

THE INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT OF WU ZHIHUI:
A REFLECTION OF SOCIETY AND POLITICS IN LATE
QING AND REPUBLICAN CHINA .

by

Paul Gilmore Clifford

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University of London.

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Abstract

This thesis analyses the development of Wu Zhihui's ideas and their social and political application until 1927. Through this biographical approach the intention is to also reach out and achieve an understanding of his contemporaries and so come to broader conclusions about the period of rapid and fundamental intellectual change in which he lived. After establishing Wu's philosophical basis, his Darwinism, Kropotkinite anarchist communism and his materialist lifeview, there follows an analysis of his utopian goals and his view of the mechanics of social revolution. Then these theoretical positions are related to his political practice between 1890 and 1927 with special attention being paid to the degree of fidelity of transmission of these ideas to the Chinese context. His development from conservative reformer to nationalist revolutionary and then to anarchist supporter of the Revolution of 1911 is traced with special reference to his New Century magazine in Paris. His activities in the early years of the Republic are examined with analysis of his role within the Nationalist Party after 1924 and the origins of his fierce anti-communism. Finally two sections are devoted to Wu's contribution to education in China.

The main problematic presented is the relationship in Wu Zhihui's thought between nationalism, the key ideological element in modern China, and anarchism. How could a patriotic Chinese genuinely embrace European anarchism without in some way distorting or adapting it? Adaptation of anarchism to the needs of nation building

proved impossible and fundamental revisions which occurred in its introduction by Wu to China negated its essential intellectual attraction; opposition to all government. Beyond being a case study of the impact of foreign ideas on China, this thesis offers a general critique of the theoretical weaknesses of anarchism.

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This thesis is dedicated to Miriam Mallon.

Explanatory Note on Romanisation

The form of romanisation used for Chinese words is hanyu pinyin, with the following exceptions:

1. In English language quotations I have retained the romanisation used by the author.
2. I have used common Western renderings of certain Chinese names. For instance, for persons, Sun Yat-sen, Chiang K'ai-shek, Carsun Chang, and places, Tientsin, Peking and Canton.

INTRODUCTION

The history of modern China has been fundamentally a process of social fragmentation followed by prolonged reconstruction and nation building. The drive Eastward of the capitalist powers led to a confrontation between China and nations with historically unparalleled technology. Given the imbalance of military might, China had either to yield or be broken. The Chinese view of the world, the cultural self-sufficiency, if not arrogance, of her ruling class made relations with other equivalent cultures extremely difficult. But it should be remembered that the Great Powers were not offering to China relations on the basis of equality, for Imperialism arose from economic forces which demanded that China be opened up, made a subject market and a semi-colony. Ultimately this could come about only through resort by the Great Powers to war; invasion, occupation and the imposition of the Unequal Treaties. This led to the shattering of Chinese society, a breakdown in social cohesion until the Chinese people became a "heap of loose sand". But as Marx pointed out, the assault of Imperialism on China had its liberating as well as its destructive aspects. The First Opium War ended the isolation which was the "prime condition for the preservation of the Old China". By breaking down the great door of China and bringing, as he put it, the Chinese mummy into the open air, Britain had begun the revolutionary process in China.⁽¹⁾

The basic problem in China this century has been how to

reintegrate the Chinese polity⁽²⁾, how to reconstruct a new society out of the rubble. The mobilizing force for this rebuilding has been nationalism, born of a century of national humiliation and patriotic resistance. This nationalist impulse led to a questioning of the old society and culture which had proved inadequate in the struggle for national survival. Resistance to the foreign threat led naturally to social revolution within China.

But nationalism has taken many forms in modern China. The old cultural structure having been demolished, the choice was open to Chinese intellectuals to rebuild using the old bricks or to import new ones. Nationalism expressed itself both in the cultural conservatism of those who sought to use parts of the old culture to reinforce the new nation-state, and in the violent iconoclasm which sought a clean break with the past. But whether the iconoclasts found their inspiration in Western liberalism, Marxism or in the case of Wu Zhihui, anarchism, they were still basically seeking foreign solutions to Chinese problems. China, albeit a New China, remained the central object of their loyalty. Thus a key problematic of this study is;

- 1) The relationship in Wu Zhihui's thought and political practice between nationalism and anarchism.

The analysis of Wu's early ideas is taken up to 1927 in order to examine fully not only his nationalism but also the genesis of its most extreme form, his anti-communism, and then to relate these two currents to his utopian socialism.

From this other questions follow:-

2) The role of anarchism in the Chinese political and intellectual world before and after the Revolution of 1911. The Chinese anarchist movement has remained unexplored by Chinese historians largely because its facts serve neither the Communists nor the Nationalists. In fact, anarchism was the major leftist tendency in China up to the May Fourth Movement.

a) What part did the New Century group of anarchists play in Sun Yat-sen's Tongmenghui, both in the realm of revolutionary theory and of political support and organisation?

After the revolution, what was the role of Wu and his colleagues in Republic politics?

b) In this period, how significant was the contribution of anarchism in the struggle with the old culture, in promoting scientific theory and method, and bringing about "thought liberation" in China?

3) The impact of foreign ideas.

A study of Chinese anarchism is invaluable in developing an analysis of the introduction of foreign ideas into China. What role did Wu's periods of study and exile in Japan, Britain and France play in his intellectual formation? To what degree did the new ideas penetrate the mind of the Chinese recipient and having been accepted, how much were they consciously or unconsciously distorted, adulterated and adapted? We should be cautious of taking professions of intellectual faith at face value. Only by a careful compari-

parison of the source of the ideas with those expounded by the recipient can we arrive at a true appraisal of the fidelity of intellectual transmission.

4) A general assessment of anarchism.

The last century saw a phenomenal growth of anarchism within, and as a reaction to, the newly consolidated nation-states of Europe. But it failed to offer, in any of its forms, a coherent guide to action or a successful road to a new society and after the First World War it became a spent force. Though the failure of anarchism in China was to some extent related to particular conditions there, this study will offer a general critique of the theoretical weaknesses of anarchism and some explanation of the motivation of anarchist intellectuals.

Finally some observations about methodology. How much, one may ask, can one learn about history from the study of the thought of one man? Many historians have produced, as has Gasster in his work on Chinese intellectuals and the Revolution of 1911,⁽³⁾ a macro view of societal and intellectual change. But even within such a project, the component parts must inevitably be partial studies of individuals, analysis of personal statements of view, which go to make up the society or segment of society being studied. The alternative, which I have chosen, is through a micro or more specific approach to expand towards the macro view, that is to seek from the study of the particular to produce an analysis from which it is possible

to theorize on the more general level.

But in so doing, the focus of the study must be placed firmly in its historical and social context. As Mannheim has written:

" The sociology of knowledge seeks to comprehend thought in the concrete setting of a historical-social situation out of which individually differentiated thought only very gradually emerges. Thus, it is not men in general who think, or even isolated individuals who do the thinking, but men in certain groups who have developed a particular style of thought in an endless series of responses to certain typical situations characterizing their common position!"(4)

But if Wu Zhihui's ideas are a reflection of society around him, it must not then be argued that he is somehow typical, neatly characteristic or even scientifically representative. No man is that. We must not see Wu, as Levenson urges us not to see Liang Qichao, as "a microcosm, with all China locked up in his archetypal mind." (5) Schwartz writes that "Yen Fu is not the voice of China incarnate", (6) and that holds true for Wu as well. With these words of caution, it is possible, through a study of Wu's ideas in their social context, to reach out to understand not only others who shared his intellectual position but also those who stood opposed to him. As Levenson says, "history can be deduced from biography, society derived from the individual." (7)

Having chosen to focus on the thought of one person, how then does one order the material? Though the method of dividing up the life of the individual being studied neatly into chapters on a chronological basis has the virtue of simplicity and narrative straightforwardness, it also has the disadvantage of making it difficult to handle the key questions in a coherent and succinct manner, for data on them remains dispersed throughout the study. I have chosen

instead to develop my argument in a thematic rather than a chronological way, by first establishing the philosophical foundations of Wu's thought and then moving on to his theory of social revolution. Then follows, in three sections, an analysis of Wu's political ideas and practice which seeks to elucidate to what degree they flow from the body of philosophy. Finally, as an example of Wu's activities complementary to but in many ways quite distinct from his political work, there is an examination of his contribution to educational theory and practice. The year 1927 has been chosen as the break-off date and Wu's later life is not dealt with. The key question posed in this study, that is Wu's interpretation of anarchism and how this related to his nationalism, can be answered through reference to his early ideas, before the revolution of 1911 and in the first years of the Republic. His anarchism, nationalism and anti-communism, the main elements of his thought, had by 1927 been clearly articulated. The bulk of his writings after 1927 relate to his political role in the Guomindang of Chiang K'ai-Shek, a subject peripheral to the main focus of this study. Therefore, any further examination of Wu's ideas beyond this date has been decided against in favor of a more thorough analysis of his early thought.

Footnotes

1. K. Marx, "Revolution in China and in Europe," Marx on China, p. 4.
2. Richard, H. Solomon, "Mao's Effort to Reintegrate the Chinese Polity; Problems of Authority and Conflict in Chinese Social Processes," in A. Doak Barnett, (ed.) Chinese Communist Politics in Action, p. 271.
3. Michael Gasster, Chinese Intellectuals and the Revolution of 1911.
4. Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia, pp. 2-3.
5. Joseph Levenson, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and the Mind of Modern China, p. 1.
6. B. Schwartz, In Search of Wealth and Power. Yen Fu and the West, p. 3.
7. Levenson, Op. Cit., p. 1.

CHAPTER 1

PHILOSOPHICAL BASIS

a) Early Ideas

Wu once recalled that before 1894, he was no different from any other conservative scholar of the time⁽¹⁾ and an examination of his writings from the 1880's and early 1890's tends to confirm that assessment. His formal education began at the age of seven with a private tutor. Wu is said to have enjoyed writing the seal script from an early age, to have been good at discussion of the histories and to have mastered the "Exegis of the Classics of the Imperial Qing Period".⁽²⁾ This work of 1400 juan, compiled by Ruan Yuan and published in Canton in 1829,⁽³⁾ covered the bulk of Qing scholarship since Gu Yanwu. The Nanqing Academy, attended by Wu, in 1888 published a supplement to it compiled by Wang Xianqian.⁽⁴⁾

Liang Qichao has characterised the thought of the Qing period as a strong reaction against the Neo-Confucianism of the Sung and Ming.⁽⁵⁾ Gu Yanwu attacked the introspective metaphysics of Neo-Confucianism, in particular the school of thought led by Lu Xiangshan and Wang Yangming,⁽⁶⁾ holding its philosophy partly responsible for the loss of China to the Manchus. Neo-Confucianism as a revival of Confucianism to counter Buddhism and Daoism had itself been heavily influenced by these philosophies, while at the same time that aspect of Confucianism concerned with the practical management of state

affairs had been relatively neglected. Gu, founder of the early Qing School of Empirical Research, in contrast advocated systematic textual and philological investigation of the classics towards the goal of public administration (jingshi).⁽⁷⁾ Gu and other scholars went back to the Han dynasty commentaries of the early classics, arguing that these interpretations, written nearer to the age of Confucius and before the distorting influence of Buddhism, were more faithful to the true spirit of Confucianism than was Neo-Confucianism. As opposed to the Sung Learning of the Neo-Confucians, they described their study of the earlier texts as Han Learning.⁽⁸⁾ Although Gu Yanwu himself was selective in his criticism of Neo-Confucianism and in fact never attacked the school of the brothers Cheng Hao and Cheng Yi or that of Zhu Xi, later supporters of the Han Learning such as Hui Dong and Ruan Yuan after him, demanded exclusive adherence to the works of the Han scholars and dismissed all Sung Learning as worthless.⁽⁹⁾ By the 18th century, despite its original goal of salvaging Confucianism from the negative state it had reached during the Sung and Ming, the School of Empirical Research itself was in a blind alley of pedantic and minute textual criticism.⁽¹⁰⁾ As Liang Qichao has written,⁽¹¹⁾ the tide of Han Learning was ebbing and from the 18th century onwards there was a strong revival of Neo-Confucianism.⁽¹²⁾

Also towards the end of the Qing, largely as a result of the great interest in Han texts shown by the School of Empirical Research, the dispute over the authenticity of the Ancient Texts of the classics which had ended with them displacing the Modern Texts as the orthodoxy in the Later Han, was now reopened.⁽¹³⁾ Some of the fiercest

skirmishes were fought over the New Text Gongyang Commentary of the Spring and Autumn Annals and the Ancient Text Zuo Commentary of the same work, which the Modern Text school insisted was a forgery. Although the founders of the Modern Text school in the Qing, Zhuang Cunyu and Liu Fenglu confined themselves to academic issues, later exponents such as Wei Yuan and Gong Zizhen harnessed the Modern Text view of Confucius as a great prophet and actual author of the Six Classics, rather than just their transmitter, to their advocacy of reform.⁽¹⁴⁾ It was on this basis of Modern Text scholarship that Kang Youwei sought to justify his radical reform programme in the 1890's.

So, during the 18th century, although the Han Learning found a certain new life in the form of the Modern Text school, the school of Empirical Research became threatened by renewed interest in Neo-Confucianism. The philosophy of the Cheng brothers and Zhu Xi had throughout the Qing remained the official doctrine of the court, but now these ideas began to enjoy wider support. In the Qianlong Period, disciples began to flock to Tongcheng in Southern Anhui where Fang Bao, Liu Dakui and others had founded a school of learning.⁽¹⁵⁾ In its early period, the Tongcheng school was a purely literary grouping. In the view of Liang Qichao, its writings were "imitative, overly punctilious and devoid of substance", its teachings "encouraged abstractness and stifled creativity". The school had little to commend it, but as Liang himself has pointed out, the founders "at the height of the Han Learning took a vigilant stand against it".⁽¹⁶⁾ The Tongcheng school and its later offshoot, the Yanghu school in Jiangsu, attacked

the attitude shown towards the Sung Learning by such scholars as Hui Dong.⁽¹⁷⁾

Although from its founding the Tongcheng school referred to little more than a group of scholars devoted to a literary style which was the fashion of the time,⁽¹⁸⁾ from the outset the school had stressed moral teaching rather than research and under the influence of Zeng Guofan it increasingly concerned itself with public affairs. Many leading officials of the late Qing, such as Zeng, Luo Zenan, Hu Linyi and Zuo Zongtang studied under Tongcheng teachers. The influence of the school expanded greatly under the patronage of Zeng, so much so that its learning has been described as the doctrine of the Tongzhi Restoration.⁽¹⁹⁾ This period saw a "restoration" of the Confucian state primarily through military action against the Moslem, Taiping and Nian rebellions. Alongside this pacification at the point of the sword, Zeng and others promoted a revival of Confucian ideology to help bring order to the country. The Taipings in particular posed a serious threat to the status quo, for their egalitarianism endangered the whole ideological underpinning of the state.⁽²⁰⁾ The literati rallied to a defence of the Way of Confucius and Mencius. It was at this stage that Zeng developed his eclectic philosophy. In order to preserve what he called the Teaching of Correct Status (mingjiao), he synthesised the various strains of Confucian thought, declaring "I revere the Song Confucians, but I do not wish the Han school to be eliminated."⁽²¹⁾ However, although he was greatly influenced by Gu Yanwu, Zeng based his philosophy of government on Tongcheng theories.⁽²²⁾ Song Learning with its extreme authoritarianism,

which stressed the relationship between superiors and inferiors, could help in the process of moral education (jiaohua) of the people⁽²³⁾ and was seen by the leaders of the Restoration as an integral part of the pacification of the empire.

Wu Zhihui was born in the fourth year of the Tongzhi emperor's reign, barely one year after Nanking fell and the Taipings were defeated.⁽²⁴⁾ Southern Jiangsu, where he was brought up, had in the last years of the rebellion been fought over by the forces of the Taiping leader Li Xiucheng but in 1863 Suzhou fell to Li Hongzheng's Huai Army and Li Xiucheng was forced to flee to Nanking.⁽²⁵⁾

Growing up in the years immediately after these events, it is natural that Wu became deeply influenced by the ascendant philosophy of Zeng Guofan and the Restoration. Moreover, the South East of China was the home of the Tongcheng School (Southern Anhui) and Yanghu County, in which Wu was born, was the centre of its later offshoot. Wu came to model his style of writing on that of the Tongcheng school⁽²⁶⁾ and while at the Ningqing Academy he used to borrow from a library started by a friend whose wife, a compulsive collector of books, was the daughter of the famous Tongcheng scholar Wu Rulun,⁽²⁷⁾ disciple of Zeng Guofan.⁽²⁸⁾

In his student notes of 1887, Wu quoted at length from Zeng Guofan, for instance from a piece in which Zeng praised Yao Nai, one of the founders of the Tongcheng school.⁽²⁹⁾ At another point in the same notes, Wu revealed his attitude to a key concept of Cheng-Zhu Neo-Confucianism;

"Book learning to exhaust the principle (dushu qiongli) is the finest part of Zhu Xi's philosophy. We should understand that the reason for book learning is specifically to regulate the mind."(30)

"Exhausting the principle" was an intellectual approach to the question of self-cultivation, a vital part of which was a thorough understanding of the cultural tradition. This understanding was to be arrived at through "book-learning". Study helped one to increase one's knowledge of the "principle" and in so doing one became more aware of one's nature. (31)

In an article dated 1892 in which he discussed Qing scholarship, Wu launched into an attack on the Han Learning of Ruan Yuan, who, like his mentor Hui Dong, took an extreme purist view, rejecting all Song learning in favour of anything from the Han. (32) Wu accused him of failing to adhere to Gu Yanwu's principle of "Han Learning as the basic theory, the Song Confucianists as our teacher." Wu recognised the need for Gu to revolt against the negative aspects of Neo-Confucianism, but there was however no question, he continued, of Gu having promoted Han Learning to the exclusion of that from the Song. Later scholars had, Wu wrote, distorted Gu's original message and villified the Song Learning. (33)

It was at this time that the Modern Text movement was gaining momentum and with the writings of Wei Yuan and Gong Zishen had become closely connected to demands for reform. (34) How conservative Wu still was can be seen from a section of the 1892 article, dealing with the various commentaries to the classics, in which Wu inveighed against the Modern Text movement and its attitude towards the commentaries on the Spring and Autumn Annals. He deplored

those who adhered to He Xiu's interpretation of the Gong Yang Commentary on the Annals and who disregarded the Zuo Commentary of the same classic. Some, he said, even went so far as to allege that the Zuo Commentary was not genuine and he singled out Liu Fenglu for special criticism.⁽³⁵⁾ Although Zhuang Cunyu laid the foundations of the Modern Text movement during the Qing, Liu was the first scholar to deal with the alleged misuse of the Zuo Commentary by the Han scholar Liu Xin.⁽³⁶⁾ Later, Kang Youwei developed the implications of Liu Fenglu's ideas on the Gong Yang Commentary to their fullest extent and found in Confucius sanction for his reforms.

b) Science and Materialism

From the 1870's onwards, some Chinese intellectuals seeking a way to strengthen the nation and emulate the Western powers, seized upon science as the key to economic and military power. Wang Tao, journalist and early advocate of reform, wrote;

"If China can sincerely use science to change its former backwardness, then after a hundred years she can easily control the Westerners and surpass them."⁽³⁷⁾

Xue Fucheng, a personal secretary to Li Hongzhang, noted in his diary in 1890 that the Westerners' commercial administration, military methods and machine manufacturing were,

"all derived from studies of steam, electricity and chemistry, by means of which they have obtained the methods of controlling water, fire and electricity...."⁽³⁸⁾

In 1882, Kang Youwei passed through the International Settlement of Shanghai, where he bought translations of Western books and took out

a subscription to the missionary journal, *Cosmopolitan Gazette* (*Wanguo gongbao*). Through these sources he gained an understanding of Western natural sciences; optics, chemistry, electricity and mechanics. In addition, he first read about evolutionism in the *Gazette*.⁽³⁹⁾ Kang then proceeded to combine Western theories of biological and social development with the Gong Yang concept of the Three Ages, popularized by the Modern Text movement, creating a synthetic philosophy which stressed change and sanctioned social reform.⁽⁴⁰⁾

Kang described what he told his disciple Chen Qiuli;

"The cultural states of Yao, Shun and the Three Dynasties were actually hypothesised by Confucius, and he believed and found supporting evidence. I suggested to him that the horse could descend from man, or man from the horse, and that men had evolved from primates; he believed and sought supporting evidence..... I told him of the three stages of evolution to reach the world of Universal Peace and of the Three Ages; and he believed and found supporting evidence."⁽⁴¹⁾

Having shown that species had evolved in the past, Kang could argue that this process would continue and was able to replace the traditional cyclical view of history with a concept of linear development. With the evidence of evolution, Kang could project the Gong Yang concept of the Three Ages, Disorder, Approaching Peace and Great Peace, into the future.⁽⁴²⁾ He was able to refute the Confucian maxim that "Heaven does not change, nor does the Way" and point out that "clearly, change is the Way of Heaven."⁽⁴³⁾

But though Kang to a certain extent drew from Western science, he still felt the need to seek sanction from the classics for his theory of social progress and his conclusion was that Confucius had himself first discovered the principles of evolution. Whatever the

reasons for him doing this, whether genuine commitment to the old culture or a tactical move to make his views more palatable to those he wished to convince of the need for reform, Kang failed to reach a thorough-going materialist position. This was not so of another reformer of that period, Yan Fu.

