hsi-lin", MP.18.115-118.
There was also a photograph of a rather unusual hero, the Philippine Chinese Hou Pao-hua 侯寶華, who took part in Aguinaldo Philippine revolution as a leader of the Chinese volunteers in Aguinaldo's army. Photographs of Aguinaldo and General Hou Pao-hua appeared in Min-pao.

One can see from the above account that the lives and deeds of revolutionary heroes were noted and honoured in Min-pao. First of all, most of these patriots were either T'ung-meng-hui members or their friends, and so the grief over loss of comrades was especially strong, particularly in the case of heroes like Tsou Jung, Ch'en T'ien-hua, Yü Chih-mo, Liu Tao-i, Ch'iu Chin. It was natural that the Min-pao's editors wished to have them honoured on the pages of Min-pao. Secondly, these heroic lives and acts had such an obvious propaganda value, giving examples of true revolutionary heroism.

In this connection, and also because of propaganda value, one can find in Min-pao descriptions of the lives of various Chinese historical personalities, who distinguished themselves by some patriotic or nationalist deed. In many of Min-pao's issues one can find a section entitled Collection of Short Notes (t' an-ts' un 談叢).

See illustrations in MP.9 and 12.
The expression t'an-ts'ung literally means "collection of talks or discourses", but here it was probably used in the sense of ts'ung-t'an 叢談, "collection of biographical notes". In this section small entries on the lives of various Chinese heroic personalities predominated. Readers were thus reminded about the loyalty and heroism of the Ming loyalists, men like Chang Huang-yen 張煌言, Hsia Wan-shun 夏完淳, Shih K'o-fa 史可法, and many others.

Interest in the Revolutions and Revolutionaries of Other Countries.

The Chinese revolutionary movement was to some extent influenced by the examples of revolutionary activities in other countries; this influence was particularly notable in 1900-1911 among the Chinese students overseas, when their general acquaintance with Western learning led them to the discovery of Western revolutions. Numerous books and articles were translated or written at that time in China about various revolutionary movements in the world, both past and present.

Min-pao also carried various illustrations and articles on revolutionary movements in other countries, partly because Min-pao's editors themselves were deeply interested in the activities of their revolutionary
comrades elsewhere, but mainly because of their desire to inform and enlighten readers. Like the illustrations and articles devoted to the Chinese heroes and patriots, these entries on various revolutionary movements in the world and their heroes, were meant to reinforce in readers' minds those principles of revolution which were advocated in leading articles.

The influence of the great French revolution of 1789 was felt by many countries in revolutionary turmoil. Chinese intellectuals were also moved by this example. Various articles and books on the French Revolution appeared in this period, mostly translations of Japanese and European works.

In Min-pao there were many illustrations which depicted the events of the French Revolution. For example, there were pictures of "The dawn of 4th of October 1789 and the armed Parisians ready to attack" (MP.2), "Guillotine execution of Louis XVI" (MP.5), "Declaration of revolution by the French people on June 17, 1789" and "Attack on the Bastille prison by the French people on July 14, 1789" (both in MP.10), "Portrait of the young French revolutionary journalist Desmoulins" (MP.15), "Spirit of the French Revolution" (MP.18) and several others. The first instalment of a biography of Gambetta
appeared in the first issue of Min-pao, though it was not finished in any of the subsequent issues. In the third issue of Min-pao on an empty page between two articles there was a sentence, published both in Chinese and French: "Vivre en travaillent on mourir en Combattent!"

Although Chinese revolutionaries apparently felt admiration for the French Revolution, its events were probably too remote to invite more interest. Nevertheless, the interpretation of the French Revolution was disputed by reformers and revolutionaries.¹

When the Russian Revolution of 1905 broke out in January of that year, Chinese intellectuals were much interested in it.

In fact, Russia had for some time been a matter of interest and concern to radical Chinese. Japanese interest in Russian populism and nihilism, with their tactics of terrorism and assassination, quickened Chinese interest and attention. Several books on nihilism and the Russian revolutionary movement appeared in the early 20th

century, and several articles were published in Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's Hsin-min ts'ung-pao and in the early students' publications. In 1903 Chinese students formed Chü-0 yung-tui 拒俄勇隊 (Troops to resist Russia), and the aim of this military organization was originally to help China to repel Russian advances in Manchuria. When the Ch'ing government tried to suppress this organization, it turned revolutionary. Though it did not last long, it left an impression in the minds of its many participants.

Interest in the Russian revolutionary movement was not, of course, initiated by Min-pao. In the late 19th century several books were published in Japan about Russian nihilists, and in the early 20th century this interest in the activities of Russian intellectuals continued and spread to China. Most Chinese revolutionaries of the pre-T'ung-meng-hui and T'ung-meng-hui period mistakenly saw the entire Russian revolutionary movement as nihilist; this view might have come from the misunderstanding which some Japanese, too, had about Russian revolution.

In 1903 in Kiangsu, the journal of a group of Kiangsu students in Japan, there appeared an article titled "Russian Nihilist Party"; in the same year in Shanghai, in the famous journal Su-pao one can find an article "Nihilist
Party". Liang Ch'i-ch'ao also wrote several articles on this subject in his Hsin-min ts'ung-pao. In 1904 Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei published journal Q-shih ching-wen 俄事警問, which was primarily concerned with the affairs in Russia and Russian foreign politics. The Russian defeat in Russo-Japanese War and the Russian Revolution of 1905 became sources of great attention. When the Russo-Japanese War broke out, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao devoted entire issues of his Hsin-min ts'ung-pao to reporting and analysing the war situation.

This interest in Russia was strengthened by personal acquaintance with some Russian revolutionaries. At that time Japan was a place of exile and study not only for the Chinese, but also for the revolutionaries and students of several other countries. Of course, the exiles from these countries were not as numerous as the Chinese colony of students and exiles. Japanese radicals, especially Japanese socialists and anarchists, took some interest in all these exiles and often introduced them to each other. Min-pao, as headquarters of Chinese revolutionaries in Tokyo, became a place of meeting of some of these exiles.

Russian revolutionary exiles who had settled in Japan for a while seemed to congregate in Nagasaki. It is known that Lu Hsün, during his stay in Japan, took lessons in
the Russian language from a Russian lady named Maria Konde (probably a pseudonym) in Nagasaki in 1907 and several other Chinese joined him.¹ Interest in Russian literature gradually grew; Lu Hsun's brother Chou Tso-jen translated an extract from a Russian novel for Min-pao's literary section.²

One of these Russian exiles, Nikolai Konstantinovich Sudzilovskii, a populist ("narodnik") of long standing, became an exile in the 1870s and travelled widely under a new name - Nicholas Russel.³ His travels were full of interesting adventures: he had a clash with the Russian Orthodox Church in San-Francisco, participated in the Hawaiian revolutionary movement, and became a member of the Hawaiian Senate. When the Russo-Japanese War broke out in February 1904, he went to Japan, where he published a Russian newspaper Yaponia i Rossi (Japan and Russia) for the Russian prisoners of war in Japan. After the war, in 1906, he and several other Russian exiles in Nagasaki...

¹ Wang Chih-ch'iu, "Lu Hsun before the Hsin-hai revolution", p.54.
² See "One coin", extract from the story by S. Stepniak, translated by Chou Tso-jen, MP.21.87-100.
³ Brief account of Russel's life may be found in M. Melnikoff, "Kind Russian doctor", Ogonyok, 7 (1960), pp. 23-24, and A.N. Heifetz, "Revolutionary ties between the people of Russia and China in the beginning of the 20th century", Voprosi istorii, no. 12, pp.91-100.
published a revolutionary newspaper in Russian, called Volia (Freedom).¹

Russel's newspaper, the only Russian newspaper in Japan at that time, attracted the attention of some of the Chinese revolutionaries. They managed to translate and publish a section from one of the editorials from Volia, together with some commentaries and introduction, in the fourth issue of Min-pao. This translation did not go unnoticed by some of the Chinese students. One Chinese woman-revolutionary wrote to Russel, expressing her admiration of the Russian revolutionary movement; her letter was published in Volia on 4th July 1906.²

Sun Yat-sen met Russel when the former travelled to Annam in 1906 and they continued their acquaintance by correspondence.³ Russel had apparently suggested in his letters that the Chinese revolutionaries should ask

¹ A.N. Heifetz, ibid., p.96.
² A.N. Heifetz, ibid., p.96.
³ These letters, together with other material about Russel, are available in the Central Government Archives of the October Revolution in Moscow. Two of Sun Yat-sen's letters to Russel are quoted in full in A.N. Heifetz's article (pp.97-98); they were originally written in English and are dated 8th and 26th November 1906, Tokyo.
America for help in China's industrialization. Sun Yat-sen replied that such help would certainly be denied to them, and that the Chinese revolutionaries should follow their aim of political and social revolution.

Russel's activities made him quite famous in Japan. There was an article about him in the Osaka daily newspaper Osaka nichi-nichi in February 1908.¹

Later Russel helped Chinese revolutionaries to manufacture bombs for assassinations, and the materials for the bombs were smuggled to him inside rubber dolls. He and his Russian comrades prepared explosives from photographic materials. It is said that some of these explosives were used by Wang Ching-wei in 1910 in his attempt on the life of the Prince Regent in Peking.²

Russel was not the only Russian whom Chinese revolutionaries knew at that time. Sung Chiao-jen records in his diary several meetings and conversations with a Russian revolutionary of Polish origin; his name given in Sung's diary in Japanese katakana, may be guessed as Pilsudskii.³ As Min-pao editorial office was the centre

¹ Heifetz, 97-98, and 96f.
² Kayano Chōchi, Private Sources on the Chinese Republican Revolution, pp.49-55.
³ Sung, Diary, March 10 and 25, 1906.
of activities of Tokyo group of Chinese revolutionaries, the meetings of this kind were almost always held there.

Several Russian revolutionaries arrived in Japan after making difficult and daring escapes from Siberian prisons. Such an escape was first made by the famous anarchist Michael Bakunin in 1861, and his example was followed by others. In 1906 a Russian revolutionary, Gregorii Aleksandrovich Gershuni, made a daring escape from the severe Akatui prison in Siberia. During his temporary stay in Japan (he later went to Europe) he also visited the Min-pao editorial office and met Sun Yat-sen.¹ A photograph of Gershuni, which he later sent to Min-pao from America, appeared in the fifteenth issue of Min-pao.

The Akatui prison from which Gershuni had escaped was known to Min-pao readers: two photographs of Akatui prison, which were probably supplied by Gershuni, were published in Min-pao. One depicted a group of members of the Russian revolutionary party in Akatui prison, and another - a group of women-revolutionaries in Akatui.² A photo of the woman-revolutionary Maria Spiridonova, who was imprisoned at Akatui was also published in Min-pao; she

¹ Kayano Chōchi, Private Sources on the Chinese Republican Revolution, photographs in the beginning of the book.
² See illustrations in MP.14.
may also be found on the previously-mentioned photo of a group of women-revolutionaries at Akatui.¹

Min-pao introduced its readers to the events of the Russian revolutionary movement through a number of illustrations, articles, and translations. In addition to the above-mentioned photographs of Gershuni and the inmates of Siberian prison at Akatui, Russian revolutionary movement was illustrated in Min-pao with photographs of Sofia Perovskaya (MP.2), Michael Bakunin (MP.3), drawings or photographs of the assassinations of Governor-General of Baku Prince Nakashidze (MP.4), of Stolypin (MP.9), and of an unnamed Moscow Governor-General (MP.19). Readers were also presented with drawings of a secret meeting of the Russian revolutionary party, held at a cemetery, probably at the funeral of a dead comrade (MP.22); of Cossack mounted guards attacking a crowd of people marching in protest (MP.22); of a heap of dead naked bodies, surrounded by armed soldiers and officers, probably at the end of an unsuccessful uprising (MP.23). One can imagine that such pictures left a deep impression.

Two important articles on the Russian revolutionary movement were written by Sung Chiao-jen, "The Russian

¹ See second illustration in MP.14 and photograph of Maria Spiridonova in MP.23.
Revolution of 1905" (MP.3 and 7) and by Liao Chung-k'ai, "A short history of the nihilist party" (MP.11 and 17). Both were authorized translations from Japanese works, the main source of information about Russia.

The general tendency of Min-pao in this regard was to inform readers about the course of events in Russia and about the methods employed by Russian revolutionaries in their struggle. It seems that the Chinese revolutionaries of the Min-pao circle were particularly interested in revolutionary tactics. In one small entry, not directly dealing with Russia, in the Comments on Current Events section, it was specially pointed out that the Russian nihilists employed two methods: assassination and insurrection. The author expressed his admiration for the Russian nihilists, who, as he wrote, "do not drown in water and do not burn in fire".¹

There were also various references to the Russian revolutionary movement, its development and methods, in some of the leading articles from the earliest days of Min-pao. Hu Han-min, explaining the role of revolutionary periodicals in the preparation for revolution in his

¹ Sung Chiao-jen, "What are the results of the addition of the district police to the already established police departments?", MP.2.[14].
leading article "Six main principles of Min-pao", mentioned that the revolutionaries in Russia used the press to spread their ideas. He wrote that when the Russian revolutionary movement was forced to go underground, its daily organ of propaganda had a circulation of several thousand copies. Through the help of the revolutionary press, the Russians managed to unite their several factions and strengthen their movement.¹

In the last issues of Min-pao great admiration for the courage and heroic actions of the Russian nihilists was also expressed. The leading article "Psychology of revolution" urged Chinese revolutionaries to follow the example of the Russians and use their methods, particularly that of assassination, in their struggle.²

Even at the very end of its life, the words of Hu Han-min were echoed by Yang Ching-wei, who in his "Introduction to the continuation of publication" also pointed out that when the Russian revolutionaries were not able to work effectively in their homeland, they established revolutionary centres in Europe and spread their ideas to

¹ Hu Han-min, "Six main principles of Min-pao", MP.3.4.
Russia through numerous propaganda writings of great influence.¹

One hesitates to say whether the early Russian revolutionary movement exerted a significant influence. It would be more true to say that there was no direct influence as such, but rather a comradely feeling of some common goal to achieve. It was important and reassuring to the Chinese revolutionaries to know that in Russia too there were people who believed in and fought for revolution.

In Min-pao this knowledge was used to stress once again to readers the necessity of revolution and to show to them how people of Russia fought for the new life and new order in their country.

As was said before, the Chinese revolutionaries connected with Min-pao had personal contact with several Russian revolutionaries, which deepened their interest in the Russian revolution. This contact also led to mutual understanding and exchange of views.

There were also some interesting contacts with the revolutionaries of several Asian countries. Chinese

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¹ Wang Ching-wei, "Introduction to the continuation of publication", MP.25.[3].
students and exiles were the largest part of a miscellaneous community of Asian revolutionaries and Asian students who received either education or temporary refuge in Japan.

