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THE DEVELOPMENT AND ROLE OF  
CHINA'S REVOLUTIONARY PRESS--1899-1911

By

Chen Yu-Sheng

A thesis submitted in  
partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree Master of Science, Major in  
Journalism, South Dakota State University

1982

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to express appreciation to Dr. Richard W. Lee, Head, Department of Journalism, South Dakota State University, Brookings, South Dakota, for his patience and kind guidance in the preparation of this paper;

A special thanks to the Foundation of Rotary International and my sponsoring club, Kaohsiung Rotary Club, for supporting me and providing the chance for me to do more research in Journalism;

The author also thanks Dr. Robert M. Dimit, Dr. Allan R. Lindstrom, and Professor Robert E. Alber for their suggestions, and Mr. and Mrs. Michael Robeck for their friendship and help with proofreading;

And a special thanks to my grandparents, parents, my sister Li-ping, my wife Ai-hwa and my son Syh-hung, for giving me encouragement and allowing me the freedom to complete this project. Without their understanding and support, completion would not have been possible.

Chen Yu-sheng

THE DEVELOPMENT AND ROLE OF  
CHINA'S REVOLUTIONARY PRESS--1899-1911

This thesis is approved as a creditable and independent investigation by a candidate for the degree, Master of Science, and is acceptable for meeting the thesis requirements for this degree. Acceptance of this thesis does not imply that the conclusions reached by the candidate are necessarily the conclusions of the major department.

Dr. Richard W. Lee      Date  
Thesis Advisor

Dr. Richard W. Lee      Date  
Head  
Journalism Department

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

In the winter of 1899 Dr. Sun Yat-sen, founder of the Chinese Republic and leader of the Revolution, dispatched Chen Hsiao-pai, a revolutionary from Canton, to Hong Kong to start Chung-kuo jih-pao (Chinese Daily). It was the first revolutionary newspaper. In the years that followed, revolutionary publications sprang like bamboo shoots after a spring rain. From 1903, until the Wuchang uprising in 1911, 338 revolutionary journals were published in China and overseas. There were 216 newspapers and 122 magazines.<sup>1</sup> The working staffs of revolutionary journals, including columnists, editors and sponsoring publishers, numbered in the thousands. The speed of their development and their important position in the revolution make it difficult to find a counterpart in journalistic history.

This thesis examines the role revolutionary newspapers played in the period between 1899 and the Wuchang uprising in 1911, which was considered the turning point in Chinese history. The Wuchang uprising

ended the dictatorship of the Chinese empire.

In the nineteenth century, the so-called modern press, edited and published for the benefit of the general public, developed in large part through the efforts of the missionaries in China. Their efforts awakened the Chinese people to understand the general public benefits and also to include the instruction of general modern scientific knowledge in China.<sup>2</sup> After the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, China's national position worsened. The democratic ideology had been the main current since nineteenth century in the world.<sup>3</sup> Modern intellectuals in China and abroad were influenced by the Western civilization. They thought only to overthrow the dictatorial Chinese government, namely, the Ching government (also known as the Manchu Dynasty), believing that otherwise China would be destroyed. Newspapers were used by the intellectuals and other groups to argue the weakness of the Chinese government and to introduce the democratic politics. Because these groups sought to completely change the Chinese political system, most argued revolution. These newspapers that championed revolution were thus defined as revolutionary journals in the Chinese journalism history. This thesis discusses the most important newspapers and journals, how they started and



where they were. Then the thesis will examine the attempts of the Ching government to restrict revolutionary newspapers and the influence of these newspapers and journalists.

The sources for the thesis have been original copies of some of the newspapers, and histories, biographies, memoranda, and historical and political documents. Most of the references are available only in the library of National Cheng-Chi University in Taipei, Taiwan, and in the collection of the Committee on the Chinese Nationalist Party History. Some newspapers have been translated into English by Mary Backus Rankin in her book, Early Chinese Revolutionaries Radical Intellectuals in Shanghai and Chekiang, 1902-1911 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), and Lin Yu-tang's A History of the Press and Public Opinion (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1936), Lin Yu-tang, My Country and My People (New York: John Day Company, Inc., 1935), and Mary Clabaugh Wright, China in Revolution: The First Phase 1900-1913 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968).

In the 1860s and 1870s Chinese newspapers sprang up under the leadership of a few returned Chinese students. For example, Yung Wing, the first Chinese

returned student, founded the Huei pao (Collected Daily News) on May 3, 1874, at Shanghai. Kwang Chi-chao, another returned student, founded Kwang pao (Wide Daily News) on May 3, 1886. In 1872, Shen pao (Shanghai Journal), the biggest Chinese contemporary daily paper, came into being. In 1893, another great daily and rival of the Shen pao--Sin-wen pao (Sin-wen Daily News) was founded.

The papers of this period were primitive and the position of the editors was not as high as it later was.<sup>4</sup> The general attitude toward newspapers of that period was demonstrated by Lin Yu-tang. He said:

In those days the papers only had a circulation of a few hundred, each issue consisting of one sheet, so that the management of a paper was quite a simple affair. But there was a kind of employee not found today, namely, men who tried to sell the papers from house to house. There were not, as there are today, distributing agents for the different papers, which have become a special profession connected with the newspaper industry today. The people of those days did not understand what a newspaper was and parents often warned their children against reading papers. Therefore, when a daily paper was issued, it was sent to the post office for the outports while for the local public they engaged people to deliver them personally to the subscribers ... But there is one point. Since the papers had a daily issue of several hundred and since they were unwelcomed by the public, it may be asked: who were the subscribers? These were the foreign firms and the Chinese firms who had dealings with them. Alas from this we can see the difference in educational standing between the Chinese and the foreigners. 5

Edwin Emery, author of The Press and America,  
observed:

The amount of journalistic enterprise is closely linked to the political climate and the stage of development in a society. Journalism history is the story of humanity's long struggle to communicate freely--to dig out and interpret news and to offer intelligent opinion in the market place of ideas. 6

The Sino-Japanese War of 1894 served as a stimulus for the general awakening of China. It brought a crop of Chinese periodicals advocating radical social and political reform and started a new period of the Chinese press.

There were two currents of ideology to renovate China, the revolutionary groups, led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, and the constitutionalists, led by Kang Yu-wei and Liang Chi-chao. All three men were aware of the effect of newspapers and used the newspapers to guide public opinion and spread political thought.<sup>7</sup> In 1898 constitutionalists had come to see that a strong China must be one in which the people were well informed and had a modern outlook on affairs; education had to be more general and not confined a few literati. Therefore, "hsueh-hui" (societies) and newspapers were founded to enlighten

the people. Two of these were Chung-wai chi-wen (Globe Gazette) founded in Peking and Chiang hsueh pao (Strengthening Knowledge Journal) founded in Shanghai.<sup>8</sup>

The influence of these constitutionalist periodicals excited the jealousy of government officials, and in February, 1896, the periodicals were banned by imperial edict.<sup>9</sup> They were the starting point of newspapers with political appeal in China. In 1899 the first revolutionary newspaper, Chung-kuo jih-pao (Chinese Daily) was published in Hong Kong.<sup>10</sup>

Following that period, revolutionary journals were founded in China and abroad. After the coup de'tat of 1898, Kang Yu-wei and Liang Chi-chao avoided arrest by the Ching government. They fled to Japan and founded the Loyalist party. The opposing revolutionary and loyalist parties opened a serious war of words. It also pushed the political newspapers to make a great progress in China by their political criticism.

With the influx of China's revolutionary leaders to Japan, Hsin-min tsung-pao (New People's Miscellany) was founded in 1901 and became spokesman of the Loyalist party. Min-pao (The People's Journal), a revolutionary journal, was founded in 1905.<sup>11</sup> From that point, the clash between the two parties with different political views crystallized. Several papers

that led political agitation against the Manchu Dynasty were founded in Shanghai. These were the Su pao (Kiangsu Journal), Min-hu pao (The People's Cry, 1908) and Min-shyu pao (The People's Sigh, 1908). This was already toward the end of the Manchu Dynasty, and the voice of these revolutionary journals was very influential in precipitating and helping the 1911 revolution succeed.

The revolution of 1911 was the result of political agitation carried on by means of these periodicals and newspapers.

Liang Chi-chao, one of the leaders of the Ching Reform Movement of 1898, wrote:

Not long after the Wuchang uprising in 1911, the form of state was changed. Its success is too fast to be compared with in history. Why is it so? The press played an important role. It is the public opinion. Blood is substituted with ink, then the new republic is founded. 14

Some of the major newspapers of the revolution were published in China, and others were published abroad. Because the content of these newspapers was unfavorable to the Ching government, revolutionary journals usually chose bases abroad or in the International Settlement. Especially popular were the cultural areas or overseas Chinese residential

districts in Hong Kong, Shanghai, Tokyo, Singapore, San Francisco and Honolulu.<sup>15</sup> These major cities of the world provided the climate and audience.

Chung-kuo jih-pao (Chinese Daily) in Hong Kong became the commanding organ of party and military affairs. During the nineteenth century, Hong Kong had become a prosperous British port that ranked below only London and Liverpool. Hong Kong was a British colony that had been ceded by the Ching government in 1842. Since Hong Kong was close to the Chinese mainland, the Manchu Dynasty could watch it carefully. Therefore, revolutionary journals encountered many difficulties in publishing in Hong Kong.

As a consequence of the treaty of 1843 with Great Britian, overseas trade had been transferred to Shanghai. The city became an important place of culture, economy, and transportation. The Lower Yangtze provinces, long noted for their large numbers of scholars,<sup>16</sup> became the center of student radicalism shortly after 1900. In the latter half of the nineteenth century the treaty port of Shanghai was a focal point of modernization. These factors combined to make the area one of prime importance in the

development of the 1911 revolution because student groups were the mainstream of the revolutionary movement.<sup>17</sup> Publishers of revolutionary journals used Shanghai as a distribution point.

Shanghai was also the port of entry for overseas publications. Chiang Meng-lin, a well-known Chinese newspaper reporter, said Chinese revolutionary journals banned in other nations were taken to Shanghai. Shanghai became the market place of revolutionary thoughts.<sup>18</sup>

Japan was another of the cradles of the Chinese revolution. Chinese students in Japan were influenced by Western civilization through books on democracy and equality by such authors as John Stuart Mill and Montesquieu. Theories of man's equality were of great interest to Chinese students.<sup>19</sup> In 1905, Tung-meng-hui (Revolutionary Alliance) was founded. Min pao (The People's Journal) was also founded as an organ newspaper. Sun Yat-sen revealed the theory of San-min chu-i (The Three Principles of the People) in Min pao (The People's Journal) in 1905. The theory of San-min chu-i (The Three Principles of the People) is similar to President Abraham Lincoln's "of the people, by the people, and for the people" part of the Gettysburg Address.

At the time, Chinese intellectuals and revolutionaries thought of San-min chu-i as the blueprint for Chinese democracy and that it was the path along which the Chinese people could march to a democratic society.

The articles in the revolutionary journals caused widespread agitation and reaction against the Manchus. The effect of the revolutionary newspapers outside China was beneficial to the movement inside China. Public awareness, resulting in public support both vocally and economically, assisted in the eventual overthrow of the Ching government.

The editors of revolutionary journals in China combined classical scholarship with an enthusiasm for the social and political ideals and institutions of the west, particularly the ideas of liberty and democracy. They argued that it was the only way--adopting democracy and overthrowing the Ching government--to save China.

China was an ancient monarchical country. The emperor was the son of Heaven and played an important role in the people's mind. Even intellectuals thought the emperor was sacred. They did not know what the democracy was and why the revolution was needed. Therefore, the revolutionary journals emphasized education. They provided a new



view of the world. The newspapers advocated innovation. Their aim was to educate people and explain why the revolution was necessary since this was in direct contrast to the objectives of the Ching government.

The journals were either banned or looked at askance by the government in power.

They played a very important role in the general intellectual awakening of China before the establishment of the Republic in 1912. They educated the people on the corruption and mismanagement of the Ching regime. They also portrayed China as a rapidly declining country that was falling behind the pace of the rest of the world at the expense of many and for the benefit of only a few.

In summary, the political and social systems in China during the 1890's gave evidence that the Ching government was failing in its rule of the country. The Ching government, a dictatorship, found itself in political turmoil similar to that of the French and English who had also experienced troubles with their subjects.

The corruption of the government provoked a rebellious mood among certain radical groups who united and began preaching for the overthrow of the government.

The revolutionaries realized that they had to enlist the support of the masses. To reach the masses, they began creating and disseminating periodicals and journals to enlighten the population of their cause.

The reaction of the government was to ban these rebellious journalistic articles and to attempt to suppress their writers. As a result of the suppression by the government as well as the need for eliciting widespread support, anti-government publications were created and operated from outside the country.

The publishers, editors and reporters of the revolutionary press endeavored to found a republic and to gain the freedom of politics, racial equality and expression. The revolutionary press' efforts hold a high rank in Chinese history.

The objectives of this thesis are: 1) to present the revolutionary journals of this period and in a systematic way to show their values; 2) to illustrate their influence on the Chinese national revolutionary movement.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Tsen Shyu-pai, Chung-kuo hsin-wen hsieh (The History of Chinese Journalism) (Taipei, Taiwan: National Cheng-Chi University Press, 1981), 5th. ed., p. 192

<sup>2</sup>Lin Yu-tang, A History of the Press and Public Opinion in China (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1936), p. 78

<sup>3</sup>Mary B. Rankin, Early Chinese Revolutionaries Radical Intellectuals in Shanghai and Chekiang, 1902-1911 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1971), p. 34

<sup>4</sup>Lin, p. 89

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 89-90

<sup>6</sup>Edwin Emery and Michael Emery, The Press and America An Interpretative History of the Mass Media (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall Inc., 1978), p. vx

<sup>7</sup>Tsen, p. 193

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 194

<sup>9</sup>Lin, p. 96

<sup>10</sup>Tsen, p. 194

<sup>11</sup>Lin, p. 98

<sup>12</sup>Mary Clabaugh Wright, China in Revolution: The First Phase 1900-1913 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1968), p. 30

<sup>13</sup>Ibid

<sup>14</sup>Liang, Chi-chao, Yin-paing-sheh wen-chi (Taipei, Taiwan, Chung-hua Bookstore, 1960), vol. XI

<sup>15</sup>Lai Kuan-lin, Chung-kuo zien-dye pao-jen yu pao-yeh (Chinese Contemporary Newspaper People and Newspaper Enterprising) (Taipei, Taiwan, Commercial Publishing Co., 1980), p. 316

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 317

<sup>17</sup>Lo Chia-luen, Tung-meng-hui chung-pu tsung-hui yu hsin-hai ko-ming (The Headquarters of Revolutionary Alliance in the Middle Part of China and Wuchang Uprising) (Quoted from Historical Data of Fifty Years of the Republic of China, Taipei, Taiwan, 1961), vol. I, p. 3

<sup>18</sup>Chiang Meng-lin, Shi-chao (Western Tides) (Taipei, Taiwan, World Bookstore, 1974), p. 36

<sup>19</sup>Feng Tzu-yu, Chung-hua min-kuo kai-kuo chien ko-ming shih (A History of the Revolution Prior to the Founding of the Republic of China) (Shanghai, Commercial Publishing Co., 1945), vol. I, p. 54

<sup>20</sup>Cheng Sheh-wo, Chung kuo pao-hsueh hsiao-shih (A History of Chinese Journalism) (Hong Kong, Hsin-wen tien-ti sheh, 1957), p. 30

