This matter should also form the subject of a special edict to governors-general and governors of the various provinces.

A third important matter is the immediate establishment of normal schools. The greatest cause of concern is not that there are no schools or no funds to establish them, but that there are no teachers. A special edict should also be issued commanding the provinces to send pupils who have finished their secondary studies to foreign countries to take courses in normal studies, some longer and some shorter. The selection of men who have already taken their first and second degrees would be still more advisable. If normal schools are established in all the provinces, teachers will be trained and the first step taken toward the advancement of schools.

Another important matter is that a way of preferment should be left open for scholars of the old school. To this end, during the next nine years students who have already taken their degrees and who also show proficiency in any one of the following subjects, viz.: Arithmetic, geography, science of government, political economy, military science, politics, railways, mining, police work, or western governmental science, may be sent from the various provinces to Beijing for examination.

The above five suggestions are all practicable, and we respectfully beseech Your Majesty to command the Governors-General, Governors, and literary chancellors or the various provinces to put them into immediate execution.

Respectfully submitted for Imperial consideration.

IMPERIAL RESCRIBT SEPTEMBER 2, 1905

We have received a Memorial from Yuan Shikai, Governor-General of Zhejiang Province, and other high officials advocating the summary abolition of the old style of literary examinations for the juren degree in order to allow the expansion of the modern modes of education. In this connection the said Governor-General has also handed up his scheme for the successful accomplishment of the new regime.

On a former occasion the Ministers of Education mentioned in §44, surmising that the old style of literary examinations should be gradually abolished by extending by three times the period for them. Governor-General Yuan Shikai in his present memorial, however, asserts that unless these old style examinations be abolished once for all, the people of this Empire will continue to show apathy and hesitate to join the modern schools of learning. Hence if we disregard the spread of modern education by the establishment of a number of schools, we must first abolish the old styles of studying for the examinations. The said memorialist's arguments on the subjects show the result of experience and knowledge, and we, therefore, hereby command that beginning from the Bingwu Cycle [1906], all competitive examinations for the literary degree of juren and jinshi after the old style shall be henceforth abolished, while the annual competitions in the cities of the various provinces for the minor or licentiate degree are also to be abolished at once. We also approve of the other suggestions made by the said Governor-General in his Memorial on the above subject and command that they shall be put into force as proposed. In a word, the methods and aims of our modern schools of learning have the same force as the ancient form of selection of men for office from the schools, as mentioned above, and the methods of rewards in rank and degrees are the same as those hitherto obtained by the old style of literary competitions. The regulations and rules for the various modern schools of learning and their various branches of study have for their aims the attainment of substantial and practical knowledge. We hereby further command our Ministers of Education on receiving this our Imperial Decree, to lose no time in distributing at once to the various provinces the textbooks for schools that have been prepared, so that we may have a uniform system of teaching in all schools. We also command our governors-general and governors to insist that their subordinates, the prefects, sub-prefects, and district magistrates, shall make haste to establish primary schools in all the towns, hamlets, and villages within their respective jurisdictions and that the utmost care be taken to select intelligent teachers for them, so that the minds of all our subjects be open for the reception of modern knowledge. Let all our officials be earnest and diligent in obeying these our commands and let there be no lagging and carelessness, so as to avoid faults and mistakes in the administration of these schools. Let no one fail in deserving the confidence we have placed in each.

The first issue of Minhao dealt with three issues: first, the principle of Nationalism; second, the Principle of Democracy; and third, the Principle of the People's Livelihood.

It is not necessary to do research in order to know what nationalism is. A person always recognizes his parents and never confuses them with strangers. Nationalism is analogous to this. It has to do with human nature and applies to everyone. Today, more than 260 years have passed since the Manchus entered China proper, yet even as children we Han would certainly not mistake them for fellow Han. This is the root of nationalism. On the other hand, we should recognize that nationalism does not mean discriminating against people of a different nationality. It simply means not allowing such people to seize our political power, for only when we Han are in control politically do we have a nation. If that political control is in the hands of people of another nationality, then there is no Han nation.