Generally regarded as the first Chinese in modern times to systematically introduce Western culture and scientific thought to China,⁽⁴⁴⁾ he spent the years 1876-1879 in Britain as a naval student and read widely about the natural and social sciences. On his return to China, he translated works by Adam Smith, Montesquieu, J.S. Mill, Spencer and wrote a number of important essays. But Yan's most important piece of work was his translation of T.H. Huxley's "On Evolution and Ethics". Begun perhaps as early as 1894, and published in 1898, his translation was intended as an introduction to the basic tenets of social Darwinism. It might well be asked how could Evolution and Ethics, written by Huxley to combat Spencer's application of Darwin's biological theories to human society, be used to introduce Spencer's views? The answer lies in the translation which Yan Fu significantly called Tianyanlun (On Evolution), omitting all reference to ethics which Huxley, in common with many people at the end of the nineteenth century, who found the implications of social Darwinism repellent, saw as a counter to the naked brutality of the evolutionary process in nature. In his introduction, Yan Fu clearly stated Huxley's motive in writing the book, but throughout the translation, through the medium of long notes, he praised Spencer, supporting his argument against that of Huxley. So Tianyanlun is really two works, "a para-

phrase of Huxley's lecture and an exposition of Spencer's essential view against Huxley."⁽⁴⁵⁾

Yan Fu's translation became a bestseller. It "shook China's intellectual world at the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th. It influenced a whole generation of intellectuals."⁽⁴⁶⁾ Lu Xun recalled that while studying at the Jiangnan Naval Academy in Nanking between 1898 and 1900 "as soon as I had any spare time, I would usually eat cakes, peanuts and peppers and read *Evolution and Ethics*".⁽⁴⁷⁾ As Bertrand Russell has pointed out, an important aspect of 19th century Western liberalism, the belief in progress, was greatly strengthened by the doctrine of evolution. Not only did it give grounds for optimism in relation to the future of the human race but it also provided new arguments against orthodox theology.⁽⁴⁸⁾ In China, Darwinism offered a whole new way of looking at history and society. Using evidence from astronomy, geology and biology, it showed that the world was in a constant state of development and transformation and began to undermine the traditional Confucian philosophy which resisted change on the grounds that it was an interference in the immutable state of nature.

If in Europe Darwinism had a progressive role, Spencer's application of it to human society did not. Social Darwinism was used by apologists of Imperialism to justify aggression against weaker nations,⁽⁴⁹⁾ and so had become discredited in progressive Western circles by the end of the 19th century. But Spencer's erroneous sociology as presented by Yan Fu in his translation brought home to Chinese victims of Imperialism the gravity of the crisis faced

by them and drove them to take action to forestall national disaster at the hands of the Great Powers. Hu Shi wrote of the impact of the translation;

"Within a few years of its publication, *Evolution and Ethics* gained widespread popularity throughout the country and even became reading matter for middle school students. Very few who read the book could understand the significance of Huxley's contribution to scientific and intellectual history. What they did understand was the significance of such phrases as "the strong are victorious and the weak perish" as they applied to international politics Within a few years these ideas had spread like a prairie fire, setting ablaze the hearts and blood of many young people. Technical terms like "evolution" and "natural selection" became common in journalistic prose, and slogans on the lips of patriotic young heroes."(50)

Wu Yuzhang, veteran of the 1911 revolution, had similar memories;

"Natural selection" and "survival of the fittest" and other ideas expounded by *Evolution and Ethics* profoundly stimulated many of us intellectuals at that time. *Evolution and Ethics* was for us like a warning bell. It alerted us to the danger of losing the country and we could not but with ardour plan for its survival."(51)

Darwinism had a profound influence on Wu Zhihui. So much so that his biographer has written; "What is the fundamental viewpoint of Mr Wu's scholarship and thought? It can be summed up by the words "science" and "evolution" or by "the scientific principles of evolution."(52) Though Wu came to reject Spencer's view of social strife as the law of human society, favouring instead Kropotkin's theory of Mutual Aid, this did not shake the scientific basis of his thought and throughout his life he remained a consistent believer in and populariser of Darwinist evolution theory.

Wu's first contact with such ideas must have been in 1897-98 while teaching at the Beiyang School in Tientsin. This was the period during which the reform movement was reaching its climax. Tientsin was an important centre for the new ideas and the headmaster of Wu's school, Wang Yuansheng, collaborated closely there with Yan Fu,

Sun Baoqi and other reformers. In 1897, they founded the Guowen Daily and also a magazine which in 1898 serialised Yan Fu's translation of Evolution and Ethics.⁽⁵³⁾

Wu's diaries reveal that he regularly read the Guowen Daily and visited its editorial office.⁽⁵⁴⁾ It is also established that in 1897 he often had discussions with Yan Fu.⁽⁵⁵⁾ In 1899, as a teacher at the Nanyang School in Shanghai, Wu was using Yan Fu's essay "On Strength" as a classroom text. He recorded how he introduced the pupils to Yan's discussion, at the beginning of the essay, of Spencer's "sociology" (qunxue).⁽⁵⁶⁾

While in Japan during 1901-2, Wu worked hard at "European learning",⁽⁵⁷⁾ deepening his understanding of scientific thought and in an article stated boldly that he held to the "anti-religionism of Darwin and Spencer".⁽⁵⁸⁾ In his diary he joked about his sore throat, commenting that when creatures were not good in the struggle for existence, then "natural selection comes into operation."⁽⁵⁹⁾ In the draft curriculum of the Guangdong Daxuetang, in Canton, drawn up by Wu in 1902, he included tuition in mathematics, "science", that is physical sciences and biology, as well as the English language.⁽⁶⁰⁾ While teaching at the Patriotic School in Shanghai during 1903, Wu used Evolution and Ethics as a text book in his Chinese language lessons.⁽⁶¹⁾ At the Zhang Garden in Shanghai he addressed about seven hundred people with this call to action couched in the language of Spencer.

"In the future there will be no weak, inferior races in the world. I ask you gentlemen, are the Chinese a fine race or are they an inferior race? If you say that they are an

inferior race and can not be reformed, then there is no place for it on earth. This unreformable, inferior race is bound to be wiped out by those superior races." (62)

He concluded by warning that unless China was strengthened by permitting her people to be free and enlightened she would find herself "in the violent arena of struggle with absolutely no means of survival." (63)

During his exile in Europe from 1903 to 1911, Wu was able for the first time to gain an understanding of the social background to the ideas he had gathered from translations in China and Japan. Moreover, through reading scientific and sociological works in the original, he could view Western thought directly and not through the distorting influence of Asian interpreters.

On his arrival in Britain in 1903, Wu first went to stay with friends in Scotland and attended some lectures at Edinburgh University. At the beginning of 1904 he returned to London and started to study English seriously, attending the Regent Street evening school and reading a wide range of books on scientific and revolutionary theory. (64) After a period in France, 1906-1909, during which he was occupied with editing the New Century journal, he returned to London where he recommenced his academic studies. His diary tells us that he bought English language originals of Darwin's "Origin of the Species" and Huxley's "Evolution and Ethics", as well as other classics of evolutionary theory. (65) He concentrated his efforts on astronomy, geography, paleontology and evolutionary science in general. (66) During 1910 and 1911, Wu made a number of translations into Chinese, amongst them an account of the discovery of the South Pole, Darwin's "Origin of the Species", Joseph McCabe's "Prehistoric Man" and Dennis Hird's

"Picture Book of Evolution". (67)

Whilst he was in Europe, Wu's ideas matured into a thorough-going mechanical materialist view of the world, into an unequivocal scientific monism. In 1909 he wrote;

"I consider that in this world there is just matter. There is no such thing as spirit separate from matter. Spirit simply arises during the formation of matter." (68)

He continued in a typically humorous style;

"A hundred pounds of pure water, sixty pounds of gelatinous substance, four pounds three ounces of eggwhite matter, four pounds five ounce of cellulose and twelve ounces of oily matter in a suitable combination come together to form the hundred and forty-seven pound 'I'. This thing which goes under the name of 'I' blindly follows the laws of this material world, freely plays around for a period, until a certain point when the pure water, the gelatinous and other matter which goes to make me up, separates and I come to an end. As to what is suffering and happiness, what is the ultimate point of goodness, what is reality, I am not concerned. For only after the combination of pure water, gelatinous and other matter is there spirit from which comes thoughts which can not exist separate from matter. All forced hypotheses and energetic exercises of the imagination are but reflections of matter, are just mistaken ideas of a certain time." (69)

Attempts have been made, for instance by Descartes, who asserted that man had certain innate ideas which appear independently of his experience, to produce a philosophical dualism which sees spirit and matter, soul and body, as separate and independent. (70) But such dualism has invariably foundered on its inability to explain how the two separate substances influence each other and, as Plekhanov has written, "the most consistent and profound thinkers were always inclined to monism," whether they were idealist or materialist. (71)

Though the materialism of one period often has differed from that of another, Plekhanov offers us a general definition of materialism;

"Materialism is the direct opposite of idealism. Idealism strives to explain all the phenomena of Nature, all the qualities of matter, by these or those qualities of the spirit. Materialism acts in the exactly opposite way. It tries to explain psychic phenomena by these or those qualities of matter, by this or that organisation of the human or, in more general terms, of the animal body. All those philosophers in the eyes of whom the prime factor is matter belong to the camp of the materialists; all those who consider such a factor to be the spirit are idealists."(72)

Clearly Wu belongs to the materialist camp. His materialist monism asserted that the mind does not exist independently of the body. Ideas and thoughts were secondary, purely "reflections of matter", products of the external world. This view excluded religious and other metaphysical concepts. But it is quite wrong to suggest, as has Kwok, that Wu's statement, quoted above, implied that no ideology "could claim validity since it would merely be a byproduct of the material configuration of substances."⁽⁷³⁾ What Wu denied, was that ideology could have an independent existence separate from the society it was born into. The "forced hypotheses and energetic exercises of the imagination" referred to by Wu were in his opinion arrived at without reference to the material world and were ideas without scientific basis. They were by definition false and had no validity. But scientific truths once created in the minds of men through contact with and study of matter obviously are valuable in themselves and have their own dynamic effect on society. That Wu held this to be so is shown by his stress on education and propaganda in stimulating social change.

As Bertrand Russell has written, "what Galileo and Newton were to the seventeenth century, Darwin was to the nineteenth."⁽⁷⁴⁾ Their contributions to astronomy and physics and, in Darwin's case,

to the biological sciences formed the basis of modern science. But 19th century evolutionism itself rested firmly on the earlier scientific discoveries. Yan Fu in the preface to his translation of *Evolution and Ethics* acknowledged this crucial fact. Drawing from the astronomy of Copernicus and from Newton's theory of mechanical movement to explain that movement in the material world occurs through the interaction of matter and force,⁽⁷⁵⁾ Yan criticised the way the Chinese, for instance in the *Book of Changes*, considered logic and mathematics to be important but dismissed matter and force, that is the physical sciences, as just "changes". In fact the truth was that,

"in the great universe there is the interaction between matter and force. If there were no matter, there would be no way for the forces to manifest themselves. If there were no force then there would be no way for matter to show itself. All force and matter are a unity, inseparable as Earth and Heaven, or man and woman."⁽⁷⁶⁾

Wu Zhihui, in the preface to his translation of Hird's "*Picture Book of Evolution*", emulated Yan Fu by giving an explanation of the philosophical background to evolutionism. In Wu's view, a study of evolutionism was a good starting point for a study of all the sciences for,

"it just stands for a whole materialist philosophy.... Only by realising that Darwinism is firmly rooted in all the other disciplines of science, can you come to fully grasp it."⁽⁷⁷⁾

From a narrow point of view, he wrote, evolutionism first originated with Lamarck⁽⁷⁸⁾ and finally took its full form with Darwin. But from a broader point of view, one had to go back to Newtonian physics;

"The world.... from the clearest natural phenomena to the tiniest, most obscure things is all the product of the interaction of matter and force which gives rise to never-

ending changes and transformations."⁽⁷⁹⁾

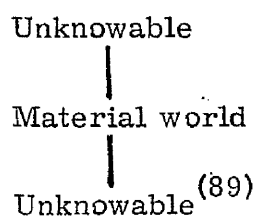
He explained that, on the one hand, astronomy, chemistry, physics and other fields of practical science were backed up by materialist philosophers such as Hobbes,⁽⁸⁰⁾ while, on the other hand, philosophical, abstract fields of learning were reinforced by the theories of men such as Spencer and Huxley. Having given this broad overview, he still recommended to the reader the classics of evolutionism which to him were the last word in science, the summation of all previous discoveries. Specifically he singled out Darwin's "Origin of the Species" and Haeckel's "The Evolution of Man". But for a start, Wu offered his translation of Hird's work, full of diagrams and illustrations of the origin of life, prehistoric creatures and the descent of man from apes.⁽⁸¹⁾

The materialism of social Darwinists is however not entirely thorough-going for it fails to arrive at an absolute atheism. Spencer chose to describe the area beyond man's knowledge as the "unknowable" rather than the unknown.⁽⁸²⁾ Huxley, although he felt that the tendency towards struggle in mankind should be resisted, nevertheless subscribed to the basic tenets of social Darwinism, among them the metaphysical concept of a realm beyond man's comprehension and he is credited with having given currency to the term "agnostic".⁽⁸³⁾ In 1892, Engels described those who thought like Huxley as "shame-faced materialists"⁽⁸⁴⁾ meaning that they stopped short of a wholly materialist view.

Schwarz has written that Yan Fu's acceptance of Spencer's ideas did not mean a total break with the Chinese philosophical tradition

and he cites as evidence of this the strong affinity of the "pantheistic-naturalist, immanentist monism of Spencer" to Daoism or to Song philosophy.⁽⁸⁵⁾ Though there is undoubtably a strong agnostic thread in traditional Chinese thought and, what is more, Yan Fu even took a Buddhist term, buke siyi, to render "the unknowable", Yan's agnosticism clearly relates closely to the European tradition. The theory of that which cannot be known has its origins in the thought of Kant and Descartes.⁽⁸⁶⁾ Kant expressed the concept with the term "the incomprehensible" or "the ungraspable" (das Unfassbare).⁽⁸⁷⁾

In an article in 1909, Wu accepted the agnosticism of Spencer and Huxley.⁽⁸⁸⁾ Aware of the origins of the term used to translate the "unknowable" - buke siyi - , he specifically ruled out any connection between what he meant by it and Buddhism. He then explained that "to know" was a term of the material world. But because the abilities of the people who live in the material world have limits, there arose that which "cannot be known". There were, he wrote, two worlds; the material world and the unknowable. Man could not say how the material world came about, nor could he know where it would end and he drew a diagram;



But he stressed that this did not mean that man's knowledge would stand still;

"Although the material world stands in the midst of the

unknowable there is nevertheless evolution to a relatively advanced stage, a constant advance on both fronts, so that in the future the area of the material world will inevitably be broader than today, just as today's is broader than that of yesterday. Thus constantly the hitherto unknowable over a long period gradually becomes knowable."(90)

c) Mutual Aid

Though social Darwinism had a strong influence on the ideas of many Chinese at the beginning of this century, other intellectual trends in Europe also left their mark. During the 1890's, there was in Europe a strong tendency against the Spencerian method of discussing human behaviour in terms of analogies drawn from the natural sciences.⁽⁹¹⁾ At the very time the Chinese were embracing the social Darwinist biological explanation of society, many Europeans were feeling revulsion at the implications of terms such as "survival of the fittest". The materialism of the 18th century had been an intellectualist philosophy based on the belief that the problems of mankind could be solved rationally. But with social Darwinism this philosophy lost its rationalism, and "heredity" and "environment" replaced conscious, logical choice as the main determinants of human action. The result was a,

"kind of scientific fatalism - the antithesis of the buoyantly optimistic attitude that had characterised the philosophers of the 18th Century or the British Utilitarians of the first part of the Century following."(92)

Out of a reaction to this came what has been described as neo-romanticism or neo-mysticism, the metaphysics of Bergson and acceptance, after a long period of public neglect, of the work of

Nietsche.⁽⁹³⁾ But it also produced a reinterpretation of Darwin which still accepted the biological analogy as regards human society but substituted co-operation for struggle as the natural tendency within a species both in the animal world and in mankind. This new approach was summed up in Kropotkin's theory of mutual aid.

Darwin's theory falls into two distinct parts.⁽⁹⁴⁾ There is the doctrine of evolution, developed from the work of Lamarck, which stated that the different forms of life were descended from a common ancestry. Then there is the other part of the theory, the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest which Spencer applied to human society. It is this latter aspect of Darwinism which the anarchist communist Kropotkin rejected, while retaining Darwin's mechanical materialism. Kropotkin dismissed the "dialectical method" as something superceded by what he considered to be the more advanced 19th century science;

"Anarchism is a world-concept based upon a mechanical explanation of all phenomena embracing the whole of nature - that is, including in it the life of human societies and their economic, political and moral problems. Its method of investigation is that of the exact natural sciences, and, if it pretends to be scientific, every conclusion it comes to must be verified by the method by which every scientific conclusion must be verified. Its aim is to construct a synthetic philosophy comprehending in one generalisation all the phenomena of nature - and therefore also the life of societies." (95)

Kropotkin laid out his reassessment of Darwin's theory of struggle in his classic "Mutual Aid, A Factor of Evolution", first published in London in 1903. In this most influential work he described how having journeyed through Eastern Siberia and Northern Manchuria studying the wild life there, he failed to find, although he looked for it,

"that bitter struggle for the means of existence, among animals belonging to the same species, which was considered by most Darwinists (though not always Darwin himself) as the dominant characteristic of the struggle for life and the main factor of evolution."(96)

Kropotkin was specially moved to write "Mutual Aid" after having read Huxley's "atrocious article", "The Struggle for Existence in Human Society" published in 1880. Kropotkin wrote in his memoirs that Darwin's formula "the struggle for life" had been interpreted "in the sense of a war cry of "Woe to the Weak" raised to the height of a commandment of nature revealed by science."(97) "This misinterpretation of the facts of nature" by Darwin's followers then became a justification for all manner of injustice;

"There is no infamy in civilised society, or in the relations of the whites towards the so-called lower races, or of the strong toward the weak, which would not have found its excuse in this formula."(98)

He put forward the view that the struggle for existence entailed a fight by each species against other species and natural conditions. But within each species there was a tendency towards co-operation rather than conflict, for that was the best way for the species to survive;

"The "struggle for existence" must be conceived not merely in its restricted sense of a struggle between individuals for the means of subsistence but in its wider sense of adaptation of all individuals of the species to the best conditions for the survival of the species, as well as for the greatest possible sum of life and happiness for all."(99)

He summed up the core of his argument;

"In the long run of the struggle for existence, "the fittest" will prove to be those who combine intellectual knowledge with the knowledge necessary for the production of wealth and not those who are now the richest because they, or their ancestors, have been momentarily the strongest."(100)

Wu Zhihui first became a follower of Kropotkin's anarchist communism after he moved to Paris in 1906. Before 1906-7, there had been very little interest in modern anarchism in China, and Marxism, in its social democratic form, had been the dominant socialist influence amongst Chinese intellectuals, as it had been in Japan, through which many Western ideas passed on their way to China.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ The term "anarchism" (wuzhengfu zhuyi) is said to have been first used in China in 1903. At that time there was praise in several articles for anarchist acts of violence. But elsewhere, references to anarchism came from hostile social democrats and Christian socialists. In 1905, the Minbao published a translation by Liao Zhongkai of part of W.P. Bliss's "A Handbook of Socialism", which contained a general condemnation of anarchism, including that of Kropotkin, which Bliss mistakenly associated with "propaganda of the deed:" terrorist acts committed by anarchists in Europe during the 1880's.⁽¹⁰²⁾