## CHAPTER II

### A BRIEF CHINESE HISTORY PRIOR TO THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

Beginning with the Opium War between 1839 and 1842, China had succumbed to a series of foreign attacks; each attack concluded with a treaty that required China to pay an indemnity<sup>1</sup> and to open treaty ports. The foreign powers secured from China the opening of treaty ports, and with the treaty ports as their bases they obtained special rights. Under the jurisdiction of their respective consuls, the citizens of treaty powers enjoyed special privileges and special status. For example, they did not have to observe Chinese law. Chiang Kai-shek, a revolutionary from Chekiang who was Dr. Sun Yat-sen's successor, described the history of this period in Chung-kuo chi ming-yuan (China's Destiny). He wrote:

Moreover under a non-reciprocal conventional tariff treaty powers paid less in custom duties than they otherwise would have had to pay, thus gaining an undue advantage in carrying on their trading activities. Later, Great Britian, France and other powers secured the opening of

additional treaty ports in those places where they desired to extend their commercial influence, and taking advantage of the ignorance of the diplomatic officials of the Manchu regime, they succeeded in obtaining more special rights and privileges. When one of the powers secured an additional special right in its treaty with China, the other powers also obtained the same treatment by virtue of the most-favored-nation clause. 2

The Sino-Japanese War of 1894 revealed a China too weak to refuse anything. China's weakness, arising out of the cumulative effect of over two hundred and sixty years under Manchu rule, was fully exposed to the world.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen said, "We are the poorest and weakest state in the world, occupying the lowest position in international affairs; the rest of mankind is the carving knife and the serving dish, while we are the fish and the meat".<sup>3</sup>

The Manchus, a relatively small race, lived in the northeast of China. Because of the Ming Dynasty's (1382-1644) political corruption and civil commotion, the Manchurians invaded that regime, and the Ming Dynasty, which had ruled China for three hundred years, was overthrown. After the entry of the Manchus into political China, Chinese nationalism

suffered a serious blow. Sun said, "During the reigns of Kang Hsi and Yung Chen, the first two emperors of the Ching Dynasty, anti-Manchu feeling was still very strong among the Chinese people, so much so that the Manchus published many books. One, for example, was Ta Yi Chueh Mi Lu (A Treatise on Loyalty to the Emperor and on Making the People Realize Their Folly) to explain that the Han people (Chinese) should not oppose Manchu rule.

Their view of Chinese history may be stated as follows:

Emperor Shun (B.C. 2200) was an eastern barbarian and King Wen (B.C. 1231-1135) was a western barbarian. Hence the Manchus can also become emperors of China although they are barbarians. By the time of Chien Lung, the third emperor of Ching Dynasty, however, even the mere mention of the two words Man (Manchu) and Han (Chinese) were forbidden. References to the historical relations between the Sung (960-1279) and the Yuan (1279-1356) Dynasties had to be deleted from all books. Indeed, all books dealing with the Manchus, Hsinugnus (Asiatic Huns) and Tartars were taboo and had to be destroyed. The Chinese people could not keep any of them, to say nothing of reading them. 4

During the reigns of Chien Lung and Chia Ching, the third and fourth emperors of Ching, Chinese scholars changed. They no longer considered

practical applications but instead pursued the study of isolated names, objects, words and sentences.<sup>5</sup> It was the Ching's regime's way of degenerating Chinese intellectuals' ambitions. As a consequence, knowledge became divorced from life and politics. This provided the Manchus easier control over the Chinese.

Chiang Kai-shek observed in China's Destiny :

In this abnormal academic atmosphere (in which scholarship was concerned with disconnected and insignificant things) scholars even misinterpreted the meaning of the Golden Mean, thereby developing an equivocating and sophisticated type of mind and creating a world in which, to use the words of Tseng Kuo-fan, a Chinese high-ranking official in the Ching government, "nothing is definitely black or white, painful or irritating. 6

From the beginning of the Manchu Dynasty, 1645, the ideology of nationalism disappeared in Chinese books; only praise for the Manchus could be found in books or in folk songs. During the two hundred and sixty years of Manchu rule, China watched the modern states in Europe and America emerge from the darkness of the Middle Ages and become strong and influential. If the Manchu government had not adopted the anti-Chinese means, assisting other racial



stocks to develop their capacity and assuring them a position of equality, China might have kept pace with the Western countries and would not have suffered the humiliation of unequal treaties during the last hundred years. Unfortunately, the Manchu Dynasty failed to see this but adopted a policy of ruthless persecution and enslavement in governing the various racial groups in China.<sup>7</sup>

During this period scholars as well as the Chinese people, realized that China was confronted with serious external problems and that the Manchu government was ineffective. The anti-Manchu sentiment was also growing in the Chinese minds. In order to appease the pressure for reform, the government accepted the idea of constitutionalism. In reality, the projected constitution, together with the administration changes actually effected, were designed to centralize government more highly than ever before and to provide a front for the imperial power.<sup>8</sup> The effect of the government's constitutional movement was nothing more than the promulgation of a few imperial decrees intended to dupe the Chinese people.<sup>9</sup> It was for this reason that the revolutionary principles preached by Dr. Sun Yat-sen were able to take root in a society where the people's national consciousness was growing.

After the Sino-Japanese War, the Chinese international position worsened. A group of scholars and officials tried to convince the Ching government that legal reform was necessary, but their recommendations were ignored until the German seizure of Shangtang in 1897. Kang Yu-wei urged again in 1898, and Ching Emperor Kwang-Hsu issued an edict to fulfill legal reform. This reform lasted for exactly one hundred days, then was followed by a spate of appointments, demotions, orders and changes, which in theory were to remake China.<sup>10</sup> Because of the conservative opposition, the reform did not succeed. This was the Hundred Days' Reform, led by Kang Yu-wei and Liang Chi-chao. After the reform failed, they fled to Japan and organized the Loyalist party to attack the conservative government and protect the Ching Emperor.

Two years later the Boxer Rebellion broke out, and Western troops occupied Peking. The Ching Dynasty's unequal and ineffective rule was thoroughly revealed. During this period Chinese people, officials and scholars began to realize China would never be part of the modern twentieth century unless the government was overthrown.<sup>11</sup>

The Boxer Rebellion was the result of the encroachments of foreign powers had been breaking

down the Ching government in China. The Boxer uprising of 1900 was led by fanatical members of a secret society<sup>12</sup> called "Bai-nien-jiao" (White Lotus). When the foreign countries took the Chinese territories as their spheres of influence, the Boxers began to concentrate their actions against the foreign residents in 1900. They killed some 242 missionaries and other foreign civilians in North China and Manchuria.<sup>13</sup> The Ching government supported them because the conservative government believed their activities could arouse the anti-imperialist sentiment. The Boxers beseiged the foreign community in the Peking legations on June 13, 1900. On June 21, 1900, the Ching government declared war on the foreign powers.<sup>14</sup> Foreign powers including Great Britian, Russia, the United States, Japan, Germany, Italy, France and Austria united to march into Peking. Finally, the Boxers could not resist. In the peace demands after the negotiation with the foreign powers the indemnities paid for defeat and placed a larger share of China's revenue under foreign control. Foreign nations, not quite ready to partition China, always gave the Ching government just enough power to keep it ruling without being able to rule effectively.<sup>15</sup>

After the Boxer Rebellion, the weakness and inefficiency of the Ching government were known to

foreign countries. The Russo-Japanese War broke out in 1904. The two countries fought their war on Chinese territory.

It was obvious even to the Dowager, who was the aunt of the Ching Emperor--Kwang Hsu, that reform was needed, but the only question for the Chinese people was whether the Chinese could organize a movement capable of setting up a new government before the foreign powers partitioned the entire country.<sup>16</sup>

During the time from 1904 until the Dowager's death in 1908, she decreed a series of changes that did not save the Ching government. When Dr. Sun Yat-sen returned to Japan in 1905 after travel through Europe, the Chinese students there had increased both in numbers and in revolutionary sentiment and they were impatient for action.<sup>17</sup> Anti-Manchu and anti-imperialist sentiments spread among the Chinese in China and abroad, because there was concern that foreign powers would partition the country.

From the year 1907 to 1911, several uprisings occurred in China. These amounted to minor skirmishes lasting in duration from several days to a maximum of forty days. The revolutionaries attempt to overthrow the government by force was hampered by a lack of armament, financial funding and bad leadership.<sup>18</sup>

After the Boxer Rebellion, revolutionary groups used the newspapers in two specific ways as a tool to wake up people's consciousness for saving China.

First, between 1903 and 1907, newspapers were founded in China and Japan. The educated people of the day knew that the newspaper had the function of alerting the people. For example, Chiu Chin, a girl from the Chekiang province and a revolutionary, established the Chung-kuo nu-pao (Chinese Women's Journal) in Shanghai during January 1907.<sup>19</sup> She wrote the introductory editorial to Chung-kuo nu-pao saying that the country was in danger, but that the people were still ignorant. Newspapers should be alert then be utilized to urge the people to unite against internal and external crises. For this purpose, Chung-kuo nu-pao was founded.<sup>20</sup> All the other revolutionary journals founded at that time were based on this reasoning.

Secondly, the intellectuals devoted themselves to revolution on the basis of patriotism. Most of them came from villages and relied upon their pens. Therefore, the pen to them was what the gun was to the soldiers. Newspapers naturally became tools for propaganda.<sup>21</sup>

An editorial in Warning on Russian Affairs said:

Oh my country is being destroyed,  
my compatriots are not aware. India and  
Poland are occupied by other countries  
for several years, however, the situation  
of my country is worse than the two  
countries. It is expected that my  
compatriots and I do our best to save  
the country; we will become slaves  
otherwise. 22

Revolutionary journals reflect the emphasis placed upon the correlation of political and social trends of that time. Awaking the sleeping people in China was the principal aim of the revolutionary journals.

Nationalism was the major cause of the Wuchang uprising.<sup>23</sup> Wright mentioned this point, stating:

The paramount issue that concerned the New China in the first phase of revolution was nationalism, a nationalism directed toward action and change in three spheres. First it called for action not only to halt but to roll back the tide of imperialism. New China meant to reclaim everything imperial China had ever lost to foreign powers, and in some cases to advance beyond the claims of the Ching Empire at its height. Although this was of course an anti-foreign sentiment, it should be sharply distinguished from the primitive xenophobia to which the reformers and revolutionaries of the time attributed the anti-foreign uprisings of the nineteenth century, which culminated in the Boxer Rebellion of 1900.

Nationalism demanded secondly the organization of a modern centralized national-state that was capable both of forcing back the imperialist and of forwarding the country's new aspirations in political, social, economic, and cultural life. And third, nationalism also meant to overthrow the Manchu Dynasty. 24

Western civilization came to China, beginning with the Opium War in 1842. From the middle of the nineteenth century, Chinese civilization met the challenge of the incursion of Western civilization. The Opium War and the Boxer Rebellion hastened the modernization movement in China.

Liang Chi-chao said:

After the Opium War in 1842, the Ching government is growing afraid of the foreign powers, especially their powerful ships and weapons. The Kiangnan Arsenal near Shanghai and Kwangtung Foreign Language Institute were founded. The students studied both in English and through Chinese translation of Western works, and selected students studied abroad. 25

After the Sino-Japanese War in 1894-95, most young educated people thought reform was necessary if the country were to exist. The phrase "Chinese learning for fundamental principles, Western learning for practical use" provided a theoretical rationale.<sup>26</sup>

Chinese intellectuals studying abroad were influenced by Western civilization. They were interested in Western democratic society. They introduced democratic ideology by translating Western books. Yen Fu, a returned Chinese student who graduated in the United States, translated Herbert Spencer's Social Darwinism, Thomas Huxley's Evolution and Ethics, Rousseau's Social Contract, Montesquieu's Spirit of the Laws, and John Stuart Mill's On Liberty. Most of these books were printed in revolutionary journals. These books showed the people that other forms of government existed in the world. Deprivation of the basic human needs in China shone through when the Chinese population was compared to the remainder of the world's population through these writings. The effect of this enlightenment incensed the people toward the Ching regime, adding support to the revolutionary flavor already being promulgated by the revolutionary journals.

Initially the revolutionary party, led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, emphasized revolution more than propaganda. Thus, it was very difficult to spread revolutionary thought in China, because most people in China at that time did not understand revolution.



When Dr. Sun Yat-sen realized this, he founded the first revolutionary newspaper, Chung-kuo jih-pao (Chinese Daily), in 1899 to educate the people. According to Feng Tze-yu's Ko-min i-shih (Fragments of Revolutionary History) "Dr. Sun plans the Canton's revolution in Japan. He knows that propaganda is needed for revolution, so he dispatched Chen Hsiao-pai to found the Chung-kuo jih-pao (Chinese Daily) in Hong Kong." 27

From then on, revolutionaries used the articles in the newspapers as the leading method of spreading thought. Anti-Manchus propaganda in letter and fulfillment by force became the two wings of revolution.

In summary, China under the Manchu Dynasty was as closed a country as was China before Marco Polo. The Manchu Dynasty for two hundred and sixty years regulated every aspect of Chinese philosophy and learning. The perpetuation of ignorance in worldly affairs was essential for the stranglehold with which they controlled the people.

It was not to be until China was defeated by Japan in 1895 that public pressures were beginning to be placed on the Ching regime for

reform. The Boxer Rebellion in 1900 proved that the Ching regime was an ineffective form of government for the Chinese people.

The Chinese people grew to believe that China as a nation was in deadly peril as a nation; she was in danger of being a sovereignty.

Chinese students and Chinese intellectuals studying abroad viewed the Western democratic system as a model that would unify China, elevating her to a more acceptable and dominant position in the world.

The attainment of these goals could only result from revolution or a propaganda against the Ching government. The revolutionary journals were used to show the people why they needed to overthrow the government as well as what they could expect upon the demise of the Ching government.