...(Japan) encouraged Korean students...setting up special organizations to encourage them. In 1900 there were 68 Korean students, of whom 21 were at military schools. (Mainichi, September 24, 1900, and February 12, 1901). In 1906 there were also Japanese teachers in Siam and Siamese students in Tokyo. In that same year 50 Indian students got special attention from Okuma who assured them that Japan regarded India as the Holy Land and was eager to repay her cultural debt. (Summary in Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient, pp.48lf. Hanoi, 1906).¹

The relationship between Indian and Chinese exiles in Tokyo was particularly interesting. Chang Ping-lin had been interested in Indian history and culture and in Buddhism even before the Su-pao case, and in prison he read Buddhist works. In his "Address" he mentioned that when he nearly lost hope of saving the Chinese people, he "planned to put on Buddhist dress and become a Buddhist priest".²

In Tokyo he met some Indian patriots, and it is quite probable that his interest in Buddhism helped him to

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² Chang Ping-lin, "Address", MP.6.2.
become friendly with them. However, Buddhism was not the only topic of discussion: the Indians in Japan most probably belonged to the extremist party of B.G. Tilak. Several Indians in May 1907 visited the Min-pao's office, where Chang Ping-lin lived, to meet him; unfortunately, only Chinese transcriptions of their names are known - Po-lo-han 鉢邏罕 and Pao-shih 保什. During their visit to the Min-pao's office, they discussed the problems of their respective countries with Chang and his comrades and invited them to attend a meeting in memory of king Shivaji, an Indian hero of the last half of the 17th century, who led Maratha state against the Moguls. The visit of the Indians and the meeting itself were described by Chang Ping-lin in Min-pao for the benefit of readers.¹

As a result of this contact, friendship seems to have developed between the Indians and Chinese in Tokyo, and Min-pao used it to its advantage to strengthen its indirect propaganda of revolution. Several articles, translations from Indian journals in exile, and illustrations, all concerned with the Indian revolutionary

¹ Chang Ping-lin, "Record of the meeting in memory of Indian king Shivaji", MP.13.93-100.
movement and situation in India, began to appear in Min-pao after this contact was established. They included, for example, a Chinese translation of the Indian people's manifesto, some articles from The Free Hindustan, an Indian journal first published in Canada and then in America, from the London-published magazine The Indian Sociologist, from the famous Bande Mataram and from The Carlylean. Copies were all probably supplied by Indian friends. These writings gave Min-pao's readers a deeper insight into the problems and struggle of the Indian revolutionaries. It is noteworthy that the Indians were interested in the Russian movement and used it as an example in their writings.

Chang Ping-lin wrote several explanatory short articles about the situation and problems in India, revealing sympathy for the Indians' struggle for freedom.

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1 Extracts from The Free Hindustan appeared in MP.21, 22, 23; from The Indian Sociologist in MP.21, and 23; from Bande Mataram in MP.23 and 24; and from The Carlylean in MP.24. Translations were done by Lü Fu and T'ai-shan (pen-name).

2 Lü Fu, The Indian Sociologist, MP.21.79.

India and its fate loomed large in Chinese minds both as an example and a warning.

In 1905-1906 Vietnamese exiles also contacted the Chinese revolutionaries in Tokyo. In the first decade of the 20th century Vietnam - known then as French Indo-China - had experienced an active growth of nationalism within an independence movement. In 1905 a movement for study in Japan had developed in Vietnam, and some Vietnamese went to Japan. One of the Vietnamese revolutionary leaders, Phan boi Chau, came to Japan in 1905 and found himself in a vast colony of political emigrants, Chinese being the biggest group. Phan boi Chau was for a while friendly with Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and read Hsin-min ts'ung-pao, but with the establishment of T'ung-meng-hui he became attracted to the revolutionary camp. He wrote several pamphlets on the situation in Vietnam, and one of his articles was published in a Chinese revolutionary journal Yunnan; it was entitled "History of Vietnam's loss of independence". Phan boi Chau became personally acquainted with Sun Yat-sen. 1 On the whole, Chinese revolutionaries helped the Vietnamese in many ways. In February 1906 one

Vietnamese exile, who arrived penniless and homeless in the Min-pao's office, was given a job in Min-pao and lived in the office for some time.¹

Min-pao also contained occasional items on revolutionary movements in Korea and Mongolia.²

In one of his articles, T'ang Tseng-pi stressed the common fate of all Asian countries, except Japan, as colonies or incipient colonies, and the common need to free themselves from domination by the white race.³

The friendship between Asian exiles in Tokyo later led to the formation of a few organizations, but unfortunately not much is known about them.

Sometime in 1907 in Tokyo a number of Chinese, Vietnamese, Indians, Filipinos, and Japanese formed an organization, called Ashūwashin kai (Asian Peace and Friendship Society). It issued several publications, both in Chinese and English, in the name of Asiatic Humanitarian [sic] Brotherhood, and held several meetings.

¹ Sung, Diary, February 5, 1906 (p.104).
³ T'ang Tseng-pi, "Hope for close relations in Asia", MP.23. 55-58.
Japanese socialist Kōtoku Shūsui gave the members a lecture on socialism, which was attended by 90 people. These meetings took place in Tokyo's India House and in a Unitarian Church. It is known that among its Chinese members there were T'ung-meng-hui members Chang Ping-lin, Chang Chi, Liu Shih-p'ei and several others.¹

Later, in October 1908, in Tokyo there appeared an Asian affiliate of T'ung-meng-hui, called Tung-ya wan-kuo t'ung-meng-hui 東亜萬國同盟會 (Asian United League). Its members included Chinese, Koreans, Vietnamese, Indians, Filipinos, and Japanese.²

Min-pao revolutionaries admired heroism and courage of Russian revolutionaries, especially nihilists, and of Indian fighters for the freedom of their homeland. They were presented to readers in a heroic light, as an example to study and follow. Min-pao editors also expressed the feeling that all Asian nations - Indians, Vietnamese, Koreans, Filipinos - were in the same dangerous position of being dominated by foreign powers from the West. It was pointed out to readers that Chinese people were not alone in their struggle for freedom and independence.

Ideas of Socialism and Anarchism in Min-pao

News about the International Workingmen's Association and First and Second Internationals and the ideas of socialism reached Chinese intellectuals at the beginning of the 20th century through Japan.

The history of the Japanese socialist movement began as early as November 1898 when Shakai Shugi Kenkyukai (Society for the Study of Socialism) was formed by a group of Japanese Christians, including Katayama Sen and Abe Isō. In May 1901 Shakai Minshū-tō (Social Democratic Party) was founded, only to be suppressed the same day. Despite this setback, Japanese socialists continued their activities and published several periodicals, as well as translations of Western works on socialism. In 1903 the first labor newspaper in Japan, Rōdo Seikai, which was published since 1897 by the celebrated Japanese socialist Katayama Sen, was replaced by a new journal titled Shakai Shugi (Socialism). On November 15, 1903, the famous Heimin Shimbun (People's Newspaper) came out for the first time. This important organ of the Japanese socialists lasted till January 1905 and was devoted to anti-war propaganda. The anniversary edition of Heimin Shimbun (November 13, 1904) carried a complete translation of the Communist Manifesto, as well as photographs of Marx, Engels, Lassalle, Bebel,
Kropotkin, and Tolstoy. The Japanese Socialist Party, Nippon Shakai-tō, was established in February 1906, and after March 1906 they published the new journal Shakai Shugi Kenkyū (Study of Socialism).

The activities of these early Japanese socialists did not go unnoticed by some of the Chinese students and revolutionaries in Tokyo. Both reformers and revolutionaries became interested in these new ideas and pointed them out in their propaganda organs.

Liang Ch'i-ch'ao wrote the first Chinese article on socialism, which was published in Ch'ing-i-pao. Marx was first mentioned in 1902 in Hsin-min ts'ung-pao. The expression she-hui chu-i (socialism) was obviously borrowed from Japan. Yen Fu in his essay Yu'an-ch'i'iang 原強 (On Strength) mentioned chün-fu tang 均富黨 (equalising-wealth parties),¹ and K'ang Yu-wei in his famous book Ta-t'ung shu 大同書 discussed Fourier's kung-ch' an chih fa 共產之法 (communism) and ho-chun chün-ch' an chih shuo 合衆均產之說 (theory of joint equal ownership).² These newly invented expressions show

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¹ B. Schwartz, In Search of Wealth and Power, p.63.
² L.G. Thompson, Ta Tung Shu: The One World Philosophy of K'ang Yu-wei, p.211.
that there was an awareness of socialist trends in the Western world, though it was a rather vague one.

In 1903 the Japanese work *Kinsei shakai shugi* (Modern Socialism), written by Fukui Junzō in 1899, was translated into Chinese by Chao Pi-chen 趙必振 and published in Shanghai. This work introduced Chinese readers to the German socialist movement and the ideas of Karl Marx.¹

This publication was followed by several similar publications, all translated from the Japanese and published in Shanghai.² Japanese works, in their turn, were usually authorized translations of American or European works, mostly of a descriptive nature.

*Min-pao* introduced its readers to socialism and the socialist movement in several interesting articles. One was written by Chu Chih-hsin and entitled "Short biographies of German socialist revolutionaries" (MP. 2 and 3). This article introduced Chinese readers to the political situation in Germany, the emergence of socialism, the lives and work of Marx, Engels, and Lassalle. It

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included the first Chinese translation of a section from the Communist Manifesto. Chu Chih-hsin wrote that he wanted to introduce his compatriots to socialists and to fill people's minds with their ideas.\footnote{Chu Chih-hsin, "Short biographies of German socialist revolutionaries", MP.2.\cite{4}.} At one stage, describing the necessity of having political and social revolutions simultaneously, he wrote that revolutionaries should pay special attention to this point. Chu Chih-hsin himself paid serious attention to this problem, as may be seen from his article "Why the social revolution should be carried out simultaneously with the political revolution" in the fifth issue of Min-pao.

There were also several other articles, mostly authorized translations from Japanese or from Japanese translations of Western works. They all were of an introductory, explanatory kind, and rather confusing on some points, probably due to difficulties in translation and re-translation. Sung Chiao-jen translated Miyazaki Tamizō's article "Various types of socialist revolutionary movements in Europe and America and their criticism" (MP.4). This article described in some detail the appearance of a movement for social revolution and made distinctions between such ideologies as socialism,
anarchism, and a kind of communism, literally called "party of the equal distribution of land".\(^1\) At one stage Miyazaki Tamizō, the author, stated: "In my opinion, in order to make mankind happy, we should achieve the aim of social revolution, and this should be the basic stand of every person".\(^2\) And the translator Sung Chiao-jen concluded the article with his own comment: "Social revolution is the way to save the people".\(^3\)

Liao Chung-k'ai translated a chapter from a Handbook on Socialism by W.D.P. Bliss (MP.7) in order to introduce it to Chinese students. Another chapter from Bliss' book was also translated by Liao Chung-k'ai under the title "Anarchism and Socialism" (MP.9), also in order to acquaint students with these movements and the differences between them.

It is obvious that Sung Chiao-jen, and particularly Liao Chung-k'ai and Chu Chih-hsin, were genuinely interested in socialism and its development in the West. They read Japanese articles and translations and felt a need to introduce socialist ideas to the Chinese

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1 Miyazaki Tamizō, "Various types of socialist revolutionary movements in Europe and America and their criticism". Transl. by Sung Chiao-jen, MP.4.124.
2 Ibid., MP.4.132.
3 Ibid., MP.4.133.
revolutionary circles. One aim was to inform the comrades and readers of the socialist movement, and another aim was to strengthen the cause of social revolution in China. All the articles on socialism appeared irregularly in the first nine issues of Min-pao, that is up to September 1906.

About a year later, in the middle of 1907, interest in socialism revived, and the Society for the Study of Socialism was established in Tokyo by Liu Shih-p'ei, Chang Chi and several others. Min-pao apparently encouraged this society and published announcements about its establishment and publications.¹

Anarchist ideas were introduced into China, along with those of socialism, through Japan. Indeed, "between 1905 and 1920 anarchist thought was a vital part of the intellectual protest movement both in Japan and China".²

Anarchism was first mentioned in China in the translations of two Japanese works - Shakaitō (Socialist Party) by Nishikawa Kojiro (written in 1901) and Shakai shugi gaikyō (General Critique of Socialism) by Shimada Saburo (1901), both published in China in Chinese

¹ See, for example, MP.15, second page of announcements and advertisements in the beginning of the issue.
translation in 1903. In the same year Chang Chi
translated a work on anarchism titled Wu-cheng-fu chu-i
(Anarchism) and it was published presumably in Shanghai.¹

As in the case of socialism, Min-pao introduced its
readers to anarchism and its development in the West.
Anarchism was mentioned in several articles on socialism,
which were described on the preceding pages, particularly
in "Various types of socialist revolutionary movements in
Europe and America and their criticism" (MP.4). It was
said about anarchism:

An anarchist party makes people aim at extreme
freedom, and those who restrict this freedom are
traitors to the people. Monarchy and autocracy
are, therefore, traitorous. All the authority
of state, government, and church is merely the
theory of these traitors. If it was eliminated,
mankind would have equality and freedom and would
build a new society. Anarchist theory is that
mankind's happiness lies entirely in Nature, and
the way of Nature is the ultimate freedom of
every human being. Freedom is the basis of human
happiness.²

On the whole, Min-pao's editors had rather vague
ideas about anarchism; in Miyazaki Tamizo's article,
anarchist was divided into philosophical anarchism,

¹ Chang Yü-ying, "A bibliography of publications concerning
the revolution of 1911", CKCP.1.174.
² Miyazaki Tamizo, "Various types of socialist revolutionary
movements in Europe and America and their criticism",
transl. by Sung Chiao-jen, MP.4.126.
Christian anarchism, and destructive anarchism. Min-pao readers were informed on the methods employed by the "destructive anarchists" to achieve their goal of destroying the old system of society: they were propaganda, secret organizations, and assassination. However, Min-pao informed its readers without committing itself to supporting anarchist ideas. At a later stage the appropriateness of the adoption of anarchism in the current Chinese situation became a matter of dispute between Min-pao and Hsin-shih-chi.

It is difficult to say to what extent, if at all, the Chinese revolutionary movement was influenced by the ideas of socialism, communism, or anarchism, as spread by Min-pao and its circle; one can only state that these ideas, introduced by Chinese revolutionaries in Tokyo, had some bearing on the future development of the thought of Chinese intellectuals, especially in the subsequent May Fourth Movement period.