In 1906-7, there was however a strong shift amongst Chinese socialists towards anarchism and in the Spring of 1907 we find Liao Zhongkai translating Kemuyuma Sentaro's "Modern Anarchism".⁽¹⁰³⁾ This trend, which submerged earlier Marxist tendencies, came about as a result of, firstly, growing interest in Russian terrorism and, secondly, the conversion of the Japanese socialist movement to anarchism, a phenomenon which itself stemmed from the influence of the activities of the Russian social revolutionaries during the Revolution of 1905.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

Two major groups of Chinese anarchists emerged in 1907,

one in Paris and the other in Japan. Liu Shipei led this latter group and with his wife, He Zhen, in June of that year in Tokyo founded the anarchist journal Tianyibao. Though both groups shared certain beliefs for instance with regard to authority, government and nationalism, the ultra-conservatism on cultural matters exhibited by the Japan group soon brought them into conflict. (see below)⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

Just as the Tokyo anarchists were a product of an upsurge of anarchism in Japan, so the birth of the Paris group, centred on the New Century magazine, was closely linked to intellectual developments in France. Up to 1890, the majority of radical French workers believe in the establishment of socialism through political action.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾

Only in 1881 did the anarchist movement in France separate itself clearly from the general socialist trend.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ From that year until 1884, there was a spate of anarchist acts of violence, but later these activities died down as revolutionary syndicalism grew, diverting the currents of anti-state opinion into more constructive channels.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾

The Dreyfus Affair and the participation of socialists in bourgeois cabinets helped to ensure that until 1914 the labour movement in France was dominated by anarchists. They joined the trade unions in great numbers, formulating a programme for the revolution based on the use of the general strike. Anarcho-syndicalism, as it became known, spread beyond France and ousted anarchist communism as the main libertarian idea not only in Spain and Italy but also in Scandinavia and Holland.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ But the anarchist communism of Kropotkin still survived. He was an exile in Western Europe from 1876 to 1917 and lived in Britain more as a scholarly theoretician than as an activist,

publishing important works such as "Mutual Aid" and "The Great French Revolution". (1909)⁽¹¹⁰⁾ In France, followers of Kropotkin set up experimental anarchist colonies and Paul Grave published the magazine Les Temps Nouveau, successor to Kropotkin's La Revolte.⁽¹¹¹⁾ Though they did not see the trade unions as a possible skeleton for a free society after the revolution, the attitude of anarchists like Grave and Kropotkin towards anarcho-syndicalism was generally sympathetic.⁽¹¹²⁾

It was in France and under the influence of Li Shiceng that Wu came to anarchism. Having first worked at the Chinese Legation in Paris, Li left to study agriculture and then biology.⁽¹¹³⁾ According to one account, Li's cosmopolitan and libertarian ideas date from about 1906 when he was studying at the Pasteur Institute of the Sorbonne. At his lodgings he met the famous geographer and anarchist Paul Reclus who introduced him to Kropotkin's theory of mutual aid, as well as to Lamarck's biology and J.M. Guyau's theory of natural morality. In his conversations with Li, Reclus is said to have contrasted mutual aid with the struggle for existence, Proudhon's theory of peaceful revolution with Marx's theory of violent upheaval. Li was convinced and "discarded competition and violence for mutual aid and peace."⁽¹¹⁴⁾ Clearly Li was one of China's earliest and most thorough-going followers of anarchist communism and Cai Yuanpei has claimed that he was the first to import Kropotkin's theories into China.⁽¹¹⁵⁾

Wu first met Li briefly in Shanghai in 1902⁽¹¹⁶⁾ and in 1905 he travelled from London to Paris to renew the acquaintance.⁽¹¹⁷⁾

They quickly became friends and Wu's diaries show that they corres-

ponded a great deal; after Wu moved to Paris in 1906 they lived together.⁽¹¹⁸⁾ Because he was 8 years older than Li, and because of his reputation as a revolutionary before he went to Europe, it has sometimes been stated that Wu's anarchism predated that of Li Shiceng. The evidence though is to the contrary. Li has said that when Wu first arrived in France he was simply an anti-Manchu revolutionary. Having listened to Li's ideas about anarchist world revolution, Wu "was very unhappy at what he heard and wanted to roll up his bedding and return to London."⁽¹¹⁹⁾ Having thought about it, the next day he said, "Although Kropotkin's and Bakunin's ideas are fine, it will take three thousand years before they can be implemented. No, it is impossible." Li is said to have replied, "Whether they can be implemented or not, we should strive towards these principles."⁽¹²⁰⁾ Wu finally accepted Li's point of view and there began a long and fruitful relationship. In June 1907, working with Zhang Jingjiang, they provided themselves with a propaganda organ by founding the New Century magazine (Xinshiji), the esperanto title of which, La Novaj Tempoj, reflected its close affinity to Paul Grave's journal, Les Temps Nouveaux. Among the contents of the New Century were serialised translations of a broad range of anarchist communists classics, dominated by the works of Kropotkin, usually translated by Li Shiceng.⁽¹²¹⁾

The New Century group of Chinese anarchists in Paris took Kropotkin's theories as the starting point for their philosophy of revolution. Chu Minyi, one of their number, wrote that knowledge, not aggression, was the best guarantee of survival and he explained

that,

"those today who love the country and protect the race are shocked by the strength of other nations and so put great store by courage and think little of knowledge. Thus they esteem warfare and call it 'the struggle for survival'". (122)

But, he continued, in comparison to the Western countries and Japan, China lacked not an emphasis on militarism but on knowledge, which was what he considered had produced 20th century civilisation.

Knowledge and benevolence should be used to advance science and to bring equality to all, not just for one's immediate family or nation. Courage, if one was going to use the word, should not, he stressed, refer to conquering and defeating, but should mean bold action for the common good, action which would advance the civilisation of the whole of mankind. (123)

Li Shiceng used similar language in reply to a correspondent to the New Century who began with the statement "creatures compete, Heaven selects, the strong survive" and continued;

"Authority is strength.... In the individual it is the spirit and physical strength. In the state it is the army and navy. [If the body] has no spirit or strength then it becomes sick and dies. [If the state] has no army or navy, then it becomes feeble, declines and is lost, That is why the sick man of Asia cannot be governed and Korea is in an even more critical situation..... We ought to do all we can to make ourselves strong and grasp authority to spread justice. Why grasp justice and do away with authority?" (124)

He concluded that unless it was recognised that without physical force the old customs could not be overcome, nor the enemies defeated, revolution would just be words and would never be realised. (125)

Taking up the gauntlet, Li replied,

"The theory of the struggle for survival is of course the never-changing principle of evolution. But it is not all

those with authority and strength who survive. In fact all those strong in knowledge survive. Not only survive but advance."(126)

He pointed to the example of wild animals. Though they were often stronger than man, man was able to master them because of his superior intellect and knowledge. By the same token, emperors relied on brute force and were now on the retreat all over the world. The reason why men could defeat wild animals, he explained, was because men gathered in groups, co-operated and shared their knowledge, not because they fought amongst themselves; "So as man's knowledge advances, he is becoming more distant from animal nature and struggle is becoming less frequent."(127) To illustrate this, Li drew a diagram;

wild animals	physically strong	mentally weak	esteem struggle	do not know how to gather in groups
uncivilised man	physically relatively weak	mentally relatively strong	still esteems struggle	knows how to gather in small groups - family and nation
civilised man	also physically weak	brain even stronger	reduces struggle	knows how to make large groups: with other races and other nations.

(128)

As far as one can judge, in 1903 before he left China, Wu accepted the implications of social Darwinism in their entirety. But there is little doubt that his first impressions of Europe, the homeland of laissez-faire capitalism which Spencer's doctrine sought to justify, led him to reconsider the morality behind such a philosophy.

Wu noted in his diary on his arrival at Marseilles on his way to Britain, that the condition of the ordinary people was no different from that of their counterparts in the East. He expressed shock at the smell of human excreta, the sight of little boys sleeping on the roadside and beggars at the gate of a park. What most appalled him was the state of poor women, which moved him to write,

"Alas! Thus the course of evolution cannot be hastened. This is why women in their lives are accustomed to being the victims of sexual advances. That is what is so lamentable about Spencer [s theories]." (129)

What Wu saw depressed him deeply and it took Kropotkin's optimistic interpretation of Darwin to show him a way forward.

In 1909, Wu defended the theory of mutual aid against a proposal presented by Jiang Kanghu. Jiang, who after the revolution popularised the ideas of Henry George and founded the Chinese Socialist Party, (130) had travelled from Japan to attend the Congress of the 2nd International at Brussels and using the pseudonym of Xu Ancheng, sent an article to Wu, editor of the New Century. (131)

Jiang's ingenious programme for the new society was that after a communal upbringing, the individual would engage in private enterprise, making his fortune on his own. Then on his death all his wealth would return to the common weal, thus ensuring an equal start for the next generation. The plan, Jiang explained, was in keeping with the principles of competition and evolution. Under it, private enterprise, the competitive element and the motive force of society, would be retained but without the inequalities of the old order. Jiang concluded that the communist principle of from each according

to his ability, to each according to his needs was fine and noble in theory but insisted that,

"If there is no struggle and you are well fed all day, you will have no motivation. Will it not be like Epicurus' swine. How will you stimulate evolution?"(132)

Writing in the New Century, Wu replied to Jiang's claim that man's love of struggle was an obstacle to the implementation of communism;

"The amount of struggle..... depends on how near man is to the ultimate point of goodness. The amount of struggle cannot be reduced to nil, for in the accumulation of goodness one can never reach the ultimate point. But the elements of struggle constantly fade away and the point of goodness gets nearer. So [the communist principle] is not harmful to evolution."(133)

Wu blamed Jiang's view on a misunderstanding of the terms "struggle for survival" and "survival of the fittest". Although even in the Western languages the concepts were badly rendered, he felt that the Chinese jingzheng (competition) was an especially bad translation of the word "concurrence" which he claimed had the original meaning of "all starting together" as in a running race;

"We each take advantage of our nimble feet, but if in the middle of the race somebody uses some low tricks and hampers others going forward he will be punished under the rules of the game."(134)

He meant by this that co-operation was the tendency, but if there were those who obstructed progress, action, in social terms revolutionary action, would be taken to remove them from the path of progress. Wu urged caution in translating and suggested that instead of using jingzheng they used gongtong (together) to get rid of the bad connotation of shengbai (victory and defeat). Thus, he went on, the expressions

shengcun jingzheng (the struggle for survival), yousheng liebai (the fittest survive) would be transformed into wulei gongtong (the species co-operates) and yousheng liebai (the fittest survive).⁽¹³⁵⁾

In this final rendering, Wu managed to bring out Kropotkin's theory that those who are most suited for survival are those who co-operate.

d) Religion

Wu often stressed the importance of science in unshackling men's minds from the confines of religion and superstition. He once wrote;

"People in the past have been too restricted by the power of nature and because of this there was born the dark age of the authority of spirits. As science has diluted the worship of divine authority, so people's rights have undergone a great liberation. With this liberation came concepts of independence, self respect and of the future ideal world."⁽¹³⁶⁾

In 1898, Kang Youwei presented a memorial to the Emperor suggesting that Confucianism be established as the state religion (guojiao), Confucius be recognised as the founder of the religion (jiaozhu) and that Confucian Associations (kongjiaohui) be organised on an empire-wide basis.⁽¹³⁷⁾ In 1901, Liang Qichao praised Kang as the "Martin Luther of the Confucian religion" who had "restored Confucianism to its original state."⁽¹³⁸⁾

In an article written in 1901 while he was in Japan, Wu attacked Kang's proposals to make Confucianism the state religion. He praised the 28th clause of the Japanese Constitution which contained the "golden words" of freedom of religious belief and showed

particular concern over the suggestion that Confucius be worshipped compulsorily in Chinese schools. Other countries put restrictions on the church, but,

"why then do people in China want to bring religion to all the nation? They want to use the important area of state education as a temple of the religion. They want to set up schools not so as to implement education to protect the nation, but so as to be the armour to protect the state religion. State religion is the bandit of the nation, the public enemy of constitutional government." (139)

Throughout this article, Wu showed a tolerant attitude, stressing that freedom of religious belief meant freedom to believe or not to believe. His opposition to religion came from two sources; firstly a growing commitment to science and materialism and secondly Western liberal theories of individual rights under constitutional law. Later under the influence of anarchism, his antagonism to religion lost its moderation and took on a more militant and uncompromising note.

The New Century took a firm stand against religion.

Reviewing the first year of the journal, Wu placed "anti-religionism" at the head of a list of the key elements in its anarchist credo. (140)

A vivid insight into the strong anti-religious opinion amongst leftists in France at this time is offered by Wu's description of a visit he made with some friends to a working men's club in Paris to listen to a speech by a Spanish anarchist followed by a play he had written. (141) The club was one of a number supported by several radical groupings including the freemasons, anarchists and the International Association for the Freedom of Thought. As Wu pointed out, this Association was established specifically to oppose religion.

The play, entitled "The End of the Road for Heaven" (tiantang de molu), described how a group of anarchists went to Heaven and subverted it. Having been informed of their arrival by his police chief and heavenly messenger, God held a meeting with Jesus and his cabinet officials to discuss the grave situation. One of the anarchists met Jesus' lover and the two of them fell in love. He then gathered all the angels together, made a speech to them and distributed leaflets, thus fomenting revolution in Heaven. After more agitation amongst the angels, they finally revolted and God fled, followed by Jesus, who went on to announce that Heaven was finished and God gone for ever. The play concluded with Jesus' virgin mother choosing an angel whom she then married. (142)

However the position of the New Century on religion did not go unchallenged. A reader in Japan wrote to Chu Minyi explaining that although he shared the New Century's objection to patriotism, he could not accept one aspect of its socialism, its opposition to religion. He conceded that traditional morality might not be suitable for modern times, but felt that, given the low level of the people's knowledge and moral character, "religious morality cannot yet be suddenly done away with." He argued that it was naive to think that as soon as socialism was implemented, the character of the people would automatically improve. The people had to be educated and nurtured, "moral character has to be created by something." He concluded; "I cannot approve of your saying that religious morality has no influence on the creation of moral character." (143)

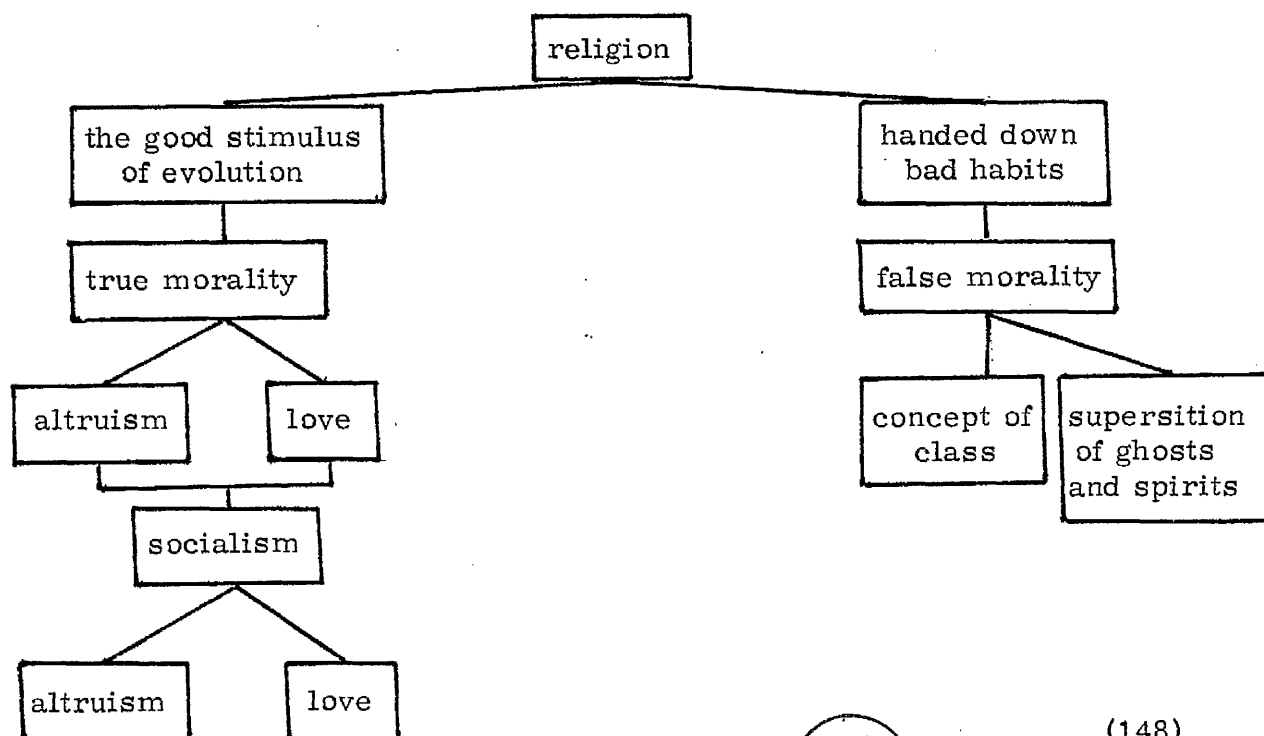
Wu, replying for Chu and the journal, wrote that "moral character is determined by the ideology." Socialism was "non-

religion" and religion "non-socialism". They were totally different. As for religion and socialism both supporting justice and truth, that was because the goodness (liangde) inherent in the process of evolution was common to all mankind. The discrepancy in moral behaviour was simply a question of evolution. In the past when there was religion the element of goodness was relatively small, while in the future socialist society it would be rather large. Religion, Wu claimed, contained very little of the altruism (wuwo) and love (boai) they were fighting for, while socialism was already full of it. ⁽¹⁴⁴⁾

To illustrate what he meant, he provided a diagram in which he showed that although religious ideology contained this small element of true morality common to all mankind to a lesser or greater degree, it failed to develop because it was dominated by the essence of religion, its "false morality", superstitions and the concept of class.

Wu concluded by making clear the distinction between religion and moral education (jiaohua); "Religion stresses the superstitions relating to the feeling between men and spirits. Moral education stresses the morality in the relationship of men to men". (146)

Wu's views on religion provoked a lively response from readers, a number of whom pointed to the inconsistencies in his argument and persisted in claiming a positive role for religion. One writer saw a contradiction in Wu's statement that although religion was the anti-thesis of socialism, a certain degree of morality was to be found in religion. (147) On a purely polemic level, this was indeed a weakness in Wu's analysis, for his diagram showed a "small proportion of morality" present in religion, which, overcome by the bad aspects of religion, failed to develop. The correspondent claimed that religion and socialism, far from being diametrically opposed, in fact had something in common and to prove his point he produced an amended version of Wu's diagram;



Both bad habits and the tendency towards goodness present in evolution were contained within religion. But the bad habits associated with class distinctions and superstitions would die out, while the good aspects including altruism and love would develop into a higher form, socialism.