Let us pause to consider for moment: where is the nation? Where is the political power? Actually, we are already a people without a nation! The population of the globe is only one billion, several hundred million; we Han, being 400 million, comprise one-fourth of that population. Our nation is the most populous, most ancient, and most civilized in the world, yet today we are a lost nation. Isn't that enormously bizarre? … We Han are now swiftly being caught up in a tidal wave of nationalist revolution, yet the Manchus continue to discriminate against the Han. They boast that their forefathers conquered the

THREE PRINCIPLES OF THE PEOPLE (THREE PEOPLE'S PRINCIPLES)—A political philosophy developed by Sun Zhongshan grouped into the three guiding principles of Nationalism, Democracy and Livelihood.
Han because of their superior unity and military strength and that they intend to retain these qualities so as to dominate the Han forever. On the other hand, I have heard claims that the nationalist revolution is aimed at exterminating the Manchus as a people. This is utterly mistaken. The reason for the nationalist revolution is our unwillingness to let the Manchus establish our nation and dominate us politically, and our determination to restore our nation by liquidating their regime. Thus, we do not hate the Manchus per se, but only those Manchus who are harming the Han... If the Manchus stubbornly continue to hold on to political power and keep the Han under their yoke, then as long as breath remains in the Han, the Han will refuse to accept it meekly. I presume you gentlemen will agree.

These are the basic ideas behind the nationalist revolution.

As for the Principle of Democracy, it is the foundation of the political revolution. In the future, to be sure, the victorious principle of today will be swept away after the nationalist revolution triumphs, but it will also be necessary to eradicate the roots of such politics. For several thousand years China has been a monarchical autocracy, a type of political system intolerable to those living in freedom and equality. The study of what a political revolution entails is a very difficult undertaking. As to practice, a political revolution must proceed simultaneously with the nationalist revolution. When we overthrow the Manchu regime, we will achieve not only a nationalist revolution against the Manchus but also a political revolution against monarchy. They are not to be carried out at two different times. The aim of the political revolution is to create a constitutional, democratic political system. In the context of the current political situation in China, a revolution would be necessary even if the monarch were a Han. Neither the French Revolution nor the Russian Revolution involved racial issues; the issues were strictly political. A democratic political system has been achieved in France, and in Russia the Bolshevik party will also ultimately reach this goal. After the revolution in China, this will be the most appropriate political system. This, too, everyone knows...
Questions

1. Why does Wang Jingswei believe "neither will the situation in China improve nor can she be rejuvenated unless there is a basic change in political structure?"

2. How does Wang Jingswei suggest China's circumstances are different from those of France, England, Germany, and Japan?

Some people may ask: since China already has a constitution, why should we speak of revolution? Also, people who ask this question must think that by having a constitution, China has laid the foundation of good government and everlasting peace and not realize that she is in serious danger at this very moment. From the point of view of us revolutionaries, the factors that contribute to our people's sufferings and insecurity have not been reduced by one iota during the past few years; in fact, they have become more numerous. The constitutionalists say that once the constitution takes effect, there will be equality between the Manchus and the Chinese and all the people in China will enjoy the same political rights. Our goal of nationalism and democracy will then be achieved. In short, the establishment of a constitutional monarchy will lead to the establishment of a good government. But we revolutionaries emphatically do not share this optimism. Not only do we doubt the validity of the assumption that the constitution will create equality between the Manchus and the Chinese; we also firmly believe that the establishment of a constitutional monarchy will not serve the best interest of the people and will instead bring the greatest harm to it.