The climate of opinion in Tokyo and the interest of Japanese radicals in such ideas created a favourable atmosphere for the introduction of socialism and anarchism throughout China.

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1 Miyazaki Tamizō, "Various types of socialist revolutionary movements in Europe and America and their criticism", transl. by Sung Chiao-jen, MP.4.126.
into Chinese revolutionary thinking. Although Min-pao was a nationalist journal, its editors did not hesitate to introduce these ideas to readers outside Tokyo. By these means Min-pao also attempted to make its readers more receptive to its message of social revolution.

Secondary Topics

In the second half of each issue of Min-pao one can usually find material of a miscellaneous nature, which nevertheless indirectly contributed to the propaganda of revolution. Some of this material can be conveniently grouped and studied under the above-mentioned headings of "Heroes of the Chinese revolutionary movement", "Interest in revolutions and revolutionaries of other countries", and "Ideas of socialism and anarchism". The rest of the material and its importance as propaganda matter can best be treated under the headings used in the journal itself.

There was, for example, a section appearing at irregular intervals entitled Translations. It has already been pointed out in the Chapter I, in the discussion of pre-T'ung-meng-hui revolutionary periodicals, that the early publications of radical Chinese students in Japan were almost entirely devoted to the translations from Japanese and Western works. Revolutionary-minded students,
the editors of these early publications, were still absorbing new ideas, but gradually more and more articles, expressing their own views, appeared in these periodicals. In Min-pao this process was completed, because the main bulk of Min-pao's material was written by the editorial staff and contributors themselves, while translations were few. Some of them were from the Indian revolutionary press, some from the Russian revolutionary literature, and some - extracts from Japanese translations of works on socialism and anarchism. All these have already been mentioned in some sections of this chapter.

The rest of the translations had a random character, but they were, nevertheless, quite interesting and served as an indirect propaganda. There were such pieces as the translation by Liao Chung-k'ai of the preface to Progress and Poverty by Henry George (MP.1), or extracts from J.J. Rousseau's Social Contract (MP.26).

Translations of some Russian short stories or extracts from novels also appeared in the section entitled Novels, which was a fairly regular feature in Min-pao. There was, for example, the translation, entitled "Story of the wonderful escape", which was, quite probably, extracted from one of the novels written by L.G. Deutch, Russian populist and writer of the late 19th and early 20th
Another Russian revolutionary writer, S.M. Kravchinskii (pen-name Stepniak), had extracts from two of his stories translated in Min-pao. Translation of a story, entitled in Min-pao as "Lightning", written probably by Hungarian writer Imre Madach, also appeared in the journal. All these translated extracts depicted revolutionary movement in Russia and Europe.

The most interesting and important work in the Novels section was Ch'en T'ien-hua's novel "Roar of the lion". Ch'en T'ien-hua was one of the early editorial writers of Min-pao, and this unfinished novel appeared in Min-pao in a number of instalments, after his suicide. The novel described the events similar to those of July-November 1905, when T'ung-meng-hui was founded in Japan, and must have been an interesting reading for Chinese students.

The title of the novel is interesting too. The expression shih-tzu hou "羅子吼" means "roar of the lion" and was
often used as meaning "the preaching of Buddha". In the 19th century, particularly in the last decade, and in the 20th century, China became more and more often identified with lion, especially in such expressions as 睡獅 (the sleeping lion, i.e. China), and 醒獅 (waking lion, i.e. China aroused). The image of these catching expressions was behind the title of the novel.

Comments on Current Events was one of the most regular sections, although, of course, Min-pao editors were chiefly concerned with theoretical and ideological problems of revolution. Since Min-pao was a journal, published overseas and appearing approximately once a month, it could not report and comment on the news in the way that local newspapers and weeklies did. Nevertheless, this section usually contained several short comments on events in China and overseas, always with the aim of informing and educating readers and encouraging them to adopt a revolutionary point of view on any given event. Some of these comments did provide a kind of illustration, or a practical application of theoretical points discussed in editorials.

During the course of its publication, Min-pao had two supplements, one of which was of a great importance. It
was Min-pao's first anniversary supplement T'ien-t'ao (Heaven's Punishment). It came out on April 25, 1907. T'ien-t'ao, which has already been partly described in Chapter III of this work, was an expression of the most violent anti-Manchuism, with the illustrations, caricatures, and writings all directed at the Manchus. The articles in the supplement were all written on the same pattern: "A summons to punish the Manchus", which was signed by the "Military Government", opened the issue and was followed by "A declaration to all Han people", "Record of the revolutionary movement in Szechwan", "Szechwan's summons to punish the Manchus", "Record of the revolutionary movement in Kiangsu", "Honan's summons to punish the Manchus", "Anhwei's summons to punish the Manchus", and so on, all in similar form and spirit. The Manchu crimes against the Han people were listed in many of these declarations. There were also "Summons to the Protect the Emperor Party" and "A declaration to the Constitutional Party", both attacking all the supporters of the Manchu government, particularly the reformers. "A declaration to the Constitutional Party" was notable for the plain, pai-hua type language, in which it was written, with short sentences spaced throughout the entire article, as if to make it easier to be read aloud. The article
criticized the reformers and their leaders K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, as well as the Manchu attempts to establish a constitution in China, and described the development of the revolutionary movement. The supplement concluded with an appendix of Wu Yüeh's writings. The propaganda material found in T'ien-t'ao was directed at the masses much more than the material of the usual issues of Min-pao, and there is some evidence that T'ien-t'ao was quite popular among those whom it managed to reach.  

Another Min-pao's supplement came out in the summer of 1907. In contrast to T'ien-t'ao, in which propaganda was concentrated on the illustrating and stressing Min-pao's primary aim anti-Manchuism, this supplement, though pursuing the same aim as T'ien-t'ao, did it in an indirect way. It contained the writings of Chang Fei or Chang Fei-wen, Fei-wen being his tzu; he was one of the Ming loyalists. This collection was titled Mang-ts'ang-yüan wen-kao yü (The remaining manuscripts from the overgrown garden) and consisted of a number of various poems and miscellaneous items. At the end of the supplement there was an afterword written by Chang Ping-lin. As was mentioned before, writings of the

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1 See Chapter VII.
Ming loyalists became popular at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, as they fed the anti-Manchu feelings and provided the revolutionaries with tradition and background.

Min-pao's consistency of propaganda was indeed noteworthy. Take, for example, such small matter as the pages of advertisements and announcements found in almost every issue. Here no space was wasted on periodicals and books, unconnected with the revolutionary ideas; the very fact that a periodical or a book was advertised in Min-pao gives a good clue as to its contents. Thus, Min-pao advertised for many newspapers and journals, which were published by pro-revolutionary groups or individuals or by various T'ung-meng-hui branches. For example, one can

1 Apart from the pages devoted to advertisements and announcements, the latter being various notices from the editorial office to readers, there were also empty pages between the individual articles or sections in the journal; such pages were often filled by poems, quotations, or small drawings. Most of these poems and quotations were, in their own way, an indirect propaganda. The small drawings, inserted to fill the empty space between items in the journal, usually depicted some flowers, or scenery, or birds and animals. However, one drawing is extremely interesting and extraordinary; it depicts the mounted soldier, who is carrying revolutionary flag, the one over the design of which Sun Yat-sen and Huang Hsing had a dispute early in 1907. See MP.20.40.
find advertisements for the revolutionary newspaper Chung-kuo jih-pao 中國日報, which was published in Hongkong since 1899 by the revolutionaries of Hsing-Chung-hui group and was taken over by T'ung-meng-hui members in 1905; for Shanghai-published Kuo-ts'ui hsüeh-pao 国粹學報 (National essence), to which Chang Ping-lin, Liu Shih-p'ei, Huang K'an and Ch'en Ch'ü-p'ing contributed articles; for Chung-hsing jih-pao 中興日報 of Singapore, the editorial staff of which was enriched in 1907 by Hu Han-min and Wang Ching-wei's participation. Many Tokyo-published journals of students' groups were advertised in Min-pao, such as Fu-pao 復報, Yün-nan tsa-chih 雲南雜誌, T'ien-i pao 天議報, and several others. Paris-published Hsin-shih-chi 新世界, organ of Chinese anarchists was also made known to Min-pao readers. Thus, Min-pao readers learnt about the existence of these and several other periodicals and could obtain them either at the given address or through Min-pao. Similarly, various books containing direct or indirect revolutionary propaganda were pointed out to readers through advertisements. There were works of the revolutionary writers such as Ch'en T'ien-hua's Meng-hui t'ou, Tsou Jung's Ko-ming-chün, reprints of the works of Ming loyalists, various historical writings, and so on.
It can be seen from the above account of Min-pao's advertisement pages, that Min-pao was by no means a lone fighter against the Manchus. It is true that in the months of August-November of 1905, during which it was planned to publish a party organ, Chinese revolutionary press was at a low ebb. In Japan, the haven of the early Chinese revolutionary press, only two periodicals were published in those months, both for a very brief period. One was Min-pao's predecessor, Erh-shih shih-chi chih chih-na, and another - Hsing-shih 醒獅 (The Waking Lion), which ran for two or three issues in November-December 1905.

However, after Min-pao began to be published, in the years 1906-1908, Min-pao was followed in its work by a host of "fellow-publications", both in and outside of China. In Japan there were Fu-pao, Yün-nan tsa-chih T'ien-i-pao, Chüan-sheng 鵐聲, Tung-t'ing-po 洞庭波, Ssu-chü'an 四川 and others. These periodicals, unlike Min-pao, were not official organs of T'ung-meng-hui, but were produced by various groups bound by provincial affiliations (Yün-nan tsa-chih, Ssu-chü'an) or by common interests (T'ien-i-pao, a socialist-anarchist journal). Some members of the Min-pao editorial staff participated
in the publication of these periodicals, which, in its turn, helped to spread Min-pao.

**MIN-PAO’S INFLUENCE AND IMPORTANCE**

Min-pao may truly be called the best representative of the Chinese revolutionary press, which was published between 1899 and 1911. Its strength and importance lay in the fact that it was not simply published by a group of progressively-minded intellectuals, but was the spokesman for the Chinese revolutionary party, which had gathered in its ranks some of the best thinkers and patriots of that period. Min-pao was, first of all, a textbook—a textbook of revolution. The majority of articles were of an explanatory, informative, educational character, as it was Min-pao's mission to inform, teach, and influence its readers.

In the preceding chapters the contents of Min-pao have been described and analyzed in some detail. The true has come to examine Min-pao's influence and importance. In order to do that, something ought to be said first about Min-pao's circulation, range of distribution, and reading public.

As far as Min-pao's circulation is concerned, it is known that five thousand copies of the first issue were
CHAPTER VII

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As far as Min-pao's circulation is concerned, it is known that five thousand copies of the first issue were
printed, three thousand of which were shipped illegally to China.\(^1\) The demand for the new journal was great, as may be seen from the fact that many of its issues had to be reprinted several times for further distribution. For example, there were seven consecutive reprints of the first issue, five consecutive reprints of the second and third issues, four of the fourth and the fifth issues, three of the sixth issue, two of the seventh and eighth, and four of the ninth.\(^2\) By the middle of 1906 circulation reached 10,000 copies.\(^3\)

After P'ing-Liu-Li uprisings in December 1906, the Ch'ing government proscribed Min-pao, and as a result there was some decline in circulation, which later led to the Chang-Sun feud over Sun's inability to finance Min-pao. However, it is said that in the beginning of 1908 Min-pao had circulation of 12,000 copies, which seems to be the


\(^{2}\) MP.6, second page of announcements and advertisements in the beginning of the issue. MP.11, second page of announcements and advertisements in the beginning of the issue.

\(^{3}\) MP.4, first page of announcements and advertisements in the end of the issue.
largest among the revolutionary periodicals published overseas at that time.¹

According to the research done by S.H. Cheng, several hundred persons joined T'ung-meng-hui, when it was formed in July-August 1905. A year later, there were about one thousand T'ung-meng-hui members in China and abroad, and by October 1911 the membership grew to some ten thousand. Out of this ten thousand, there were about three thousand educated persons. The nucleus of the party consisted of the Tokyo student group of several hundred.²

It was this nucleus of young Chinese intellectuals, which filled all the important positions in the party, made the decisions, and spread revolutionary ideas by world and deed. Min-pao, which they produced and distributed over the period of five years, was meant to be a vessel for revolutionary ideas, right in the mainstream of the Chinese revolutionary movement. Being T'ung-meng-hui's main and for some time the only spokesman and propaganda organ (subsequently, various branches of T'ung-

¹ "Record of the journals published by the Chinese overseas students in Japan", CHJP, February 24, 1908. See CHWH.I. vol. 12, p.679. In this little report seventeen journals, including Min-pao, were listed, together with relevant information about them.

meng-hui began to issue publications of their own), Min-pao stood at the very centre of the revolutionary movement. The fact that Min-pao's editorial office was, at the same time, T'ung-meng-hui's headquarters increased its standing and importance. Min-pao's editorial office was, for some time, T'ung-meng-hui's brain and heart.

Min-pao's range of distribution was great, covering the large community of Chinese overseas students and exiles in Japan, overseas Chinese communities in some Asian and Western countries, and the people in China itself.

Japan, both as a place of publication of Min-pao and the place of the largest concentration of the Chinese students overseas, enjoyed an obvious priority in distribution. In Tokyo there were about 17 agencies distributing Min-pao, half of them permanent and lasting throughout the entire life of Min-pao. Min-pao was on sale in the Chinese Students' Union in Kanda, which was the suburb in Tokyo where most of the Chinese students lived. The Chinese Students' Union, established in 1903, was "the social and political center of student life in Tokyo. Within two years the Union grew to a membership of 4,500..." Subsidiary to the Union were provincial clubs...
for every province, each with its own house". Min-pao was also on sale in various Chinese and Japanese bookshops in Tokyo, and later in the offices of other revolutionary publications in Japan, such as Fu-pao, Yün-nan tsa-chih, and others. There was also one agency in Yokohama, base of the rival Hsin-min ts'ung-pao.

Since Min-pao kept in close touch with various societies and clubs in Tokyo, it undoubtedly increased its own distribution. For example, Min-pao was connected with the Society for the Promotion of National Learning, which was established in the end of 1906, with Chang Ping-lin as a chairman. Min-pao was also in touch with the Society for the Study of Socialism, which was formed by Chang Chi, Liu Shih-p'ei and several others in the middle of 1907. Chang Ping-lin's fame also helped to make the journal known among many of his followers.