## FOOTNOTES

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<sup>2</sup>Chiang Kai-shek, Chung-kuo chi ming-yuan (China's Destiny), trans. Wang Chung-hui (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947), p. 25

<sup>3</sup>Sun Yat-sen, The Three Principles of the People, trans. Frank W. Price (Taipei, Taiwan, China Cultural Service, 1981), p. 5

<sup>4</sup>Chiang Kai-shek, p. 18

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 20

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Feng Tzu-yu, Ko-ming i-shih (Fragments of Revolutionary History) (Shanghai, Commercial Publishing Co., 1947) p. 66

<sup>8</sup>John A. Harrison, China Since 1800 (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1967) p. 92

<sup>9</sup>Chiang Kai-shek, p. 44

<sup>10</sup>Harrison, p. 82

<sup>11</sup>Sun, "Where there is a will, there is a way", Sun-wen hsueh-so (Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Theory) (Taipei, Taiwan, Quoted from Historical Document of Committee on Nationalist Party, 1971), p. 170

<sup>12</sup>John King Fairbank, The United States and China (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1979), 4th. ed., p. 210

<sup>13</sup>Harrison, p. 87

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>Owen and Eleanor Lattimore, China A Short History (New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc., 1947), p. 123

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 129

<sup>17</sup>Harrison, p. 95

<sup>18</sup>Lo Chun-shih, A Pictorial Biography of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, trans. C.M. Faure, F.I.L. (Chin.) (Hong Kong, Association of Chinese Civilization, 1965), p. 37

<sup>19</sup>Mary B. Rankin, Early Chinese Revolutionaries Radical Intellectuals in Shanghai and Chekiang 1902-1911 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1971), p. 44

<sup>20</sup>Chu Chin "Chung-kuo nu-pao fa-kan-tsi" (The Introductory Editorial of Chinese Women's Journal First Copy) ed. Chen Hsiung Min-tsu ko-min wen-hsien (Documents on the National Revolution)

<sup>21</sup>Ko Kung-chen, Chung-kuo pao-hsueh shih (A History of Chinese Journalism) (Taipei, Taiwan, Hsueh-sheng Bookstore, 1964), p. 179

<sup>22</sup>O-shih ching-wen (Warning on Russian Affairs), 15 December, 1903, vol. I, no. I

<sup>23</sup>Hu Han-min "Tze-chuan" (Autobiography), in Ko-min wen-hsien (Taipei, Taiwan, Committee on the Chinese Nationalist Party History, 1953), book III, p. 61

<sup>24</sup>Wright, pp. 3-4

<sup>25</sup>Liang Chi-chao, Ching-dye hseuh-shu-kai lung (Summary of Ching Dynasty's Learning) (Taipei, Taiwan, Commercial Publishing Co., n.d.) p. 71

<sup>26</sup>Rankin, p. 8

<sup>27</sup>Feng, I-shih, p. 66

## CHAPTER III

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY JOURNALS

China was defeated by France in 1885. Dr. Sun Yat-sen was strongly influenced by the Ching government's inability to resist a foreign country. He began to consider ways of overthrowing the Manchu Dynasty and returning China to the Chinese people.<sup>1</sup> After China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, the Ching government's weakness was thoroughly revealed. The corruption and the inefficiency of the Ching government was a powerful incentive to the revolutionaries.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen used schools to spread the revolutionary thoughts until the first revolutionary organ, Chung-kuo jih-pao (Chinese Daily), was founded in Hong Kong in 1899. His biggest problem was that the meaning of revolution was not known to the Chinese people. In 1895, the Canton uprising failed; Sun recalled, "People of those days do not have good impressions of the revolutionaries. Revolutionaries are called down and avoided wherever they go."<sup>2</sup>

The period from 1895 to 1900, was described by Dr. Sun Yat-sen as the Chinese revolution's Dark Age.<sup>3</sup>

It was in this critical period that the first revolutionary newspaper was founded.<sup>4</sup>

After 1900, many revolutionary journals were established in China and abroad. For example, Hsin-min tsung-pao (New People's Miscellany) founded in Tokyo, in 1901; Su pao (Kiangsu Journal) founded in Shanghai in 1902; Hu-pei hseuh-sheng chieh (Hupei Student Circles), Che-chiang chao (Tides of Chekiang) and Kiangsu founded in Tokyo in 1903, and Min pao (The People's Journal) published in Tokyo in 1905. They established a revolutionary atmosphere everywhere. People in China and abroad began to accept the revolutionary thoughts and support the revolution.

Sun said, "Revolutionary newspapers promulgated the anti-Manchu ideology. They united the Chinese people and welded them into a cement."<sup>5</sup> Therefore, the contribution of revolutionary newspapers is of the highest rank in the Chinese journalism history.

Because sensational articles could be read frequently in the revolutionary journals, the Ching government's reaction was harsh. Therefore, revolutionaries selected foreign countries or

International Settlements within major Chinese cities. Chinese areas overseas were ideal for revolutionary newspapers because those people were a potential force in the revolution. In this chapter, the author describes the development of the major revolutionary publications in Hong Kong, Shanghai, Japan, the South Seas, Honolulu, San Francisco and Europe.

#### The Revolutionary Journal in Hong Kong

Chung-kuo jih-pao (Chinese Daily) was the first voice of the revolutionary party.<sup>6</sup> When Sun Yat-sen planned the Kwangtung uprising in Japan, he knew it was necessary to establish a propaganda organization. In the fall of 1899, he dispatched Chen Hsiao-pai to found Chung-kuo jih-pao (Chinese Daily) in Hong Kong.<sup>7</sup> The newspaper was named Chinese Daily because it implied that "China belongs to the Chinese."<sup>8</sup> It began publishing four daily pages in December 1899. Since the revolutionaries did not know what position the British government would take toward the revolution, the editorials of this paper did not immediately take an anti-Manchu position. But half a year later, sensational articles that were considered treasonable were printed in Chung-kuo jih-pao (Chinese Daily).<sup>9</sup>



Chinese Daily not only was the pioneer in introducing editorials of revolutionary thought, but it helped shape the writing and content of modern Chinese newspapers. At the time words in newspaper stories were printed straight down the paper. It was difficult to read. Chung-kuo jih-pao imitated the Japanese style and established horizontal story form and short headline. This style was adopted by other newspapers in Hong Kong, Kwangtung, and Shanghai. The Chung-kuo jih-pao also issued Chinese Shyurn pao (Ten-Day Copy). Shyurn pao, which had sections critical of Ching politics, was the first literary supplement established for the Chinese newspapers in Hong Kong. It suspended publication due to lack of funds after a half year.

In 1901, an editorial about equality, freedom and men being equal was published by Chung-kuo jih-pao (Chinese Daily). It set a new atmosphere of revolution and was reportedly welcomed by readers.<sup>10</sup>

In December 1901, the Chinese Daily debated with other newspapers about revolution. Because the secret society's uprising in Canton failed, Hu Yian-eh, a chief editor of Kwangchu Lin-hai pao, a constitutionalist newspaper, wrote that the anti-Manchu revolution was a treasonable activity. Kwangchu associates all supported Chinese Daily by writing editorials.

The American Pao-Hwan-hui (Society to Protect the Emperor) put up money to found Shang pao (Shanghai Commercial Journal) in 1904 in Hong Kong, to advocate protecting the Ching emperor. It became the opponent of Chinese Daily. Chen Hsiao-pai advocated revolution. The two newspapers, with strong, different opinions, wrote more than ten continuing editorials exchanging their viewpoints.

In 1905 Tung-meng-hui (Revolutionary Alliance) was founded in Tokyo. Because Chen Hsiao-pai could not get along well with the revolutionary writers in Hong Kong and Macow, Dr. Sun Yat-sen dispatched Feng Tzu-yu to Hong Kong to take over Chen's job. Feng's responsibility was to take charge of the party and act as reporter of Chung-kuo jih-pao (Chinese Daily). In December 1905, Feng published an article in Chung-kuo jih-pao entitled "Ming-sheng chu-yi yu Chung-kuo cheng-chih chih chien-tu" (Mass Welfare and Future of China's Political Revolution), and the piece was reprinted in the fourth issue of Min pao<sup>11</sup> (The People's Journal), in Japan. Ko Kun-chen in his book Chung-kuo pao-hsueh shih (The History of Chinese Journalism) wrote that the article used the most provocative words in Chinese Daily at that time.<sup>12</sup>

Feng's views on socialism in China were more radical than those expressed by Sun.<sup>13</sup> Because of Feng's radical viewpoint, Chung-kuo jih-pao was banned in Canton in the spring of 1906. It was a heavy blow to Chung-kuo jih-pao, because the circulation in Canton was almost two thirds of its total circulation.

In June 1907, Chung-kuo jih-pao sold "Tien Tau"--a special copy of Min pao. Because there was a cartoon in which the Ching emperor's head was pierced by a knife, the Hong Kong government accused it of implying assassination. Feng argued with the Hong Kong authorities. Finally, the problem was solved when officials confiscated the special copy. In September 1907, Chinese Daily was the commanding organ for the Waichu uprising.

When the Hsien Hai uprising failed on March 29, 1911, the Chinese people in Hong Kong were sympathetic to the revolutionaries. The circulation was growing larger and larger. At the time, Shang pao (Shanghai Commercial Journal), which supported the Loyalist party, attacked revolutionary thought and advocated constitutionalism. Chung-kuo jih-pao

carried on an editorial dispute with it.

In May, 1911, Chung-kuo jih-pao (Chinese Daily) was taken over by Lu Hsin. In September, 1911, Canton was taken by the revolutionaries and the newspaper was moved to Canton.

Chung-kuo jih-pao (Chinese Daily) was not only the first newspaper to advocate revolution, but it was the headquarters for the military and the party in southern China. Chen Hsiao-pai praised this newspaper as the first newspaper advocating revolution publicly, and called it a pivotal organ for the whole revolution.<sup>14</sup> Chinese Daily reunited the revolutionaries who scattered everywhere after the defeat of the Canton uprising in 1907. It stirred the people's consciousness in China and formed the revolutionary atmosphere.<sup>15</sup>

#### The Revolutionary Journals in Shanghai

Revolutionaries wanted to plant their ideologies in cities because they thought that the large cities were more effective than smaller towns. The Shanghai environment was the most favorable of all because Shanghai, after the Opium War of 1842-43, had been a westernized city.<sup>16</sup> Shanghai was a center of revolutionary ideas and became a center for distribution for revolutionary publications after 1902.

Shanghai was named a treaty port after the Opium War in 1842-43. It had been a center of Western influence for half of a century; it was also the largest port for Chinese and Western trade. It was a center for culture, economy, and transportation. Revolutionary publications were distributed on both sides of the Yangtze valley from Shanghai. Rankin wrote:

Shanghai had been a center of Western influence in China for fifty years. It offered examples of Western trade, finance, and industry. Western reformers, such as the missionary Timothy Richards, helped make Western ideas available through translation of books on Western history, science, and geography. Under the management of Richards and other missionaries, translations by the Society for Diffusion of Knowledge (Kuang-hsueh hui) influenced Chinese reformers after 1887. Two years later the missionary-managed Globe Magazine (Wan-kuo kung-pao) was revived and again began to print its translations and suggestions for reform. Daily contacts with foreigners increased Chinese knowledge of the West and also resulted in irritations and humiliations which fostered nationalism. 17

The beginning of Kang-Liang's Reform Movement saw the founding of a society, the Chiang-hsueh-hui, which meant a society for promotion of national strength through learning and knowledge.<sup>18</sup> In 1895, Kang Yu-wei founded the Chiang-hsueh-hui in Shanghai.

Meanwhile, a daily newspaper with the same name of the society as its title, Chiang-hsueh-pao (Strengthening Knowledge Journal) was started and distributed free. This reformist publication excited the jealousy of the conservative officials who were against reform, and in February, 1896, the periodical was banned by imperial edict,<sup>18</sup> as was the society.

Lin Yu-tang described Shih-wu pao (The Chinese Progress) in A History of the Press and Public Opinion in China,:

In July 1896, reformists re-founded an organ. They changed the title of its organ to Shih-wu pao (The Chinese Progress). It was a weekly consisting of more than twenty pages and printed by lithography on excellent Chinese paper. Translations of foreign news occupied the greater part of the magazine. Before the defeat of the reformist party, this Shih-wu pao had been transformed into an official periodical, called Shih-wu kuan-pao. 20

The staff of Shih-wu pao changed the title to Chang-yen pao (Straight Talk) in 1898.

Rankin in her book also mentioned:

Student protest against authority and nationalistic protest against foreign encroachment were main instruments of radicalization. The major organizations reflected the intellectuals' orientation toward education and journalism: The Chinese Educational Association (Chung-kuo chiao-yu hui), The Patriotic School (Ai-kuo hsueh-she), and the newspaper Su

pao (Kiangsu Journal). Leading figures included men such as Chang Ping-lin, Wu Chih-hui, Tsai Yuan-pei, and owner Chen Fan, all of whom had been reformers before turning to revolution. 21

Su pao (Kiangsu Journal) caused a sensation in revolutionary propaganda. It was founded in 1897 by Hu Chang, but there were no revolutionary articles before 1903.

To enjoy the legal advantages of extraterritoriality, Hu registered the paper with the Japanese consulate in Shanghai under the name of his Japanese wife. Su pao (Kiangsu Journal) had close connections with Japanese officials and was considered the Shanghai organ of the Japanese government.<sup>22</sup> In 1899 it was bought by Chen Fan.<sup>23</sup>

Chen Fan, who was a magistrate in the Kiangsi province, was dismissed from his post because of an attack on missionaries in his area. Later he moved to Shanghai. He hated the corruption of the Ching government. Chen intended to print pure criticism of the Ching government so he bought Su pao.

His first articles argued for the protection of the emperor from the Empress-dowager, and it supported the establishment of a constitution. In the winter of 1902 his paper published an article entitled "Student Tides" (Hsueh-chieh feng-chao)

which supported the position of the radical students. Chen became a revolutionary.<sup>24</sup>

Eventually Chen thought only the revolution could solve the national crisis, he had moved from positions of legal reform, to protecting the emperor, and then to revolution.<sup>25</sup>

At that time the Patriotic School lacked money. Su pao supported it. Teachers and students wrote articles for Su pao in exchange for \$100 a month donation. This arrangement suited both sides for, although the Patriotic School was an academic organization in name, it was really a revolutionary organization. Tsai Yuan-pei was the leader, Chang Ping-lin and Wu Chih-hui were teachers. Su pao became formally accepted as the organ of the Patriotic School. That summer it had problems.

On May 1, 1903, Su pao asked Chang Pin-lin to write a column for the newspaper. Chang's first article was entitled "Chung-kuo tang-tao chieh ko-ming-tang" (All Chinese Authorities Are Revolutionaries). The article caused a sensation. In that article Chang Ping-lin had emphasized that Kang-Liang's Loyalist party could not save China and that the revolution was the only way to keep the country free of foreign powers. On May



6, 1903, Su pao changed personnel because Chang's article brought trouble from the Ching government. Su pao became a revolutionary journal.

On May 13, Tsou Jung's article "Ko-min chun" (The Revolutionary Army) was printed in Su pao (Kiangsu Journal). It was sharply critical of the Manchu government and agitated the Han's (Chinese) nationalism.

The most celebrated presentation of these themes was Chang's "Po Kang Yu-wei Shu" (Letter Disputing Kang Yu-wei). It was published in Su pao in June 1903. In the article, Chang listed four points to dispute with Kang. They were: 1) remarks critical of Kang's stated objection to anti-Manchu government; 2) ridicule of his flattering view of the Ching Emperor; 3) challenge of his support of the Ching constitution; 4) review of why India was destroyed in order to oppose Kang's view that revolution could destroy a country.<sup>26</sup>

When Su pao serially issued these articles in 1903, the entire country became agitated. En-shiu, a high-ranking official in the Ching government, empowered consulates in Shanghai to arrest the revolutionaries. The event became known as the Su pao case. On July 7, Su pao offices were closed.

Chang Ping-lin and Tsou Jung were arrested and put in jail. Chang was sentenced to three years in jail and Tsou was sentenced to two years. He died in jail. The Su pao episode was the most dramatic event for revolutionary journalism during those years. Rankin observed:

One of the ironies of the Su pao case is that although it is a famous landmark of the revolutionary movement, the issue of revolution was never clearly brought out in the trial itself. The most striking point about the indictment presented by the government is the traditionalistic manner in which it viewed the prisoners' alleged crimes. There is no discussion of the Western-inspired political ideas which motivated the students. Instead about a quarter of the specific passages cited are objectionable because of some direct insult to the emperor: failure to elevate the characters of his name, the use of the taboo personal names of the Kuang-hsu, Kang-hsi, and Chien-lung emperors and various less technical insults such as calling the emperor a criminal before heaven and a low wretch. Chang Ping-lin was especially inventive of this type of invective and most passages of this sort were written by him ... Almost all the others cited are direct calls to overthrow or kill the Manchus. 27

The Kuo-min jih-jih pao (The China National Gazette) opened on June 15, 1903 in Shanghai. The staff of this paper had been revolutionaries in Shanghai and they followed the style of the now closed Su pao.