In his reply, Wu revealed a more uncompromising attitude than he had shown in the earlier article. The degree of morality present in religion could, he argued, be explained by the fact that religion made use of morality as a "medium" (meijiewu) to make itself more presentable. It was like a "mongol horse in a tiger's skin". You could not say that because it wore a tiger's skin, therefore it was truly a tiger. Wu insisted that just as bad tendencies such as classes predated religion, neither were the good tendencies inherent in evolution invented by religion. "Religion uses that good morality to disguise its bad habits." Wu roundly condemned the view expressed in the letter that socialism grew out of religion; "Even though socialism is far off, how can it be something which conceals the filth of religion."⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ It was the duty of socialists to rip off the tiger's skin of morality and show religion to be the mongol horse it was. He concluded, "Because we hope to hasten the evolution of mankind, we should only promote science not superstition."⁽¹⁵⁰⁾

A good deal of the anti-clericalism in France rubbed off on Wu and his colleagues. The New Century published a photograph of a statue of La Barre,⁽¹⁵¹⁾ who had been burnt at the stake in 1766 for singing anti-religious songs. Commenting on the statue, Li Shiceng wrote that religion was "a very great problem in European history", but adding that the 20th century was bringing great changes. The

setting up of the International Association for Freedom of Thought, which erected the statue in front of the Sacre Coeur in Paris, as well as the separation of state from church in France, was evidence of the "evolution of justice". Wu also added his comments, noting like Li the separation of state from church and praising the trend towards atheism. Wu compared the suffering of La Barre at the stake to Christ's crucifixion. La Barre had struck the first blows for atheism, setting an example for later generations, and the erection of statues of him was purely for secular purposes. In contrast, since Christ's death, "millions of crosses have been distributed, fooling countless good men and honest women into kneeling down to pray to the one they call the head of their religion." (152)

A correspondent to the New Century urged that altruism and love be used to cure the moral sickness afflicting mankind. (153) Wu agreed with this but took exception to his statement that altruism and love originated in Christianity and Buddhism. Altruism and love, Wu wrote, were "the seeds of the world's evolution". What they as anarchists conceived of by the terms was something Christ and Buddha "could never have dreamed of". He concluded with a blistering attack on religion;

"Religion is a defender of authority in the world. It is a germ which transmits diseases in behaviour. If you want to get rid of the source of this behavioural disease, if you want to carefully consider ways of curing it, one's first line of action should be to destroy religion." (154)

In Europe, Tolstoy's Christian anarchism had a considerable following. Wu however, denied the rationality of the Tolstoyean view that distinguished between false Christians, those who served

Imperialism, and true ones who believed in love and equality. Wu wrote that Tolstoy, quoting from the Bible to urge people to good, was no different from the Chinese using the Three Bonds and the Five Relationships to control people. Love and equality, Wu insisted, came from man's conscience and were not discovered by Christ. We should spread the love in our consciences to others in order to awaken their consciences. If instead we just quoted from the Bible and the classics, then our consciences would wither and die. (155) Religion was "uncivilised" and should be kept quite separate from anarchism, the danger being that,

"even though somebody as compassionate as Tolstoy only wishes to use religion to achieve his objective of anarchism, he does not realise that it will be misused by others." (156)

Immediately after the Revolution of 1911, there was a general move away from Confucianism and especially its quasi-religious aspects. Sacrificial rites to Confucius were suspended in many places and a number of Confucian temples were converted into school buildings. This trend can be largely explained by strong iconoclastic and anarchist influences, such as the anti-religious ideas spread by the New Century, to be found within the broad nationalist movement. (157)

But despite this new mood, throughout the Summer of 1913, representatives of the Confucian Association, including Yan Fu and Liang Qichao, petitioned the government proposing that Confucianism be made the state religion. (158) In November, Yuan Shikai instructed Constitutional Committee to incorporate this proposal into the constitution. (159) But although this move had the support of Yuan's

followers and some members of the Progressive Party, it was opposed by Guomindang members. The result was a compromise under which it was laid down in the constitution that "Confucius' principles shall be the basis for the cultivation of character in national education." The elevation of Confucianism to the status of state religion was blocked. (160)

After the fall of Yuan Shikai, there were moves to withdraw this provision for "Confucius' principles" from the provisional constitution and the issue of Confucianism was reopened. Kang Youwei wrote a letter to President Li Yuanhong renewing the proposal for a Confucian state religion. (161) Chen Huanzhang, of the Confucian Association, wrote that "if Confucianism is not laid down as the state religion, then China will inevitably be lost." (162) Chen Duxiu replied to this, claiming that a state religion transgressed people's rights and freedom of belief. Confucianism, as the state religion, would deprive other groups such as Buddhists and Christians of the right to believe as they wished. (163) In fact, many members of Catholic, Protestant, Moslem, Buddhist and Daoist organisations opposed Kang's proposals, and, led by two Catholics, they formed a Society for Religious Freedom to block the state religion movement. (164)

In March 1917, the branches of the Confucian Association were reorganised into a national body, with Zhang Xun and Kang Youwei as honorary heads, and it sent groups of members to Peking requesting that Confucianism be made the state religion. (165) At the end of July, Zhang Xun marched to Peking forcing Li Yuanhong to resign. Kang Youwei went to Peking for the restoration of the Manchu monarchy

which took place on the 1st of July.⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ Puyi's reign lasted only twelve days and the failure of the restoration "cast the Confucian religion movement into oblivion."⁽¹⁶⁷⁾

Though the questioning, scientific spirit of the May Fourth Movement was in general hostile to all religion, attacks tended to be concentrated on Confucianism and superstitious practices.⁽¹⁶⁸⁾

However, Wu Zhihui and other veteran anarchists such as Zhang Ji and Wang Jingwei did openly attack Christianity,⁽¹⁶⁹⁾ and Bertrand Russell, on a lecture of China in 1920-21, provided ammunition for a broader critique of religion, arguing that all religious faith is dogmatic and therefore unscientific.⁽¹⁷⁰⁾

An organised anti-Christian movement first came into being in opposition to the conference of the World Christian Federation held in Peking in the Spring of 1922. Soon, this anti-Christian movement was broadened into an anti-religious movement⁽¹⁷¹⁾ and a Great Federation of Anti-religionists was organised in Peking under the leadership of Li Shiceng. Li's Federation was supported not only by fellow anarchists such as Wu Zhihui but also the Marxists, Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao.⁽¹⁷²⁾ It issued a proclamation in which it swore to clear society of the "poison of religion", insisting that mankind and religion could not co-exist. The spirit of the proclamation is well conveyed by these words; "Laughable religion, there is no room for it within science and truth. Hateful religion, it goes entirely contrary to humanism."⁽¹⁷³⁾

e) National Essence, Cultural Conservatism and a New Lifeview

The deep dislike of religion felt by Wu Zhihui can be traced to the anti-clericalism which prevailed amongst leftist circles in France. His views contributed to the anti-religion movement during the early Republic; but looked at from a broader perspective, the question of religion seems peripheral to the fundamental issues of intellectual change in modern China. The attack on Christianity was a product of Imperialist intrusion, a political rather than a philosophical question. But while the Chinese were in general united in their antipathy to the missionaries, there were domestic cultural issues which divided them.

On the intellectual front in China, 1907 was a most significant year. It marked "a major change in the intellectual ambiance of the Chinese elite", students abroad and in Shanghai and officials and gentry associated with them.⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ At the end of the 19th century, scientific ideas had made great headway in China, but in the first years of the new century they provoked a backlash from culturally conservative intellectuals. This grouping, although united in its opposition to the erosion of China's old culture, was far from politically homogeneous. It included scholars loyal to the Qing regime, notably Zhang Zhidong, certain members of the reformist camp and finally a section of the revolutionary movement, led by Zhang Binglin.⁽¹⁷⁵⁾ Its battle cry was "preserve the national essence" (baocun guocui).

The term "national essence" first came into common use in the Japan of the 1880's as a reaction against the wholesale Westernisation being attempted there. The leading popularizers of the national

essence concept in Japan were Mikayake Setsurei and Shiga Shigetaka.⁽¹⁷⁶⁾

the latter wrote,

"We are only afraid that this radical transformation will bring irreversible and bad results for our sons and grandsons in Japan. For instance it may be said that Asiatic influence was the first step in the Greeks losing their country. The Romans in taking Greek models lost their National Essence and their destruction was swift."⁽¹⁷⁷⁾

As Bernal has written, many Chinese intellectuals were attracted to the idea that the nation could be saved from destruction if only the national essence was preserved intact. While on the one hand, Westernisation seemed the way to strengthen the country, on the other hand many Chinese were still deeply attached to Chinese culture. The concept of national essence offered a way round this contradiction by suggesting that Chinese culture salvaged and in fact improved to suit new conditions. The idea of national essence however differed from traditional concepts in two ways;

"Firstly it admitted the need to justify the tradition in terms of other values and secondly it recognised China as a nation, not "all under heaven". Historically, China..... was not culturally peripheral. Rather like Italy and France, she had created enough of her culture to maintain the illusion of being civilisation itself. Thus, accepting the concept of national essence meant accepting that there were other different but equal national essences."⁽¹⁷⁸⁾

National essence theory was conservative but not traditional.

As early as 1903, the Qing regime had laid down that all schools "should place stress on the national language in order to preserve the national essence."⁽¹⁷⁹⁾ Reforming officials such as Zhang Zhidong, who earlier had been instrumental in the abolition of the Eight Legged Essay (1902) and finally the ending of the traditional examination system (1905), began to have a change of heart. Zhang

had argued for the introduction of practical modern subjects into schools while urging that educators "choose the strong points from various nations but not copy their evil customs." (180) But by 1907 Zhang was having second thoughts about the end of the old examinations. (181) What was happening was that instead of the practical Western learning helping to preserve the old social and political order, it was tending to undermine it. You could not introduce modern science and at the same time hope to exclude Western liberal philosophy. In 1907, Zhang announced plans for the establishment in Wuchang of a School for the Preservation of Antiquity. Explaining the function of the school he wrote;

"The finest of a country's teachings, skills, rites, doctrines and customs which are especially transmitted and protected are called the national essence. Other countries attach special importance to preservation [of the national essence]. They do this in order to nourish feelings of patriotism and an awareness of one's kind." (182)

Zhang Zhidong saw the preservation of the national essence as a way to combat the revolutionary movement. He petitioned the emperor warning that,

"If China's classics are destroyed, then China's morality will also be destroyed..... If the correct studies decline, the human relationships will be destroyed. Its effect on the state will inevitably be that there will be the misfortune of rebellious subjects and bandit sons." (183)

Such was the growing concern at the disaffection of young intellectuals that the cultural counter-offensive was carried to Europe. Zhang Zhidong and Duan Fang, both leading Governors General, petitioned the throne requesting that the respected educationalist

Kuai Guangdian be appointed supervisor of students in Europe. (184)

Though far away in Paris, Wu Zhihui was aware of the new tactics being employed by certain officials. He recalled that only a few years ago, when the xinmin congbao had first appeared it had tended towards revolution. Chinese students in Tokyo had grown to many thousands and it was a time of great vigour, dominated by the youth. Older people either joined the radical movement or slunk off to weep at home. But not before long, he wrote with biting sarcasm, there appeared from Manchuria a "good Han", "the so-called Duan Fang". According to Wu, Duan realised that Zhang Zhidong's methods were too crude and that it would be better to dress up his ideas in a new way,

"Thus he made a great impression on the world of learning and came to hold on a long leash men such as Yan Fu.... and Kuai Guangdian who then became the key figures in the group which with all urgency spreads the corrupting influence of national essence." (185)

What Wu identified was the abandonment by many respected intellectuals of their earlier reformist attitudes in favour of national essence theories and the use leading Qing officials were making of these repentant modernists to lure students away from radical ideas.

Even before Kuai Guangdian reached Europe, the Chinese students in Paris, led by Wu Zhihui and the New Century, started a relentless campaign against him. Wu published the text of a speech made by Kuai to students in Shanghai before he left for Europe and punctuated it with his own caustic comments. In an attempt to win the support of radical youth, Kuai presented himself as committed to modern science as well as to the protection of the traditional

culture. He called on the students to co-operate with him to save the nation, by introducing scientific knowledge to stimulate China's industry, and he advocated that a National Assembly be opened quickly so as to open the way for other reforms. He professed his belief in the science of evolution, in "sociology" and from this derived the opinion that change should be conducted "within a certain sphere." Wu jumped on this point, identifying it with the argument used by conservatives that one should not push reforms faster than evolution permits, that progress towards democracy could only be made in proportion to the raising of the people's "level." Wu derided the idea that the people's level could be raised by a revitalising of the old teachings. After three thousand years of Confucius and Mencius, he said, no real level had been reached, which indicated that there was something fundamentally wrong with the old scholarship. (186)

Following Kuai's arrival in Europe in Spring 1908, the New Century was filled with abuse and invective against him. Wu wrote a ditty which included the lines;

"Your students are all studying the wrong thing, their minds are intoxicated with European trends and they discard the national essence. When it comes to essays and morality, there is just I, old Kuai." (187)

But though the attacks on Kuai had their comic aspects, there is no doubting how seriously Wu regarded Kuai's determined effort to win back the support of the students. Wu accused him of trying to "use his position as Supervisor to mindlessly dig out the very youngest shoots of freedom in the intellectual world." (188) In an open letter to the Emperor, Wu warned him not to imitate the Japanese who "awoke from their sleep thirty years ago and made great advances

towards the level reached by the Whites after two hundred years", (189)
 but who then after initially embracing Western culture failed to sustain
 their progress for,

"after one war which defeated the Qing and another which
 defeated the Russians, they censored their primary school
 books and thought national essence, that is Bushido, the
 spirit of militarism and the spirit of Buddhism, was
 enough to express the special colour of the East and,
 most laughable, considered the victory over Russia was
 because the Japanese could put up with eating salt turnips
 while the Russians had to have beef." (190)

Whether something was worthwhile was, Wu wrote, not determined by
 whether it was from the East or West, but by whether it helped man-
 kind as a whole to survive. Something considered essence in one
 country but not in others was of no value. National essence was a
 term which divided one off from others. Though essays, music,
 painting as well as morality all had their national characteristics,
 science, "the source of the greatest art and broadest morals," belonged
 to all mankind and could not be considered anybody's national essence.
 Those who narrowed essence down to one country,

"are just a race which delights in its customs, but which
 is not fit to be compared with the world's relatively
 evolved peoples. Now in today's education they wish to
 take national essence as their main strategy for making
 the race fit for survival. How wrong they are!" (191)

The reason China was so weak was that it "time and time again
 repeats the theories of the ancients." (192) Although they set up
 Western style schools, they still insisted that the classics had to be
 studied. They said that science had to be researched but argued that
 the national essence had to be preserved. The Supervisor had, Wu
 explained, been sent to Europe as part of national policy, to inject
 into the brains of the students the essays on morality. This was

wrong for,

"with world communications as they are, education has changed into an object common [to all peoples]. So when you speak about theories, there are absolutely no high principles which any country can claim a monopoly of."(193)

Kuai now wished to "reinfect," the students with the "old filth" but he was going against the tide and would fail. They were not born into a "period of exclusion."(194)

The swing away from modern ideas was not restricted to conservatives such as Zhang Zhidong. As early as 1902, Liang Qichao proposed the establishment of a Journal of National Studies and argued that,

"to nurture the nation one ought to take preservation of the national essence as the principle. One ought to take the old studies, polish, wash and so brighten them."(195)

In 1906, Yan Fu, previously such a complete convert to Western science, made a speech in which he bemoaned the fact that the youth despised the ancestors and he called for people to guard China's old customs and traditions. "Not one of the Five Relationships may be transgressed," he said. (196)

Amongst the revolutionaries, the first strong interest in national essence ideas was shown by certain intellectuals in Shanghai. In 1904, Deng Shi organised the Society for the Preservation of National Studies which in 1905 started the Journal of National Essence. (197) An article in the journal warned that,

"when a country loses its learning, itself is lost. If you wish to defend the country, you must first defend the learning. The revival of Japan was based upon the theory of national essence."(198)

In 1906, Zhang Binglin was released from prison in Shanghai and

travelled to Japan. In a speech to Chinese students, he called on revolutionaries to "use national essence to stimulate people's racial nature and to increase their patriotic fervour."⁽¹⁹⁹⁾ But he explained that he did not intend people to worship the Confucian religion. All he wanted was that they "cherish the history of the Han race."⁽²⁰⁰⁾ He did not accept the tradition as a homogeneous entity, but singled out the philosophy of the Zhou and Qin dynasties for praise, while damning Neo-confucianism as the ideology used by the Manchu emperor Yongzhen to complement his policy of slaughtering the people. Zhang saw himself very much in the mould of the Ming loyalist Gu Yanwu, with whom he shared a strong critique of aspects of Neo-confucianism and a fierce anti-Manchuism. Zhang wrote;

"Old things, old books can move people's patriotic hearts. From the beginning, Gu Tinglin [Gu Yanwu] had the intention of attacking the Manchus. However he had no armed forces, so all over the place he visited those old tablets so that he could transmit their contents to later people."⁽²⁰¹⁾

Though they were both members of the Tongmenghui, there lay between Zhang Binglin and Wu Zhihui what Gasster has called a "deep philosophical gulf."⁽²⁰²⁾ In 1907, Zhang took over the editorship of the Minbao in Tokyo, transforming it from a journal which carried articles on Western political theory into something akin to the Journal of National Essence.⁽²⁰³⁾ Almost immediately, he used his new mouthpiece to launch an attack on Wu Zhihui and the New Century, claiming that "anarchism is not suitable for China" and even suggesting that it was not worth calling a philosophy.⁽²⁰⁴⁾ Wu Zhihui replied that Zhang's much treasured "philosophers of the Zhou and Qing and the mistaken Buddhist scriptures" were not in keeping

with scientific principles and so were "rubbish" which ought to be the "victims of natural selection." (205) Zhang in turn replied that,

"what he [Wu] means by science is the investigation of things in order to bring them together into a system. But the confusion of the myriad things cannot be totally rationalised by science..... Moreover, right and wrong, being and non-being and such terms do not manifest themselves in concrete matter, but are categories which take their form in the mind..... and cannot be verified by science." (206)

Zhang proposed a philosophical dualism. He did not deny that science had a role but refused to accept its extension to the realm of ideas and psychology;

"If we compared science and human affairs, we would reveal the difference between observing things and knowing feelings. Moreover, human affairs derive from a combination of feelings and knowledge. Their form can change in ways which cannot be predicted. [Men] are not like animals and plants which fulfil their original abilities or like inanimate things which move according to mechanical patterns.... Now, to draw parallels between such different things will lead to boundless errors. So anarchism is basically different from science and philosophy." (207)

Zhang exposed a serious flaw in Wu's philosophy, namely his crude evolutionism which mistakenly developed Darwinism into a theory of human society, albeit with the Kropotkinite interpretation.

Zhang's views were extremely influential. One young man who fell under his spell was Lu Xun, who studied in Japan from 1902 to 1909. As a disciple of his, (208) Lu Xun became an advocate of cultural retrenchment and believer in national essence. In one of his earliest articles, in 1907, Lu Xun criticised those Chinese who "refused to mention any idea that is not from the West," while attacking everything that was old on the pretext of working for China's

wealth and power.⁽²⁰⁹⁾ He attacked them for blindly accepting concepts such as materialism and democracy and concluded that "after studying the past and surveying the future, we should strike down materialism and enhance the spiritual, rely on the individual instead of the multitude."⁽²¹⁰⁾ China should not lag behind world intellectual currents, but at the same time she should not lose her own "veins," her traditional culture. Through "accepting the new and restoring the old," China would, he hoped, create a new civilisation.⁽²¹¹⁾

1907 saw a remarkable growth of interest in anarchism amongst exiled Chinese revolutionaries not only in Paris but also in Tokyo. In June of that year, the same month as the founding of the New Century, Liu Shiwei and his wife, He Zhen, started the Tianyibao in Tokyo. Though this journal carried a portrait of Kropotkin and a picture of an anarchist community in Northern France,⁽²¹²⁾ its strain of anarchism was more accurately represented by a portrait of Lao Zi published in the journal with the caption "founder of Chinese anarchism."⁽²¹³⁾ Though Liu Shiwei and the Tianyibao shared with the Paris group an anti-Qing political position and a general anarchist opposition to interference by any form of government in human affairs,⁽²¹⁴⁾ it is still hard to agree with Gasster that "Liu was still more like than unlike the Paris anarchists,"⁽²¹⁵⁾ for his anarchism found its inspiration in the philosophy of "restore the old," in China's national essence, rather than in any Western scientific theories. For instance, Liu was particularly attracted to the ideas of Bao Jingyan of the Western Jin. Liu equated anarchy with the "overthrow of the rule of man over man," a concept he identified with what he called

Bao's "theory of no ruler" (wujunlun).⁽²¹⁶⁾ A close ally of Zhang Binglin until 1908 when he betrayed his comrades and returned to Shanghai to help Duan Fang in his hunt for revolutionaries,⁽²¹⁷⁾ Liu embraced an anarchism which longed for the golden age of the past, characterised by simplicity and rural self-sufficiency, not the world of abundance resulting from industrialisation, as conceived of by Wu Zhihui.

Liu argued that the people's happiness lay in a bare sufficiency for all, not in what he called "phoney civilisation." He complained that people were "dazzled" by Europe, the U.S.A. and Japan and counselled against the implementation of governmental reform to bring China into line with the West, for that would make the dawning of anarchism more difficult. In China where, he said, feudalism and the nobility were something of the past, where government was laissez-faire, anarchism would be easier to implement.⁽²¹⁸⁾ China's government had, he continued, arisen from the theories of Confucianism and Daoism which took as their foundation "non-interference" (fangren) rather than interference (ganshe). In name it was government while in fact it differed little from anarchism. The only obstacle to revolution was the mystification of the social stratifications as if they were "principles of heaven."

"If you cause everybody to get rid of the class concepts and move from obedience to opposition, then from non-interfering government one can move in one go to anarchy."⁽²¹⁹⁾

He concluded that China should be the first place in the world to achieve this goal.