Therefore, the most devoted and constant readers of Min-pao were the Chinese intellectuals in Japan. Since Min-pao was published there, it was easy to obtain and not

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2 For the names and addresses of the agencies distributing Min-pao in Japan and elsewhere, see last back page of every issue of Min-pao.
dangerous to read as it was in China. There was in China a sizeable part of the generation born in 1880s-1890s who had, at some stage of their lives, studied or lived in Japan and for whom this experience had a life-ling effect. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the majority of them read revolutionary periodicals, which were published at that time in Japan, including the T'ung-meng-hui's Min-pao. Of course, not all of them were converted by Min-pao's revolutionary propaganda, but it certainly left a definite impression and was read by a growing number of readers, as may be seen from its increasing circulation.

As the propaganda organ of T'ung-meng-hui, Min-pao followed the expansion of T'ung-meng-hui activities outside Japan, in the overseas Chinese communities of some Asian and Western countries. After Tokyo, which was T'ung-meng-hui's centre during its early stage of existence, South-East Asia had the largest number of T'ung-meng-hui members.

In Hanoi, French Indo-China, there were only 10 members of T'ung-meng-hui in the end of 1905 and in the beginning of 1906. Before long Min-pao was on sale both
in Hanoi and Saigon, and the membership gradually grew in number. In spring 1907 Sun Yat-sen established his temporary headquarters in Hanoi and stayed there till March 1908, when the French authorities asked him to leave.

In the end of 1905 and in the beginning of 1906 there were only 32 members of T'ung-meng-hui in Singapore, but this number grew rapidly over the following years and T'ung-meng-hui branches appeared in other towns of British Malaya. In March 1908 Sun Yat-sen set up his base in Singapore, and in the end of that year Regional Office for the South-East Asia was established there.

Min-pao was circulated in Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Malacca, Seremban, Penang, and Perak. Since a large Chinese community existed in Singapore, there were several agencies of distribution. In 1907 Chung-hsing jih-pao began to be published and supported Min-pao in its revolutionary propaganda. Former editorial writers of

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1 For all the names and addresses of the agencies distributing Min-pao see last back page of every issue of Min-pao.

2 When Min-pao was banned, Chung-hsing jih-pao paid a great tribute to it, stating: "Recently revolutionary strength has greatly increased, and it is all because of the power of Min-pao's propaganda. Min-pao is really the leader of the restoration of our Han race". See CHWH.I. vol. 12, p.668.
Min-pao, Wang Ching-wei and Hu Han-min, joined its staff. This newspaper was quite popular in British Malaya and engaged in a dispute with reformist newspaper Nan-yang tsung-hui pao.

In the rest of the South-East Asia, Min-pao was on sale in Macao, Honolulu, Manila, Pontianak, and Surabaja. As far as Europe and America are concerned, Min-pao was on sale for the Chinese overseas students and members of the Chinese communities of Berlin, Paris, San-Francisco, New York, and Vancouver. Copies of Min-pao reached even some isolated Chinese communities in Africa and Cuba.

One Chinese migrant, Huang Ting-chih 黃鼎之, who had arrived in Cuba in 1902, described in his memoirs the influence of Min-pao. He wrote that a comparatively large community of Chinese labourers in Cuba consisted of those who had fled there at the beginning and in the middle of the 19th century and those who had freely migrated there in the last decade of Kuang-hsü's rule (at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century). Chinese in Cuba had their own organization, called Chung-hua tsung-hui-

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1 See MP.20, first page of advertisements and announcements in the beginning of the issue, where it was acknowledged that certain Ch'ü Ssu-ming 除思明 from Africa contributed money to Min-pao.
which apparently controlled to some extent the life of the Cuban Chinese community. After the defeat of the Reform Movement of 1898 in China, the reform leaders spread a network of organizations in the Chinese communities overseas, and so the reformist Pao-huang-hui (Protect the Emperor Society) was also established in Cuba. However, wrote Huang Ting-chih,

at that time I had already appreciated the revolutionary theory of Sun Yat-sen and had been influenced by Tsou Jung's pamphlet Ko-ming-ch'un, and as a result I constantly opposed the wrong ideas of the members of Pao-huang-hui. At that time there were only several tens of members in that society and I managed to defeat them all. After that I subscribed to Min-pao's anniversary supplement and other issues...and the revolutionary principles quickly spread. 1

The satirical portraits of the eminent Chinese officials, who, in Min-pao's opinion, betrayed Han people by serving the Mahchus, made a great impression on Huang, when he saw them in Min-pao's T'ien-t'ao. He also paid special attention to the summons to punish the Manchus which were published in T'ien-t'ao on behalf of many Chinese provinces and on behalf of the future military government of the Chinese revolutionary army. These summons provoked Huang Ting-chih's own revolutionary activity.

In the first year of Hsüan-t'ung's rule, Ch'ing court decreed performance of special celebrations and official rites of congratulations for the new emperor. The Ch'ing consul to Cuba, Li Jung-yao, had received orders from the Ch'ing consul in America to do so and issued an announcement, which urged all his fellow countrymen overseas in Cuba to gather in Chung-hua tsung-hui-kuan on a certain date to perform the appropriate ceremony. When this announcement was posted for everyone to see, Huang Ting-chih seized the chance to display his revolutionary spirit. Influenced by Min-pao's writings, he penned a "Summons to punish the Manchus", which ran into more than a thousand words and posted it side by side with the consul's announcement. This bold proclamation at once drew attention of the Chinese onlookers, who gathered round it "like a wall"; they all were frightened and astonished, seeing the two posters side by side and reading the two directly opposite statements. Huang Ting-chih, who secretly mixed with the crowd of the Chinese, saw that some were angry with his poster, some admired, but on the whole most of them did not support his proclamation. However, he still continued to spread revolutionary ideas by means of wall posters.
Gradually he found several Chinese with similar views, which enabled them to unite and embark upon some revolutionary activities. Huang Ting-chih several times brought the issues of Min-pao for his new comrades to read, and subsequently, when the journal met with some financial difficulties, they arranged financial aid for the journal.¹

Later, the Chinese revolutionaries in Cuba got in touch with their comrades in America and founded an organization of their own. In 1910 T'ung-meng-hui branch was formed there.

Of course, the distribution of Min-pao in Japan and among overseas Chinese living in South-East Asia (that is, in British Malaya, French Indo-China, Dutch East-Indies, Siam, Burma) and in the West (Germany, France, America, Canada) was comparatively easy. There was no prohibition of Min-pao in these places, and so on the last back page of every issue of Min-pao there were several columns, giving relevant information about Min-pao, its address, cost, addresses of the agencies of distribution in the above-mentioned countries, and so on.

Although the Chinese revolutionary movement was for some time built in exile and was supported both morally and financially by the Chinese students overseas and the overseas Chinese, it still had to take root in China itself to become effective.

T'ung-meng-hui's first headquarters were in Tokyo, and subsequently the leading centre of the movement was shifted from place to place in South-East Asia, following Sun Yat-sen's movements. Thus, from the spring of 1907 to the spring of 1908 Hanoi was Sun Yat-sen's base, and from the middle of 1908 the Regional Office for South-East Asia, established in Singapore, became a kind of unofficial centre of T'ung-meng-hui. It was only in the late autumn of 1909 that a branch of comparative importance was established in China, and that was the Regional Office for South China (Nan-fang chih-pu) in Hongkong.

However, in spite of the fact that up to 1909 the headquarters of the Chinese revolutionary party was overseas, Chinese revolutionaries managed to spread their ideas in their homeland and create many small cells of revolutionary-minded intellectuals.
Let us examine Min-pao's distribution in China - first in South China, then in Central China, and finally in North China.

South China (Hua-nan 华南) at that time comprised six provinces - Kwangtung 廣東, Fukien 福建, Chekiang 浙江, Yunnan 雲南, Kweichow 貴州, and Kwangsi 廣西.

Kwantung province, on the south coast of China, is populous and comparatively rich; trade and commerce were remarkably well developed due to the presence of big towns and ports. Apart from the capital Canton (Kwangchow 廣州) and several other large ports, it also had on its soil the British colony Hongkong (Hsiang-kang 香港) and Portuguese colony Macao (Ao-men 澳門).

It was in the British colony of Hongkong, a large port and centre of commerce, that the first T'ung-meng-hui branch on Chinese soil was established. Hongkong was already an unofficial centre for revolutionary activities in South China. From 1899 the first Chinese revolutionary newspaper Chung-kuo jih-pao had been published continuously in Hongkong; its editorial office was, at first, Hsing-Chung-hui's headquarters in China and then a general base for the Chinese revolutionaries of the pre-T'ung-meng-hui period.
In September 1905 T'ung-meng-hui member Feng Tzu-yu was sent to Hongkong to establish a T'ung-meng-hui branch there; he subsequently took over the editorship of Chung-kuo jih-pao. Chung-kuo jih-pao immediately became an agency for the sale of Min-pao and remained so during the entire existence of Min-pao. Min-pao, in its turn, also advertised Chung-kuo jih-pao on its pages. Min-pao was occasionally to be found on sale in K'ai-chih-she and in the editorial office of another newspaper, Tung-fang pao.  

It is quite probable that when Min-pao was shipped from Japan to Hongkong and despatched to Chung-kuo jih-pao office, it was read not only among the intellectuals of Hongkong, but was also secretly spread to the cities and towns of the Kwangtung province and further into China.

The T'ung-meng-hui branch in Hongkong was of a special importance, because Hongkong was not under direct Ch'ing control, and the branch became a centre for the entire Hongkong-Canton area, in fact for the whole of Kwangtung province. In 1907 there were already several hundred members of T'ung-meng-hui in Hongkong, and this was doubled in 1908; in 1909 there were over 2,000 T'ung-

1 See last back page of every issue of Min-pao.
meng-hui members in Hongkong and the two following years witnessed rapid increase in membership. Through Hongkong, the connection was maintained between the overseas Chinese revolutionary movement and the one in China itself.

When the T'ung-meng-hui Regional Office for South China was established in Hongkong in 1909, its purpose was to be an operational centre for the revolutionary activities in South China. Chinese revolutionary Mo Chip'eng in his memoirs about the activities of the Regional Office for South China and its attempted Canton army coup of February 1910 gives some information about Min-pao's role. He wrote in his memoirs that when the Regional Office for South China, of which he became a member, was established, one of its tasks was to spread revolutionary propaganda. Therefore, the T'ung-meng-hui member Lin Shih-shuang collected 3,000 yuan to be taken to Tokyo to revive Min-pao's publication. His description of Min-pao reveals the journal's position in the eyes of the Chinese revolutionaries:

...originally Min-pao was the most powerful periodical of its time. It had two main tasks: one was to build the practical theory of the nationalist revolution and to explain the historical significance of the nationalist revolution, and another was to knock down the corrupt theories of our enemy Pao-huang tang. In those years our Min-pao and our enemy's
Hsin-min ts'ung-pao had formed two antagonistic camps. If we compare our Min-pao with Lenin's Iskra, it is impossible to decide which one is the best.¹

But despite the efforts of Min-pao's admirers, nothing apparently came out of this attempt to revive it, though it is possible that this money found its way to Wang Ching-wei who published the last two issues in the beginning of 1910.

In the province of Yunnan, a T'ung-meng-hui branch was first established in 1906 by some Yunnanese T'ung-meng-hui members who had returned from Japan in that year. At the beginning of 1906 a group of revolutionaries in Yunnan had also established an organization, apparently similar to T'ung-meng-hui, called Hsing-Han-hui (Revival of Han Society). One of the functions of this organization was to subscribe to Min-pao, to Han-chih (Flag of the Han), and to Fu-pao, so that these periodicals would aid them in their revolutionary propaganda.²


In fact, Yunnanese students were quite active in Japan. One Yunnanese, Chang Ta-i 張大義, described in his memoirs how he and other Yunnanese students in Japan had read Min-pao, Tsou Jung's Ko-ming-chün, and Ch'en T'ien-hua's Ching-shih chung and became deeply influenced by revolutionary ideology. Although they did not join T'ung-meng-hui at that time, they formed their own provincial organization to foster secret revolutionary work.¹

In October 1906 a group of Yunnanese students embarked upon the publication of a revolutionary journal of their own, Yün-nan tsa-chih 雲南雜誌. This journal was advertised on the pages of Min-pao, and among its editorial staff there were several T'ung-meng-hui members. One of its editorial writers Lü Chih-i 吕志伊 (tzu T'ien-min民), under pen-name Chin-ma 鎮馬, wrote "Yunnan's summons to punish the Manchus" published in Min-pao's anniversary supplement T'ien-t'ao.² Among Yün-nan tsa-chih editors there were Li Keng-yüan 李根源, Wu K'un 吳琨, who worked for Min-pao at one stage, Chao Shen 趙伸, and

¹ Chang Ta-i, "Establishment and activities of the T'ung-meng-hui branch in Yunnan", CHWH.I. vol. 12, p.130.
² "A biographical sketch of Lü T'ien-min", CHWH.I. vol. 12, p.141.
others. It is said that Yun-nan tsa-chih was similar to Min-pao in its ideas and message, but rather more moderate in tone.¹ Li Keng-yüan, in his memoirs about the revolutionary years, said that after Min-pao began to be published, T'ung-meng-hui leaders encouraged students to publish journals of their own provincial groups in order to aid in the dissemination of revolutionary ideas.

Yun-nan tsa-chih was in close touch with Min-pao, as Li Keng-yüan once showed in a short poem:

T'ung-meng-hui we have to bring about the revolution.
As stormy wind and clouds arise, so all the heroes band together.
Min-pao has been begotten for a special purpose, and who stands guard for it?
That sharply pointed weapon is Yun-nan tsa-chih.

As for Kweichow, Chou Su-yüan, in his description of revolutionary movement in that province and the activities of a society of Kweichow students Tzu-chih hsüeh-she 自治學社 stressed the importance of Min-pao's role as T'ung-meng-hui spokesman. He wrote that Min-pao in Tokyo advocated Three Principles of the People and the idea of quintuple constitution, and that Chang Ping-lin's editorial articles were of high quality. Min-pao's

¹ "A biographical sketch of Lü T'ien-min", CHWH.I.vol. 12, p.141.
² Li Keng-yüan, "Miscellaneous reminiscences of the ten years before and after the Hsin-hai", HHHI.1.322-323.
influence spread at once, and "young people of all provinces regarded it shameful not to talk about revolution".\(^1\) A student from Kweichow, Chou Chung-liang 周仲良, member of Kweichow branch of Tʻung-meng-hui, sent his small item about Ming loyalists to be published in Min-pao.\(^2\)

In another Southern province of China, Kwangsi, revolutionary influence also spread in the main cities among intellectuals of the province. For example, Li Jen-jen 李任仁 described revolutionary movement in Kwangsi in his memoirs. He recorded that at first the reform movement was influential in Kwangsi, especially in the provincial capital Kweilin 桂林. After the defeat of the movement, reform periodicals Chʻing-i pao and then Hsin-min tsʻung-pao, together with other similar writings, circulated among intellectuals. After 1905, revolutionary publications, especially Min-pao and Huang-tʻi hun, became more and more popular, and the intellectuals gradually realized their mistake in following the reformers. Many of them understood that revolution was the only solution.