Lu Ho-sheng, a Kwangtungese who had grown up in Hong Kong, was the publisher. Lu worked for some years for Western papers in Shanghai. To avoid the Ching government interference, Kuo-min jih-jih pao (The China National Gazette) was registered with the British consulate.

This paper devoted much of its space to advocating human rights. In its first issue, an article stated that oriental people did not understand the meaning of nationalism because they had lived for too long under despotism. Kuo-min jih-jih pao urged people in China to unite against the Ching government. The paper carried news of the Su pao case, criticized the government on specific issues, called for an end of monarchical rule at home and of Chinese humiliation abroad.<sup>28</sup>

The literary page of this newspaper was titled "Darkened World", and was an aggressive page that attacked corrupt Ching bureaucrats. It printed a series of articles entitled, "Nan-du lu yian-i" (Ching Southward Penetration into Chinese Territory) which illustrated that the Manchus penetrated the Chinese territories and looked at the Chinese people as slaves. Therefore, it aroused the people's racialism.

The strident columns brought the paper many problems with the Ching government. Ching issued an edict telling people along the Yangtze River that they could not buy or read it. The paper lacked monetary support and could not continue publishing.

Rankin wrote:

Although it survived no more than a few months, Kuo-min jih-jih pao (The China National Gazette) was of some significance in maintaining the continuity of the revolutionary movement in Shanghai. It brought together again people who had been active in the previous organization. Some of its staff were also responsible for founding other minor revolutionary publications in Shanghai. Lin Hsien established Chung-kuo pai-hua pao (The Chinese Vernacular Journal) in the fall of 1903, and in 1904 Chen Chu-ping edited Erh-shih shih-chi ta-wu-tai tsa-chih (The Twentieth Century Stage). 29

During the fall of 1903 and early in 1904 Russian troops moved into the Fengtien province. Anti-Russian sentiment was high throughout the country. Tsai Yuan-pei, Liu Kuang-han and Yeh-Han among others established Tui-O tung-chi hui (Association of Comrades to Resist Russia) during December of 1903, and published O-shih ching-wen (Warnings on Russian Affairs), which followed Su pao's and Ko-min jih-jih pao's editorial style.

"The editors linked nationalism to opposition of the dynasty by pointing out the failures of Ching foreign policy." Rankin wrote, "Anti-dynastic sentiments were more subtly presented than they had been in Su pao, however."<sup>30</sup>

After printing sixty-seven issues, the paper appeared under the new name of Ching-chung jih-pao (The Alarm Bell) on January 5, 1904. On February 20, 1905, The Alarm Bell printed a story that purported to describe secret German plans for control of Shangtung. Protests by the German consul led the Ching government to raid the paper's offices at the end of March.<sup>31</sup> Subsequently Lin Hsieh's Chung-kuo pai-hua pao (The Chinese Vernacular Journal) and Chen Chu-ping's Erh-shih shih-chi ta-wu-tai tsa-chi (The Twentieth Century Stage) were also closed.

For the next two years, the revolutionary papers in Shanghai were silent.

Yu Yu-jen, a Shansiese who was a revolutionary, fled to Shanghai after publishing a collection of poetry entitled "Pan-ku pan-hsiao lou shih" (The Chamber Half-way between Laughter and Tears)<sup>31</sup> which angered the Shansi governor. In 1907, he met with Yang Tu-sheng, a Hunanese revolutionary, to plan a

newspaper. Yu went to Japan to raise money.

On February 20, 1907, this paper was founded. The aim of the paper was to advocate a non-provincial boundary and raise the people's revolutionary consciousness. A fire destroyed the paper's office; Yu left the paper, but Yang continued to publish. It remained a revolutionary publication and gave editorial support to the later revolutionary organ published by Yu, but it was only in the mainstream of the revolutionary movement during its first years.<sup>33</sup>

Min-hu pao (The People's Cry) was established on March 26, 1909, by Yu Yu-jen after he left Shen-chou jih-pao.

"The editors of Min-hu pao (The People's Cry) defined the paper's mission as awakening popular consciousness and expressing popular complaint particularly on questions of official malfeasance and foreign encroachment," Rankin wrote. It criticized the politics of the day and attacked the Ching government. It blamed other papers for being mouthpieces of the corrupt government. Those newspapers hated Min-hu pao, and attacked it in varying ways. From then on, the editorials of Min-hu pao were more radical, and heavily criticized the

Kansu and the Shensi officials. The result was four lawsuits in the Mixed Court. The Shanghai Taotai, the governor of Shanghai, accused Yu of misappropriating funds from the Kansu Famine Relief Society, of which Yu was a member. Yu was arrested on August 3 and three slander suits against the paper followed.<sup>35</sup> Rankin observed:

However, the libels in The People's Cry were probably no worse than frequently appeared in other Chinese papers. There is no doubt that Ching officials were out to close The People's Cry, and they succeeded. The paper ceased publication after August 14. The trial continued through early September when Yu was released from jail, but he was expelled from the International Settlement. 36

Min-shyu-pao (The People's Sigh) was founded on August 20, 1909. Staff members were the original staff of Min-hu pao.

The paper was registered with the French consulate, but its strong anti-imperialist stand invited foreign displeasure.<sup>37</sup> At that time Japan annexed Korea and planned to penetrate China. Min-shyu pao (The People's Sigh) severely criticized the Japanese encroachment in Manchuria. In October, 1909, an article entitled "Chung-kuo chi wei-chi" (The Crisis of China) discussed a Japanese plot to

occupy China's Northeast. The Japanese consul brought pressure on the Ching government. Police shut down the paper on November 19 and ordered that its printing presses could not be used to publish another paper.<sup>38</sup> It survived only forty days.

In summary, radicals from different provinces moved to Shanghai and formed a group separated from conventional society.

They lived in the International Settlement because they enjoyed some protection from the foreign powers. Modernization that had initially stimulated radical ideas was furthest advanced there. They used newspapers to spread the democratic thought and reveal the Ching's weaknesses. The newspapers were published there, taking advantage of Shanghai as a major trading center. These anti-government newspapers could be spread through the countryside to give impetus and a little cohesion to revolutionaries throughout the Lower Yangtze provinces. Owing to the internal and external crises, anti-imperialist editorials were also printed in the revolutionary journals.

The dramatic effect of the oppression of the government toward Su pao, shocked the Chinese people. The government, in showing its malevolence, lost many supporters who felt they could no longer trust or respect their ruthless



leaders.

The affair of the Su pao was an indication of the weakness of the Ching government.<sup>39</sup> Revolutionary newspapers attacked the government fearlessly. People in Shanghai had come more and more to realize the hopelessness of the Manchu regime. This caused a strong public feeling toward the revolution. Thus the government lost even more sympathy and the revolutionaries gained new sympathizers.<sup>40</sup> Overthrowing the Ching government was the only way to solve the internal and external crises.

#### The Revolutionary Journals in Japan

Ideas and people moved quickly between Tokyo and Shanghai; students in the two cities reacted similarly to the same issues.<sup>41</sup> Japan's closeness and language similarities made it easy for Chinese revolutionaries and anti-government survivors to flee to Japan. Naturally a great number of revolutionary newspapers originated there.

In 1900, a Chinese student association published a magazine named I-su hui-tsung (Collections of Translated Publications) that was considered the earliest periodical in the student circles. However, it was not a political publication. After

Tan Tsai-chang's September uprising of 1900, many survivors fled to Japan. They hated the Loyalist party and the Ching government. Several of these survivors established Kuo-min pao (Chinese National) in the summer of 1901.<sup>42</sup> In order to avoid Ching interference, the Chinese National used an English merchant as its publisher. In fact, the real publisher was Feng Tzu-yu's father, Feng Tzu-yu being one of the paper's founders.

Kuo-min pao, (Chinese National) was the first newspaper in Chinese student circles in Japan to advocate revolution. Dr. Sun Yat-sen was then in Yokohama and gave strong support to the paper. He began to cooperate with the Chinese students in Japan.

This paper promoted nationalism and criticized Ching officials. It also discussed human rights in its editorials. It published only four issues before closing for lack of funds.

After 1902, revolutionary thoughts flourished among the Chinese student circles in Japan. In this atmosphere the number of student publications increased rapidly during 1903. The most famous revolutionary periodicals were: Che-chiang chao (Tide of Chekiang), Hu-pei hsueh-sheng chieh (Hupei Students Circles), and Kiangsu. These periodicals were published by the

provincial student clubs and all were short-lived. A magazine lasting a year was a rarity.<sup>43</sup>

These publications were shipped to China and distributed through revolutionary organizations, tea houses, and news-stands. They were also passed among the radical students. Although the government disapproved, periodicals were not specially banned from the mails and often sold openly. But distribution was difficult, haphazard, and presumably not very profitable.<sup>44</sup>

These revolutionary periodicals did not have the same tone in attacking the Manchurians, and did not have clear strong aims either. Consequently they could not balance the Loyalist influence. The revolutionary periodicals continued to be inferior until Min pao (The People's Journal) appeared in 1905.

Min pao (The People's Journal) was the exemplary revolutionary newspaper. One reason was that Min pao was the newspaper of Tung-meng-hui (Revolutionary Alliance); the other was that Min pao was the first revolutionary journal to print the meaning of San-min chu-i (The Three Principles of the People) which completed the revolutionary theories.<sup>45</sup> Min pao spread revolutionary thought over China. "It is the

most successful newspaper since the newspapers and magazine came out,"<sup>46</sup> praised Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

It was a monthly and began in October of 1905. Chang Chi was the publisher. Hu Han-min was the managing editor. Chen Tien-hwa, Hu Han-min, Chu Chi-hsin and Sung Chiao-jen were editors in the early stage.

Wright in China in Revolution: The First Phase 1900-1913 described:

Chinese intellectuals appeared to have shown a deeper interest in social democracy during the eight months from November 1905 to June 1906 than at any time until the 1920's. Over ten articles directly or indirectly concerned with Western socialism appeared in the five issues of Min pao during these months. Of these Hu Han-min's article mentioned above and the translation of a short passage from Henry George were commissioned by Dr. Sun Yat-sen or at least reflected his point of view. 47

From 1907 the articles in Min pao introducing socialism became very scarce, while the articles introducing anarchism increased. The following issues--July 25, 1906 to December 20, 1906--contained two articles on socialism and anarchism favoring socialism, and two on anarchism alone, one neutral, and one hostile. After the eleventh issue, January 25, 1907, there were no further articles concerning social democracy but more than ten favoring anarchism or populist terrorism. 48

From the first issue until the sixth issue the articles and the editorials in Min pao were considered to be close to the Dr. Sun Yat-sen's ideals.<sup>49</sup> After the sixth issue, Chang Ping-lin set free from Su pao case, acted as a managing editor and wrote numerous articles on economics, political democracy, and the other issues raised by Dr. Sun Yat-sen's, "The Three Principles of the People."<sup>50</sup>

Min pao (The People's Journal) was a successful critic. Two thousand copies were smuggled regularly into China to feed the discontent of the student class.<sup>51</sup> It delivered a severe blow to the Loyalist party. The Loyalist party supported only political revolution, but the revolutionaries urged both political revolution and a racial revolution.

Finally there was an article "Ko-min hsin-li" (The Psychology of Revolution) printed in Min pao, forcing it to close. The Japanese government, in an attempt to flatter the Ching government, closed Min pao at Ching's request. It published a total of twenty four issues.

#### The Revolutionary Journals in the South Seas

There were revolutionary newspapers spread through the South Seas islands and as far east as

America. There were even a few newspapers in Europe.

Due to the miles of separation, the overseas Chinese residents contributed minimally to the overthrow of the Ching government. Their most active contribution was economical, not ideology.

In Singapore in 1899 Kang Yu-wei founded the Pao-Huang-hui (Society to Protect the Emperor). Yeu Lieh, an overseas Chinese revolutionary, persuaded Chen Tsu-nan and Chang Yong-fu to start Tu-nan jih-pao to attack the Loyalist party.

This paper was both the first and the most important newspaper in the South Seas. It was founded in the spring of 1904 in Singapore.

The members of the Chinese society avoided revolutionary newspapers. Therefore, the publisher of Tu-nan jih-pao received no money for distribution of revolutionary ideology. It survived only one year and closing in the summer of 1905.

Because Chang Yong-fu and Chen Tsu-nan did not want to stop the revolutionary outlet in the South Seas, they asked Chen Yuen-chiu to invest in Nan-yang tsung-hui-pao.

It was founded in the winter of 1905. Chen Yuen-chiu and Chang Yong-fu owned this paper. Chen

objected to printing radical articles because he was a weak supporter of the Loyalist party. After negotiating, Chen got controlling rights. After that, Chen also asked Chu Tze-pei, a Loyalist, to be a partner. It became a Loyalist party controlled paper.

After the Nan-yang tsung-hui-pao fell to the Loyalist party control, Dr. Sun Yat-sen helped Chen Tsu-nan establish Chung-hsin jih-pao on August 20, 1907, in Singapore.

The paper was the strongest revolutionary newspaper in the South Seas at that time. Sun also used a pseudo name, "Nan yang hsiao hsueh sheng" (The Pupil in the South Seas), to write articles to awaken the Chinese people's nationalism and to dispute the Loyalist party's viewpoints. Chung-hsin jih-pao made major contributions to the spread of the revolutionary thought there.

In 1909, because of the lack of money, Dr. Sun Yat-sen changed its organization and issued stock to make both ends meet. However, the fund was not enough so it closed in the summer of 1910.

#### The Revolutionary Journal in Hawaii

Lung-chi pao (The Hawaiian News) was the first newspaper in Honolulu, and was sometimes known as

Honolulu Hsin pao (New Daily). It was founded in 1881. Lung-chi pao had commercial rather than revolutionary appeal.

In 1903, Dr. Sun Yat-sen arrived at Honolulu. The articles of the Loyalist party's newspaper attacked the revolutionaries and Sun. Dr. Sun Yat-sen was asked to write articles for Lung-chi pao to dispute the Loyalists.

Two articles--"Po Pao-Huang-Dang pao" (Disputing the Loyalist's Newspaper) and "Ching-kao tung-hsiang su" (Summoning Our Villagers)--were most important. These two articles said revolution could keep China from being partitioned.

The issue of revolution or constitutionalism as the means of resolving China's problem argument continued until the establishment of the Republic of 1912.

The Revolutionary Journal in San Francisco  
Shiao-nien chung-kuo chern-pao (Chinese Youth Morning News) was an organ of American Tung-meng-hui (Revolutionary Alliance). Its name used to be Mei-chu shiao-nien (The American Youth), a weekly and founded in 1910 in San Francisco



When Dr. Sun Yat-sen came to the United States from Europe for collecting funds, he thought that Mei-chu-shiao-nien (The American Youth) was weak in propaganda. Then, he led other revolutionaries to change this newspaper to a daily, named Shiao-nien chung-kuo chern-pao (Chinese Youth Morning News). The first copy was printed on August 19, 1910.

From that point, because the Loyalist party established institutes in America. Its organs were Wei-hsin-pao (Restoration News) in New York and Sheh-chieh jih-pao (The World Daily News) in San Francisco. After the Shiao-nien chung-kuo chern-pao (Chinese Youth Morning News) was published, there were word wars between the two different parties.