So, in formulating his anarchism, Liu found in the Chinese tradition all he needed, just as Zhang Binglin was content to equate socialism with the ancient well-field system. Liu did however pay lip-service to modern science, writing that "the material civilisation of the Westerners has much that can be adopted." But, he hastened to add, although it could be beneficial for the people in the age of anarchy, "if used in the period of government, it would be liable to make the people ill." (220)

The New Century replied with great passion to the arguments presented by Liu and the Tianyibao, broadening its attack into a critique of the whole movement to protect the national essence. Chu Minyi, in an important article in the New Century entitled "Loving the Old," expressed deep concern at the Chinese tendency to say that the present was not as good as the past, an attitude which he identified as resulting from reading the Confucian classics. The Chinese, he went on,

"will not dare to say or do anything unless it has already been said or done by the ancients. They move their hands and feet as if they were puppets, unable to act independently of the intentions of the puppeteer." (221)

They revered the age of Yao and Shun even though it was gone for ever and so "thought is enchained, knowledge is hidden and people become the slaves of the ancients." (222) Chu was pleased to see that during the last ten years new ideas had been introduced into China and he explained that his hope had been that the Chinese would "synthesise the finest of both East and West." But "diehards like snakes and scorpions have opposed the new ideas." Even enlightened people had

not pulled their weight, he wrote, clearly alluding to scholars like Yan Fu who failed to sustain their early interest in science. Some scholars, he continued, thought that Western learning had to be studied but also wanted to,

"preserve the national essence of the several thousand year old empire, like the marrow of a rotting body and dried bone. Its stink causes people to cover their noses and vomit. It simply increases the obstacles to young people assimilating the new principles." (223)

Chu attacked the scholarly technique in China of looking for Chinese precedents for whatever modern idea one might come across. When one talked of Imperialism, Ghenghiz Khan would be identified as the Napoleon of Asia. Confucianism was China's national religion. Lao Zi was the inventor of anarchism. Mo Zi was held up as the first to preach the datong and love, while the well-field system was claimed to be communism. "In short all the new ideas and learning of the West have already been talked about in China." (224) He concluded that the reason why China had failed to advance was that she "loved the old, and despised the present," while in the West the opposite was the case. If only the "present can defeat the old," then China could make boundless progress. (225)

Intellectual attitudes, such as those attacked by Chu, revealed themselves in correspondence the New Century received from readers who were in other respects most sympathetic to the journal's position. One such person, writing in support of sexual liberation, argued that if man and woman did not mate freely, the race would fail to develop; "The human race's not evolving, love not being universal, is caused by marriage not being abolished." (226) With

constant references to the Chinese classics, he attempted to justify the abolition of marriage by proving that in the earliest times in China there was a matriarchy and women mated freely with men. As a result, the Chinese evolved rapidly. But with the rise of marriage during the period of Fu Xi and the decline of free mating, the speed of evolution fell off, until with Song Neo-Confucianism women "sank for ever into the Hell of Eight Levels and rarely could follow their feelings of love." The Chinese began not just to stop evolving, he explained, but also to go backward and thus left themselves open to invasion by the Manchus. As evidence of this decline, he pointed out that at the time of King Wen the Chinese were ten 'feet' high, while in recent times they could not even reach six or seven 'feet'. (227)

Wu Zhihui, replying to this exposition, explained that although these arguments purported to be based on evolutionism, in fact their methodology was firmly based on the traditional quoting from the classics to substantiate a postulated golden age, rather than on the use of scientific evidence;

"Those with a strong inclination to love that which is ancient in every case mistakenly consider the actions of the ancient primitives to be evidence of what the future anarchism will be like." (228)

The author was, Wu continued, "unwilling to hold, with partiality, lofty ideals and has to seek ready-made theories to help him believe in the ideals." (229) Wu answered those who might say that all the author was doing was seeking evidence, as does a scientist, by insisting that, though they might appear so, scientific and textual research (kaoju) were not alike. Science exalted experimentation so that "even the teacher's words may be doubted," while the latter simply

used ancient theories from the old books to back up an argument. He derided as "superstition" the idea that everything one could conceive of had been created before the Three Ages and denied that the social order of the ancients was anarchism, preferring to call it "primitivism."⁽²³⁰⁾

Another reader of the journal, stressing the need to eradicate racial strife and discrimination against women, bolstered his argument not only with Darwinism but also with long quotations from ancient Chinese works such as the Liji, the Shuowen jiezi, the Shanhaijing and the Erya.⁽²³¹⁾ Replying to the correspondent, Wu wondered why, if he saw fit to use Darwinism and knew that "today's truth all comes from scientific experimentation," he had recourse to the classics to find justification for reforms today. As an example of what true science was, Wu cited discoveries in astronomy made through the observation of the orbit of the sun, after which "men could say with confidence that theories of catastrophes from heaven and the wrath of God are all absurd."⁽²³²⁾ For Wu, science was a weapon with which to defeat metaphysics, to "denounce the sages and abolish religion." Continuing his attack on the classics, he conceded that the decipherment of Egyptian and Babylonian scripts had been helpful to learning, but he saw little value in classics such as the Shanhaijing. Little progress was possible in China, he felt, until people "liberate themselves from the confines of the sacred classics and the biographies of virtuous people." The classics were suitable as reference material, but "in practical matters, such as scientific experimentation, they do the utmost harm to present-day society."⁽²³³⁾ He recommended that

people should not read a Chinese book for ten years. He admitted that at first he had had doubts about such a total break with the Chinese culture, but having lived abroad for several years and "now scarcely capable of writing a Chinese character," he was convinced that this was the correct course.

Such a total rejection of Chinese culture should not be taken at its face value. Though seriously meant at the time, it represented a polemical position in opposition to the ultra-conservative attitudes of those who defended the national essence. Wu's prose, itself littered with classical allusions, does not permit us to take his point about becoming illiterate in Chinese as more than a debating point. What such articles do reveal though is just how threatened the anarchist left of the revolutionary movement felt by the cultural offensive launched both by diehards of the Qing regime and by revolutionaries such as Zhang Binglin.

What Wu really felt about the cultural tradition can be seen more clearly in notes of his included in his translation of Joseph McCabe's "Prehistoric Man," published in Shanghai in 1910.⁽²³⁴⁾ Wu outlined a position which in some ways is more reminiscent of the contemporary Chinese communist view that there should be a critical reassessment of the heritage as well as a selective use of foreign things to serve China, than of the extreme cultural iconoclasm shown by Wu in his less reasoned pieces. He wrote,

"Amongst the traditional things there is bound to be that which the people hold to be precious. If these words and laws are in keeping with the laws of science, even though they have come down from ten thousand generations..... they can still be learnt from."⁽²³⁵⁾

His point was that, unlike the defenders of national essence, his criterion was not the age of the idea, but whether it was scientific and useful. He refused to play the opposite game to the conservatives and damn all that was old in favour of all that was new. He summed up his attitude by quoting from Zhang Xiaopu: "If it is essence, it will survive even without protection, if it is not essence, it will eventually die out." (236)

He took as an example the ideas of the hedonist Yang Zhu and of Mo Zi whom the Confucians villified as "those birds and beasts," which later rulers censored as heterodox, mistakenly thinking that as a result their ideas were bound to be extinguished. But to this day they were, he said, as bright as "the sun and stars." Equally there were those things which should and could not be preserved. A group or race had to be prepared to sacrifice certain things in the interest of survival and progress.

"Therefore, as for the old studies handed down from ancient times, we can take or discard them at will, use them as a tool if they are suitable for helping the race or group to survive." (237)

Wu used the metaphor of two people fighting, one with a gun, the other with a bow. They would be ill-matched and the man with the bow would be bound to discard it in favour of a gun. That was something every child understood, so why, Wu asked, when one applied this principle to the field of ideas, was one considered ignorant? His main concern was that national essence not be used to oppose, to "weed out and control," science. Rather he hoped that scholars would "experiment with the national essence, reform and advance it towards science." (238)

It has often been observed that the Revolution of 1911 was a failure in the sense that, politically, little was achieved except the overthrow of the dynasty. But there is no doubt that the intellectual struggles of the 1900's left their mark and by the May Fourth Movement the conservatives who had shown considerable resilience in 1907 were on the retreat. As Philip Huang has written, the question most asked in the 1890's had been what did China need to adopt from the West. But,

"by the 1910's the tables had been turned. The question was: what, if anything can be salvaged from Chinese civilisation? The advocacy of wholesale Westernisation held the initiative."(239)

But though the defenders of the old culture had lost the initiative to radicals such as Chen Duxiu and Lu Xun, they refused to accept defeat and the issues which had split the intellectual world before 1911 continued to be hotly debated during the May Fourth period.

The prevailing mood amongst progressive intellectuals of the period was one of questioning. Parallel to a crude cultural iconoclasm, there was a move towards a reassessment of the old culture. This trend was typified by the activities of Hu Shi who, on his return from the United States, began researching into Chinese philosophy and soon became a leader of the movement to "reorganise the national heritage."(240) He re-examined Chinese intellectual history, making comparisons with key Western philosophical concepts and often finding distant precursors of them in non-Confucian thinkers such as Mo Zi. Hu insisted that he was not trying to claim that China was superior to the West, but that he hoped by showing these affinities between East

and West to the Chinese, to make them more ready to accept Western scientific ideas and methods. (241)

Hu's attempt at a reassessment of the tradition was to a certain extent useful in that he was one of the first to use modern critical methods in such a task. However it also had an adverse effect on the New Thought Movement, for it gave the cultural conservatives the pretext to "promote blind worship of the tradition," and the opportunity to say that China did not need to learn from the West because she had pioneered many of the so-called "Western" theories. (242) In 1919, the traditionalist Liang Qichao began his own contribution to the reorganisation of the heritage, working on Chinese historiography, Moism and the history of political thought in ancient China. (243)

Later, Hu Shi came to show an awareness of the dangers involved in such a movement. In 1927 he wrote that he was "convinced that in the piles of rotten paper, there were still countless old ghosts which can eat people, lead them astray and harm them more than all the germs discovered by Pasteur." However he expressed confidence that, although he could not kill germs, he could perfectly easily "exorcise the evil and beat the ghosts." (244) The next year, Hu was even more convinced of the risks and gave a warning;

"Youth today..... is recklessly immersing itself in piles of old paper. This is a very sad situation. We hope that as soon as possible they will study more natural science and technology. This is a living road. The road of old people is a dead road.... We ought to go on a different road. Only when we have good achievements in our scientific laboratories, may we use left over energies to reorganise the national heritage." (245)

Consistent during the May Fourth period in his opposition to those who tried to breathe life back into the old culture was Lu Xun. He argued that far from strengthening the nation, the protection of the national essence would in fact ensure that for ever the Chinese would be the servants of others.⁽²⁴⁶⁾ He had no objection to "old gentlemen" going off "to bury themselves below the Southern window and read the dead books." But he was concerned lest the youth should start to do the same, for if this happened "China would be for ever cut off from the world."⁽²⁴⁷⁾ Advocates of the "new culture" were accused by the conservatives of simply worshipping foreign idols. Lu Xun hit back, writing that his so-called idols, Darwin, Ibsen, Tolstoy and Nietzsche were themselves great modern iconoclasts. It was better to worship them than Confucius, Guan Yu and the God of Pestilence.⁽²⁴⁸⁾ Like Wu Zhihui, Lu Xun felt that the old books poisoned the mind and should best be left unread. He wrote that when he read Chinese books he always felt "subdued, cut off from the real world." Even if the Chinese books were positive, it was still "mostly the optimism of stiff corpses," while even if Western books were depressing, it was at least "the dejection and despair of living people." He concluded;

"I consider that we should read few or no Chinese books and read more foreign books. If you do not read Chinese books the result will only be that you cannot write essays. But the most important thing for the youth now is "action" not "words". As long as you are a living person, what great problem is it if you cannot write essays."⁽²⁴⁹⁾

Wu Zhihui, in his criticism of the movement to reorganise the national heritage, saved his most strident attacks for conservative scholars such as Liang Qichao. However, though he felt considerable

sympathy for Hu Shi, this did not stop him expressing serious concern at Hu's promotion of research into the classics. He wrote that although Hu's intentions were directed towards revolution, there were long term dangers in his work, indicating as an example the activities of Liang. He felt that whatever positive results Hu's work had, it could not negate the harm it caused in the intellectual world. Was not the opening of the university at Qu Fu, birthplace of Confucius in Shandong, of great harm to the people, he asked. Wu wrote off Liang Qichao, whom he said had "gone too far along that road, so that he has fallen into the ranks of the lost souls." Hu Shi, according to Wu, wanted however to attract students with the classics in the hope that later they would move on to the old vernacular novels. But even so, his "grey book list" caused great damage and was entirely inappropriate for students. Wu's view was that classical research should be carried out, but not at the expense of modern education. "In fact, we need a small number of Hu Shi's," he wrote, "but unfortunately Liang Qichao wants to produce large batches of them."⁽²⁵⁰⁾ Wu summed up his feelings on the subject,

"This stinking thing, the national heritage, thrives along with concubinage and opium. Concubinage and opium in turn thrive together with the concept of becoming an official and making a fortune. When national learning is flourishing, politics are all corrupt. This is because Confucius, Mencius, Lao Zi and Mo Zi were all products of the chaotic period of Spring and Autumn and the Warring States. The national heritage must be thrown into a lavatory for thirty years, so that today we may help to bring about a dry, tasteless, material civilisation..... What is the national heritage and what relevance has it to the modern world. It is just an antique of the world. It should be preserved as such and no more."⁽²⁵¹⁾

From this final comment we can see that, that though at times it appeared to, Wu's iconoclasm did not go so far as to suggest that China should deny herself access to her heritage. Rather, given the seriousness of China's situation, both eyes should be firmly fixed on the broad road of science and progress which lay ahead and should not be distracted and diverted by scholars on the wayside hawking the glories of China's past.

Related and parallel to, but distinct from the controversy over what one's attitude to the traditional culture should be, the 1920's saw a debate between the followers of the New Thought and its opponents which came to a head in 1924 with the heated exchanges between the protagonists of "science" and "metaphysics." (ke xuan). In the years after World War One, pessimism over the future of Western "scientific" civilisation was to be found amongst many Western intellectuals. At the end of 1918, Liang Qichao, as leader of a team of semi-official Chinese observers to the Paris Peace Conference, travelled to Europe where he met Bergson and Eucken and many other philosophers and he was made acutely aware of the doubts they were having over the future of the West. ⁽²⁵²⁾ Liang was moved to reassess his earlier enthusiasm for Western culture, expressing his new position in his "Records and Impressions of My European Journey." ⁽²⁵³⁾ In a section of it, entitled "The Dream of the Omnipotence of Science," he began an assault on the fundamental beliefs of Wu Zhihui and other materialists,

"Those materialist philosophers.....have established a purely materialist and mechanistic view of life. They subsume all internal and external life in the "inevitable laws" of materialist movement..... They say that the human spirit is just another form of matter, governed

by these "inevitable laws." In this way one is forced to deny free will. If the will is not free, how can there be any responsibility for good and bad."(254)

Identifying the concept of free competition with the strong devouring the weak, he ascribed to that aspect of Western philosophy the blame for the rise of the warlords in China and for the World War. He continued,

"Those who praised the omnipotence of science had been full of hope that when science was successful, the golden age would be with us. Today science has succeeded..... But we mankind have not yet attained happiness. On the contrary, science brings us many catastrophes. We are like travellers, lost in a desert, who see a great black shadow in the distance and rush towards it as fast as they can, thinking they can rely on it to lead them forward. But after they have run for a while, the shadow disappears and they fall into boundless despair. What is this shadow? It is this "Mr Science." The Europeans have dreamt a huge dream of the omnipotence of science but now they cry out that science is bankrupt. This is a major turning point in the development of contemporary thought."(255)

Such a view clearly had an immense impact on the Chinese intellectual scene and was naturally interpreted as a forthright attack on science as such. Liang himself claimed to be attacking only a belief in the omnipotence of science and presented himself as an eclectic who held to a middle way rather than joining the protagonists of either the science or metaphysics camps, a position he expressed in his words, "life is the result of a union of both sides of man's life - spirit and matter."(256) But that position, however sincere it may have been, was bound to be eroded by the intellectual and political polarisations of the time. As Wu put it,

"On the one hand he opposes the conservatives and on the other hand restrains the progressives. He considers that is the way to practice the Doctrine Of the Mean. In fact the bureaucracy has a tradition of four thousand years. Its power is enormous. If you try to transform the

bureaucracy, the result in the end is that you are yourself transformed by the bureaucracy." (257)

Liang's public disenchantment with science and the West gave new life to the opponents of the New Culture. Liang Souming, professor of Indian and Chinese philosophies at Peking University, in part elaborating themes suggested by Liang Qichao, produced from a more conservative standpoint a theoretical and systematic defence of Confucianism and the Chinese tradition. He delivered a number of lectures in 1920 and 1921 which were published in 1922 under the title "Eastern and Western Cultures and their Philosophies." (258) In it, Liang identified three civilisations or "roads of life." The first was the Western, characterised by a stress on rationalism and by struggle and striving forward. Though it was strong in science, it was weak on the spiritual, metaphysical side. The second "road" was the Chinese civilisation which stressed restraint, harmony and adjustment rather than change. Though the Chinese had achieved great contentment, they lacked something materially, having not passed along the first road, that of the West. Finally there was the third civilisation, that of the Indians, based on passivity and self-denial. Spiritually, the Indians had reached the highest point, but having failed to pass along the previous two roads, their material conditions were inferior to those of the Chinese. In Liang's view, the West had gone as far as it could along the first road of materialism and was about to embark on the second. He took as evidence of this, the ideas of Bergson, Eucken and others who in the years after the World War had expressed admiration for the civilisation of the East, in particular that of China.

Liang advised that China reject the Indian road and accept the Western one but adapted to include the Chinese attitude, the spiritual content of life that was missing in the West. India, having, like China, missed the road of material civilisation, should also accept Western civilisation. But though he paid lip-service to Western science and democracy, the essence of Liang's theory was a defence of Chinese metaphysics and Confucianism. His hope was that Eastern civilisation be not only strengthened in China but that it be also established as a world civilisation. Though the Indian way was to be the ultimate goal after the Western and Chinese roads had been passed along, Liang concluded that, in the meantime, the world civilisation would be a "rejuvenated Chinese civilisation;" "In short, it is necessary to reject Hindu civilisation as useless, to radically revise the Western, and return after criticism to our own tradition." (259)

Wu took Liang Souming to task for a general sloppiness in the presentation of his ideas, pointing to "hundreds of contradictions" and inconsistencies in his book on Eastern and Western cultures. (260) He sarcastically asked why, instead of keeping the Chinese culture for the Chinese, he did not give it to Dewey and Russell, who according to Liang's theory should have been ready for it, or was he afraid that it was too advanced for them. Liang's point was, Wu explained, that only when one had completed one stage could one pass on to the next. Thus Indian civilisation had to be rejected. Why then, if the Chinese had to accept the first, Western stage should they not also reject the Chinese civilisation which could only be embraced after the first, he asked. As for what the Indians should do, Wu harangued Liang;

"Mr. Liang! Just think, the Indians must totally discard their own attitude, then having learnt from the West, go on to learning from China and only then return again to their own attitude. Are not the Indians most unfortunate?"(261)

If the Chinese combined Western civilisation with their own, he asked, why could not the Indians advance on a basis of Western, Chinese and their own civilisation?"(262)

The visit to China of first Russell and then Tagore added grist to the mill of the conservatives. Russell, invited by Progressive Party members including Liang Qichao, spent a year in China, 1920-21, Though he stressed that China had to industrialise, he was impressed by traditional Chinese philosophy, in particular the pacifist doctrines of Lao Zi and Zhuang Zi.⁽²⁶³⁾ He wrote that what the West had to teach the Chinese was "not morals or ethical maxims about government, but science and technical skill" and conversely, the West could learn from the Chinese "a just conception of the end of life."⁽²⁶⁴⁾ Russell's nostalgia for China's traditional culture was not shared by Chinese radicals of the May Fourth period who, acutely conscious of the failure of earlier reforms in economic and political fields, called for a more profound intellectual and social revolution.