\(^1\) Chou Su-yüan, "Formation and activities of Tʻu-chih-hsüeh-she in Kweichow", CHWH.I. vol.12, p.102.

\(^2\) Chou Chung-liang, "Chatter", MP.15.126-128.
for China and subsequently joined T'ung-meng-hui. Li Jen-jen also wrote that he himself was at first greatly influenced by the reform ideas and greatly respected K'ang and Liang's theories, but afterwards, when he read Min-pao and similar revolutionary publications and met some of the local members of T'ung-meng-hui, he completely changed his views and joined T'ung-meng-hui.  

Nan-ning 南京, a fairly large city in Kwangsi, on the banks of Yu-chiang 楚江 river, also was one of the centres of revolutionary activity. T'ung-meng-hui branch was established there in 1907, and one of its main functions was to spread revolutionary propaganda among the inhabitants of the town and the province. Min-pao, Chung-kuo jih-pao and other revolutionary publications were passed around, especially among students, and contributed to the growth of revolutionary thought in Kwangsi.  

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1 Li Jen-jen, "Reminiscences of the T'ung-meng-hui activities in Kweilin and P'ing-lo and of Kwangsi's declaration of independence", HHHI.2.449.  
2 Ibid., HHHI.2.450, 456-457.  
P'an Nai-te, 潘乃德, a student from Kwangsi, described how he and his fellow-students, who studied either in Japan or in Canton, became T'ung-meng-hui members. Whenever they happened to come home to their native Hsün-chou 潭州 in Kwangsi for winter or summer holidays, they all secretly brought with them copies of Min-pao and other revolutionary publications. They then circulated these among relatives and friends, instructing them in new ideas.¹

Central China (Hua-chung 华中) consisted of the provinces of Kiangsu 江苏, Anhwei 安徽, Kiangsi 江西, Hunan 湖南, Hupei 湖北, Szechwan 四川. This is indeed the central region of China, the most heavily populated and relatively affluent.

The province of Kiangsu, one of the smallest in China, had within its boundaries several large and important cities: its capital Nanking 南京, Shanghai 上海, Suchow 蘇州, Wu-sung 吳淞 and others.

Shanghai, like Hongkong, had been notable for some time for the revolutionary ferment among its intellectuals; it was the home of many early revolutionary organizations

¹ P'an Nai-te, "P'ing-nan uprising and attack of Hsün-chou", HHHI.2.513.
and publications. The Su-pao trial could have happened only in Shanghai.

T'ung-meng-hui branch had existed in Shanghai since 1906, and it naturally was the main centre for the whole Kiangsu area. Most of the revolutionary activities in Shanghai were taken up by the numerous students who resided and studied there.

As far as the distribution of Min-pao is concerned, Shanghai's Hsin-chih-she was listed once or twice in Min-pao as its agency, but other agencies were not mentioned, in order to protect them from the possible reprisals.

Chien-hsing Public School (Chien-hsing kung-hsueh) in Shanghai was one of the centres of distribution of Min-pao and other revolutionary periodicals published in Japan, notably Fu-pao, Tung-t'ing po, Chüan-sheng, and Han-chih. The young revolutionary Ch'en T'ao-i always took these periodicals to the Ch'i-fang ch'a-lou teahouse on Fu-chou road for display and sale. This was immediately opposite a bookshop, and onlookers crowded round his display.

Chien-hsing Public School in Shanghai was a starting point for many Chinese intellectuals, which led them to
revolution; people like the future poet Liu Ya-tzu and future member of Min-pao editorial staff Ch'en Ch'ü-ping were active in that school.¹

When, at the end of 1905, students protested in Japan against the regulations issued by the Japanese government to insure better supervision of the Chinese students, a large section of them left Tokyo in protest and returned to China. Most of them then settled in Shanghai to continue their studies, and they formed there an organization named Ke-sheng liu-hu hsüeh-sheng hui (Alliance of Students in Shanghai from All Provinces). Among those who left Japan at that time, there were some T'ung-meng-hui members, and they of course further spread the revolutionary ideas.

Min-pao was also circulated in Nanking, the provincial capital of Kiangsu. Shen Chu-tung described in his memoirs the feelings of students in the Fourth Military School at Nanking, where he studied in the pre-revolutionary years. The students, he wrote, liked to read Hsin-min ts'ung-pao, which was a very interesting journal, though they opposed Liang's propaganda in favour

¹ Feng Tzu-yu, "Organizations and activities in Kiangsu", CHWH.I. vol. 12, p.152.
of the establishment of constitution in China. But they especially liked to read Min-pao, because Min-pao criticized the ideas of K'ang and Liang about the reforms and constitution in China and because Min-pao advocated the overthrow of the Ch'ing dynasty and the establishment of a republic. Min-pao and similar publications were banned at that time, together with such nationalist writings as Yang-chou shih-jih chi; students were not allowed to read anything of that kind. However, they secretly put misleading covers or rebounded these revolutionary publications and put such titles as Lun li-hsüeh on the cover. These revolutionary writings in camouflage were put on the shelves at the school and read during periods between study, and revolutionary ideas were spread in this way.

Another province of Central China, Hupei, was also notable for revolutionary activities. From 1904 onwards, revolutionary organizations, some closely connected later with T'ung-meng-hui, had been established one after another.

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1 Shen Chu-tung, "How the students of the Fourth Military School at Nanking took part in Wu-han revolution", HHHI.2. 69.
K'o-hsüeh pu-hsi so 科學補習所 (Science Study Group) was the first such organization, and together with Huang Hsing's Hua-hsing-hui, they preceded the establishment of T'ung-meng-hui.

These organizations became ineffective after the unsuccessful Changsha revolt of 1904 and the establishment of T'ung-meng-hui in autumn of 1905. They were succeeded by an organization called Jih-chih-hui 日知會 (Society for the Daily Increase of Knowledge), which was "a front organization for the Hupei branch of T'ung-meng-hui".\(^1\) It took part in P'ing-Liu-Li uprising of December 1906.

Ch'en Ch'un-sheng 陳春生 had described the activities of Jih-chih-hui in Wuchang and surrounding regions. The organization actively spread revolutionary propaganda in Wuchang and other cities, aiming mostly at students, military cadets and soldiers. In the spring of 1906 Jih-chih-hui members organized meetings and discussions for students, soldiers and military cadets, at which ideas of nationalism and democracy were put forward. Jih-chih-hui was particularly active in the army; revolutionary converts from the army were united into

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\(^1\) Chün-tu Hsuêh, Huang Hsing and the Chinese Revolution, p.95.
groups of ten and held secret meetings, where they made plans for revolutionary uprisings and discussed the ways of expanding their organization. At these meetings items of revolutionary propaganda were circulated, such as Min-pao, Ching-shih chung, Meng-hui t'ou, Ko-ming-chün, and others. Ch'en Ch'ung-sheng wrote that these periodicals and pamphlets were so widely circulated that almost every soldier had copies of them.¹

For taking part in P'ing-Liu-Li uprising, this organization was severely suppressed, and many of its members arrested. One of the members, Liu Ching-an, confessed to the following crimes: he had taken part in organizing the society Jih-chih-hui, for the purpose of uniting students and soldiers in the task of preparing for a revolution; he invited a Frenchman to give a talk on the French Revolution at one of the society's meetings, implying that China should follow the example of France; he had distributed twenty or thirty copies of Min-pao, which had been brought from Japan by some friends, and so on.² This confession by Liu Ching-an was obtained

¹ Ch'en Ch'un-sheng, "Detailed record of exposure of Jih-chih-hui in Wuchang", CHWH.I. vol. 12, p.212.
under torture, and it gives an idea of the nature of information the interrogators were seeking. He merely stated that he had circulated copies of Min-pao, without giving any further explanation; obviously, the interrogators and all concerned knew what Min-pao was and its distribution was considered a crime.¹

Wuchang, the provincial capital of Hupei and the place where revolution had began in 1911, naturally did not escape the spread of revolutionary ideas. Li Chien-hou described his revolutionary youth in Wuchang. As a fifteen-year-old lad he arrived in 1906 in Wuchang from Huang-an of Hupei to study. He stated that the intellectuals of the province were all influenced by anti-Manchu feelings. Students avidly read the writings of the late Ming loyalists, and the contemporary revolutionary propaganda - Ko-ming-chün, Min-pao and other publications. The polemics between Min-pao and Hsin-min ts'ung-pao were followed closely by them, and more and more students became convinced that Ch'ing government should be overthrown.²

² Li Chien-hou, "Reminiscences, in eight parts, of the Wuchang uprising", HHHI.2.79.
Revolutionary activities among Hunan intellectuals also show the influence of Min-pao. At one of the inaugural meetings of T'ung-meng-hui in Tokyo, Huang Hsing and Sung Chiao-jen were chosen to be recruiters (chu-meng 主盟) for Hunan. Subsequently Huang Hsing wrote secretly to his friend Yü Chih-mo 禹之謨, asking him to establish a T'ung-meng-hui branch in his native Hunan and to push sales of Min-pao there. Yü Chih-mo did as requested, and before long he was apparently able to arrange receipt of copies of Min-pao and their sale in Hunan. Apart from forming T'ung-meng-hui branch in Hunan and working as agent of distribution of Min-pao, Yü Chih-mo took part in various revolutionary activities. He was the one who planned to stage a public burial for Ch'en T'ien-hua and Yao Hung-yeh 姚宏業, both of whom had committed suicide – one in Tokyo and the other in Shanghai, but authorities had forbidden him to carry out his plan. However, when the bodies of the two suicides arrived in Hunan for burial, Yü Chih-mo arranged it so that the whole student population of Changsha went into mourning and performed funeral rites. A great number of people escorted the coffins to the grave-side.

At that time the Chief-Inspector of the Educational Department at Changsha was a person called Yü Kao-ch'ing
Yü Chih-mo, who was quite immoral in his behaviour, keeping company with prostitutes. He was severely shamed by Yü Chih-mo and thereafter began to hate him. When the opportunity came, he secretly informed the authorities, that Yü Chih-mo was specially deputed by the leader of revolutionary party to spread the "perverse" theories of Min-pao. As a result of this, Yü Chih-mo was arrested in summer of 1906 and after a period of imprisonment and cruel torture was executed by strangling in winter 1906.¹

Among the questions asked during interrogations and torture, some were about the distribution of Min-pao. Yü Chih-mo wrote several letters to his relatives and friends from prison shortly before his execution and described, how he had been tortured and forced to give answers. He was asked at one stage, what was the advantage of his joining the Sun Wen's party, and he replied that the advantage was revolution. He was further asked, whether he was the source of Min-pao, but he denied this, and on further questioning said that he had no knowledge who published it. He was asked whether he had read Min-pao, and when he replied that he had seen one copy, his

interrogators asked what were the principles expressed in Min-pao. Ÿü Chih-mo replied:

I said to them that Min-pao was filled with the idea that China was oppressed by foreign powers, and since the government could not protect it, it was necessary for the common people to understand about the salvation of the country.¹

Min-pao noted Ÿü Chih-mo's death in one of the articles and praised his heroism.²

Ch'ou Ao, another former revolutionary, described in his memoirs how T'ung-meng-hui branch was established in Hunan province through the efforts of Ÿü Chih-mo. Under Ÿü's leadership, T'ung-meng-hui members, including Ch'ou Ao, devised various ways and means of transporting and selling Min-pao throughout the entire province of Hunan. He regarded Min-pao as a very useful tool of revolutionary propaganda.

At the end of 1906 Ch'ou Ao went to Japan to study, and he continued his revolutionary work in Tokyo. He was chosen to be a recruiter for Hunan branch of T'ung-meng-hui and also took part in administrative work for Min-pao. At that time some "aristocratic youth" (kuei-tsù tzu-ti

² Wu-li, "Ÿü Chih-mo is killed", MP.11.80-81.
in Tokyo joined with reformers to fight Min-pao, whose influence, they felt, was becoming more and more dangerous. They had even proposed three methods which would effectively curb Min-pao's influence. First method was to terminate the scholarships of all those government-scholarship students who had anything to do with Min-pao; as for private students, their families and relatives in China should be arrested. These actions were to be a punishment for all those who supported Min-pao. The second method was to establish a separate journal whose special aim it would be to oppose Min-pao. And third method was to "rule the Han using the Han themselves" (i-Han chih-Han 以漢制漢), by manipulating Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and his group in their attack on Min-pao. They said that it would be much better to destroy Min-pao than let it confuse the Han people. They in fact did use the third method, but failed in it disastrously, as polemics between Min-pao and Hsin-min ts'ung-pao only increased Min-pao's popularity.\footnote{Ch'ou Ao, "Miscellaneous reminiscences of the time before and after the Hsin-hai revolution", HHHI.1.440-441. This event is also reported in Min-pao, see Hu Han-min, "Report on the meeting of the Manchu students in Tokyo", MP.9. 91-96.}
Another revolutionary Li Liu-ju 劉六如, in his memoirs about the society Wen-hsüeh she 文學社 (Literary Society) and its role in the revolution, wrote that Min-pao, as well as other revolutionary publications of the period, were secretly distributed and became influential among the intellectuals of the provinces of Hunan and Hupei.¹

Nor was Szechwan province neglected by the revolutionaries. Chinese revolutionary Li T'ieh-fu 李鐵夫 described revolutionary movement in Hsü-yung 敷永 (which was at that time an independent t'ing 廳 in Szechwan province) and in Yung-ning 永甯 district (hsien 縣) in Hsü-yung. According to Li T'ieh-fu, teachers at Yung-ning Middle School secretly spread propaganda periodicals and books among students, so that they all read Min-pao and its supplement T'ien-t'ao.²

In 1906 a group of Szechwan students, who had received their education and were converted to the ideas of revolution in Japan, returned to their native hsien Ta-chu 大竹 in Szechwan. They established an undercover

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¹ Li Liu-ju, "General record of Literary Society and the Wuchang uprising", HHHI.1.306.
² Li T'ieh-fu, "True record of T'ung-meng-hui activities in Hsü-yung", HHHI.3.247.
organization, disguised as Ta-chu shu-pao-she (Ta-chu Bookshop) with the aim of spreading revolutionary propaganda. This bookshop had various new periodicals and books and spread Min-pao and other publications to enlighten the people. In the guise of a bookshop, T'ung-meng-hui branch was established and began to work in Szechwan.¹

North China (Hua-pei 華北) consisted of the provinces of Chihli 直隸, Shangtung 山東, Kansu 甘肅, Shensi 陝西, Shansi 山西, Honan 河南. Only Kansu was not represented at the time of T'ung-meng-hui establishment in Tokyo in 1905, because there were no students from Kansu in Japan at that time.