Shiao-nien chung-kuo chern-pao concentrated on the news from Shanghai and Hong Kong and used cable to gather news from China. Therefore, the reporting speed was faster than the others in America. During the Wuchang uprising of 1911, the paper usually issued special copy to report the hard news. It was a welcomed newspaper at that time. It was also the long-lived newspaper and it is still published now in San Francisco.

### The Revolutionary Journal in Europe

New Century was the only revolutionary newspaper for Chinese students in Europe. It was founded by Lee Shih-tsen, Chang Chin-chiang and Wu Chih-hui in Paris and was published in June, 1907. Its main purpose was to advocate the overthrow of the Ching government.

New Century was a match for Min pao in Tokyo and had a great influence on student societies in Europe and the overseas Chinese communities. It was suspended in May, 1910.

In summary, after the Sino-Japanese War, Chinese intellectuals began newspapers to awaken the people's national consciousness.

Nationalism is the ability that enables a state to aspire to progress and a nation to perpetuate its existence. After the Manchurians seized power, China lost that desire. The revolutionary newspapers attempted to instill that desire again. "If the Chinese could, in the future, find some way to revive nationalism, then no matter what foreign political and economic forces oppressed Chinese, she would survive through the ages", said Dr. Sun Yat-sen.<sup>52</sup>

After the coup de'tat of 1898, revolutionaries and Loyalists used the newspapers as a tool for debate at home and abroad. It not only stimulated the overseas Chinese sentiment, but formed a new public opinion--a strong current of support for revolution. Finally the Ching government was overthrown, and a democratic republic was founded. Sun praised the newspapers of the day saying, "The Wuchang uprising overthrew the Manchu government. Though the military was the main element, the editorials causing the homogenous attitude against Ching were the most important."<sup>53</sup>

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Lo Chun-shih, etc., A Pictorial Biography of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, trans. C.M. Faure, F.I.L. (Hong Kong, Association of Chinese Culture, 1965), p. 17

<sup>2</sup>Sun Yat-sen, "Where there is a will, there is a way", Sun-wen hsueh-so (Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Theory) (Taipei, Taiwan, Quoted from Historical Document of Committee on Nationalist Party, 1971), p. 170

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 166

<sup>4</sup>Chen Hsiao-pai, Hsing-chung-hui ko-ming-shih yao (The Briefing History of Society to Restore China's Prosperity) (Taipei, Taiwan, Central Cultural Service, 1956), p. 63

<sup>5</sup>Sun, "Speech must associate with action" ed. Tsung-li chuan-su (Collections of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Writings) (Taipei, Taiwan, 1965), p. 74

<sup>6</sup>Feng, Chung-kuo ko-ming yun-tung erh-shih-liu nien tsu-shih shih (Twenty-six Years' Organizational History of the Chinese Revolutionary Movement) (Taipei, Taiwan, Commercial Publishing Co., 1941), p. 20

<sup>7</sup>Feng Tzu-yu, Ko-min I-shih (Fragments of Revolutionary History) (Shanghai, Commercial Publishing Co., 1947), vol. I, p. 66

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>Chen Chun-sheng, "Chen Hsiao-pai hsien-sheng yu Hong Kong Chung-kuo jih-pao chi Chung-kuo jih-pao yu Chung-kuo ko-ming che kwang-hsi" (Mr. Chen Hsiao-pai and the Chinese Daily in Hong Kong and the Relation Between the Chinese Daily and Chinese Revolution) ed. Chung-hua min-kuo kai-kuo wu-shih-nien wen-hsien (Documents on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Founding of the Republic of China), vol. I book X; "Ko-ming chih chang-tao yu fa-chan" (The Beginning and Development of the Revolution) (Taipei, Taiwan, Chung-hua min-kuo kai-kuo wu-shih-nien wen-hsien pien-tsuan wei-yuan hui (Committee on the Completion of Documents on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Founding of the Republic of China), 1963), book II

<sup>10</sup>Lai Kuan-lin, Chung-kuo zien-dye pao-jen yu pao-veh (Chinese Contemporary Newspaper People and Newspaper Enterprising) (Taipei, Taiwan, Commercial Publishing Co., 1980), p. 342

<sup>11</sup>Martin Bernal, "The Triumph of Anarchism Over Marxism, 1906-1907", ed. Wright, p. 110

<sup>12</sup>Ko Kung-chen, Chung-kuo pao-hsueh shih (A History of Chinese Journalism) (Taipei, Taiwan, Hsueh-sheng Bookstore, 1964), p. 154

<sup>13</sup>Bernal, p. 110

<sup>14</sup>Chen Hsiao-pai, "Hong Kong Ching-kuo pao lieu-shih" (Draft History of Chinese Newspapers in Hong Kong), in Hsing-chung hui ko-min shih-yao (Brief for the Revolutionary History of Society to Restore China's Prosperity) (Taipei, Taiwan, Central Cultural Service, 1956), p. 62

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Rankin, p. 48

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 48

<sup>18</sup>Lee Chan, "Pao Huan Dang te pao tze" (The Loyalist's Newspaper) ed. Tseng Shyh-pai, Chung-kuo hsin-wen-shih (The History of Chinese Journalism) (Taipei, Taiwan: National Cheng-chi University Press, 1981), p. 198

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 199

<sup>20</sup>Lin Yu-tang, Chinese Press and Public Opinion, (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1936), p. 97

<sup>21</sup>Rankin, p. 50

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 69

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 70 and Lai, p. 345

- <sup>25</sup>Lai, p. 345
- <sup>26</sup>Pien Ping-fong, "Ko-ming-tang te pao tze"  
(The Revolutionary Party's Newspapers) ed. Tsen Shyu-pai, p. 210, and Lai, p. 346
- <sup>27</sup>Rankin, pp. 91-92
- <sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 98
- <sup>29</sup>Ibid., pp. 98-99
- <sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 99
- <sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 99, and Lai, p. 348
- <sup>32</sup>Feng, I-shih, pp. 346-350, and Rankin, p. 116
- <sup>33</sup>Rankin, p. 116
- <sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 117
- <sup>35</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>36</sup>Lai, p. 350, and Rankin, p. 117
- <sup>37</sup>Lai, p. 351
- <sup>38</sup>Rankin, p. 20
- <sup>39</sup>Lin, p. 103
- <sup>40</sup>Rankin, p. 95
- <sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 20
- <sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 21
- <sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 23
- <sup>44</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>45</sup>Chang Chi-yuan, Chung-hua min-kuo shih-guang  
(Draft of the Chinese History) (Taipei, Taiwan, Publishing  
Committee on Chinese Culture, 1954), p. 128

<sup>46</sup>Sun, "Where there is a will, there is a way", p. 176

<sup>47</sup>Bernal, p. 108

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 135

<sup>49</sup>Wang Te-tsao, "Tung-meng-hui shih-chi sun-chung-san hsien-sheng ko-min shi-hsian te fen-si yien-jiu" (Analytical Study of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Revolutionary Thoughts in the Period of Revolution Alliance) ed. Wu Hsian-hsian, Chung-kuo hsien-dye-shih tsung-kan (Selections of Chinese Modern History) (Taipei, Taiwan, Cheng-chung Bookstore, 1960), book I, p. 150

<sup>50</sup>Rankin, p. 55

<sup>51</sup>John King Fairbank, The United States and China, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1979), pp. 216-217

<sup>52</sup>Sun, ed. in "The Three Principles of the People", Lecture on Nationalism on Lect. I

<sup>53</sup>Pien, p. 232

## CHAPTER IV

### THE STRUGGLES OF REVOLUTIONARY JOURNALS

In the dictatorial era of Ching government, the power of officials was unlimited; at the same time all forms of political expression against the authorities were limited. The revolutionary press was threatened both by the Chinese government and by the foreign countries in which it operated. Newspaper editors were wary of officials and few were willing to ignore government orders.<sup>1</sup> Because the revolutionary newspapers criticized the Ching government and carried revolutionary thoughts, it was natural that they would be banned for violating the Ching's rule. The revolutionary newspapers also attacked foreign countries that had partitioned China.<sup>2</sup> These attacks sometimes brought interference from the foreign governments in the form of restrictions on publishing.

The Ching government's oppression of the revolutionary newspapers was harsh and generally took two forms.



Revolutionary newspapers were stopped from mailing or selling in tea houses or on streets. An imperial edict of 1903 banned the distribution of Kuo-min jih-jih pao (China National Gazette) along the Yangtze valley. The edict said:

The radicals in Shanghai published newspapers and incited people with their eloquence. Such rebellious activities are treasonable. Su pao offices have been closed and concerned radicals will be arrested. Now Kuo-min jih-jih pao dared to attack the government without restraint. Its activities make one's hair stand on end. It is hereby ordered that the governors shall strictly enforce the punishment of anyone who buys or reads the newspapers. 3

The Foreign Office ordered the Imperial Maritime Custom Service not to mail radical newspapers. The order said:

We are informed that Kuo-min jih-jih pao was established in Shanghai ... the financial conditions of the newspaper are not good. If nobody will buy the papers, then the papers can hardly exist and the rebels can do no harm. It is hereby ordered that the provinces along the Yangtze river shall give out public notices not only prohibiting people from buying and reading the papers, but hoping Imperial Maritime Custom Service notifies every post office not to provide postal service for this newspaper to stop its circulation and keep the human heart at peace. 4

Another method adopted by the Ching government was using the imperial edict to close

journals.

After the Sino-Japanese War in 1894-95, government officials and eminent writers realized the importance of the press as a means of public education.

Lin Yu-tang remarked:

Viceroy Yuan Shih-kai, Chang Chih-tung, the cabinet ministers Sun Chia-nai, Wen Ting-shih and Chen Chun-hsuan, the reform leaders Kang Yu-wei and Liang Chi-chao, and the scholars Chang Ping-lin, Tsai Yuan-pei, and Wu Chih-hui all threw their influence in support of a modern press and all were personally associated with many of the periodicals. Some of these publications, as in the case of the Shih-wu pao (The Chinese Progress), were sent through official channels for the edification of the bureaucrats. 5

Chang Chih-tung wrote an article entitled "Chuan hsueh pien" (A Chapter for Strengthening Knowledge) in which he urged people to read newspapers. He and Yuan Shih-kai were active in the promotion of government publications before 1898.

Shih-wu pao (The Chinese Progress) was a weekly with more than twenty pages and printed by lithography on excellent Chinese papers.<sup>6</sup> Viceroy Chang was the prime promoter of Shih-wu pao and donated funds for its foundation. He also arranged to distribute this paper to the different branches and schools under his control.

Because the managing editor was unable to stand Chang's domineering spirit, this paper was transformed into an official periodical, called Shih-wu kuan-pao (kuan means official in Chinese), by Chang Chih-tung in June of 1898.<sup>7</sup> Sun Chia-nai, in his report to the throne, said:

Although some editorials in Shih-wu pao (The Chinese Progress) are suitable and favor the government, yet it still cannot avoid mistakes. Now it is transformed into an official periodical. It should be requested that the managing editor has to be cautious. If radical essays are found, the managing editor will be punished. 8

In July the Ching emperor issued an edict to enact journalism law for censoring the contents of publications. "Most western countries have journalism law," said the imperial edict, "we should enact a similar one for China."<sup>9</sup> The Ching government wanted to use legal processes to control the newspapers published by the radicals. But because of the coup de'tat of 1898, the journalism law was put off. After the coup de'tat the Empress Dowager Tse-hsi (1835-1908) seized power. She believed that newspapers stirred up politics and did harm to the people.<sup>10</sup> An edict limiting newspapers by arresting the managing editor

was used off and on by the government. Few newspapers survived.<sup>11</sup>

In 1906 the Ministry of Patrol associated with Commercial and Educational Ministries enacted "Specialized Law of the Ching's Publications" calling for news publications to register in Peking. Before these publications were printed, they had to be censored by the government.<sup>12</sup> From that point, revolutionary journals were controlled closely by the Ching government.

The most devilish method of controlling newspapers was to confiscate the properties of the newspaper and close the newspaper offices. During this period, the life of a newspaper was like frost on the roof or a candle before a draft. The Ching government usually used the term "anti-government" to describe these revolutionary newspapers. Once the term was placed on a publisher or editor, he would either be arrested or be fined and the newspaper would be closed.

Colonial governments also placed many limitations on the revolutionary journals. For example, a cartoon that showed the Ching Emperor's head being pierced by a knife appeared in Chung-kuo jih-pao (Chinese Daily). The Hong Kong government

accused this newspaper of suggesting assassination and made a law prohibiting journals from publishing provocative words and pictures.

Colonial governments could stop the newspapers or deport publishers easily. It took only an order; there was no legal protection for the newspaper. For example, Erh-shih shih-chi chi-na (Twentieth Century China) was banned in Japan. Revolutionary editor Sung Chiao-jen wrote in Wo-chi jih-chi (My Diary):

Erh-shih shih-chi chi-na (Twentieth Century China) was printed and ready to be distributed when suddenly several Japanese police came and said to me, these books will be confiscated. When I asked why, they told me these magazines did harm to the people. I asked what chapter in this magazine did harm to the readers. After a while, they answered that they were executing only by order of the Interior Minister. 13

The second obstacle that the revolutionary journals had was economic. Financial trouble, like political trouble, meant suspension.

Revolutionary journals were usually pressed for funds. Often two or three revolutionary party members began publication with ambition and perseverance but without enough money.<sup>14</sup>

For example, Chung-kuo jih-pao (Chinese Daily)

LIST OF THE DOMESTIC OPPRESSED REVOLUTIONARY JOURNALS

NAME OF THE PAPER	COPY	PUBLISHING PLACE	STOPPING YEAR	CAUSE FOR BEING BANNED	REMARKS
<u>Su pao</u>	Daily	Shanghai	1903	Criticizing the Manchu Dynasty	Chang Ping-lin was sentenced to three years in jail, Tsou Jung, the author of the Revolutionary Army, was sentenced to two years in jail; then died in jail.
<u>Kuo-min jih-jih pao</u> (China National Gazette)	Daily	Shanghai	1903	Anti-government	Ordering the post office not to mail the paper.
<u>Ching-chun jih-pao</u> (The Alarm Bell)	Daily	Shanghai	1905	Blaming Empress Dowager and Emperor	Five persons were arrested and printing press were confiscated.
<u>Min pao</u> (The People's Journal)	Monthly	Tokyo	1908	Radical Editorial	
<u>Min-hu pao</u> (The People's Cry)	Daily	Shanghai	1909	Yu Yu-jen was accused of mis-appropriating funds from Shansi Famine Relief Assoc.	Yu was put in jail for forty days, then papers was forced to close.
<u>Min-shyu pao</u> (The People's Sigh)	Daily	Shanghai	1909	Attacking Japanese encroachment in Manchuria	Japanese consul asked Shanghai Taotai to close the Newspaper

Source: Lai Kuan-lin "Chung-kuo zien-dye pao-jen yu pao-yeh" (Chinese Contemporary Newspaper People and Newspaper Enterprising) (Taipei, Taiwan, Commercial Publishing Co., 1980), p. 393

had difficulty staying in business a few months after it began. There was not money even for food.<sup>15</sup> Afterwards the party contributed money to keep Chung-kuo jih-pao (Chinese Daily) publishing. It also got contributions from overseas Chinese societies.<sup>16</sup>

Tu-nan jih-pao in Singapore had more problems than Chinese Daily because it received no money from the readers. When it could not keep publishing, the manager fled to avoid debts. Thus, the only revolutionary newspaper in the South Seas died for lack of money.