In 1923-24, the Indian philosopher poet Rabindranath Tagore visited China to lecture under the auspices of Peking University.⁽²⁶⁵⁾ In a newspaper interview on his arrival, he claimed to have come purely as a poet and not to promote Eastern culture or give support to the conservatives.⁽²⁶⁶⁾ In fact, as Wu pointed out, he did his utmost to popularize Eastern thought. The "crisis of the Eastern civilisations" he spoke about became a slogan of those defending the old culture. Wu wrote that rather than face up to the problems of the modern world,

Tagore wanted to lead the Eastern peoples into the mountains to join the poets of ancient times. There they would admire the wild flowers and listen to the mountain birds and curse material civilisation as "a phoney implement which kills our countrymen."⁽²⁶⁷⁾ Wu began another article on Tagore with the words, "Mr Tagore, why don't you write poetry and then you will not concern yourself with other people's countries. You must not talk about matters of the world." Tagore knew in his heart, Wu said, how hateful was the violence of Imperialism, yet "instead of giving his people some strength, he just wants to tell an old stone age people to cling to the philosophy of non-resistance and to wait until Imperialist power, wielding iron weapons, reaches the height of its evil influence." That was, Wu said, using an old saying, like "lying oneself down on the ground like a rotten cabbage leaf in the hope that the bandit will slip and fall." In a speech Tagore said;

"The main aim of my coming to China is to promote Eastern thought..... A section of Asia's youth has wiped out Asia's ancient civilisation and are chasing after the thought of the Western culture and are assimilating it with great energy. That is indeed a great mistake.... Western culture is solely inclined towards the materialistic, but it is greatly lacking in the matter of the mind and soul. This can already be seen very clearly from the bankruptcy of Western culture as a result of the First World War."⁽²⁶⁸⁾

This, Wu wrote, had already been expressed by China's own "great literatus," Liang Qichao, five years before. It was truly a case of "what heroes see is approximately the same." Reverting to the relationship between the old culture and social decline, Wu recalled how in 1920, in Hyde Park in London, he had heard a patriotic Indian making a speech calling for independence for his country. A man, as

old as Tagore, heckling the Indian, turned to Wu and his son thinking they were Japanese and said that the Indians had as little chance of attaining independence as there was of finding air on the moon. Wu wrote that, although he found the old man's views objectionable, he thought that,

"If the tragically foolish Indians intended to oppose machine guns by sticking on their city walls poems containing a mixture of Mahayana and Hinayana Buddhism, why could one not wait patiently until there was an atmosphere on the moon." (269)

Awakening Tagore to India's plight, Wu wrote; "What the Westerners have become is a kind of working animal. It even ploughs your fields in place of you, it even rules your land." (270) Wu's hostility to Tagore exceeded even the antipathy he showed towards Chinese conservatives. For despite all his cosmopolitan anarchism, the vehemence of this attack on Tagore revealed that he bitterly resented an Indian coming to China to recommend a cultural policy which, Wu was convinced, ensured that India remained enslaved. (271)

In his polemics with the critics of science, Wu did not deny their claim that "material civilisation" had been the cause of the World War. He explained that matter and spirit advance together, the dominant factor being the material advance. But still, spirit did have a degree of influence on matter. This being so, one could not talk about the causes of the war solely in terms of matter. Moral improvement in the West could not outstrip material progress. Only with socialism could the age without war be achieved. (272) In fact Wu accepted that scientific and industrial development had reached a degree in Britain and Germany which led to rivalry over markets for their products and finally to war. He even went as far as to say that,

as a result of the war, he had revised his assessment of the speed of social progress and considered that there would be at least thirty-six wars of a comparable size before the dawning of anarchist society. (273)

But having conceded that much, he insisted that China should not continue to suffer from her crippling backwardness just because of the terrible destruction in Europe. Whatever bad results there might be from science in the short term, progress should and could not be resisted;

"Because in the world there are races which have not evolved [as fast as others], the ambition of those who stimulate the progress of material civilisation is therefore correct." (274)

Wu mocked those who opposed material civilisation but at the same time preferred trains to donkey carts, steamships to fishing boats and were quite happy to make use of modern developments such as electric light, electric fans and sewing machines. (275)

Though the road of material progress ahead was uncharted and certainly not an easy one, it nevertheless offered to Wu hope that China might leave behind for ever the lifelessness and futility of the old culture, in particular the harsh authoritarianism and metaphysics of Neo-confucianism. On the origins of this repressive tradition, Wu had this to say. Though during the Six Dynasties a religion, Buddhism, had entered China, it was interpreted in terms of Daoism and so was harmless. But later, Confucianism was influenced by Buddhism, much of which was incorporated into the Neo-confucianism of the Song. Thus Buddhism became associated with government and an authoritarian code of morals; (276)

"Buddhism is a religion which teaches man to forsake

this world. But when Zhu Xi and his lot unconsciously adopted this religion, superimposed its ideas upon the moral and political codes in this world, then the new codes brought terror and made our society a tragedy. Just look how dry and withered Chinese society has been since the Southern Song." (277)

Turning from China's sordid past, Wu looked with boundless admiration at the achievements of the West; the voyages of discovery of Columbus, the invention of the steam engine by Watt. (278)

The spark which ignited the fierce debate between science and metaphysics was a lecture given to science students at Qinghua University in February 1923 by Carsun Chang (Zhang Junmai) entitled "Life View" (renshengguan). The term "life view" derived from a book, "Die Lebensanschauung der grossen Denker" by Rudolf Eucken under whom Chang had studied in Germany. (279) This background, as well as his experiences as a member of Liang Qichao's group of observers to the Paris Peace Conference in 1918-19, convinced Chang of the bankruptcy of Western civilisation and he took up the defence of the Chinese culture, until then led by men such as Liang Qichao and Liang Souming.

In his lecture, Chang did not deny the validity of science but delineated very narrowly the areas it could legitimately concern itself with. The question of human nature, man's relationship to the universe, the interaction of man's inner spirit with the external material world were all beyond the scope of science. (280) "However much science develops, it will not be within its powers to resolve the problems of a life view." He acknowledged that Europe had "over three hundred years laid stress on the control of the natural world, producing as a result a materialistic civilisation." China on the other hand, had produced many philosophers who had made contributions on the

question of a life view, who had "laid stress on the cultivation of the inner life and produced as a result a spiritual civilisation. "(281)

Chang's lecture drew a reply from the England trained geologist Ding Wanjiang;

"Metaphysics is truly a worthless devil..... Having kept going in Europe for two thousand years, recently he has gradually found himself with no place to turn and nothing to eat. So suddenly he puts on a false trademark, hangs up a new signboard and runs swaggering to China to start working a swindle. If you don't believe it, please just have a look at Zhang Junmai's "Life View".(282)

Ding challenged Chang's assertion that a life view and science were incompatible. "It is one thing to say that the life view has not been united [with science] but quite another to say that it can never be united. "(283) Ding's point was that while there was no factual evidence that they could not be united, it was one's duty to try to bring them together. Answering Chang's praise for China's spiritual civilisation which stressed "the cultivation of one's inner life," Ding argued that the Neo-confucianists of the Southern Song had left the way open for the brutal rule of the Mongol invaders. "Let us think, what is the price of this spiritual civilisation," he wrote. Ding turned aside the accusation that the World War had been caused by science, insisting that it was politicians and educators, the majority of whom were not scientific, who should bear the responsibility. (284)

Chang replied to Ding's article, pointing out that in the West science was not glorified so much as it had been at the beginning of the 19th century and warning of the danger to the future of the nation if they adopted a policy of "enriching the country and strengthening the military. "(285) Chang continued;

"Is there not a saying which goes: necessity is the mother of invention? If you say that the intelligence of mankind can find no other ways [than that of the West], I will not believe it." (286)

Thus began the debate between science and metaphysics which ran for more than a year and produced more than 260,000 characters, with contributions from, besides Chang and Ding, for the metaphysical camp Lin Zaiping, Fan Shoukang, Zhang Dingsun and Liang Qichao, and for science, Hu Shi, Zhu Jingnong, Tang Yue, Ren Shuyong and Wu Zhihui. (287)

Wu Zhihui's main contribution, by far the longest (70,000 characters) and weightiest of those from the scientists, was entitled "A View of the Universe and of Life Based on a New Belief." (288)

Basing his judgement on an assessment of this work, Hu Shi in 1928 included Wu Zhihui among the four most important anti-neo-confucianist thinkers of the last three hundred years. (289) Earlier in 1923, in his preface to a collection of articles from the metaphysics-science debate, Hu identified Wu as the only protagonist of the science camp who seriously attempted to produce the scientific life view. Chang said could not be established;

"I feel that those who this time have fought for science - except Mr Wu Zhihui - all share a common mistake, that is they could not explain in concrete terms what a scientific life view is, but rather, in abstract terms fiercely contended that science could solve the problem of a life view." (290)

Hu felt that the first reason for the short-comings of the science side was that Chang had not actually attacked science, but had cleverly laid down the areas science was not competent to deal with. Thus the scientist Ding Wenjiang spent much of his time discussing what prob-

lems science could or could not solve. Secondly, most of the scientists did not believe as "clearly and resolutely" as Wu Zhihui in science and, unlike Wu, did not produce a concrete "purely materialist and mechanistic life view."

Ding Wenjiang in fact held to the skepticism of Huxley and Spencer," arguing that purely psychological phenomena could not be understood through the scientific method.⁽²⁹¹⁾ The Marxist, Chen Duxiu was quick to criticise Ding for this. If, as Ding believed, there were aspects of the universe that were "unknowable", then, Chen pointed out, "as soon as the scientist stands up to speak, he will permit the metaphysician to come and resolve his skepticism."⁽²⁹²⁾ There is no doubt that Ding's efforts were important in bringing the issues to the surface, but he proved incapable of offering a coherent alternative philosophy to that of Chang, so their exchanges were inconclusive. As Wu Zhihui wrote; "If the debate between Zhang and Ding was extended over one hundred years, it would not come to a close."⁽²⁹³⁾ But Wu, who earlier in his life had accepted the agnostic skeptical view, now tried to plug the loopholes which seriously weakened Ding's case. Instead of just abusing the "metaphysical ghost," Wu made a determined assault on "the area which cannot be known." As Hu Shi wrote, he attempted, using scientific evidence, to build a large scale hypothesis of the nature of the universe.⁽²⁹⁴⁾ He met his opponents head on, unashamedly upholding the "purely materialist, purely mechanistic life-view" and "mechanistic philosophy" attacked by Liang Qichao and Carsun Chang respectively. To use Wu's own image, he confronted Chang's "metaphysical ghost" with his own metaphysical

ghost which had been baptised in science.⁽²⁹⁵⁾ As Hu wrote, "with one stroke of the pen he struck out the word God, rubbed out the idea of the soul, and speared through the metaphysicians' secret of 'man being the spirit of the myriad creatures'. Here at last we have a true challenge to battle!"⁽²⁹⁶⁾ Whether such enthusiasm was justified we can only judge from an examination of Wu's new life view and the view of the universe it rested on.

Wu began A View of the Universe and of Life Based on a New Belief, his longest and most significant philosophical work, by explaining that although in ancient times all philosophy, ethics, education and aesthetics had been mixed up with religion, today they were becoming detached from religion and it was to this new non-religious type of belief that his belief belonged. He had no use for God or spirits, or for such concepts as the soul or "spiritual monism," which Carsun Chang was fond of using. He acknowledged the role of Bacon, Descartes, Spinoza and Kant in "deposing God," but added that it took men like Darwin and Haeckel to finally discard metaphysics. Though he deplored the metaphysics which permeated the writings of Nietzsche and Bergson, he still valued their role in combatting religion and even borrowed their vocabulary to hypothesise that,

"the universe is a great living organism," its matter at the same time contains force. This can conveniently be called "power". From this power is born "will". This "will" tends towards "eternal movement" and from this movement, man's mechanistic life is arranged for him Then from contact with external things sensory perception is created. Acceptance and rejection in sensory perception creates feelings; when we fear that our feelings may be mistaken, then there is created thought which leads to reason. When reason has looked at the situation three times, we make certain kinds of feelings

fit in with the ways of nature, or if we go further and correct the defects of reason, intuition is created. Sometimes if this intuition is in harmony with the mind and body it is not even examined but just left alone as basic faculties. Thus, every function goes back to the building up of the mechanism in the nervous system and so there is created a brain weighing three pounds two ounces."(297)

Thus Wu excluded the possibility that ideas and feelings, moral attitudes and ethics have their origin in some "soul" or mind existing alongside but separate from man's material being. The functioning of the mind, whether it be intuitive or cognitive, resulted from mechanistic operations within the brain, following impulses received after contact with the external world.

Wu went on to give his view of how the universe came into being;

"In the beginning which has no beginning, there was a strange, funny indescribable thing..... changing into many thousands of universes, in other words into million upon millions of 'I's. The way in which it changes is very simple. It is simply the huge, unfathomable power of all the material forces coming together to form many many little power units. Then these many many little units come together to form electrons and from electrons to atoms and from atoms to stars, planets, suns, moons, mountains, grass, wood, birds, beasts, insects, fish and turtles,..... and to this day it is still changing. Moreover it would appear that there has never been one satisfactory thing which remained unchanged for ever. This is my view of the universe."(298)

As theory, this relies heavily on physics. Taking mechanical and electrical processes as the key elements in the transformations, Wu carried his explanation as far into "unknowable" areas, hitherto claimed by metaphysicians, as he could logically go, finally reaching his limit with the stage before the big bang of creation when there existed what he called the "thing" (yige). Though this "thing" was in

no way regarded by him as another name for God, he did however endow this poorly explained starting point of this theory with energy of its own, insisting that it was living (yige huowu).⁽²⁹⁹⁾ Following the publication of this first part of the essay, the Chenbao in Peking described this "thing" as "the dark black matter." In the next section of the essay, published subsequently, Wu accepted this terminology and his theory became popularly known as the "dark black matter view of the universe."⁽³⁰⁰⁾

Wu then moved on to outline his view of life. Man, he wrote, was an animal, more specifically a mammal, which stands on its hind-legs with the front legs no longer used for running but as "hands", adapted to function as a tool for moving things. This animal called man had a larger brain with more complicated nervous functions than other animals.⁽³⁰¹⁾ Wu likened life to a stage show;

"The period of life is when man goes on stage to the sound of gongs and drums, with clear songs and beautiful dances..... While still in the womb, man is backstage. When he has already been put in his coffin, it is like going back home."⁽³⁰²⁾

But Wu stressed that when man went on stage in the "great theatre of the universe" it was not at the behest of any boss behind the scenes.

"This great theatre is built by ourselves. This new civilised play about the animal with two hands is written and directed by ourselves."⁽³⁰³⁾

Wu corrected any impression that man might live on earth as the puppet of some extra-terrestrial being. Man was his own master, free to create a new world in his own image.

For man to be fulfilled he ought to have,

"Pleasures as fine as the clear breeze and the bright moon.

The creative ability of divine craftsmen.
And a vast capacity for benevolence and love."(304)

He explained what he meant by this. Man had three basic instinctive desires; "to eat, give birth to children and to seek out friends." In traditional values, the desires to eat and to have children were, he said, called "gluttony and lechery" and were disapproved of as part of one's nature which one should suppress or keep under strict control. On the other hand, what he called the desire to seek out friends was identified with such terms as "sympathy, deference, right and wrong and shame", which in turn could be summed up by the four cardinal Confucian virtues; benevolence, righteousness, ritual and wisdom. These qualities were regarded as one's conscience, one's reasoning nature, which balanced the instinctive nature, the animal desires. Wu entirely rejected this dichotomy, writing that these various instincts, aspects of man's nature, from the desire to have sex to the feeling of shame, could not be discussed in terms of good and evil for they were all simply functions of the "great black thing," the source of all power in the universe, as it changed and evolved. (305)

Wu then elaborated on his understanding of man's basic desires and needs. On the question of food and how to supply it, he stressed that all should labour for what they got to eat. Moreover in obtaining food, it was wrong to obstruct others from doing so. The finest attitude was one which permitted one to give the food one had earned to others. As to how a sufficiency of food and clothes was achieved, Wu wrote that he had no sympathy for the techniques used in the old "spiritual" China, for they had only brought benefits to a

minority. If there was to be enough to eat for all, then China had no choice but to adopt "the science of material civilisation."⁽³⁰⁶⁾

Wu detached procreation from the realm of morality, describing it as just one aspect of the everchanging universe.⁽³⁰⁷⁾ It was something science could demystify. Meeting traditional morality head-on, he wrote, "Put bluntly, the love between man and woman is purely a matter of passions." Marriage was mistakenly used to control and restrict this natural love. The contractual aspect of marriage, the duties and power relations, was for Wu implicit in the Chinese term for love, lianai. He recommended instead the use of the term qingai, denoting in his view something closer to freelove. If men and women throughout the world used such a term, they could, he explained, leave behind for ever the furtive relationships in back alleys. They should mate as they wished and there would be no need for terms such as husband and wife. Marriage could be abolished and in anarchist society men and women would meet for sex as they would for a chat. After it was over, they would be free to separate. Society being a communist one, such free relationships would not be hampered by possessions, home or children which characterised sexual relations within marriage.⁽³⁰⁸⁾

Next, Wu turned to the third and final basic drive of mankind, the desire to have friends and to live socially. The Chinese were, he wrote, still hopelessly bound to the metaphysical ghost which stressed the four cardinal virtues of Confucianism: sympathy, shame, humility and knowing right from wrong. Wu accepted the modern moral concepts of intuition, instinct, magnanimity and conscience, but not as

they were used by intellectuals in China as synonyms for the traditional moral principles based on metaphysics. For instance he rejected the idea that intuition was something divinely inspired, "in other words commanded by God," rather than controlled by one's own mind. He refuted the suggestion that one received one's instinct from heaven, rather than as a result of experience and deduction. (309) In the field of morality, Wu placed man above all else, stressing his freedom to operate objectively and rationally, unchecked by any constraints except those imposed by himself.

Having elucidated his view of the universe and of life, Wu summed up with a bold and uncompromising declaration of principles, in seven sections,

"1. I resolutely believe that spirit cannot be separated from matter.... There are only two roads. One is to work actively for the transformation of heaven and earth. That is the life view for progress. The other is to be negative and put all one's energies into seeking Nirvana. That is the retrogressive death view.

2. I resolutely believe that the universe is perpetually in motion..... I believe that after this mankind, there will be a superior mankind..... Material civilisation is today not only not bankrupt, but will continue to advance for millions of years.

3. In general, one can say with confidence that the ancients were inferior to men today, and that men today will be inferior to our descendants.

4. When I say that..... men today will be inferior to our descendants it is not to say that there is progress just towards perfection. As regards goodness.....men today will be inferior to our descendants. Likewise with regard to evil..... men today will be inferior (i.e. less evil) to our descendants. The power of knowledge can cause both good and evil to advance at the same time.(310)..... This is the principle which explains why the universe progresses forever towards perfection, but never reaches it.

5. I believe that as material civilisation advances, the more plentiful goods will become, the more certain will be the progress of mankind towards unity and the easier will be the solution of all the many difficult problems.

6. I believe that morality is the product of culture. There has never been the case of a high culture with low morality.....

7. I believe that "all things in the universe" can be explained by science. We can never explain the "possibility" of everything. If you could, it would be like saying you could know the beginning that has no beginning.... But on the other hand, to know in one's mind that something could be, and so be unwilling to be restricted by those who say that it cannot be, is the scientific attitude....."(311)

He then concluded with these words;

"The life view is not a death view.

The life view is not a view which permits one to look
only after one's own life.

The life view is a view which concerns itself with the
lives of all."(312)

Whether one can, on the basis of this philosophical statement, agree with Alfred Forke that Wu Zhihui is the most important philosopher of modern China⁽³¹³⁾ is debatable. It is surely stretching the imagination to claim, as did one Chinese, that Wu was for China, a Voltaire, Zola, Montesquieu and a Jules Verne all rolled into one.⁽³¹⁴⁾ Hu Shi regarded Wu's writings very highly, claiming for him the role of leading anti-neo-confucianist in modern times. But though Hu accepted many of Wu's philosophical points, he saw that the importance of his contribution lay primarily in its propaganda function, as a rallying point for those combatting the counter attack of the cultural conservatives. Hu defied the opponents of science to make war against Wu's essay, and called on "those gentlemen who are defending science" to prepare themselves for future conflicts by

studying the essay. Hu ended by declaring that at last the battlefront of science had a vanguard in the person of Wu Zhihui, its old general.⁽³¹⁵⁾ The significance of Wu's essay was that it covered philosophical areas which, in the cultural polemics of the May Fourth period, other defenders of science had been unable to or unprepared to deal with. Wu replied to Liang Qichao's "Dream of the Omnipotence of Science", by assembling a detailed and thorough statement of his belief in the "omnipotence of science." (kexue wanneng)⁽³¹⁶⁾

Footnotes

1. WZH, zhilao xianhua, p. 9.
2. Ibid., p. 7. Chinese title: Huangqing jingjie.
3. Hummel, Emminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, Vol. 1, p. 401.
4. Li Jinxi, Cihai, p. 937.
5. Liang Qichao, Intellectual Trends of the Ch'ing Period, p. 21.
6. Ibid., p. 29.
7. Fan Wenlan, Zhongguo jindaishi fenxi wenti taolunji, p. 63.
8. Feng Yu-lan, A Short History of Chinese Philosophy, p. 321.
9. Liang Qichao, Op. Cit., p. 54.
10. Fan Wenlan, Op. Cit., p. 63.
11. Liang Qichao, Op. Cit., p. 19.
12. M.C. Wright, The Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism, p. 59.
13. Liang Qichao, Op. Cit., p. 87.
14. Ibid., pp. 85-95.
15. Wright, Op. Cit., p. 59.
16. Liang Qichao, Op. Cit., p. 78.
17. Ibid., p. 77.
18. Helmut Wilhelm, "The Background to Tseng Kuo-fan's Ideology", Asiatische Studien, No. 3, (1949), p. 92.
19. Wright, Op. Cit., p. 66.
20. Peking University History Dept. (ed.), Zhongguo jindaishi, p. 64.
21. Wilhelm, Op. Cit., p. 97.
22. Wright, Op. Cit., p. 66.
23. Wilhelm, Op. Cit., p. 98.
24. Zhang Wenbo, Wu Zhihui xiansheng zhuanji, Vol. 1, p. 9.