Chang Chi, even while he was official editor-publisher of Min-pao, also acted as recruiter for his native province of Chihli.

The veteran-revolutionary Liu Hsien-chou 劉仙洲 described in his memoirs his acquaintance with Min-pao and T'ung-meng-hui and his subsequent conversion to the ideas of revolution, which was, most probably, fairly typical of many students. He wrote that in 1905-1906 he became a

¹ Cheng-hsieh ta-tsu hsien wei-yūan-hui, "Revolutionary activities of Ta-chu Bookshop before the Hsin-hai revolution", HHHI.3.300.
student in Pao-ting, the provincial capital of Chihli province. The teacher of physics and chemistry at that school was a certain Ch'en Yu-yün who for several years had studied in Japan; during these study years in Tokyo he had met Sun Yat-sen and joined T'ung-meng-hui. When, sometime in 1906, Ch'en Yu-yün returned to China, he managed to bring various revolutionary publications, including Min-pao, with him. Soon he and several other teachers at his school formed a T'ung-meng-hui branch and began to spread propaganda among the students. One day Liu Hsien-chou went to see one of his teachers Shih Chung-ch'ing to inquire about some lessons and was then given a copy of Min-pao to read. Liu Hsien-chou was deeply impressed and asked permission to borrow it for a few days. His teacher agreed, but warned young Liu that this was a forbidden publication and therefore should not be shown freely to others. Liu read it secretly and a few days later went to exchange it for another one. In class the teacher often spoke on nationalist topics, and all this contributed to young Liu's conversion to revolutionary thought.

In his memoirs Liu Hsien-chou also explained how Min-pao and similar revolutionary publications were smuggled into Pao-ting. First of all, a certain number of
copies was brought in personally by Ch'en Yu-yün and others who studied in Japan. Then revolutionaries found other ways of maintaining a constant flow of propaganda. Min-pao copies were sent from Tokyo to various persons in Pao-ting who were obviously above suspicion and whose correspondence was not scrutinised. One such person was a certain Chou K'ang-tsung 周亢宗, a respectable elder of Chinese Presbyterian Church in Pao-ting, and another was a Japanese merchant in Pao-ting.  

At a later stage, when Liu Hsien-ju joined T'ung-meng-hui, he and other young members of this branch formed a group to spread revolutionary ideas among students in order to increase T'ung-meng-hui's membership. In order to disseminate revolutionary propaganda more widely and efficiently, they reprinted many articles from the available revolutionary publications. These reprints were then widely circulated, though the publishers were not named. Most reprints were made from Min-pao, as well as from the Shanghai journal Kuo-tsui hsüeh-pao 國粹學報. The most popular topic was nationalism. The influence of

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1 Liu Hsien-chou, "Reminiscences of the revolutionary movement in Pao-ting before and after the Hsin-hai revolution", HHHI.1.374-375.
these reprints was enormous. It will be remembered that Min-pao, due to its double system of numbering pages, was easy to pull apart and reprint.

Hu O-kung 胡鄂公, in his record of the revolutionary movement in North China, wrote:

T'ung-meng-hui was established after the disturbances of 1900, when the people of our country felt that the Ch'ing court lost its authority and brought shame on the nation, acting in opposition to the right principles. Thereupon, young people with high and great ambitions joined the revolutionaries with only the fear that it might be too late. Periodicals and books of revolutionary propaganda - Min-pao, Hupei hsüeh-sheng chieh, Han-sheng, Chiang-su, Che-chiang ch'ao, Hsin Hu-nan - gradually spread to all the Chinese provinces.  

From his record one also learns that in the autumn of 1909, when revolutionary organizations flourished in North China, Hu O-kung on a number of occasions brought with him reprints of such inflammatory writings as Chia-ting t'u-ch'eng chi 嘉定屠城記, Yang-chou shih-jih chi 揚州十日記, and Min-pao's first anniversary supplement T'ien-t'ao, and proceeded to Peking and Tientsin where he

1
Liu Hsien-chou, "Reminiscences of the revolutionary movement in Pao-ting before and after the Hsin-hai revolution", HHHI.1.378.

2
met revolutionary comrades.\(^1\) Before long an agency for
the distribution of \textit{Min-pao} appeared in Peking itself, in
the Legation Quarter,\(^2\) but no positive link can be made
between Hu's visit and this event.

When the Chihli branch of T'ung-meng-hui was
established in Tokyo, its main tasks were to form a press
organization as a cover for the actual branch office in
Tokyo, in order to spread revolutionary propaganda in
Chihli; to give financial help to comrades in their
education and revolutionary work; to put into practice the
policy of killing the traitors; and to incite the
uprisings. The circulation of revolutionary propaganda
was a difficult task, in view of the Ch'ing's government's
severe prohibition of \textit{Min-pao}. \textit{Min-pao} could not be
freely sent by post, and so it was sent from the
undercover press organization, called Kuang-chi-lu 光霧廬,
to a Medical School in Chihli, and a revolutionary Chang
Chung-shan 張仲山 devised means to spread it further to
Peking, Tientsin, Pao-ting and surrounding regions.\(^3\)

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\(^3\) Chang Chin-ch'en, "Work of the Chihli branch of T'ung-meng-hui in Tokyo", CHWH.I. vol. 11, p.293.
Such information as we have about *Min-pao*'s distribution in China has been collected from miscellaneous memoirs, articles, and similar sources.\(^1\) It is by no means complete, and the picture of the *Min-pao*'s circulation in China is therefore inevitably uneven and incomplete. In all probability, the range of distribution and the influence of *Min-pao* were greater than can be shown in this chapter, although influence is a difficult matter to estimate accurately. Nevertheless, it can be seen even from the above incomplete account that in its distribution *Min-pao* was fairly successful for a subversive publication in exile. Through the efforts of its editorial staff and numerous T'ung-meng-hui members overseas and in China, *Min-pao* had reached a comparatively large reading public.

Who, in fact, read *Min-pao*? Judging from the language, style, and intellectual level of most articles in the journal, it is obvious that *Min-pao* was not aimed at the masses, but was meant to be read by educated people - the Chinese intellectuals. Only one or two items were written in a language close to *pai-hua*, and the rest of the material ranged from the fairly straightforward and lucid articles of Wang Ching-wei, Hu Han-min, Chu Chih-

\(^1\) In addition to those already described in this chapter, examples of *Min-pao*'s influence may be found in HHHI. vols 1-6 and in CHWH.I. vols 11-16.
hsin, to the very scholarly, sometimes even scholastic, articles of Chang Ping-lin, Liu Shih-pei, Huang K'an, T'ang Tseng-pi. Chang Ping-lin and his followers filled the journal with difficult and learned articles, and this factor diminished the journal's usefulness and appeal to those less well-educated. Chang Ping-lin was several times criticized for his constant use of Buddhist expressions and terms and rare or ancient characters and for the general difficulty of his style. Some intellectuals were, however, impressed by Chang's knowledge and style and imitated him.

It is clear that Min-pao was primarily a journal of intellectuals, written by and for the Chinese intellectuals. They were the bearers of public opinion, and they aimed to become a future ruling class in post-revolutionary China. Min-pao's message to these intellectuals must be understood within the context of the time. The first two decades of the 20th century were of an unparalleled importance for China. The first decade was marked by the development and realization of both national and political revolutions, and the second was a period of social, literary, and ideological revolution.

In the first decade, during the last half of which Min-pao was published, the problems of the day centered on
the meaning and significance of such concepts as nation, citizenship, race, state, and their application to China; on nationalism, anti-Manchuism, anti-foreignism, republicanism, constitutionalism, democracy, socialism, and other ideologies; on the necessity to reform China and to establish a constitution or a new form of government and on the question whether such measures would bring salvation to China; on the relations between the Chinese and Manchu people, on their assimilation and cooperation or antagonism and hatred; on the threat of foreign intervention and the subsequent fate of China; on the general position of China among the countries of the world; on the international situation and the Far-Eastern problem; on the problem of the building and management of railways, mines, factories and general picture of foreign investment and trade. These and many similar problems occupied most of the space in the publications of the Chinese intellectuals. The greatest problem of the first decade, the one which disturbed and filled the minds of the Chinese intellectuals, the one which was the constant topic of heated discussions, lengthy articles, disputes, and deep thoughts, was China's fate. Numerous solutions were offered, debated, criticized, defended, and attempted.
Nationalist, anti-Manchu revolution, which would lead to China's independence and eventual establishment of a republic in China, was what Chinese revolutionaries, speaking through Min-pao, offered as their solution to this great problem. Both the T'ung-meng-hui and the Min-pao editorial staff were comprised of people with somewhat different ideas and beliefs, but all of them agreed without reservation that an anti-Manchu revolution was the only way to save China. This was both the strength and the weakness of the revolutionary camp. Its strength lay in the fact that it could unite people with otherwise different views, and its weakness was amply demonstrated after the main goal of the overthrowing the Manchus was achieved and the unifying idea of anti-Manchuism no longer existed.

During its life Min-pao was most effective in its advocacy of anti-Manchuism. Min-pao had picked up and continued the main line of thinking in the revolutionary movement under the Ch'ing. Anti-Manchuism had existed long before Min-pao's appearance and probably would have continued to exist without its propaganda. However, the introduction of new reforms, plans to establish a constitution, and the propaganda of the reform press in exile tended to make the Manchu government more tolerable.
to those who disliked it. Min-pao's unswerving criticism of all the actions of the Manchu government probably helped those in doubt. It is worth repeating that anti-Manchuism was the most unifying, the strongest, and the most persistent part of Min-pao's propaganda. It was also the most effective.

Min-pao's propaganda, however, was not confined to anti-Manchuism; on the contrary, its six principles indicate an understanding of the complexity of the problems facing China. The first three principles were of the utmost importance, because they dealt with the internal problems of China. It has been stressed already that the first principle was of over-riding importance. Nationalism, strongly coloured by anti-Manchuism, may be found in almost every article, on almost every page of Min-pao. It is truly the key to the understanding of Min-pao and, through it, of T'ung-meng-hui and the Chinese revolutionaries of 1911. The other five principles all stem from the first one. The overthrow of the Manchu government (that is, Min-pao's first principle) led to the search for a new form of government (second principle) and solution of socio-economic problems (third principle). The last three principles were also connected with it: they were formulated out of a desire to keep foreign
powers and Japan neutral, or perhaps even sympathetic, at the time of the overthrow of the Manchu government.

The propaganda of anti-Manchuiism was straightforward and easy for the revolutionaries of the Min-pao circle, as well as for most of the Chinese intellectuals. The second and third principles were, on the other hand, the ones which required careful and exhaustive study and explanation, and it seems that the revolutionaries themselves found these two principles the most difficult to think about in concrete terms.

Min-pao's propaganda for a republic and democracy was rather vague, and as such failed to prepare people for post-revolutionary problems. Subsequent events and the loss of power by the revolutionaries indicated that revolution came perhaps too soon and that the establishment of revolutionary government was not thought out in practical terms. The task which was to face the Chinese intellectuals after October 1911 was enormous, and they were not ready to take it. The main failure probably lay in the absence of practical thought, in the lack of real and thorough knowledge of how modern politics worked, what constitutional democracy meant in actual practice. In the pages of Min-pao some attempts were made to deal with these problems, but apart from a few
explanations by Sun Yat-sen on his idea of military government, provisional constitution and quintuple authority, and Wang Ching-wei's defence of Min-pao's advocacy of republicanism against Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's attacks, nothing concrete was given to readers by way of a solution.

It can be said that Min-pao's propaganda for land nationalization failed entirely. As in the case of the second principle, the time was not yet ready for it. This third principle was the most difficult and controversial point of Min-pao's program, as revolutionaries themselves admitted, and it will be remembered here that Sun Yat-sen had to deliver many explanations before this point was accepted in the T'ung-meng-hui program. The leading articles and discussions in Min-pao on this point apparently failed to convince Chinese intellectuals of the importance of this principle. In 1907 many revolutionaries and intellectuals joined an organization Kung-chin-hui, which had the same program as T'ung-meng-hui but substituted "equalization of human rights" for "equalization of land rights". Later in 1910, even T'ung-meng-hui abandoned equalization of land rights as its immediate aim.
Min-pao's so-called external principles (that is, the last three) were all moderately successful. Anti-foreignism was played down to some extent, and Min-pao managed to channel all opposition against the Manchus. Min-pao's polemics with Hsin-min ts'ung-pao may be listed as one of its achievements. Reformers were fairly popular among Chinese intellectuals before and after the Reform Movement; reform periodicals, which were smuggled into China, were read with great attention. Min-pao and similar publications managed to reduce the popularity of the reformers and win over many moral and financial supporters. Many Chinese intellectuals, as a result of revolutionary propaganda, turned from the reformers to revolutionaries.

The description of Min-pao's contents throughout the four stages of its publication shows that Min-pao experienced and reflected various shifts and modifications in emphasis in the propaganda. The first two stages cover a period of a little more than a year, and they were the happiest periods of T'ung-meng-hui's existence. On the border between the second and third stages the dissensions began within T'ung-meng-hui. It is noteworthy that they had not touched Min-pao's pages and were, most probably, not known to the T'ung-meng-hui's rank and file and to the
outsiders. During the third stage, the journal's contents became more theoretical, controversial and individual. Chang Ping-lin's articles particularly could not be ignored. Their high individuality and originality, depth of thought and their sometimes contradictory argument presented readers with a new and unique outlook, which must have provoked thought.

Min-pao's propaganda for assassination was effective in keeping up the low spirits of the revolutionaries in 1908. In 1906 and 1907 four major uprisings, prepared by T'ung-meng-hui, took place, as well as three independent ones; all failed and were severely suppressed. Two more broke out in 1908 with the same result. Min-pao was still coming out during these dismal years, and the very fact of its continued existence and propaganda must have been reassuring to revolutionaries.

In conclusion, one can only repeat that all the ideas in Min-pao stemmed from one unifying idea - nationalism, and particularly anti-Manchuism. Although Min-pao failed in its advocacy of some of these ideas, the main and unifying one could not have failed to reach the minds of readers, intensified as it was by the very diversity of its modes of presentation.
APPENDIX I

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MIN-PAO No. 1. November 26, 1905.
I reprint December 8, 1905.
Editors: Chang Chi, Hu Han-min.

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Founder of the Chinese nationalist state.

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January 22, 1906.
I reprint April 10, 1906.
II reprint May 8, 1906.

Editors: Chang Chi, Hu Han-min.

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Heroine of Nihilist party Sofia Perovskaya.