In January 1907, Chiu Chin founded Chung-kuo nu-pao (Chinese Women's Journal) in Shanghai. At that time newspapers published by women were not common in China. She also had financial troubles. Chiu Chin asked people to donate<sup>17</sup> so she could continue to publish Chung-kuo nu-pao. She continued in her endeavors for six months until she died on July 15, 1907.

The Struggle between the Revolutionary Journals and Pao-Huang Dang (Loyalist Party)

The Self-Strengthening movement of 1862-1874 was the first attempt by China to adapt Western technology. After the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95)

proved that the movement was ineffective militarily, a group of young literati concluded that purely formal adaptation of the practices of the industrial nations would not be enough to check the aggression of those nations and preserve China's sovereignty. One group, led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, believed that only a revolution could reach the aim. The other group, led by Kang Yu-wei (1858-1927) and Liang Chi-chao (1873-1929), was convinced that institutional change and legal reform were the proper path. The two groups followed different political routes, rejecting each other's approach to change.

Before 1898 there was no difference between the revolutionary groups and the constitutionalists. After the 1898 coup de'tat, Kang and Liang fled to Japan where they established several newspapers and proclaimed that they would restore the Ching Emperor. The next year Kang Yu-wei founded Pao-Huang-hui (Society to Protect the Emperor) in Canada. From this point each group struggled to publish its political ideas. Sun Yat-sen and Liang Chi-chao had hoped to combine forces in 1899, but Kang Yu-wei was willing to compromise with the Manchus because he wanted honors and office.<sup>18</sup> Kang despised the revolutionaries and thought their activities were treasonable.<sup>19</sup>



Wright said in China in Revolution: The First  
Phase 1900-1913:

In general, it can be said the reformist seems to have found most favor during the early years of the century and to have been the preference of the mainland bourgeoisie, while revolutionary doctrines seem to have come to the fore just before 1911 and to have been more widely adopted among merchants overseas. 20

In China, the commercial bourgeoisie still had close links with the gentry, and they shared both a desire to maintain the social status quo and a realistic assessment of the stage of development reached in the country as a whole. The overseas Chinese, on the other hand, had no direct knowledge of what was happening at home, but wanted China to have what they considered the most modern forms of political and economic organization so that it could become a nation of the first rank. 21

Sun thought the Loyalist party was worse than the Ching government because it opposed both the republic and revolution.<sup>22</sup> The degree of struggle between these groups was beyond imagination. Letters in newspapers of both groups were heavily used in attempts to enlist the people's support.

The Loyalist party owned several newspapers and used them as organs. In early 1895, Kang Yu-wei and Liang Chi-chao began using newspapers to push for legal reform. Liang helped Kang Yu-wei found a society,

the Chiang-hsueh-hui, which meant Society for Promotion of National Strength Through Learning and Knowledge,<sup>23</sup> and a daily, Chung-wai chi-wen (Globe Gazette), was published from woodblocks on the press of the Peking Gazette and was distributed free with the Gazette to officials.<sup>24</sup>

After Chung-wai chi-wen (Globe Gazette) was published, Kang and Liang also published other journals such as Shih-wu pao in Shanghai and Chi-hsin pao in Macao. Both came out before 1898. After 1898 there were Ching-yi pao (Pure Criticism Periodical) and Hsin-min tsung-pao (New People's Miscellany) in Yokohama, Japan, Tien-nan hsin-pao in Singapore, New China News in Honolulu, and Wen-hsin pao in San Francisco.

Before the revolution, the constitutionalists argued for a constitutional monarchy for China. That remained the goal until the Wuchang uprising of 1911, but their propaganda methods changed. Their attitude toward constitutionalism moved from anti-revolution to pro-revolution, because, finally, they found that the Ching government could not fulfill the true context of constitutionalism. This can be found in Liang Chi-chao's articles and writings.<sup>25</sup>

Liang had abandoned his revolutionary position

in 1903. He turned to the constitutional movement, suggesting adoption of a constitution.<sup>26</sup> Liang subsequently wrote many articles calling for the early establishment of a constitution.

In 1905 there was an editorial in Min pao (The People's Journal) entitled, "China Should Adopt Democracy and Republicanism." This article created literary war between the revolutionary newspapers and the Loyalist newspapers in Tokyo. In January of 1906 Liang Chi-chao wrote a countering editorial entitled "Enlightened Autocracy" in Hsin-min tsung-pao (New People's Miscellany). There were three major issues in their debate--race, people's rights, and people's livelihood.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen wrote in the introductory editorial of Min pao (The People's Journal) "When the world is enlightened, people's wisdom grows rapidly. Wisdom then begets technology. Economic issues arise after the appearance of the political issues. Therefore, the twentieth century is noted as an economic era."<sup>27</sup> It was the first time that Sun advocated the principle of mass welfare (Min-sheng chu-i) in revolutionary journals.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen claimed that European and

American countries were strong, but the people there were not prosperous or contented. Strikes and distrust seemed common in western industrial countries. His impressions of the West led him to conclude that China's circumstance was different than the western countries. If China could have a bloodless social revolution at the same time as her political revolution, she could avoid the mistakes of the West.<sup>28</sup>

In the early stage of Min-sheng chu-i, Sun proclaimed equalization of land-ownership as the principle of mass welfare. He also suggested land nationalization and a single tax to solve the financial problems.<sup>29</sup>

Liang, however, thought the Chinese bourgeois were still a majority. Extremely rich people were few. Thus, the problem which Sun worried about had not arisen. He believed that the social revolution was not needed in China. Hence, no immediate solution to it was necessary.

Besides the above issues, the Loyalist newspapers also argued that revolution would produce inner chaos and cause partition of the country.<sup>30</sup> The revolutionary newspaper emphasized that the revolution was to be accomplished with no outside

interference by the Chinese people. Its purpose was to gain independence and stop partition.<sup>31</sup>

The revolutionary journals were stronger than the Loyalist newspapers.<sup>32</sup> The Loyalist argument was that China could achieve a steadier progress by peaceful and gradual reforms without any such catastrophic changes, while the revolutionary opinion was that the driving out of the Manchus was the only basis for opening a new era of government. "Eventually the question was not settled by any argument of words, but by the actual hopelessness of the Manchu regime which might have saved its own destiny if it had made a sincere approach toward granting a constitution for the people of China",<sup>33</sup> analyzed Lin Yu-tang.

In summary, the revolutionary newspapers fought not only the Loyalist newspapers rebuttals, they also faced direct opposition from the government in power. This opposition became ruthless in its suppression of the revolutionary newspapers which served not only to inflame the revolutionary fervor of the revolutionaries but also pointed out to the public the oppressive nature of the government.

Foreign governments also aided the Ching government by closing down the radical newspapers which were being printed in their respective countries.

Although support grew for the revolutionary thought, the revolutionary publications encountered severe economic difficulties. This was a continuing menace which resulted in the closure for those journals which the government failed to abolish.

In spite of official bans, financial problems, and interference from foreign countries, the printed word had a way of finding its way to the radical Chinese people, like spilt water seeking out and penetrating the innermost cracks and crevices in the ground. In this sense, the pen proved mightier than the sword. The revolutionary newspapers had no easy match in the countering Loyalist newspapers. As the two political ideologies battled to sway the public's opinion, they both achieved common goals; that of awakening a spirit of nationalism and also of unification of the people toward a cause.

FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Lei Chin, "Shen-pao chi kuo-cheh tsung-kwan" (The Past Conditions of Shen pao), ed. in The Golden Jubilee Memorial Volume of the Shen pao, published in February, 1923, Shanghai, 1st ed.

<sup>2</sup>Lai Kwan-lin, Chung-kuo zien-dye pao-jen yu pao-yeh (Chinese Contemporary Newspaper People and Newspaper Enterprising) (Taipei, Taiwan, Commercial Publishing Co., 1980) p. 387

<sup>3</sup>Ko Kung-chen, Chung-kuo pao-hsueh shih (A History of Chinese Journalism) (Taipei, Taiwan, Hsueh-sheng Bookstore, 1964) p. 157

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 171

<sup>5</sup>Lin Yu-tang, Chinese Press and Public Opinion, (Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1936), pp. 94-95.

<sup>6</sup>Peng Ping-fong, "Ko-ming-tang te pao tse" (The Revolutionary Party's Newspapers) ed. Tsen Shyu-pai, p. 199

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Chu Shou-peng, Shi-er-chao tung-hwa-lu (A Record of Twelve-Dynasty) (Taipei, Taiwan, Wen-hai Publishing Store, 1963), p. 4125

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 4137

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 4203

<sup>11</sup>Liang Chi-chao, "Chin-yi pao i-pai cheh chu-tse" (Citation of Celebration of Issuing 100 Copies of Pure Criticism Periodical), ed. in Yin-ping-shih wen-chi (Taipei, Taiwan, Wen-kwan Bookstore, 1960), vol. V, p. 27

<sup>12</sup>Lai, p. 390

<sup>13</sup>Sung Chiao-jen, Wo-chi li-shih (My Diary) (Taipei, Taiwan, Wen-hsin Bookstore, 1962), p. 77

<sup>14</sup>Chu Cheng, Chu chueh-sheng hsien-sheng chuen-chi (Collections of Mr. Chu Cheng's Writings) (Taipei, Taiwan, n.d.) vol. I, p. 130

<sup>15</sup>Feng Tzu-yu, I-shih, Chung-hua min-kuo kai-kuo chien ko-ming shih (A History of the Revolution Prior to the Founding of the Republic of China) (Shanghai, Commercial Publishing Co., 1945), vol. I, p. 67

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 92

<sup>17</sup>Yeh Tsu-chang, Ko-min-sheh wen-shan (Collections of Revolutionary Poetry) (Taipei, Taiwan, n.p., 1960), p. 145

<sup>18</sup>Feng, Chung-hua min-kuo kai-kuo chien ko-min shih (A History of the Revolution Prior to the Founding of the Republic of China) (Shanghai, n.p., 1928), p. 40

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 40

<sup>20</sup>Marie-claire Bergere, "The Role of the Bourgeoisie", ed. Wright, p. 254

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

<sup>22</sup>Sun Yat-sen, "Where there is a will, there is a way", Sun-wen hsueh-so (Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Theory) (Taipei, Taiwan, Quoted from Historical Document of Committee on Nationalist Party, 1971), p. 171

<sup>23</sup>Lin, p. 95

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 96

<sup>25</sup>Chang Peng-yuan, "The Constitutionalsists", ed. in Wright, p. 153

<sup>26</sup>Ibid.



<sup>27</sup>Sun, "Min pao fa-kan tse" (Editorial for the First Copy of Min pao), ed. in Min pao (The People's Journal), mo. 1

<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

<sup>29</sup>In Min pao, no. 10

<sup>30</sup>Liang Chi-chao, "Pao-tung yu wai-kuo kan-sheh" (Riot and Foreign Interference), ed. in Hsin-min tsung-pao, no. 82

<sup>31</sup>Chin Wei, "Po ko-min keh-yi sheng nei-luan so" (Disputing Revolution Causing Internal Chaos), ed. in Min pao, no. 9

<sup>32</sup>Lee Chien-lun, Chung-kuo chien-pai-nien cheng-chi-shih (Chinese Political History in Past One-Hundred-Year) (Taipei, Taiwan, Commercial Publishing Co., 1963) p. 247

<sup>33</sup>Lin, p. 103

## CHAPTER V

### THE INFLUENCE OF REVOLUTIONARY JOURNALS

In order for the revolutionary journals to effectively gain support, they had to direct their literature toward certain groups of people. They not only had to win the sympathy and support of the general population of China, but other classes of Chinese had to be influenced. These classes were: a) the gentry, or landowner aristocrats; b) the intellectuals, comprised of students and professional career people; c) the New Army and d) the Chinese who were living or studying abroad.

#### The Influence of Revolutionary Newspapers On The People in China

The gentry were the local leaders of the old Chinese society. They owned the land and ruled the people. Their position was based on traditional Chinese civilization.

For centuries the Chinese gentry was influenced by the traditional ideology--Emperor of China was too sacred to be attacked. The Emperor, the son of heavens, was a sacred symbol in the

gentry's mind. In their ideology, saving the country should be done according to the Emperor's rule. Otherwise, they were considered anti-government. Although the reformists needed the support from gentry, the gentry could not remove this ideology. Such as Wu Chi-hui said, "Although I have changed from a mild reformist to a radical revolutionary, I still cannot forget to support the Ching Emperor. (I am not Loyalist)."<sup>1</sup> Thus, the old-fashioned thought was well-rooted in gentry's mind. The revolutionary journals promulgated anti-Manchuisism and introduced Western civilization which inevitably endangered the power of gentry in local administration.

In the gentry's eyes, the revolution was a rebellious activity and the revolutionaries were considered bandits; the Emperor, being the son of heavens, still existed in their thoughts. The gentry, therefore, formed a strong resistance to the revolutionary movement.

The constitutional movement led by Kang Yu-wei and Liang Chi-chao in 1898 had tried to strengthen the central government's authority, and the administrative reforms introduced by the Ching government after 1905 exceeded the degree of centralization that had been advocated by Kang and Liang.

The gentry, who were inclined to decentralization, were not pleased by this kind of centralization. The revolutionary newspapers proclaimed Sun's economic and political ideals of nationalization of land and self-government. The gentry thought, at least, that under Sun's economic and political ideals, they could maintain their status and privilege.

Indeed, the gentry supported the Revolution in order to prevent it from proceeding to a more advanced and destructive stage.

Therefore, the influence of the revolutionary journals on the gentry was not to make them support the revolution but to make them not object to the revolutionary movement.

Hu Shih, a well-known Chinese scholar and former Chinese ambassador to the United States, wrote:

Many teachers and students in Shanghai were revolutionaries. It was not difficult to read Min pao of Tokyo. On their vacation they stored Min pao in their pillows and took it to their home towns to spread the radical thoughts. 2

At that time, Chiang Meng-lin studied at the High School of Chekiang, where revolutionary publications were welcome. Hu Shih described in his book:

The revolutionary pamphlets, magazines, and publications were spread over the High School of Chekiang. Some of them illustrated the Ching's ruthless activity; some stated the inefficiency of the Ching government. Students there were all anxious to read these publications, almost nothing else could stop them ... The behaviors of Dr. Sun and other revolutionaries increased our feelings toward revolution. It was these feelings that made us join the revolutionary movement. It was not only found in this school but other schools had the same phenomenon. 3

Revolutionary newspapers were popular among the intellectuals and students in China.