The constitutionalists say that as long as the monarchy is merely a symbol of the state whose power is clearly restricted by the constitution and as long as he does not have political responsibilities even though he is personally inviolable, constitutional monarchy will bring about good government. This statement, though it sounds like a legalistic theory, does not, unfortunately, conform to the known facts. Without a single exception, the countries that have a constitutional government, whether it be a constitutional monarchy or a constitutional republic, acquired their constitution by revolutionary methods. This is so because monarchical power, through custom and usage that may have lasted for a long, long time, becomes in the end synonymous with the state power; and unless the monarchical power is destroyed, there is no way of eliminating the existing state system and replacing it with something new. A constitutional monarchy was almost established during the reign of Louis XVI, and yet France could not forget her experience of having a great revolution. The inevitability of revolution as a means of establishing a constitutional government is not only true in a republic like France but also true in monarchies like England, Germany, and Japan. While England is the oldest constitutional monarchy in the world, Germany and Japan are two of the strongest. People who speak of constitutional government often cite them as examples. Yet, have they taken time to trace the constitutional development of each of these three countries? [...] If we measure the situation in China against the constitutional development of these three countries, we will find that China has nothing in common with any of them. She does not share England's experience of a slow, gradual constitutional development; nor does she have a system of local autonomy that characterized Germany before its unification. She certainly has not had a great revolution which Japan experienced in overthrowing the shogunate. For several thousand years China has practiced nothing but autocracy, an autocracy that reached the highest point or the most absolute stage during the past 260 years. The state power is vested with the monarch, and officials on all levels, central or local, are merely his servants or slaves whom he can order to do whatever he pleases. Suddenly enchanted with the good name of constitution, this autocratic China decided to promulgate one. [...] Since no hope of establishing an honest constitutional government has existed or will exist, we revolutionaries believe that only by waging a life-and-death struggle can the goal of establishing a democracy be achieved in China. The Revolutionary Party made this decision a long time ago. It is our belief that only under a constitutional government established in the wake of a revolution can the principles of nationalism and democracy be carried out and can the disaster of a bloody war be avoided. [...] We have briefly described the domestic situation in China. Speaking of her relations with the outside world, we cannot but feel frightened and alarmed; she is so weak that her chance of survival, for all practical purposes, has become very slim indeed. Knowing her impending peril, how can any Chinese enjoy peace of mind even for the briefest moment? When China was invaded in 1900, people realized how deadly our foreign enemies could be. Today they are indifferent—how much we should lament this indifference! [...] The factor that prevents China from being partitioned at this moment is the fear on the part of England and France that Germany might not cooperate, and on the part of Japan that the United States might strike her from the rear. For several years there has been speculation about the inevitability of clashes between the United States and Japan, and several months ago there was even a rumor that these two countries would wage war against each other at any moment. Now suddenly there is talk about an alliance between England, Japan, and the United State. A Japanese newspaper recently commented that once this alliance is formed, it can quickly put an end to the old Chinese empire. How anxious the Japanese are to put an end of all of us! [...] Meanwhile we continue to congratulate ourselves by saying that they have treated us well. Whenever by chance we recover some of our lost rights, we become jubilant or even ecstatic, and close our eyes to their joint efforts to bring us the greatest harm. This is like a swallow that tries to make a nest underneath the main beam without knowing that the whole house is about to collapse. Why? The reason is that with a constitutional government scheduled to be established, everyone believes that all of China's problems, foreign and domestic, will be automatically resolved. Like a man who has taken hallucinatory drugs, we are fascinated with appearance at the expense of reality. It will be eight years before the constitution takes effect. We can easily visualize how intolerable the situation will be at the end of this long, long period.

Neither will the situation in China improve nor can she be rejuvenated unless there is a basic change in political structure. The time for making this change is very late, but by no means too late. I hope that all those who die after I do will consider making this change their sacred responsibility.
Yun came to me all smiles and said, "now that I have found a beauty for you, how are you going to reward the go-between?" I asked her for the details. "I had to broach the topic delicately to her," she said "because I was afraid that she might have someone else in mind. Now I have learnt that there isn't anyone, and I asked her, 'Do you understand why we have this pledge today?'" "I should greatly honor if I could come to your home, but my mother is expecting a lot of me and I can't decide myself. We will watch and see," she replied. As I was putting on the bracelet, I told her again, 'The jade is chosen for its hardness as a token of fidelity and the bracelet's roundness is a symbol of everlasting faithfulness. Meanwhile, please put it on as a token of our pledge.' She replied that everything depends on me. So it seems that she is willing herself. The only difficulty is her mother, Lengxiang. We will wait and see how it turns out." "Are you going to enact the comedy Lian Xiangban of Li Liwong right in our home?" "Yes!" Yun replied. From that time on, not a day passed without her mentioning Hanyuan's name. Eventually Hanyuan was married by force to some influential person, and our arrangements did not come off. And Yun actually died of grief on this account.

6.11 QIU JIN'S ADDRESS TO TWO HUNDRED MILLION FEMALE COUNTRYWOMEN (1904)

A famous poet and revolutionary, Qiu Jin (1875-1907), typified the earliest generation of revolutionary women. Born into a family of moderately wealthy means and liberal sentiments, her family made certain Qiu Jin received a modern education and socialized in progressive social circles. Leaving a short-lived marriage in 1903, she traveled to Japan which had pioneered women's education within Asia. Three years later she returned to China advocating Westernization and a democratic (non-monarchical) government. Her activities, illegal at the time, were discovered, and she was arrested and executed by decapitation on July 12, 1907. Today she remains a potent symbol of China's women's liberation movement. The following document is her most famous appeal for women's rights.

Questions
1. Why would having daughters be considered undesirable in late imperial China?
2. Why do you think that Qiu Jin believes education is key for the liberation of women?