Mr Ch'eng Hsing-t'ai (with biographical note).

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Letter written before committing suicide by Ch'en Hsing-t'ai, with epilogue by Sung Chiao-jen. (Ch'en Hsing-t'ai hsien-sheng chüeh-ming shu 陳星台先生絕命書. 附跋.)

Comments on Current Events

Report on Ko-lao-hui in Shansi. (Chin-sheng Ko-lao-hui chi-shih 晋省哥老會記事.)
Han-min (Hu Han-min).

Sale of mines by Chang Chih-t'ung. (Chang Chih-t'ung chih mai-k'uang 張之洞之賣礦.)
Han-min (Hu Han-min)

Will the Ch'ing government increase the number of its prisons? (Ch'ing cheng-fu yu chiang hsing ta yü yeh 清政府又將興大獄耶.)
Shih-wan

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From Society for the Rehabilitation of Land Rights, Japan.
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Discussions on revolution essays on society and reforming. (Kuo-shing heng-go hsien kung yen 總結改革革新論文) Part II (not finished).
Ku-Shen. (Wang Ch'ing-wai).

The Russian Revolution of 1905. (T'ao liu ch'ieh-chi hsien liu liu shih sheng 千九百零五年革命文.) Part I.
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Hsien-chieh (Chu Chin-hsia).
The founder of anarchist party Bakunin.

The hero Wu Yüeh, who threw a bomb at the five high commissioners at the Peking railway station.

Six main principles of Min-pao. (Min-pao chih liu-ta chu-i 民報之六大主義.)
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Let all those who hope for the establishment of Manchu constitution listen to this. (Hsi-wang Man-chou li-hsien che kai t'ing-chu 希望滿洲立憲者盍聽諸.)

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Discussions on revolution: essay on starting uprising. (Ko-ming heng-i: fa-nan p'ien 革命商量: 難篇.)
Part I (not finished).
P'u-man. (Wang Ching-wei).

The Russian Revolution of 1905. (I-ch'ien chiu-pai ling-wu nien lu-kuo chih ko-ming 一千九百五年露國之革命.)

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Refutation of the article on the establishment of a constitution by the Ch'ing court in Horitsu shimbun. (Po Fa-lü hsin-wen chih lun Ch'ing-t'ing li-hsien 駁法律新聞之論清廷立憲)
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Short biographies of German Socialist revolutionaries. Part 2, pp. [1-19]

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Statement of views by the hero Wu Yüeh. (Lieh-shih Wu Yüeh chün i-chien-shu) pp. [1-9]

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The main points of dispute between Min-pao and Hsin-min ts'ung-pao (Min-pao yü Hsin-min ts'ung-pao pien-po chih kangling)
MIN-PAO No. 4

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A Taiping victory in the battle against the Ch'ing army.

Assassination of the Governor-General of Baku, Prince Nakashidze, by a bomb explosion.

Refutation of the Hsin-min ts'ung-pao's most recent anti-revolutionary article. (Po Hsin-min ts'ung-pao tsui-chin fei ko-ming lun 駭新民叢報最近反革命論.)

Ching-wei (Wang Ching-wei)

Discussion from the socialist point of view on the nationalization of railways and the official and private management of Chinese railways. (Ts'ung she-hui chu-i lun t'ieh-tao kuo-yu chi Chung-kuo t'ieh-tao chih kuan-pan ssu-pan 從社會主義論鐵道國有及中國鐵道之官辦私辦.)

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Anti-foreignism and international law. (P'ai-wai yü kuo-chi-fa 排外與國際法.)

Part I.

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Determination of the Ch'ing government to sell Chinese minerals. (Ch'ing cheng-fu chüeh-i mai-sung Han-jen k'uang-ch'an 清政府決意賣漢人礦產.)

Lei-ch'ou (Ching-Mei-chiu)
The inheritance tax in the United States of America. (Pei-mei-ho-chung-kuo chih hsiang-hsu-shui 北美合衆國之相繼稅.)

Hsien-chieh (Chu Chih-hsin)

Kwangtung self-management of the Canton-Hankow railway. (Yüeh-Han t'ieh-lu chih Kuang-tung tzu-pan 粵漢鐵路之廣東自辦.)
Yüeh-jen

Delay in the Sino-Russian negotiations. (Ch'ing-O t'an-p'an chih yen-ch'ih 清俄談判之延遲.)
Pien-chien (Hu Han-min)

The daily newspaper of the Russian revolutionary party. (O-kuo ko-ming-tang chih jih-pao 俄國革命黨之日報.)
Pien-chien (Hu Han-min)

From Chung-kuo jih-pao: Principle of people's livelihood and the future of the Chinese political revolution. (Lu Chung-kuo jih-pao: min-sheng chu-i yü Chung-kuo cheng-chih ko-ming chih ch'ien-t'u 錄中國日報民 生主義與中國政治革命之前途.)
Tzu-yu (Feng Tzu-yu)

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Various types of socialist revolutionary movements in Europe and America and their criticism. (Ou-mei she-hui ko-ming yün-tung chih chung-lei chi p'ing-lun 欧美社會革命運動之種類及評論.)
Junko (Miyazaki Tamizō) Transl. by Sung Chiao-jen.
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Guillotine execution of Louis XVI. The last read of the despotic monarch. The person in white dress and dark trousers, who is climbing up and glancing round in fear, is the evil ruler of the clique which disregarded the people.

The great men of the Chinese nationalist revolution:
Chu Yuen-chang.
Nung Hsieh-ch'uan.
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Let all those who hope for the establishment of Manchu constitution listen to this. Part 2.
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Why the social revolution should be carried out simultaneously with the political revolution. (She-hui ko-seng yu cheng-chih ko-seng ping-hsing 社會革命與政治革命並行)
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Refutation of Hain-min ts'ung-pao's lies and slander (Ch'ih Hain-min ts'ung-pao chih shui-wang 長期tlumoted 論)
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Brief history of the congress of world socialist parties. (Wan-kuo she-hui-t'ung ts'ui tshih-shih 紛國社會大會紀史)
Ch'iang-ch'ai (Sung Chiao-sen)
MIN-PAO No. 5

June 26, 1906.
I reprint June 30, 1906.
Editors: Chang Chi, Hu Han-min

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Guillotine execution of Louis XVI. The last road of the despotic monarch. The person in white dress and dark trousers, who is climbing up and glancing round in fear, is the evil ruler of the clique which disregarded the people.

The great men of the Chinese nationalist revolution:
Chu Yüan-chang.
Hung Hsiu-ch'üan.
Sun Yat-sen.

Let all those who hope for the establishment of Manchu constitution listen to this.
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Why the social revolution should be carried out simultaneously with the political revolution. (She-hui ko-ming yü cheng-chih ko-ming ping-hsing 社會革命與政治革命並行.)
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Brief history of the congress of world socialist parties. (Wan-kuo she-hui-tang ta-hui lüeh-shih 萬國社會黨大會略史.)
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(Po ko-ming k'o-i chao kua-fen shuo 革命可以召瓜分說.)
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(Yüeh-han t'ieh-lu shang-pien wen-t'i chih wei chieh-chüeh)
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(O-kuo li-hsien hou chih ch'ing-hsing)
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(Chi ch'i-yüeh shih-wu-jih huan-ying Chang Ping-lin Mei-shu hsien-sheng shih 紀七月十五日歡迎章炳麟 李叔先生事)
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MIN-PAO No. 7
September 5, 1906.
Editor: Chang Ping-lin.

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Students' regiments hold a procession at the 75th anniversary of the independence of the nation, in Belgium, 1905.

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On balance in evolution. (Chü-fen chin-hua lun 俱分進化論.)

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The strange phenomenon of the five ministers who went abroad to study politics. (K'ao-ch'a cheng-chih wu Ch'ing-ch'en chih kuai-chuang 考察政治五清臣之怪狀.)

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October 8, 1906.

Editor: Chang Ping-lin.

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The Triumphal Arch in Paris.

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On atheism. (Wu-shen lun 無神論.)

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The Manchu establishment of a constitution and the national revolution. (Man-chou li-hsien yü kuo-min ko-ming 滿洲立憲與國民革命.)

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Meng-sheng

Two schools of anarchism. (Wu-cheng-fu-chu-i chih erh p'ai 無政府主義之二派．）

Yüan-shih (Liao Chung-k'ai)

On the establishment of religion. (Chien-lı fang-chia-chuo lun 建立宗教論）

T'ai-yen (Cheng Ping-lin)

Reputation of the theory that revolution may prevent internal disaster. (Ts'ou-yü k'o-i sheng nei-fu shuo 可以生內亂說）

Ching-wel (Wang Ching-wel)

Anti-foreignism and international law Part 5

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Reply to the criticism from the Hai-min. (To Hai-min han. 新民答）

Chi-sheng (Wang Yung)
MIN-PAO No. 9

November 15, 1906.
I reprint November 20, 1906.
II reprint December 1, 1906.

Editor: Chang Ping-lin.

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The Filipino leader Aguinaldo.

General Hou Pao-hua, leader of the Chinese
who helped the Philippines to fight
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The Russian nihilist party threw a bomb at the
Minister of the State, Stolypin, in
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On the establishment of religion. (Chien-li
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December 20, 1906.
I reprint December 23, 1906.
Editor: Chang Ping-lin.

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Declaration of revolution by French people on June 17, 1789.

Attack on the Bastille prison by French people on July 14, 1789.

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Miscellaneous refutations of the twelfth issue of Hsin-min ts'ung-pao. (Tsa-po Hsin-min ts'ung-pao ti-shih-erh hao 雜駁新民叢報第十二號.)
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Congratulations on the loss of hope by those who hoped for the Manchu establishment of a constitution. (Ho hsi-wang Man-chou li-hsien che chih shih-wang 賀希望滿洲立憲者之失望.)
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(Ho hsi-wang tu fu ko-ming che chih shih-wang 賀希望督撫革命者之希望.)

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Report on the general meeting and speeches at the celebration of the first anniversary of the present journal on December 2. (Chi shih-erh-yüeh erh-jih pen-pao chi-yüan-chieh ch'ing-chu ta-hui shih chi yen-shuo tz'u 纪十二月二日本報紀元節慶祝大會事及演說辭.)

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Refutation of Fu-kung's "Remonstration to stop the dispute". (Po Fu-kung ch'üan-kao t'ing-chih po-lun i-chien-shu 駭佛公勸告停止駭論意見書.)

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January 25, 1907.
I reprint January 30, 1907.
Editor: Chang Ping-lin

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The leader of Transvaal Republic Kruger.
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March 6, 1907.

Editor: Chang Ping-lin.

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(She-hui t'ung-ch'üan shang-t'ui T'ai-yen (Chang Ping-lin).

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Replying to the critics of the principle of people's livelihood. (Kao fei-nan Min-sheng chu-i che 告非難民生主義者.)

Min-i (Hu Han-min and Wang Ching-wei).

Upbraiding the shamelessness of the Manchu defenders (Ch'ih wei Man-chou pien-hu che chih wu-ch'ih 斥為滿洲辯護者之無恥.)

Ching-wei (Wang Ching-wei).
T'IEN-T'AO (Heaven's Punishment) 天討
Min-pao's special supplement.
April 25, 1907.
Editor: Chang Ping-lin.

Illustrations

"Fox"-hunt. (Lieh-hu 獵狐 : 獵胡)
Transformation of the former traitors to China.
Portraits of the present-day traitors to China.

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pp.1-8

A declaration to all Han people. (P'u-kao Han-jen 普告漢人.)
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Summons to the Protect the Emperor Party.

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Study of materials on the relation between nation and politics. (Yen-chiu ming-tso yü chang-chih kuan-hsi chih t'u-liao 研究君國與政治關係之資料.)

Ching-wei (Wang Ching-wei).

Anti-foreignism and international law.

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On the history of the French revolution.

(Ya-kuo ko-ming shih lun 法國革命史論.)

Chi-sheng (Wang Tung).

Comments on Current Events

Investigation of those who hope for the establishment of Manchö constitution.

(Hsi-wang Han-shou li-hsien che chih k'An-an 希望滿洲立憲者之調查.)

Min-ı (Hu Han-min and Wang Ching-wei).
MIN-PAO No. 13
May 5, 1907.
Editor: Chang Ping-lin.

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Manchu braves defeat Ch'ing army.

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(Li-hai p'ing-teng lun 利害平等論)
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(Jen-ch'üan hsüan-yen lún 人權宣言論.)
Transl. by Po-yang.
MIN-PAO No. 14

June 8, 1907.

Editor: Chang Ping-lin.

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Women-revolutionaries at Akatui.

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On the success and failure of Ch'ing scholars. (Ch'ing ju te-shih lun 清儒得失論.)

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The Manchus were never China's subjects. (Pien Man-jen fei Chung-kuo chih ch'en-min 辨滿人非中國之臣民.)

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July 5, 1907.

Editor: Chang Ping-lin.

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Explanation of Chung-hua min-kuo. (Chung-
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Assassination of Su-ming, the Governor of Anhui. (An-Pa Su-ming pei-ya shih-chien 艾探孫敏刺客件) Chi-sheng (Wang Tung).

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Wu-shou.
MIN-PAO No. 17
October 25, 1907.
Editor: Chang Ping-lin.

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February 25, 1908.
Editor: Chang Chi.

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On the origin of Mahayana Buddhism.
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On the earliest relations between the Ming and the Ch'ing.
(Ming-Ch'ing tsui-ch'u chih chiao-pu 明清最初之交涉.)
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Introduction to the First Book of the First Buddhist Canon (Yin-tu t'ung-yen hsin-yu shao 印度佛教新譯), Part 1.
Transl. by Yün-shan (Li Min).

The Buddhist Canon (Yin-tu ts'ang-shih 印度大藏綱) Part 1.
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**Psychological nationalism.** (Hsin-li ti kuo-chia chu-i 心理的國家主義.)

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Transl. by T'ai-shan (Lo Mou).

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Editor: Chang Ping-lin.

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Advantages and disadvantages of the treaty between the Ch'ing and America. (Ch'ing-Mei t'ung-meng shih li-ping 清美同盟之利病)
T'ai-yen (Chang Ping-lin).

The case of the German emperor's protection of the Mohammedan religion. (Ta-Huang pas-hu hui-chiao shih 德皇保護回教)
T'ai-yen (Chang Ping-lin).

True circumstances of the dissolution of Chang-wen-shu. (Cheng-wen-shu yu-chen-sun chih shih-ch'ing 寸城村再拜呈)
T'ai-yen (Chang Ping-lin).
Illustrations

Ming tombs at Nanking.
Gates to the city of Nanking.