25. Fan Wenlan, Zhongguo jindaishi, pp. 149-150.
26. WZH, zhilao xianhua, p. 7.
27. WZH, "hanyai shiji xu," in Wu Zhihui xiansheng quanji, Vol. 16, p. 278. (henceforth indicated thus: CW. 16.278)
28. Li Jinxi, Op. Cit., p. 260.
29. WZH, "bensheng suibi," CW. 18.956-7.
30. Ibid., CW.18.952.
31. Such an ultra intellectualist approach to the learning process contrasts strongly with Wu's later stress on action, experimentation and practical experience as opposed to the bookish learning which he considered had stifled scientific thought in the old society.
32. Liang Qichao, Op. Cit., p. 54.
33. WZH, "lun Qingchao jingxue deshi," CW.16.127-129.
34. Wakeman, History and Will, pp. 112-113.
35. Ibid., p. 130.
36. Hummel, Op. Cit., Vol. 1, pp. 518-521.
37. Wang Tao, "gezhi shuyuan keyi fuqianglei," quoted in Hou Wailu, "xinhai geming qian zichanjieji gemingpai wushenlun sixiang de lishi tedian," in Hubeisheng zhexue shehui kexue lianhehui, (ed.) xinhai geming wushi zhounian lunwenji, Vol. 2. p. 278.
38. Xue Fucheng, "Science Makes Europe Prosperous," A diary entry of May 19, 1898, in Teng and Fairbank, China's Response to the West, p. 144.
39. Wakeman, Op. Cit., pp. 119-120 and p. 130.
40. Yang Rongguo, jianming zhongguo zhhexueshi, p. 534.
41. Kang Youwei, "Chronological Autobiography of K'ang Yu-wei," translated in Jung-pang Lo, K'ang Yu-wei; A Biography and a Symposium, p. 52. (with slight changes to vocabulary in my translation.)
42. Wakeman, Op. Cit., p. 132.
43. Kang Youwei, "Jincheng Eluosi da Bide bianzheng ji xu," quoted in Ren Jiyu, Zhongguozhexueshi jianbian, p. 406.

44. Yang Rongguo, Op. Cit., p. 560.
45. B. Schwartz, In Search of Wealth and Power, Yen Fu and the West, pp. 100-103.
46. Jin Chongji, "Tianyanlun" he zhongguo jindai fankong sixiang, "in lun rufa douzheng, p. 327. First published in Xuexi yu pipan, No. 3, 1973.
47. Lu Xun, "suoji," in zhaochua xishi, p. 59.
48. Bertrand Russell, History of Western Philosophy, p. 698.
49. Wu Yuzhang, xinhai geming, p. 50.
50. Hu Shi, sishi zishu, (Shanghai 1933) pp 49-50. Quoted in Grieder, Hu Shih and the Chinese Renaissance, pp. 26-27.
51. Wu Yuzhang, Op. Cit., p. 50.
52. Zhang Wenbo, Op. Cit., Vol. 1, p. 94.
53. WZH, zhilao xianhua, p. 10, and Fudan Univ. (ed.) zhongguo jindaishi, p. 206.
54. WZH, "sanshinian qian riji zhi yiban," CW.16.154-158.
55. Chen Linghai, "Wu Zhihui xiansheng nianpu jianbian," CW.18.18.
56. WZH, "qunzhihui jishi," CW.16.142.
57. WZH, "hanyai shiji xu," CW.16.279.
58. WZH, "shang Subaoguan dajizhe shu," CW.2.116.
59. WZH, "minguo qian shiyi nian riji," CW.12.691.
60. WZH, "Guangdong daxue bianjian yaozhangcheng," CW.2.118-122.
61. Zhongguo minguo kaiguo wushinian wenxian, Vol. 10 p. 370.
62. Subao, Reprint (Feb. 27-May 26, 1903), edited by Wu Xiangxiang, p. 118.
63. Ibid., p. 118.
64. Chen Linghai, Op. Cit., pp. 27-28. Chen Huan, "zhilao zai haiwai," in Gan Shiren (ed.), Wu Zhihui xiansheng bainian da zhen jinianji.

65. WZH, "minguo qian ernian riji," "minguo qian yinian riji," CW.13. 1222, 1223, 1259.
66. Chen Linghai, Op. Cit., p. 37. and Alfred Forke, Geschichte der Neuren Chinesischen Philosophie, p. 635.
67. Chen Linghai, Op. Cit., p. 35. Wu's translations of "Prehistoric Man" was published in Shanghai in June 1910 under the title Huanggu yuanren shi. Hird's "Picture Book of Evolution," was first published in 1906 and 1907 (Vols 1 and 2). Wu's translation was published in Shanghai in August 1911 under the title tianyanxue tujie.
68. WZH, "lun wuli shiji ji buke siyi yu youren shu," CW.4.395.
69. Ibid., p. 395. This piece has been translated by Kwok in Scientism in Chinese Thought, pp. 41-42. My translation takes account of but also differs from his translation in certain places.
70. Russell, Op. Cit., pp. 545-546.
71. Plekhanov, The Development of the Monist View of History, p. 12.
72. Ibid., p. 11.
73. Kwok, Scientism in Chinese Thought, p. 42.
74. Russell, Op. Cit., p. 696.
75. Yang Rongguo, Op. Cit., p. 562.
76. Yan Fu, "yi Tianyanlun zixu," p. 2, in Huxley, (Yan Fu, trans.) Tianyanlun.
77. WZH, preface to Tianyanxue tujie, p. 1.
78. Lamarck, Jean Baptiste. (1744-1829). French naturalist whose most famous work was as a zoologist investigating living and fossil invertebrates. Lamarck is noted for his theory of the origin of diversities of animal form. He widely propagated the ideas that species were not unalterable and that the more complex were developed from pre-existent simpler forms.
Li Shiceng has written that Wu coined the Chinese translation of Lamarck's name. It was used in a pamphlet published by the New Century group called "Biographies and Photographs of Sixty Famous Men," (liushi mingren xiangzhuan) and after that Wu's translation became universally accepted. (Li Shiceng, shiseng biji, p. 162.)

79. WZH, preface to tianyanxue tujie, p. 1.
80. In his "Leviathan", Hobbes proclaimed what Russell calls a thorough-going materialism. According to Hobbes, life was nothing but a motion of the limbs. Sensation was caused by the pressure of objects on the body. He systematised the theories of Bacon, used mathematical laws of mechanical movement to explain the movement and transformation of matter. (Russell, Op. Cit., p. 533 and zhexue xiao cidian, p. 323.)
81. WZH, tianyanxue tujie.
82. Schwartz, Op. Cit., p. 52.
83. V.I. Lenin, Materialism and Empirio-criticism, (Peking edition 1972) p. 244.
84. F. Engels, "Special Introduction to the English Edition of 1892," of "Socialism; Utopian and Scientific," in Marx and Engels, Selected Works, (FLPH, Moscow, 1951) Vol. 2, p. 92.
85. Schwartz Op. Cit., pp. 52-53.
86. Yang Rongguo, Op. Cit., p. 566.
87. Lenin, Op. Cit., p. 108.
88. WZH, "lun wuli shijie ji buke siyi yu youren shu," CW.4.395-398.
89. Ibid., CW.14.396.
90. Ibid., CW.14.398.
91. H.S. Hughes, Consciousness and Society, pp. 33-39.
92. Ibid., p. 39.
93. Ibid., pp. 34-35.
94. Russell, Op. Cit., pp. 696-697.
95. Kropotkin, "Modern Science and Anarchism," in Baldwin (ed.) Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets, p. 150.
96. Kropotkin, Introduction to Mutual Aid, (1902) p. 7.
97. Kropotkin, Memoirs of a Revolutionist, p. 499.
98. Ibid., p. 498.
99. Kropotkin, "Anarchist Communism," in Baldwin (ed.), Op. Cit., p. 53.

100. Ibid., p. 53. In recent times a consistent populariser of the theory of mutual aid has been the anthropologist Ashley Montagu. He wrote in his book, The Direction of Human Development that the "fact that such diverse groups as insects and mammals have developed social life strongly suggests that the existence in organic life of deep-seated potentialities toward societization or rather towards what might more properly be called sociality, the tendency to be attracted to exist together with other organisms.... Group life offers advantages of many kinds to the members of the group and therefore the species." (Montagu, The Direction of Human Development, p. 17). In the wake of the Notting Hill riots in London during Carnival in August 1976, the London Times carried an article entitled "Society Must Not accept Violence as Nature's Way," in which Dr. Tony Smith Reviewed a new book by Montagu (The Nature of Human Aggression) in which Montagu claimed that there is no scientific basis for believing that man is instinctively aggressive and that the territorial imperative is irrelevant to human psychology. (The Times, Sept. 1st, 1976, p. 12)
101. M. Bernal, "The Triumph of Anarchism Over Marxism, 1906-7," M. Wright, (ed.) China in Revolution, pp. 97-142.
102. Liao Zhongkai, "shehui zhuyi shi dagang," Minbao, No. 7 and "wuzhengfu zhuyi yu shehui zhuyi," Minbao, No. 9. and Bernal, Chinese Socialism to 1907, pp. 204-205.
103. Bernal, Chinese Socialism to 1907, p. 223.
104. Ibid., p. 223.
105. Gasster, Chinese Intellectuals and the Revolution of 1911, pp. 169-177, and Bernal, Chinese Socialism to 1907, p. 201.
106. Landauer, European Socialism, p. 340.
107. Woodcock, Anarchism, p. 74.
108. Cole, Socialist Thought, Vol. 2, p. 217.
109. Woodcock, Anarchism, p. 398.
110. Ibid., pp. 195-196.
111. Ibid., p. 298.
112. Woodcock and Avakumovic, The Anarchist Prince, p. 295 and M.A. Miller, "Introduction," p. 28, to Kropotkin, Selected Writings on Anarchism and Revolution.

113. Li Shuhua, "Wu Zhihui xiansheng cong weixinpai chengwei gemingdang de jingguo," Zhuanji wenxue, Vol. 4, No. 3, p. 43.
114. Xiao Yu, "Li Shiceng xiansheng," in Li Shiceng xiansheng jinianji, p. 235. Li is said to have greatly respected Reclus because he had a "black wife."
115. Cai Yuanpei, "zuijin wushinian zhongguoren yu kexue zhi guanxi," in Sun Dezhong, (ed.) Cai Yuanpei xiansheng yiwen leigao, pp. 196-197.
116. WZH, zhilao xianhua, p. 23. Li Shicang, Zhang Jingjiang (later also a member of the New Century group) and Xia Jianzhong, as official students, were on their way, with Sun Baoqi, Chinese Ambassador to France, to Paris to work in the Embassy there. They had heard of Wu's reputation (presumably based on his exploits in Japan earlier that year) and so with Cao Rulin and Xia's nephew went to visit Wu in Shanghai.
117. Chen Linghai, Op. Cit., p. 30.
118. WZH, "Diaries," CW. 12.993,997,1041,1052,1099,1131.
119. Xiao Yu, Op. Cit., p. 234.
120. Ibid., p. 234.
121. Translation of Kropotkin's Law and Authority, XSJ. Nos. 41, 47, 49. His The State, Its Historic Role, XSJ. No. 58, 62, 66, 83. Mutual Aid, XSJ, Nos. 31, 32, 34-38, 44-52.
122. Chu Minyi, "xu wuzhengfu shuo," XS J, 60, p. 6.
123. Ibid., p. 6.
124. Letter to Xinshiji, XSJ, 8.p.3.
125. Ibid., p. 3.
126. Li Shiceng, "moushi yu xinshiji shu. fuda," XSJ.8.p.3.
127. Ibid., p. 3.
128. Ibid., p. 3.
129. WZH, "lutu riji," CW.12.773.
130. "Jiang Kanghu yu Zhongguo shehuidang," in Wu Xiangxiang, (ed.), Minguo zhengzhi renwu, pp. 145-146, and Boorman, Op. Cit., Vol. 1. p. 239.

131. "Jiang Kanghu yu Zhongguo shehuidang," pp. 145-146.
132. Xu Ancheng, (Jiang Kanghu), "ziyou yingye guanjian," appended to WZH, "shu ziyou yingye guanjian hou," in WZH, Wu Jingheng xuanji, (henceforth WJHXJ) zawen, pp. 181-182. Boorman (Biographical Dictionary, Vol. 1, p. 339) incorrectly states that Jiang's article "condemned free enterprise." In fact, Jiang argued that it should not be abolished as was suggested by Wu and the Paris group. My interpretation is supported by Wakeman's treatment of Jiang's article. (History and Will, pp. 207-208.)
133. WZH, "shu ziyou yingye guanjian hou," WJHXJ zawen, p. 180.
134. Ibid., p. 180.
135. Ibid., p. 180.
136. WZH, "kexue zhoubao fakanyu," CW.4.308.
137. Xiao Gongquan, "K'ang Yu-wei and Confucianism," Monumenta Serica, XVIII, p. 194.
138. Liang Qichao, Nanhai Kang xiansheng zhuan, p. 67.
139. WZH, "shang Subaoguan dajizhe su," CW.2.112-114.
140. WZH, "benguan guanggao zhounian jinian," CW.3.542-543.
141. WZH, "tiantang zhi molu," WJHXJ zhanglun (1), pp. 10-15.
142. Ibid., pp. 14-15.
143. WZH, "da moujunshu, zongjiao daode yu shehui zhuyi," CW.1.155-156.
144. Ibid., CW.1.156.
145. Ibid., CW.1.157.
146. Ibid., CW.1.158.
147. WZH, "zaida moujunshu, zongjiao wenti," CW.1.162.
148. Ibid., CW.1.168.
149. Ibid., CW.1.163.
150. Ibid., CW.1.168.

151. XSJ.2. p. 5.
152. Ibid., p. 2.
153. WZH, "tuiguang renshu yi shijiguan," CW.1.138-144.
154. Ibid., p. 144.
155. WZH, "yi W. Tcherkesoff" wo liangxin shang xihuan ruci" fuyan," WJHXJ zhenglun (1), p. 56.
156. Ibid., p. 56.
157. Chow Tse-tsung, "The Anti-Confucian Movement in Early Republican China," in A. Wright, The Confucian Persuasion, p. 290.
158. Ibid., p. 291.
159. Liu Wangling, Xinhai geming hou dizhi fubi he fanfubi douzheng, p. 23.
160. Chow, "The Anti-confucian Movement.....," p. 291.
161. Ibid., p. 293.
162. Quoted in Liu Wangling, Op. Cit., p. 77.
163. Chow, "The Anti-Confucian Movement.....," p. 298.
164. Xiao Gongquan, "K'ang Yu-wei and Confucianism," Monumenta Serica, XVIII, p. 195.
165. Liu Wangling, Op. Cit., p. 77.
166. Fudan University, Zhongguo jindai jianshi, p. 339.
167. Chow, "The Anti-Confucian Movement.....," p. 300.
168. Wen-han Kiang, The Chinese Student Movement, p. 66.
169. Ibid., p. 68.
170. Ibid., p. 55.
171. Ibid., pp. 61-62.
172. Chow Tse-tsung, The May Fourth Movement, p. 324.
173. Zhang Qiushi, "Beijing feizongjiao da tongmeng xuanyan ji tongdian," in guonei jinshinian lai zhi zongjiao sichao, pp. 193-194.

174. Bernal, "Liu Shih-p'ei and National Essence," in C. Furth, The Limits of Change, p. 107.
175. Yang Tianshi, "lun xinhai geming qian de guozui sichao," in Zhongguo jinsanbainian xueshu sichao lunji. Jiaji, p. 34.
176. Bernal, "Liu Shih-p'ei.....," in Furth, Op. Cit., p. 101.
177. Shiga, "Nihon zento no ni daitoha," quoted in prepublication manuscript of Bernal, "Liu Shih-pei and National Essence," p. 51.
178. Bernal, "Liu Shih-p'ei....," in Furth, Op. Cit., p. 103.
179. "xuewu gangyao," quoted in Yang Tianshi, Op. Cit., p. 35.
180. Quoted in Ayers, Chang Chih-tung and Educational Reform in China, p. 105.
181. Ibid., p. 245.
182. Ibid., p. 249.
183. Zhang Zhidong, "baocun guocui shu," quoted in Yang Tianshi, Op. Cit., p. 35.
184. Bernal, prepublication manuscript of "Liu Shih-p'ei and National Essence," pp. 13-14.
185. WZH, "wuhu lixiandang," CW.7.87-88.
186. Text of "Ouzhou liuxuesheng zongjiandu yanshuo," speech given to Shanghai Huangqiu student organisation. Reported in the Shenzhou ribao, reprinted in Xinshiji with notes by Wu Zhihui. WZH, CW.3.522-538.
187. WZH, "butong gu," CW.3.577.
188. WZH, "huoshang xinyou," CW.3.574.
189. WZH, "zhi Aixin Jueluo Caifeng jun shu," CW.7.177.
190. Ibid., CW.7.178.
191. Ibid., CW.7.178.
192. WZH, "qinyu," CW.3.569.
193. Ibid., CW.3.569.
194. Ibid., CW.3.569.

195. Quoted in Yang Tianshi, Op. Cit., p. 35.
196. Quoted in Ibid., p. 35.
197. Yang Tianshi, Op. Cit., p. 36.
198. "Nishe guocui xuetang qi," Guocuibao, No. 26, March 1907. In Zhang and Wang, xinhai geming qianshinian shilun xianji, Vol. 2. Part 2. pp. 630-631.
199. Zhang Binglin, "yanshuo lu," Minbao, No. 6. p. 4.
200. Ibid., p. 4.
201. Ibid., p. 14.
202. Gasster, Op. Cit., p. 223.
203. Yang Tianshi, Op. Cit., p. 36.
204. Zhang Binglin, "paiman pingyi," Minbao, No. 21, p. 1. For further discussion of this see Gasster, Op. Cit., pp. 223-225.
205. WZH, "shu paiman pingyi hou." WJHXJ zhenglun (1), p. 29.
206. Zhang Binglin, "gui Xinshiji," Minbao, No. 24, p. 3.
207. Ibid., p. 6.
208. Jing Song, Minyuan qian de Lu Xun xiansheng, pp. 92-93.
209. Lu Xun, "wenhua pian zi lun," in Fen, p. 29. Quoted in Xiao Gongquan, A Modern China and a New World, p. 558.
210. Lu Xun, "wenhua pian zi lun," in Fen, pp. 31-32. In a lecture at Peking University, May 1974, this was presented as a key sentence in this essay, which sums up Lu Xun's thought at that time. His opposition to democracy was based on Nietzschean ideas of the superman, the supreme role of the individual.
211. Ibid., p. 43.
212. Tianyibao, Nos. 8-10, joint edition. (portrait of Kropotkin.) and Ibid., Nos. 11-12, joint edition. (anarchist community in France.)
213. Ibid., Nos. 16, 17, 18, 19, joint edition.
214. Liu Shipai, "lun xinzheng wei bingmin zhigen," Tianyibao, Nos. 8-10, joint edition. In Zhang and Wang, Op. Cit., Vol. 2. Part 2, p. 973.

215. Gasster, Op. Cit., pp. 171-172.
216. Liu Shiwei, "baosheng xueshu fawei," Tianyibao, Nos. 8-10, joint edition, p. 50. Quoted in Onagawa Hidemi, "Liu Shih-p'ei and Anarchism," p. 93.
217. Bernal, prepublication manuscript of "Liu Shih-p'ei and National Essence," p. 71.
218. Liu Shiwei, "lun xingzheng.....," in Zhang and Wang, Op. cit. Vol. 2, Part 2, pp. 973-974.
219. Wang Gongquan, "shehui zhuyi jiangxihui diyici kaihui jishi," in Zhang and Wang, Op. Cit., Vol. 2, Part 2, p. 945.
220. Liu Shiwei, "lun xingzheng.....," in Zhang and Wang, Op. Cit., p. 969. Zhang Binglin's reference to the well field system and socialism is to be found in his speech "yanshuo lu," Minbao, No. 6, p. 12.
221. Chu Minyi, "Haogu," XSJ. 24, p. 2.
222. Ibid., p. 2.
223. Ibid., p. 2.
224. Ibid., p. 2.
225. Ibid., p. 2.
226. WZH, "ping Jupu jun" nannü zaijiao shuo," WJHXJ zawen, p. 164.
227. Ibid., pp. 164-168.
228. Ibid., p. 169.
229. Ibid., p. 169.
230. Ibid., pp. 169-170.
231. WZH, "renlei yuanshi shuo," CW. 1.145-150.
232. Ibid., CW.1.150.
233. Ibid., CW.1.153.
234. WZH, translation with notes. CW.13.1648-1726.
235. Ibid., CW.13.1726.