At the end of 1903 Tsai Yuan-pei made a school in Shanghai his revolutionary headquarters. In the spring of 1904 he was elected head of the Chiao-yu-hui (the Educational Association). At that time newspapers as well as schools were among the main revolutionary organs. Tsai used his school as a meeting place for revolutionaries and as an instrument for spreading propaganda.<sup>4</sup> Rankin observed:

During the eighteen months from the beginning of the Su pao case to the end of 1904, revolutionary activity continued in the Shanghai area on a somewhat low key. There were currents intertwined to produce the next significant advancement of the movement. One of these was a number of short-lived schools and newspapers which succeed in keeping alive the traditions of Su pao and the Patriotic School ... Finally Shanghai was affected

by the general shift in the revolutionary movement toward active attempts to overthrow the government. Shanghai became a transfer point for returning students and for literature, and a relatively safe and convenient spot for revolutionaries from several different provinces to meet and lay plans. 5

Revolutionary literature was only one influence on the students. They were exposed to a mixture of revolutionary, reformist and simply nationalistic views.<sup>6</sup> Rankin wrote:

Hu Shih related that when he entered school in Shanghai in 1904, his elder stepbrother gave him a case of "new books" which was mostly essays by Liang Chi-chao, these seemed very radical at that time. Later he and another student borrowed and copied a volume of the Revolutionary Army, which also made a great impression and helped inspire Hu to leave the school before the end of the term to avoid being examined by the Shanghai Taotai. 7

Revolutionary extremists abroad were brought back to China and started important repercussions and there were many revolutionary periodicals advocating anti-Manchuism which also agitated the students in China. Lin Yu-tang wrote:

The situation got into such a state that there was little power or willingness on the part of the local governments to interfere with newspaper criticisms unless it was by a direct order from Peking. Peking had resorted to the habit of banning different publications, but their order was like so much wind over a desert. 8

By the end of 1904 radicals returning from Japan had bolstered the numbers of revolutionaries in China, and since the end of 1903 some returned students had seriously been organizing for the armed overthrow of the government.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, it was at the end of 1903 that the revolutionary comrades solicited the field of New Army for help.

The New Army was originally organized by the Manchu Dynasty for the stated reason of protecting against the advancing Japanese forces; in fact, it was organized because of the revolutionary threat.

After the Su pao case, there were many intellectuals who enlisted into the New Army. They pushed the principle of revolution and of destroying the Manchus.<sup>10</sup> Keh-hsueh pu-hsi-so sheh-mo (The Whole History of Science Continuing School) described:

Tsao Ya-po, Leu Ta-sheng, Hu Yien and Chang Nan-hsien thought that revolution could not succeed without persuading the army. Thus, Chang and Hu enlisted in the engineer corps as soldiers. Both of them persuaded other soldiers and distributed revolutionary publications--Meng hui-tou (About Face!), Sun Yat-sen, Hwang-ti-huen (Emperor's Soul), Ko-min-chun (Revolutionary Army). They told both stories after every meal to agitate the soldiers with anti-Manchu sentiment. 11

Propagandizing in the army was more difficult than in student circles. During the night or when the soldiers were on duty, the conspirators secretly put revolutionary publications under the soldier's pillows. Moreover, revolutionary members induced other comrades to join the army in order to make it increase in popularity.

In 1906, Jih-chi hui (A Society of Daily Knowledge), a secret organization, was founded in Wuchang. It was, in fact, an organ for revolution. Its main purpose was to spread revolutionary ideology over within the army.

In the spring of 1906, Jih-chi hui secretly distributed revolutionary journals in the army, for example, Min pao (The People's Journal), Chin-shih-chung (Alarming bell), Meng-hui-tou (About Face!), Ko-min-chun (Revolutionary Army). Nearly every soldier had one. <sup>12</sup>

During that time, the revolutionary party used the radical publications as the leading forces in the New Army. For example, in the Canton uprising of 1910, the revolutionary party spread the pamphlet, Wai-jiao wen-ti (The Questions of Foreign Affairs) and Li-hsien wen-ti (The Questions of Constitutionalism), to the New Army for urging revolution. <sup>13</sup>



In the spring of 1911, Tsou-lu, a revolutionary from Kwangtung, started a revolutionary journal, Ko pao (Allright Journal), in Canton to propagandize revolution. The main target of his propaganda was the army. According to his memoir, he wrote:

I started the revolutionary journal-- "Ko pao" (Allright Journal)--in order to gain the Ching army's support. So there are many spaces used to report and criticize the news about the army. After being printed, newspapers are distributed to the soldiers. In fact, it is distributed free. It calls for a strong atmosphere of revolution in the army and in society. 14

Lai wrote:

Under the instruction and guidance included in the revolutionary journals, revolutionary thought flourished in the army. The New Army in Wuhan, in reading the books--Men-hui-tou (About Face!), Chin shih-chung (Alarming bell), etc. - considered them as holy books. Upon retirement from the army, they scattered in the country side, introducing the literature to their neighbors. Consequently, these revolutionary publications had wide spheres of influence. 15

Nearly all the New Army soldiers in Canton were literate, thus it was easier to use newspapers to push revolutionary thought. The revolutionary influence could be seen in a short time after the periodical was distributed.<sup>16</sup> According to Lai, "After the uprising of 1910, half of the New Army

soldiers were revolutionary.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, it formed a strong anti-Manchu sentiment in the New Army of the Ching government.

The deep influence of revolutionary newspapers were shown in the trial report of Hwan Hon-quen, who was a New Army soldier and arrested in the uprising of 1910. He said:

The purpose of the revolution was mainly against the Manchu Dynasty. The Manchus had prejudice against Han (Chinese); they occupied high ranking positions in the government. Only two or three Chinese could be high officials. Now they wanted to implement a constitution, but it was just a trick. They only wanted to fool the Chinese ... If we did not overthrow the Ching government, we would still live under a dictatorship. 18

The New York Times reported on October 12, 1911, "It is estimated by Peking officials that not less than 8,000 soldiers are taking part in the rebellion, which is the most serious in many years. The movement seems to have been well organized."<sup>19</sup>

Dr. Sun Yat-sen said, "Why the Wuchang uprising of 1911 succeeded so quickly was the simultaneous support of the revolutionary party and the Ching's New Army."<sup>20</sup>

The success of the Wuchang uprising of 1911 was captioned by Dr. Sun Yat-sen's quote giving credit to the revolutionary party as well as the military

infiltrators within the Ching's New Army. This cannot discount the fact of the persuasion of the gentry to their ranks, as well as the intellectuals. These three groups provided the basis for swaying the masses because of their ability to read, thus the revolutionary atmosphere spread throughout the entire country. Without the revolutionary journals and financial assistance from the overseas Chinese, the revolutionary principles would have suffered greatly. As it was, Sun Yat-sen's revolution was destined to be tested in military battles and defeated ten times before being victorious.

#### The Influence of Revolutionary Newspapers On Overseas Chinese

After 1900, the intellectuals began to recognize and to move toward revolution because the Ching government continued to deteriorate and failed to handle foreign affairs. They were also effected by the introduction of Western civilization, and by anti-Manchu publications.

The revolutionary publications were directed toward the mainland Chinese, as well as at the large group of overseas Chinese. For generations, Chinese, especially from the over-crowded southeastern provinces, had been emigrating to other countries in Southeast Asia and to America. The overseas

Chinese were generally either intellectuals who had fled from political oppression; laborers who were mostly uneducated;<sup>21</sup> criminals, or anti-Manchu officials who had fled. Although they came from different levels, they all had one similar concern-- dissatisfaction with the Chinese political system. Eventually they became a strong current in the Chinese revolution.

Over the years the revolutionary desires of overseas Chinese disappeared, and they became ignorant of racial issues and political thoughts.<sup>22</sup> In the late nineteenth century, when Sun Yat-sen pushed for revolution in America, few people would agree with him.<sup>23</sup> They thought that "revolution" was close to "anti-government" and were afraid to get involved.<sup>24</sup> Thus, in the early stage, Sun had difficulty in propagandizing revolution among the overseas Chinese.

The revolutionary party established journals abroad that made it easier to disseminate revolutionary information. Dr. Sun Yat-sen pointed to the establishment of revolutionary journals as a major force for arousing people's revolutionary consciousness. He recalled:

The Canton uprising was defeated. A few years later, Chung-kuo jih-pao (Chinese Daily) was founded in Hong Kong to promulgate revolution. After 1900, the revolutionary propaganda reached the highlight of this period, like Kuo-min pao (Chinese National) in Tokyo, Su pao in Shanghai, Tsou Jung's "Ko-min-chun" (Revolutionary Army) and Chang Ping-lin's "Po Kang Yu-wei shu" (Letter Disputing Kang Yu-wei). All of these were popular revolutionary publications of the day. The revolutionaries founded one publication after another. The newspapers boosted the people's morale and changed them to support the national revolution. 25

Liang Chi-chao wrote in Tsin kao wo tong  
yeh tsu chung (Acknowledging to My Counterparts):

People were frightened to hear the western knowledge twenty years ago. When the pien-fa (legal reform) arose, people feared legal reform rather than western knowledge. It was common that people feared legal reform ten years ago. When people advocating civil rights came out, people turned to fear civil rights instead of legal reforms. But when the term of revolution came out one or two years ago, people were frightened to say revolution rather than civil rights. Thus it is clear that newspaper people can guide the national inclinations. 26

The overseas intellectuals' thought began changing at the turn of the twentieth century. At that time a substantial number of people were losing confidence in the existing order in China, and many of them favored a radical solution.<sup>27</sup>

This sentiment was so powerful that Chinese students in Japan established Chu-o i-yung tui (a Volunteer Corps to Oppose Russia) in 1903.

In this atmosphere the number of student publications in Japan increased during 1902. The sentiment of revolution bourgeoned rapidly. In the summer of 1905, Dr. Sun Yat-sen returned to Japan from America and Europe. He had found many Chinese students abroad supporting revolution.<sup>28</sup> And he found that Chinese students in Japan supported revolution more than the other two continents. In the same year students in Japan organized Tung-men-hui (Revolutionary Alliance) as a substitute for the revolutionary secret societies. The founding of Tung-men-hui reflected a growing belief that the steps taken by the Manchus to relieve the dysfunction in Chinese society were hopelessly inadequate and that a new and very different effort was needed.<sup>29</sup> It was the center of the anti-Manchu movement.

Sun Yat-sen was pleased with the new-established organization and wrote a letter to a member of the revolutionary party in the South Seas saying:

In order to implement the revolution, the revolutionary party has recently formed a well-organized group in the student circle. They are all well-educated, ambitious and have many-sided talents. They come from different provinces in China. Because it is still a secret group, few people know of the group. I am sure that a number of students will join the group in the future. For the intellectuals' concern of China's fate, China's future is bright. 30

Chang Ping-lin became the editor of Min pao (The People's Journal) immediately after his release from prison in Shanghai and following his arrival in Japan in June 1906. In his editorials, he emphasized that Ching could not keep China from partition. In April 1907 Chang brought out a special supplement to Min pao entitled "Tien Tai" which made a great impact. The pamphlet featured the writings of Wu Yueh with his emphasis on the Russian historical scheme of the three stages - revolutionary literature, agitation and assassination. The publication also reminded the students of the heroism of this outstanding Chinese follower (Wu Yueh) of the revolution.<sup>31</sup>

Wu Yueh, one of the influenced youth of the revolution, was killed while trying to assassinate the imperial commissioners who were leaving to study

foreign constitutions. He described the change of his thought in his book-- Ah hsa shih dye tsu-hsu (Personal Introduction of the Period of Assassination) saying:

I entered the Pao-ting High School with the recommendation of my family friend. There I accepted the modern thought and was introduced to the thought that the Manchus were a different race. A few years later, I read Tsou Jung's Ko-min-chun (The Revolutionary Army) with my friend's suggestion. Under the influence of Tsou's book and the Russian occupation of Fengtien I became a nationalist. Through reading Liang Chi-chao's works I became a constitutionalist, but after gaining a wider knowledge of revolutionary publications I converted to the ideas of revolution and turned against Liang for misleading me. 32

In 1904 Dr. Sun Yat-sen reorganized Honolulu Hsin pao (Honolulu New Journal) and Ta-tung pao (Cosmopolitan Journal) of San Francisco to make them efficient revolutionary journals. Sun was the columnist at that time, writing articles against the Loyalist party.

In order to push for the revolution, Sun asked and received help from several newspapers in San Francisco to print Tsou Jung's Ko-min-chun (Revolutionary Army) to mail to the overseas Chinese societies in America and South Seas in 1906.



Sun also founded Chung hsin jih-pao (Restoration Daily News) in Singapore. This paper was the leader of revolutionary propoganda in the South Seas. He asked Hu Han-ming to write Li-hsien wen-ti (The Questions of Constitution) and Wai-jiao wen-ti (The Questions of Foreign Affairs). These two pamphlets were printed to spread the doctrine of revolution as opposed to constitutionalism throughout China.<sup>33</sup>

In order to improve the standard of opinion and to promote the dissemination of revolutionary propoganda, Sun contacted the overseas Chinese newspapers, recommending managing editors for them. For example, in 1907 he recommended Lu Hsien as a managing editor in Ming-sheng jih-pao (Mass Welfare Daily News) in Honolulu, Chueh Tsen, Yang Chiu-fan in Kwang-hwa pao (The Great China News) in Rangoon in 1908; in 1911 Feng Tze-yu in Ta-tung jih-pao (Cosmopolitan Journal) in San Francisco. All these recommended people were well-known revolutionary writers of that day. In addition to promoting journals, the revolutionary party also established bookstores to increase the circulations of the revolutionary periodicals. This was evidenced

in the preface of a Chinese newspaper agency in Siam, it described:

There are two million Chinese in Siam; this amount is not few. But people there are like a heap of sand. When the revolutionary party saw this scene, the newspaper agency was founded to provide periodicals for them. All the periodicals with radical appeal are used to promulgate anti-dictatorship (meaning anti-Manchuism). This is the basic aim of the founding of this newspaper agency. 34

Between 1907 and 1908 the revolutionary propaganda reached its highest point in the South Seas achieving its strongest influence. For example, Hu Han-ming said:

After we arrived at the South Seas and preached the revolutionary thoughts several times, we found a fact that the overseas Chinese believed Kang's party was a swindler. People began awaking and moved to support our party. 35

After 1908 the overseas Chinese in the South Seas gradually tended toward the revolution.<sup>36</sup> Early in 1908, the revolutionary party founded Tu-nan jih-pao (Tu-nan Daily News) to spread the revolutionary thought. Chen Tsu-nan, founder of Tu-nan jih-pao, recalled:

Chang Yeon-fu and I have been friends since childhood. Afterwards we made friends with Chu Jiao-yuan, a Loyalist. We read

Chin-yi pao (Pure Criticism) and Hsin-ming tsung-pao (New People's Miscellany) etc. We obtained new knowledge, but after we read Su pao and Tsou Jung's Ko-min-chun (Revolutionary Army). The ideology of nationalism came to our minds. Revolutionary thought resulted from them. 37

In 1910 Sun arrived at San Francisco, he saw that "Mei-chu shiao-nien" (The American Youth), a weekly copy, was weak in propaganda. So he changed it to "Hsiao-nien chung-kuo chern-pao" (Chinese Youth Morning News). From that point it was an organ newspaper for America Tung-meng-hui (Revolutionary Alliance).

In March 1910, Sun went to New York. To the Chinese's feeling toward the Chinese revolution was different than before. Sun said:

The Chinese in America used to support the Loyalist party, the people now are disillusioned and generally have the tendency of revolution. Soon it must form a strong unit to support the revolutionary party... There are Tung-meng hui (Revolutionary Alliance) founded in New York, Chicago and San Francisco. It is foreseeable that many people will join the organization. 38

In April 1910, Sun reached Honolulu and got a warm welcome. He wrote a letter to a New York revolutionary comrade saying:

Now I arrived at Honolulu. The comrades here had a meeting last Sunday. More than two thousand people took part in the meeting. It is evident that the revolutionary thought was welcomed. They also stated that the influence of revolutionary newspapers are efficient. 39

The major contribution of overseas Chinese to China's revolution was financial support. Funding from countrymen, Canada, the United States and the South Seas provided the financial means for the revolution to continue and grow. It was estimated that the total amount which overseas Chinese contributed from the beginning until the Wuchang uprising of 1911 reached \$600,000.<sup>40</sup> Therefore, the more the overseas Chinese contributed, the stronger the revolutionary journals could become.