Also, the most unfairly treated things on this earth are the two hundred million who are born as Chinese women. We consider ourselves lucky to be born to a kind father. If we are unlucky, our father will be an ill-tempered and unreasonable person who repeatedly says, "How unlucky I am, yet another useless one," as if at any instant he could pick us up and throw us to our death. He will resent us and say things like "she's eventually going to someone else's family" and give us cold and contemptuous looks. When we grow a few years older, without bothering to ask us our thoughts, they will bind our tender, white and natural feet with a strip of cloth never loosing them even when we sleep. In the end, the flesh is mangled and the bones broken, all so that relatives, friends and neighbors can say, "the girl from so and so's family has tiny feet."

When the time comes [for the parents] to select a husband, everything is based on the promises of two shameless matchmakers. The daughter's parents will go along with any proposal as long as his family is rich and powerful. Her parents do not bother to ask if the man's family is respectable, or inquire about the groom's temperament and level of education. On the wedding day, when still all the brightly decorated bridal sedan chair barely able to breathe. When we arrive at the new home, if the husband is found to be unambitious but even tempered, her family will say we are blessed with good fortune. After we are married, if he is good, her family will blame it "on our wrong conduct in a previous life," or simply "bad luck." If we dare complain, or otherwise try to counsel our husbands, then a scolding and beating will befall us. Others who hear of the abuse will say: "She is a woman of no virtue. She does not act as a wife should!" Can you believe such words? These aspersions are cast without the chance for an appeal? Further inequities will follow if the husband dies. The wife will have to wear a mourning dress for three years and will not be allowed to remarry. Yet, if the wife dies, the husband only needs to wear a blue [mourning] braid. Some men had even that unbecoming and do not bother to wear it at all. Even when the wife has only been dead for three days, he can go out and cavort and indulge himself. A new wife is allowed to enter the household even before the official seven weeks of mourning is over. In the beginning, Heaven created all people with no differences between men and women. Ask yourselves this, how could these people have been born without women? Why are things so unjust? Everyday these men say, "We ought to be equal and treat people kindly." Then why do they treat women so unfairly and unequally as if they were African slaves?

A woman has to learn not to depend on others, but to rely on herself instead. In the beginning, those rotten Confucians said things like "men are superiors while women are inferior," "a woman without talent is a woman with virtue," "the extra wife should submit to her husband" and other such rubbish. If women have any ambition, we should call upon our comrades to oppose them. Chen Houzhu, the ruler of Chen Dynasty, started the practice of foot binding. If we, as women, feel any shame, then we should condemn the practice. It is not like our legs were tied while they bound our feet. Why can't we reject footbinding? Are they afraid of women being educated, knowledgeable, and perhaps surpassing them, men do not allow us to study. We must not simply go along with their decision without even challenging them. We cannot surrender our own responsibilities and be content with a lazy and undemanding life while men control the important matters.

If men call us useless, we become useless. Why so are we not bothered when we are called inept? Why do we not even question them when they are turned into slaves, all in exchange for our comfort? Are we to enjoy life like a golden bird? Perhaps we are worried that our comforts may not last. As soon as we hear that men crave for 'small feet,' we rush to bind our feet to please them. For this sacrifice we earn the right to live a life in which we contribute nothing. And being forbidden to read and write, is precisely what we, as women, desire. Why do we disagree? Remember, there is no such fortune in the world that is just there for the taking! Power belongs to the learned and knowledgeable men who contribute to society, and we become their slaves. Since we are the slaves, how can we not be oppressed women? We have brought this upon ourselves. How can we blame others? It is depressing to talk about this. We all have experienced this type of life, so there is no need for me to go further into details.

However, from now on I hope we can leave the past behind us and focus on our future. Assuming we have died in the past and are reincarnated into our next life the elders should not say "too old to be of any use." If you have a decent husband who wants to establish a school, do not stop him. If you have a fine son who wishes to study abroad do not stop him. The middle-aged wife should not hinder her husband down causing him to have no ambition and achieve nothing. If you have a son, send him to school. Do the same for your daughter and never bind her feet. If you have a young girl, the best choice would be for her to attend school, but even if she is unable to attend schools, you should teach her to read and write at home. If you come from a family of officials that has money, you should persuade your husband to establish schools and factories and do good deeds that will help common people. If your family is poor, you should work hard to help your husband. Do not be lazy and do nothing. These are my hopes. All of you are aware that we are about to lose our country. Men can barely protect themselves. How can we rely on them? We must revitalize ourselves. Otherwise all will be too late when the country is lost. Everybody! Everybody! Please keep my hopes alive!