Should we have the parliamentary representative system or not? (Tai-i jan-fou lun 代議然答論)
T'ai-yen (Chang Ping-lin).
pp.1-27

Psychology of revolution. (Ko-ming chih hsin-li 革命之心理)
Po-k'uei (T'ang Tseng-pi).
pp.29-40

To advise Hsin shih-chi. (Kuei Hsin shih-chi 規新世紀)
T'ai-yen (Chang Ping-lin).
pp.41-65

Comments on Current Events

Advantages and disadvantages of the treaty between the Ch'ing and America. (Ch'ing-Mei t'ung-meng chih li-ping 清美同盟之利病)
T'ai-yen (Chang Ping-lin).
pp.67-73

The case of the German emperor's protection of the Mohammedan religion. (Te-huang pao-hu hui-chiao shih 德皇保護回教事)
T'ai-yen (Chang Ping-lin).
pp.73-74

True circumstances of the dissolution of Cheng-wen-she. (Cheng-wen-she chiehsan chih shih-ch'ing 政聞社解散之實情)
T'ai-yen (Chang Ping-lin).
pp.74-77
The Chinese "Captain Kawakita" Yüan Shu-hsin.  
(Chung-kuo chih Ch'uan-hsi-to ta-wei  
Yüan Shu-hsin 中國之川喜多大尉袁樹勳.)

T'ai-yen (Chang Ping-lin).  pp.77-80

Present and past of K'ang and Liang.  
(K'ang Liang chih chin hsi 康梁之今昔.)

Kuei-cheng (T'ang Tseng-pi).  pp.81-90

The farce of the governor-general of Hu and Kwang.  (Hu-Kuang tsung-tu chih hua-chi 湖廣總督之滑稽.)

Yü-po (T'ang Tseng-pi).  pp.90-92

Translations

Record of travels in Siberia.  (Hsi-pai-li-ya chi-hsing 西伯利亞紀行.)

Transl. by Chung-mi (Chou Tso-jen).  pp.93-106

Bande Mataram. Part 2.

Kung-hsia.  pp.107-119

The Carlylean.  (Yin-tu K'o-lai-yin pao 印度柯萊因報.)

Transl. by Kung-hsia (Lü Fu).  pp.119-128

Collection of Short Pieces

T'ai-yen (Chang Ping-lin).  pp.129-138

Novels

Lightning. Part 2.  
Madach.  pp.139-147
January 1, 1910.
Editor: Wang Ching-wei.

Illustrations
The hero Liu Tao-i.
Ch'iu Chin's tomb.

Introduction to the continuation of publication. (Hsü-k'än-tz'u 續刊詞) pp. [1-4]

On revolutionary trends. (Lun ko-ming chih ch'ü-shih 論革命之趨勢)
Part I.
Ching-wei (Wang Ching-wei). pp. [1-19]

Declaration to our army from the point of view of the Turkish revolution. (Chiu T'u-erh-ch'i ko-ming kao wo kuo chün-jen 顯土耳其革命告我國軍人)
Han-min (Hu Han-min). pp. [1-25]

Comments on Current Events
The Turkish revolution. (T'u-erh-ch'i ko-ming 土耳其革命)
Min-i (Hu Han-min and Wang Ching-wei). pp. [1-7]

The Persian revolution. (Po-ssu ko-ming 波斯革命)
Min-i (Hu Han-min and Wang Ching-wei). pp. [7-12]

Private opinions of Tsai-feng. (Tsai-feng chih ssu ch'i kuan 載澧之私其觀)

The death of Chang Chih-t'ung. (Chang Chih-t'ung ssu 張之洞死)
Ching-wei (Wang Ching-wei). pp. [16-19]
Historical Records

A short history of Chinese migrants in South-East Asia. (Nan-yang hua-ch'iao shih-lüeh 南洋華僑史略.)

Part I.
Hsi-huang-cheng-yin (I Pen-hsi).

Contributed Articles

Feelings expressed about the trial at Chia-ying. (Chia-ying tang-yü kan-yen 嘉應縣獄感言.)

Ch'iu-jan-k'êe.

Appendix

Liu Tao-i. (Liu Tao-i 劉道一.)
Kuei-cheng (T'ang Tseng-pi).

Comments on Current Events

Rumours on the reappearance of Yuan Shih-k'ai. (Yuan Shih-k'ai fu-ch'êi shih feng-shuo 蘇世凱復起之風說.)

Niu-i (Hu Nan-min and Wang Ching-wel). pp.[1-12]

Slaughter in Spain. (Hai-p'an-ya shin lan-sha 西班牙之殺戮.)

Niu-i (Hu Nan-min and Wang Ching-wel). pp.[11-19]

Historical Records


Hsi-huang-cheng-yin

Translations

Letter to Alexandr Ill from the Russian revolutionary party. (O-lin kuo-yü tang yu Li-shan san-shih huang-ti shih 傳國革命黨與康山三世皇帝等.)

Yu-kung.
MIN-PAO No. 26

February 1, 1910.
Editor: Wang Ching-wei.

Illustrations

A Korean kills Itō Hirobumi in Harbin.

The Indian revolutionary Tilak.

Ching-wei. pp. [1-20]

Revolutionary determination. (Lun ko-ming chih chūeh-hsin 論革命之決心.)
Shou-yüeh (Wang Ching-wei). pp. [1-8]

Comments on Current Events

Rumours on the reappearance on Yuan Shih-k'ai. (Yüan Shih-k'ai fu-ch'i chih feng-shuo 袁世凱復起之風説.)
Min-i (Hu Han-min and Wang Ching-wei). pp. [1-10]

Slaughter in Spain. (Hsi-pan-ya chih lan-sha 西班牙之濫殺.)
Min-i (Hu Han-min and Wang Ching-wei). pp. [10-14]

Historical Records

Hsi-huang-cheng-yin. pp. [1-40]

Translations

Letter to Aleksander III from the Russian revolutionary party. (O-kuo ko-ming-tang yü Li-shan san-shih huang-ti shu 俄國革命黨與歷山三世皇帝書.)
Yü-kung. pp. [1-6]
Appendix

Translation and comments on Rousseau's Social Contract. (Min-yüeh-lun i-chieh 民約論譯解.) pp. [1-30]

Contributed Articles

Letter to the reporter of the Tokyo newspaper Asahi shimbun. (Yü Jih-pen Tung-ching chao-jih hsin-wen chi-che shu 與日本 東京朝日新聞記者書.) pp. [1-13]

The last page is devoted to a letter about Chang Ping-lin.
APPENDIX II

LIST OF PEN- NAMES USED IN MIN-PAO

Chang-yi-t'ao 彭義陶
Chi-ahang 蔣王
Ch'i-ch'iu-ehan 七曲山
Chia-hsien 楊軒
Chiang-hai 江海
Ch'i-ang-chai 蔣凱
Chih-hsen 健神
Chin-t'ou-pao-hsiang-chi 枝頭指香子
Chi-ah 金馬
Chiu-jen-k'ai 銀劍客
Ch'ou-yü 恕予
Chiu-hsiao-chang 張小璋
Ch'iu-yen-seung 趙元生
Chang-chi 詩奇
Ch'i-fai 翟斐
Ch'ing-hsing 情星
Chin-wu 青武
Han-haeh 漢血
Han-siu 漢民
Han-sau 漢思
Hang-hai 韩海
Chang-yin-ch'ao 張蔭喬
Chi-sheng 寄生
Ch'i-chü-shan 七曲山
Chia-hsien 稈軒
Chiang-hai 江海
Ch'iang-chai 蠸齋
Chih-shen 蝄伸
Chih-t'ou-pao-hsiang-che 枝頭抱香者
Chin-ma 金馬
Ch'i-ü-yan-k'e 虬鬚客
Ch'ou-yü 愁予
Chu-hsiao-chang 朱小璋
Chu-yüan-wang 楚元王
Chung-mi 仲密
Chü-ü-fei 去非
Chüeh-ming 闕名
Chün-wu 君武
Han-hsüeh 漢血
Han-min 漢民
Han-ssu 漢思
Heng-hai 恨海

- Wang Tung 汪東
- Liu Yeh-t'eng 柳葉疾
- Sung Chiao-jen 宋敬仁
- Chu Chih-hsin 朱執信
- Wang Ch'ao-ming 汪兆銘
(Wang Ching-wei)
- Lü T'ien-ming 呂天民
- Chou Tso-jen 周作人
- Hu Yen-hung (Hu Han-min) 胡衍鴻
- Ma Chün-wu 马君武
- Hu Yen-hung 胡衍鴻
(Hu Han-min)
- T'ao Ch'eng-chang 陶成章
- T'ien Tung 田桐
Hsi-huang-cheng-yin 義皇正胤
Hsiang-ju 相如
Hsiao-wu-ling 小武靈
Hsien-chieh 縣解
Hsien-ti 憲敵
Hsin-ch'uan 信川
Hsüeh-lei 血淚
Ku-hung 孤鴻
Kuan-lu 観魯
Kuang-wu 光武
Kuei-cheng 揆鄭
Kung-hsia 公俠
Kung-shih 公是
Kuo-t'ing 過庭
Lei-ch'ou 壕仇
Lu-hun 爐魂
Meng-sheng 夢生
Meng-t'ieh-sheng 夢蝶生
Min-chung 民重
Min-i 民意
Ming-min 明民
Nan-kuo-hsing-jen 南國行人
Nan-shih-shih 南史氏

- I Pen-hsi 易本義
- Chu Chih-hsin 朱執信
- Wang Ch'ao-wang 王克銘 (Wang Ching-wei)
- Chou Tso-jen 周作人
- T'ang Tseng-pi 湯增璧
- Lü Fu 呂復
- Ch'en T'ien-hua 陳天華
- Ching Mei-chiu 景梅九
- Liu Sung-heng 劉松衡
- Yeh Hsia-sheng 葉夏聲
- Hu Han-min and Wang Ching-wei
- Chou Chung-liang 周仲良
- Su Man-shu 蘇曼殊
- Ch'en Chü-ping 陳去病
Pien-chien 比桑
Ping-ssu 病已
Po-k'uei 伯夔
Po-yang 伯揚
Pu-wang 不佞
P'u-man 撲滿
San-yeh 三葉
Shih-wei-chih-i 車維之裔
Shih-wan 石頭
Shou-yüeh 守約
Ssu-huang 思黃
Ssu-ku 思古
Ssu-tzu 素子
T'ai-ch'iu 太邱
T'ai-shan 臺山
T'ai-yen 太炎
T'ai-yüan-kung-tzu 太原公子
T'an-fu 彈佛
T'ieh-cheng 鐵銚
Ting-ssu 定思
Tsun-chou 尊周
T'u-fu 屠富
-Hu Yen-hung (Hu Han-min) 胡衍鴻
-T'ang Tseng-pi 湯增壁
-Huang K'an 黃侃
-Wang Ch'ao-ming 汪兆銘
(Wang Ching-wei)
-Chou Tso-jen 周作人
-Wang Ch'ao-ming (Wang Ching-wei)
-Ch'en T'ien-hua 陳天華
-Huang K'an 黃侃
-Lo Mou 羅某
-Chang Ping-lin 章炳麟
-Wang Tung 汪東
-Lei Chao-hsing 雷照性
-Liao Chung-k'ai 廖仲愷
Note:  This list of pen-names used in Min-pao was compiled according to the information given in the following works: Man-hua, HHKM, 2.438-459; Wang Tung, "Bits and pieces of memoirs about T'ung-meng-hui and Min-pao", HHHI, 6.23-32; and letters of Wang Tung and Huang K'an about pen-names in Min-pao, which can be found in CHWH, I, vol. 12, 637-638.
1. Main source

My main source is the journal itself. Since it was impossible to obtain the original copies of Min-pao, the four-volume reprint edition, published in Peking in 1957, was used for this study. This 1957 reprint edition is of a great value to the scholars of Hsin-hai revolution, though it presents some problems.

Min-pao was very successful and so much in demand, especially in the beginning, that many of its issues had several subsequent reprints, dating from one to six months after the date of original issue. The editors of the 1957 reprint edition\(^1\) used the copies, which were present in their own collection and in the Central Museum of Revolution (Chung-yang ko-ming po-wu-kuan). However, they did not possess a full set of original copies, and some of the reprint issues in their collection were extensively damaged. Therefore, they were forced to use different reprints of the original issues for this photolithographic reprint edition. For example, they had only II reprint (December 8, 1905) and V reprint of the first issue of Min-pao, originally published on November 26, 1905, and so the II reprint (December 8, 1905) was chosen for the 1957 reprint edition. Only the II (April 10, 1906) and III (May 8, 1906) reprints of the second issue (originally published on January 22, 1906) were available, and the III reprint was chosen, apparently because it was in a better condition. Some copies were in such a bad condition, that photocopies from several different reprints had to be combined to make an intelligible copy.\(^2\)

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\(^1\) The editors are named as Editorial Group for Publication of Materials on Modern History in the Third Historical Research Section of the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

\(^2\) See "Explanation to the Photolithographic Reprint of Min-pao" at the beginning of the I volume of 1957 reprint.
These facts by themselves do not demean the value of 1957 reprint edition, because the reprints were identical with original issues, except for the pages of advertisements and announcements. However, the 1957 reprint collection precludes one from knowing exactly how many reprints of each issue had been in existence and what kind of advertisements and announcements were published in them.

After this four-volume collection came out in 1957, Chinese scholar Ch'ü Kuang-hsi 秦光熙 pointed out to the editors that, apart from Min-pao's first anniversary supplement T'ien-t'ao, which was included in the 1957 reprint collection, there was another, summer supplement to the fifteenth issue of Min-pao, entitled Chang Fei-wen's (張飛文) The remaining manuscripts from the overgrown garden. The editors of 1957 reprint edition borrowed this supplement from a private collection of another Chinese scholar Chang Tz'iu-chi 張次溪 and published it in 1958 in a separate book, as an additional material to the 1957 reprint collection. They also borrowed the original copy of the sixth issue of Min-pao, which Ch'ü Kuang-hsi had in his collection, and since its pages of advertisements and announcements differed greatly from those in the III reprint of the sixth issue, which was in 1957 reprint, they also included these pages at the end of the above-mentioned reprint of the summer supplement.1

Thus, there are now the four-volume reprint of all the twenty-six issues of Min-pao, including the first anniversary supplement T'ien-t'ao, and the summer supplement to Min-pao, published separately.

All this had apparently prompted the editors to ask all readers of their journal Materials on Modern History (Chin-tai shih tzu-liao) to help them collecting all the supplements and extra-special issues of Min-pao,2 but nothing has been published so far on this topic.

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1 See "Explanation to Summer Supplement to the fifteenth issue of Min-pao", at the beginning of the Min-pao's Summer Supplement.
2. **Books**

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