Sun also showed his ability to impress individual foreigners. Wright stated in Chinese Revolution The First Phase: in 1900-1913 :

His American missionary teachers helped him in Hawaii, and an American teacher from the Islands had joined the Canton plotters as an expert on explosives. A Danish sailor drilled Sun's recruits in a Hawaiian mission schoolyard. British journalists had backed him in Hong Kong, and Portuguese friends had smuggled him out of Macao when the Manchus were after him. His former teachers in Hong Kong, Dr. Cantile and Dr. Manso had rescued him from the Chinese legation in London. 41

Despite initial overseas resistance to the ideals of revolution, Dr. Sun's disseminations of revolutionary journals debating against the Loyalist party enlightened the overseas Chinese. The people who were afraid to listen to talk of revolution, once informed of the ills of the mainland Chinese and the corrupt Manchu regime, became active supporters of the radical movement.

In summary, the traditional ideology of the emperor being the son of the Heaven in China and the Loyalist's thought of protecting the Ching emperor abroad were the biggest obstacles for the revolutionary newspapers to cope with. Because of the inefficiency and corruption of the Ching government, the revolutionary journals could be read in China. To avoid empty talk, revolutionary journals listed the internal and external crises on the basis of fact. People in China and abroad were gradually agitated and finally objected to the constitutional reform of the Manchu Dynasty. The agitation among the different levels of people in China and the overseas Chinese brought help and financial support, so, the Wuchang uprising of 1911 could succeed. Therefore, the contribution of the revolutionary newspapers was a vital element of overthrowing the dictatorial Ching government.

FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Wu Chi-hui, Wo yi I Chiang Chung-san hsien-sheng (I Talk About Mr. Sun Yat-sen) ed. in Wu Chi-hui hsien-sheng chuan-chi (Taipei, Taiwan, Committee on Chinese Nationalist Party, 1972), p. 159

<sup>2</sup>Hu-shih, Sou-shih tzu-shu (Autobiography at Forty) (Shanghai, Ah-tung Library, 1935), p. 58

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Rankin, p. 96

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 100

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Lin Yu-tang, Chinese Press and Public Opinion, (Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1936), p. 104

<sup>9</sup>Hwan Fu-luan, Hwa-chiao yu chung-kuo ko-min (Overseas Chinese and Chinese Revolution) (Hong Kong, Asia Publishing Agency, 1955), p. 80

<sup>10</sup>Feng Tzu-yu, Chung-hua min-kuo kai-kuo chien ko-ming-shih (A History of the Revolution Prior to the Founding of the Republic of China) (Shanghai, Commercial Publishing Co., 1930), p. 127

<sup>11</sup>See in Ko-min chih chang-tao yu fa-chan, book IV, p. 20

<sup>12</sup>Chen Chun-sheng, "Wuchang hih-che-hui po an hsian-chi" (Detailed Record of Investigating Secret Society-jih che hui in Wuchang), ed. in Ko-min chin chang-tao yu fa-chan, book IV, p. 208

<sup>13</sup>Feng Tzu-yu, Ko-ming i-shih (Fragments of Revolutionary History) (Shanghai, Commercial Publishing Co., 1947) p. 202

- <sup>14</sup>Tsou Lu, Hui-ku lu (Memoir) (Shanghai, Independent Publishing Agency, 1948), vol. I
- <sup>15</sup>Lai Kuan-lin, Chung-kuo zien-dye pao-jen yu pao-veh (Chinese Contemporary Newspaper People and Newspaper Enterprising) (Taipei, Taiwan, Commercial Publishing Co., 1980), p. 431
- <sup>16</sup>Feng, I-shih, p. 202
- <sup>17</sup>Lai, p. 432
- <sup>18</sup>See in Ko-min chih chang-tao yu fa-chan, book IV, p. 525
- <sup>19</sup>"Chinese Rebels Win Big Victory", in New York Times, Oct. 12, 1911, p. 3
- <sup>20</sup>Sun's lecture, ed. in Tsung-li chuan-su, p. 816
- <sup>21</sup>Hwan Fu-luan, Hwa-chiao yu chung-kuo ko-min (Overseas Chinese and Chinese Revolution) (Hong Kong Asia Publishing Agency, 1955), p.42
- <sup>22</sup>Hu Han-ming, "Tzu-chuan" (Autobiography), ed. in Ko-min Wen-nsien (Documents on the Revolution) (Taipei, Taiwan, Committee on Chinese Nationalist Party, 1953), vol. III, p. 401
- <sup>23</sup>Sun, "Where there is a will, there is a way.", p. 163
- <sup>24</sup>Hwan Fu-luan, p. 47
- <sup>25</sup>Sun, "Chung-kuo chi ko-min" (Chinese Revolution), ed. in Tsung-li chuan-su, p. 463
- <sup>26</sup>Liang Chi-chao, "Tsin kao wo tong yeh tsu chung" (Acknowledgement to My Counterpart), ed. in Yin-ping-sheh wen-chi, vol. IV
- <sup>27</sup>Michael Gaster, "Reform and Revolution in China's Political Modernization", ed. in Wright, p. 67
- <sup>28</sup>Chen Tien-hwa, "Fu Hu-nan tung-hsueh tsu chung su" (A Letter to Students from Hunan), ed. in Su pao, on May 19, 1903

<sup>29</sup>Wright, p. 68

<sup>30</sup>Sun, "Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Letter to Chen Tsunan", ed. in Tsung-li chuan-su (Collections of Sun Yat-sen's Writings), p. 60

<sup>31</sup>Quoted from Martin Bernal, "The Triumph of Anarchism Over Marxism, 1906-1907", ed. in Wright, pp. 140-141

<sup>32</sup>Wu Yueh, "An hsa shih dye tsu-hsu" (Personal Introduction of the Period of Assassination), ed. in Tang-shih shih-liau tsung-kan

<sup>33</sup>Hu Han-ming Tsu-chuan (Autobiography of Hu Han-ming) ed. in Ko-min wen-hsien, (Collections of the Chinese Nationalist Party History), published by the Committee on the Chinese Nationalist Party History), 1944, no. 2, p. 401

<sup>34</sup>Ed. in "Ko-ming che chang-tao yu fa-chang", p. 675

<sup>35</sup>Hu, p. 477

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 402

<sup>37</sup>Feng, I-shih, p. 202

<sup>38</sup>Ed. in Chung-li chuan-chi

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 203

<sup>40</sup>Hwang, p. 80

<sup>41</sup>Harold Z. Schiffrin, "The Enigma of Sun Yat-sen", ed. in Wright, pp. 450-451



## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSION

#### SUMMARY

Revolutionary intellectuals used newspapers to influence the minds of the people toward China. They emphasized free political expression<sup>1</sup> and the overthrow of the Ching government in order for China to safely exist in the world. Newspapers served as the major vehicles for expressing public opinion.<sup>2</sup>

After the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95, the dissatisfaction with the Ching government increased. Newspapers and magazines were established, one after another, beginning a new period of Chinese periodical literature which was inspired by the highest ideals of patriotism and culminated in the Revolution of 1911. This period might be called "the Golden Period" of the Chinese press.<sup>3</sup> Don D. Patterson, a financial editor of the Weekly Review in Shanghai during this period, described in his book The Journalism of China:

It was during the period from 1896 to 1905 that more than 1,000 publications

came into being, the majority of which have since disappeared. It was a time for newspaper development because the incompetency of the Manchu rulers was becoming more and more evident, the political agitation was reaching a white heat and the revolutionary party was gaining strength. 4

There was no doubt that the press was one of the most important influences that brought about the revolution.

Japan was a haven for political refugees; young republican enthusiasts studying in Japan began the pioneering work in the Island Empire during the 1890's and the first years of this century. They were influenced by Western civilizations, as it was translated by the Japanese people. Under the legal protection of the Japanese government, these young, radical students began establishing revolutionary newspapers and periodicals. For example, I-su hui-tsung (Collections of Translated Publications), was a magazine published in 1900, Kuo-min pao (Chinese National), the first newspaper in Chinese student circles in Japan to advocate revolution. Hu-pei hsueh-sheng chieh (Hupei Student Circles), Che-chiang chao (Tides of Chekiang) and Kiangsu, were three periodicals published by the provincial student clubs. Most

importantly, Min pao (The People's Journal), newspaper of the revolutionary party in Tokyo, was founded in 1905. It was the first revolutionary journal to print Dr. Sun Yat-sen's doctrine--San-min chu-i (The Three Principles of the People) which proclaimed the main principles of the Nationalist Party.

Shanghai also became a haven for revolutionary activities as did the concessions of Tientsin and Hankow--this latter base being the scene of the first military outbreak of the revolution.

Shanghai was a treaty port during the years following the Opium War in 1842. It was governed under the auspices of the following foreign countries: France, Great Britian, Japan, and to some degree, China itself. Revolutionary activities evolved from Shanghai because of the protection afforded by the foreign national powers and the international jurisdictions. Rankin observed:

The Chinese students in Tokyo, and in the modern schools of Shanghai, led the way for their contemporaries. In Shanghai the Chinese Educational Association, the Patriotic School, and the newspaper Su pao (The Kiangsu Journal) were the major institutions where the transition was made from reformism to radicalism to revolution. 5

Su pao (The Kiangsu Journal), although

Chinese owned, was registered with the Japanese consulate, providing protection from the Ching government. After 1903, Chang Ping-lin, a revolutionary and managing editor of Su pao, wrote a series of sensational articles agitating the entire country. The angered Ching government cajoled the Japanese consulate to close down the newspaper. It was known as the Su pao case.

According to the Ching government's law, Chang should be sentenced to death. But because Su pao was located in the International Settlement, the case had to be sentenced in the Mixed Court comprised of officials from the Ching government and the international powers.

When the managing editor was sentenced to three years in jail, the inefficiency and the ruthlessness of the Chinese government was thoroughly revealed.

The newspapers of this period preceding the revolution were characterized by anti-sentiments-- anti-Manchuism and anti-foreign imperialism. Because the primary objective of the projected revolution was the overthrow of the dynasty, the anti-Manchu sentiment was stronger than anti-foreign imperialistic sentiment. Rankin said:

The revolutionary most famous for single-minded anti-Manchuism, Chang Ping-lin, was also skeptical of the good of importing Western social and political institutions. Some others were more willing to tolerate Westerners in the treaty ports than Manchus in Peking. Certain secret society leaders allied with the revolutionaries were attracted mainly by anti-Manchu propaganda. Sun Yat-sen was more anti-Manchu than anti-imperialist during this phase of his career. 6

The revolutionaries were forced to tolerate some degree of foreign interference if they were to receive protection from that country.

In the face of government opposition and run mostly without consideration of profit, those periodicals had strong political and social appeal. The magazines and daily papers became the leaders of agitation for political change and for mobilizing public opinion in a cause that grew powerful enough to overthrow the dynasty.

These publications reflected the main currents of revolutionary thought of the period. Those were, a) the driving out of the Manchu as a dynasty and b) the advocacy of more liberal thought incorporating current western ideas. In the play and counterplay of these currents of thought, literary China was awakened to a national and political consciousness and its enthusiasm

kindled into a glowing flame that finally consumed the Manchu Empire.

### Suggestions for Further Study

The revolutionary newspapers achieved their mission of agitating the people against Manchu thought and of overthrowing the Ching government. But the people were not ready for democracy; the republic did not work. This was because of the inefficiency of the revolutionary press in reaching the masses and the overwhelming illiteracy rate of the country.

The inability of the revolutionary government to exert total control is further explained by Rankin:

The 1911 revolutionary movement began during a period when dynastic decline coincided with decay of tradition. Its timing therefore, was analogous to that of other modern political upheavals which came after enough change had occurred to inspire certain groups to demand more than the existing enfeebled and fundamentally conservative government could produce. However, only a small segment of the population--mainly intellectuals--called for genuine revolution in 1911 as opposed to the overthrow of the dynasty ... Aside from their own small numbers they were hampered by the variety and diffusiveness of Chinese society. Local society and politics were characterized by many informal and flexible relationships to new conditions and could accommodate individual ambitions and needs for social mobility. The power of the local elites was likewise flexible and difficult to eliminate

short of brutal and uncompromising measures such as those taken by the Communists after 1949... The historical role of the 1911 revolutionaries was to begin the Chinese revolution, not to complete it. 7

The ultimate test of any democracy is how far the people's opinions are able to influence or actually direct and control the policies of its government. The very importance of the modern press depends on the acceptance of this definition. All changes of form of government are futile, unless there is a growth in the power of public opinion, as the reins are used to guide the pace and direction of the horse.

As Rankin stated, "the historical role of the 1911 revolutionaries was to begin the Chinese revolution, not to complete it." This quotation provides an important departure point for a new analysis; where has the revolution progressed and what role has journalism played.

This thesis focuses on the effectiveness of earlier revolutionary journals. It raises the question about the effectiveness of current revolutionary journals. Journals of both periods served as educational tools to increase the public's awareness of not only what was or is occurring inside China, but outside China as well. The earlier

revolutionary newspapers not only revealed the nature of the oppressive Ching governments, but also discussed Western democratic thought. Current revolutionary newspapers similarly state the inefficiency and corruption of the Communist government, comparing democratic freedom of expression to that of a highly controlled Communist press.

Both eras of revolutionary journals expected to enlighten the people of China on democratic thought and principles. The earlier revolution failed to achieve this goal due in part to the overwhelming rate of illiteracy in China. Current revolutionary journals experience problems in this area, not so much because of an illiterate population, but because of the efficiency of the Communist government's propaganda which effectively discredits the notions of a democratic philosophy.

Revolutionary journals place a major emphasis on nationalism. Failure in this area far exceeds success. The Chinese people have characteristically disdained politics and nationalism. As long as the basic needs for survival are met, the majority of Chinese have no concern for world power or even who controls.

Since 1949, nationalistic Chinese journalism has followed the same journalistic approach as the



early 1900 revolutionaries, placing emphasis on the education of the people toward democratic principles and toward unification of both Chinas under one nationalistic flag.

This has so far been unsuccessful. The fault may lie in the journalistic approaches that have failed thus far to stimulate the people of mainland China to overthrow the Communist government. Perhaps for success to be attained, a new journalistic approach or changes in the current journalistic thought must be made. This study of revolutionary journals has shown that initial success (revolution) does not necessarily mean a successful end. A journalistic comparison between the early and the current Chinese revolutionary journals, and the journals of a country which utilized revolutionary journalistic measures successfully, may provide vital clues to the solving of the Chinese problem.

FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Lai, Chung-Kuo Zien-dye pao-jen yu pao-yeh  
(Chinese Contemporary Newspaper People and Newspaper  
Enterprising) (Taipei, Taiwan, Commercial Publishing  
Co., 1980), p. 444

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Lin Yu-tang, A History of the Press and  
Public Opinion (Chicago, Ill.,: The University of  
Chicago Press, 1936) p. 95

<sup>4</sup>Don D. Patterson, The Journalism of China,  
Columbia: University of Missouri Journalism Series,  
no. 26, 1922, p. 26

<sup>5</sup>Mary B. Rankin, Early Chinese Revolutionaries  
radical intellectuals in Shanghai and Chekiang,  
1902-1911 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard  
University Press, 1971) p. 4

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 9

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 232-233

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