236. Ibid., CW.13.1726.
237. Ibid., CW.13.1726.
238. Ibid., CW.13.1727.
239. Philip C. Huang, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Modern Chinese Liberalism, p. 142.
240. Grieder, Hu Shih and the Chinese Renaissance, p. 161.
241. Chow, The May Fourth Movement, p. 318.
242. Ibid., p. 318.
243. Ibid., p. 318.
244. Hu Shi, "Letter to Hao Xu," in Hu Shi wencun, (third collection.) Vol. 3, p. 211.
245. Hu Shi, "zhixue de fangfa yu cailiao," in Hu Shi wencun, (third collection) Vol. 2, p. 205.
246. Lu Xun, "lao dianzi yijing changwan," in Lu Xun fandui cunkong fugu yanlu xuanji, p. 101.
247. Lu Xun, "weiyou tiancai zhi qian," in Fen, p. 136.
248. Lu Xun, "suigan lu," in Xinqingnian, Vol. 6, No. 2, p. 212.
249. Lu Xun, "qingnian bi dushu," Lu Xun quanji, Vol. 3, p. 18.
250. WZH, "jian yangbagu hua de lixue," CW.1.182-183.
251. Ibid., CW.1.182.
252. Chow, The May Fourth Movement, pp. 327-328. And Grieder, Op. Cit., pp. 129-131. The group also included Chiang Boli, Carsun Chang and Ding Wenjiang.
253. Liang Qichao, "Ouzhou xinyinglu, jielu," yinbingshi heji, Vol. 5.
254. Ibid., p. 11.
255. Ibid., p. 12.
256. Liang Qichao, "renshengguan yu kexue: duiyu Zhang Ding lunzhan de piping," yinbingshi heji, Vol. 4, pp. 23-25. Quoted in Huang, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Modern Chinese Liberalism, p. 157.

257. WZH, "Zhang Shizhao, Chen Duxiu, Liang Qichao," CW.10.1608.
258. Liang Souming, Dongxi wenhua ji qi zhexue, (Shanghai 1922.)
My description of Liang Souming's ideas is largely based on Kwok, Op. Cit., pp. 139-140, and Chow, The May Fourth Movement, pp. 329-332. Liang Souming taught at Peking University 1917-37. Like Carsun Chang, he later became a leader of the Third Force and member of the Democratic League.
259. Liang Souming, dongxi wenhua..., pp. 12 and 202.
260. WZH, "yige xin xinyang de yuchouguan ji renshengguan," (henceforth "New Belief") CW.1.73.
261. Ibid., CW.1.72-73.
262. Ibid., CW.1.74.
263. Chow, The May Fourth Movement, pp. 232-235.
264. Russell, The Problem of China, p. 185.
265. Kwok, Op. Cit., p. 50 and Chow, The May Fourth Movement, p. 193.
266. WZH, "huanghui shengzhong de Tai ge-er," CW.18.1100.
267. Ibid., CW.18.1101-1102.
268. WZH, "wangao Tai ge-er," CW.18.1104.
269. Ibid., CW.18.1104-1105.
270. Ibid., CW.18.1105.
271. Ibid., CW.18.1104-1105.
272. WZH, "jian yangbagu hua de lixue," CW.1.179.
273. Ibid., CW.1.178.
274. Ibid., CW.1.180.
275. Ibid., CW.1.180.
276. WZH, "New Belief," CW.1.75-76. and Hu Shi, Hu Shi wencun, (3rd Coll.) Vol. 2, pp. 162-163.

277. WZH, "New Belief," CW.1.81.
278. Ibid, CW.1.70.
279. Boorman, Op. Cit., Vol. 1, pp. 30-31. Zhang Junmai, known in the West as Carsun Chang, studied 1913-15 at the University of Berlin and then in London, 1915-1916.
280. Zhang Junmai, "renshengguan," in kexue yu renshengguan, (below KXYRSG) Vol. 1, pp. 2-4.
281. Ibid., pp. 9-10.
282. Ding Wenjiang, "xuanxue yu kexue," in KXYRSG, Vol. 1, p. 1. Ding Wenjiang, came to Britain in 1904 at the suggestion of Wu Zhihui. He studied at Edinburgh, Cambridge and finally Glasgow where he graduated in zoology and geology, He returned to China in 1911. In 1918-19, returned to Europe with Liang Qichao and the team of semi-official observers to the Paris Peace Conference.
283. Ibid., p. 3.
284. Ibid., pp. 28 and 22.
285. Ibid., p. 80.
286. Ibid., p. 84.
287. The many contributions to the debate from both sides were collected into two volumes under the title kexue yu renshengguan, (KXYRSG), published at the end of 1923 with prefaces by Chen Duxiu and Hu Shi.
288. WZH, "yige xin xinyang de yuchouguan ji renshengguan" (New Belief) CW.1.1-95. was serialised in the Shanghai periodical Taipingyang between August 1923 and March 1924.
289. Hu Shi, "jige fanlixue de sixiangjia," Hu Shi wencun, (3rd Coll.) Vol. 2, p. 111. The others included by Hu were Gu Yanwu, Yan Yuan and Dai Zhen.
290. Hu Shi, "kexue yu renshengguan xu," p. 10, KXYRSG, Vol. 1.
291. Ding Wenjiang, "xuanxue yu kexue," in KXYRSG, Vol. 1, pp. 9-13.
292. Chen Duxiu, "kexue yu renshengguan xu," p. 10. KXYRSG, Vol. 1.
293. Quoted in Hu Shi, "kexue yu renshengguan xu," p. 16. KXYRSG, Vol. 1.

294. Hu Shi, "kexue yu renshengguan xu," p. 14. KXYRSG, Vol. 1.
295. WZH, "New Belief," CW.1.6.
296. Hu Shi, "kexue yu renshengguan xu," p. 20, KXYRSG, Vol. 1.
297. WZH, "New Belief," CW.1.17-18. Wu noted that the reference to the weight of the brain was a joke based on a saying from his home district. (Wu Xi.) "The universe is a great living organism" and "eternal movement" come from Bergson. Bergson's philosophy was dualistic. The world was divided into separate areas, life and matter, which were constantly in conflict in the universe. Life was one force, the élan vital, resisting and struggling to break away from matter. The concepts of "power" and "will" are drawn from Nietzsche.
298. Ibid., CW.1.20-21.
299. Ibid., CW.1.5-8.
300. Ibid., CW.1.23.
301. Ibid., CW.1.22-23.
302. Ibid., CW.1.23.
303. Ibid., CW.1.27.
304. Ibid., CW.1.28-29.
305. Ibid., CW.1.23-31.
306. Ibid., CW.1.32-37.
307. Ibid., CW.1.43.
308. Ibid., CW.1.44.
309. Ibid., CW.1.56-57.
310. This differs from Wu's earlier position and will be discussed in Chapter 2.
311. WZH, "New Belief," CW.1.66-86.
312. Ibid., CW.1.92.

- 313. Forke, Geschichte Der Neuren Chinesischen Philosophie, p. 646.
- 314. Gao Lu, Chinese Ambassador to France, Annales Franco-chinoises, (1er Trimestre) 1931, p. 5. Quoted in Forke, Op. Cit., p. 647.
- 315. Hu Shi, "kexue yu renshengguan xu," pp. 20-21. KXYRSG, Vol. 1.
- 316. WZH, "New Belief," CW.1.94.

CHAPTER 2

SOCIAL REVOLUTION

a) The Utopian Goal

Kropotkin posed the question, "must we occupy ourselves with an examination of the ideal of a future system?" and replied strongly in the affirmative;

"In the first place, in the ideal we can express our hopes, aspirations and goals, regardless of practical limitations, regardless of the degree of realisation we may attain; for this degree of realisation is determined by external causes.

In the second place, the ideal can make clear how much we are infected with the old prejudices and inclinations."(1)

Wu and his comrades shared this view and, though concerned with shorter term goals for much of the time, they found the space in their writings to constantly bring one's attention to the ultimate form of society they wished to achieve. One of these visions was on the following lines;

"Total equality, freedom but not licence. There will be no laws to coerce people, yet nothing they do will be contrary to the highest principles. Being good will come naturally and not from compulsion. Therefore there will be no need for military preparations, far less for government. There will be no need for national boundaries between races, far less for states. And finally there will be no boundary between me and others. Man will walk happy, contented and well-fed. There will be no contention or hate, no grievances or competition. In total contentment, over the four seas there will be Spring. This is what the wondrous datong will be."(2)

On the means to reach the final goal, there has never been agreement

amongst socialists. But on the ultimate objective itself there is little difference between the position of Marxists and that of followers of Kropotkin. Of the ideal economic order Kropotkin had this to say;

"In common with all socialists, the anarchists hold that the private ownership of land, capital and machinery has had its time; that it is condemned to disappear; and that all the requisites for production must, and will, become the common property of society, and be managed in common by the producers of the wealth."(3)

For most anarchists, he continued, socialism taken to its ultimate conclusion was a complete negation of the wages system, that is communism. More specifically, as explained by Alexander Berkman, this means "labour and its products must be exchanged without price, without profit, freely, according to necessity."(4) Such a programme marks anarchist communism off from the mutualism of Proudhon and the collectivism of Bakunin, under which distribution related to work done would still survive.(5) Under communism, however, the wages system having been abandoned, "everybody, contributing for the common well-being to the extent of his capacities, shall enjoy also from the common stock of society to the fullest extent of his needs."(6)

Wu Zhihui put it thus;

"From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs. That is the key concept from which we derive our belief in the Datong. If this principle is fully realised, then it can be said that perfection has been achieved."(7)

Wu was quick to refute the idea that communism meant the equalisation of property, of rich and poor. With private property, however fairly divided up, it would basically be the same system as before. Why not, he asked, abolish private property altogether and hold it

in common? Communism (gongchan) was like being a family of brothers who did not divide the property after their father's death.⁽⁸⁾

In another article Wu gave his fertile imagination free rein and described in some detail how he visualised the anarchist world society. Laws would be replaced by morality. The concepts of "duties" and "rights", so basic to bourgeois state theory, would give way to the communist principle of from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs. "Everybody will act in accordance with truth and justice, of their own accord and there will be no rulers or ruled. This is anarchism."⁽⁹⁾ Thus coercion by the state would be replaced by social and economic relationships entered into freely by individuals. There would be no private property, Wu continued. Clothes, food and housing would be provided as needed. Soon after the establishment of anarchist society, experts would travel round the world on ships and in motor vehicles, by then all common property, to have discussions and consultations on how and where to best build homes, lay out parks and organise agricultural land. With the co-operation of the whole world's peoples, the project would take only three months. This having been done, homes, one every three to five li would be constructed, encompassing the whole world. Terms such as province would be abolished and there would only be names referring to parks and forests, pastures and factories. Cities and villages existing today were to be called collectively "residential areas" (jusuchu). Then the different parks and forests and these residential areas would be identified by numbers.

All bad housing would be abolished and all fine palaces,

temples, pagodas, military fortresses and graveyards destroyed as well. But material left over from this mass demolition was to be used for the new buildings. Between the houses, stretched out at intervals of three to five li there would be broad forests and flower gardens.

Each residence would have sleeping quarters, an eating area, a recreation area, somewhere one could go to to read, write or do research, a workshop, as well as a clinic for sick people situated outside the main house. These dwellings would not be assigned to anybody in particular. As Wu put it, people like travelling, so they could stay at one of these houses for as short a while, or for that matter, as long as they wished.

Communications would be improved with routes for electric trains and airships established so as to facilitate world-wide contacts. For short distance travel, cars and trams were to be made obsolete by moving pavements operating day and night. Any bicycles still existing could be used for recreation and exercise in the parks.

With regard to production, Wu envisaged each individual working of his own volition, doing as much as he was capable of, in one of the farms or factories which were to provide the clothes, food and other necessities for society, to be distributed as they were needed. So as to eradicate the distinction between town and country and make any market or shop structure redundant, basic supplies, he explained, were to be kept in special store-houses in each dwelling.

Science was to be stressed, with special emphasis on engineering, which could improve communications, and also on research into hygiene and medicine with the aim of lengthening life. Chemistry,

physics, archeology and other branches of "evolutionary science", Wu foresaw, would be widely studied. Simplified characters (in China) and new methods of learning would open up such subjects to everybody. "Thus ten year old children could already have the knowledge of present day scientists." In this well informed and harmonious society, people would have the time and inclination to walk as they wished through the woods which adjoined their homes, meeting strangers and freely exchanging ideas. (10)

That vision of the datong was written in 1908. Later in other writings Wu gives us further glimpses of this ideal world. In 1918 he explained that under communism, with each providing his labour according to his ability, man would work for only two hours a day. In the remaining twenty-two hours he would sleep for eight hours, enjoy himself for six and spend eight hours studying and inventing. By the time anarchism was reached, everybody would be "lofty minded, pure and uncorrupted, and excellent." Dwellings would be pristine and elegant, roads broad and leading in all directions, flowers and trees planted in abundance, precious birds and strange animals reared in suitable places. The whole world would resemble a great park, with not one dirty or rundown area. By then, man's head would have grown, because of the intensive use of the brain. Because machines would be available for long distance travel, his limbs would be fine and subtle. (11)

Then in 1924, Wu further described his new world, foreseeing universities every thirty li, fine libraries and exhibition halls every twenty li. With workers attending universities their knowledge would have reached a high level. This would lead "to the replacement

of capitalist factories by co-operative factories. Socialism based on organisation at the place of work can then be rapidly established."⁽¹²⁾

Wu's ideal world was one transformed by science, throbbing with industrial activity -

"Iron pillars will be cast like ten thousand tree-trunks, cement will pour out in vast quantities, experimental equipment will fill the factory workshops. Chairs and tables made of shiny iron and oiled wood will fill the store houses."⁽¹³⁾

Vehicles would pile up soil in the fields, machines in the factories would churn out products; "everybody will get the education that suits them and every person will do only two hours of work a day, that is communism."⁽¹⁴⁾

It is striking how Wu's ideal world in some respects resembled the advanced capitalist world of today. Though on the one hand he stressed that the world would be laid out like an extensive garden city, peaceful and verdant, on the other he visualised a jungle of concrete and steel, a society based on mass production, a world criss-crossed by huge roads cutting through the countryside itself virtually urbanised and transformed by mechanisation. But though Wu's datong bore a strong resemblance to the grossest aspects of society today, we should still note that he prefaced the achievement of his ideal world with an extremely high degree of economic development, permitting an abundance of all man's necessities, permitting education and thus moral advance which would ensure the eradication of the exploitation and deprivation which characterise the world today.

What links if any were there between Wu's datong and traditional utopian thought in China? Lawrence S. Thompson has

written that Kang Youwei's Datongshu was a work of "original genius" for "in China utopian thought has been almost negligible."⁽¹⁵⁾ Francis Hsu¹¹ has also contrasted the paucity of utopian writing in China with the wealth of utopias in the West, citing in the Chinese tradition the sole example of Tao Yuanming's "Record of the Peach Blossom Spring." (taohuayuan ji)⁽¹⁶⁾ In fact quite contrary to these views, it can be shown that China is a rich source of utopian thought. The term datong was first defined in the Li Yun section of the Book of Rites (Liji liyunpian) .

"When the great Tao was in practice, the world was common to all; men of talents, virtue and ability were selected; sincerity was emphasised and friendship was cultivated. Therefore, men did not love only their parents, nor did they treat as children only their own sons..... They hated to see the wealth of natural resources undeveloped [so they developed it, but this development] was not for their own use. They hated not to exert themselves [so they worked, but their work] was not for their own profit..... This was called the great unity (datong)"⁽¹⁷⁾

The Theory of the Three Ages (sanshishuo) to be found in the Gong Yang Commentary of the Spring and Autumn Annals provided a framework for the progressions of society to the utopia of the age of Great Peace (taiping). Other utopias of a more escapist, quietistic nature than the one described in the Li Yun are to be found in the Taoist tradition, for instance in the Laozi, Zhangzi and the Liezi. Later there was the anarchist world dreamed of by Bao Jingyan as well as the Peach Blossom Spring mentioned above. In addition, peasants also produced their own utopian thought, characterised by demands for egalitarian land reform, a theme continued and developed in modern times by the Taipings. Kang Youwei described in detail his vision of the ideal world in his datongshu, but this imaginative work was not

published until 1935, fifty years after it was first drafted in 1884-5.

Thus its influence was for a long period restricted to a handful of close associates whom Kang confided in, for instance his disciple Tan Sitong, who incorporated many of his ideas into his "Study of Benevolence". (renxue)⁽¹⁸⁾ Later, Sun Yat-sen insisted that the Chinese had nothing to fear from Soviet Russia for "Sovietism is what Confucius called the datong"⁽¹⁹⁾, and elsewhere he wrote that "the Principle of People's Livelihood is socialism, and is also called communism, that is the concept of the datong."⁽²⁰⁾ But it would be wrong to view this body of Chinese utopian thought as a homogeneous whole, as Xiao Gongquan has written;

"The fact appears to be that Ta-t'ung was a sufficiently appealing concept to attract persons of widely divergent persuasions - and with sufficient ambiguity and flexibility to allow diverse interpretations. Hence it has been used with equal facility in the T'ai-p'ing rebellion, the Chinese anarchist movement, the revolution led by Sun Yat-sen, and in K'ang's utopian thought, to convey vastly different social ideals. It is unwarranted to suppose that any one of these was inspired by any other."⁽²¹⁾

Xiao may be overstating his case by arguing that these different strands of utopian thought did not influence each other. Clearly, many educated Chinese, including Wu Zhihui, through a study of the classics or just through popular folk-lore were well aware of the significance of the age of datong. But Xiao is correct in pointing out that on close examination one man's concept of the utopia differed greatly from that of the next. For instance, in some ways Kang's datong resembled that of Wu. Kang envisaged a society in which life would be pleasant for all because machines would have done away with the long hours of toil. Moreover, agriculture, industry and commerce would all be

publicly owned and operated. But on one fundamental question, Kang differed from Wu. A central aspect of Wu's thought was the abolition of all government, whereas Kang foresaw a comprehensive world government, one world but not anarchy.⁽²²⁾

One can postulate that as a Chinese intellectual with a strong grounding in traditional culture, Wu must have had a natural affinity for utopian thought which constituted an integral part of that culture. However on the basis of his writings, there is no evidence to suggest that his own utopian thought predated his arrival in Europe in 1903. His attachment to the concept of datong began with his espousal of Kropotkin's anarchist communism after he arrived in Paris. Western thought contains numerous visions of the ideal world. Sir Thomas More is credited with having coined the word utopia in his book of the same name.⁽²³⁾ In his utopia "all things being held in common, every man has abundance of everything."⁽²⁴⁾ Thommaso Campanella recognised neither the family nor private property.⁽²⁵⁾ Etienne Cabet wrote of Icaria, a realm of "communalism and happiness."⁽²⁶⁾ James Reynolds also envisaged a communistic society which he called Lithconia.⁽²⁷⁾ Prominent in the history of utopian socialism are Robert Owen and Charles Fourier who both mapped out in some detail the form society should take in the future.⁽²⁸⁾ This tradition of utopian thought underwent a transformation at the hands of evolutionary science to give birth to the anarchism of men like Kropotkin. Thus one can argue with some confidence that, through its reliance above all on the theories of Kropotkin, Wu's datong thought drew heavily from that European utopian tradition. At the same time we should

not neglect to observe the linguistic if not philosophical debt Wu must have owed to the Chinese tradition for such terms as datong and taiping.

b) The Mechanics of Social Progress

How then was this ideal world to come about? Trying to convince the reader that his view of social development was firmly anchored in science, Wu claimed that his concept of datong "is definitely not utopian thought." (wutobang sixiang)⁽²⁹⁾ As Kropotkin put it;

"The ideal of the anarchist is thus a mere summing up of what he considers to be the next phase of evolution. It is no longer a matter of faith, it is a matter of scientific discussion."⁽³⁰⁾

In the midst of the science-metaphysics debate in 1923, Wu refuted Liang Souming's view of static civilisation, the view that "mankind has always been as it is today" and that "material civilisation has its limits", stating in reply;

"The evolution of man's material civilisation has gone on for three million years. People in the past and people today are not the same. In their minds they have also changed a great deal."⁽³¹⁾

Wu described Liang Souming as being like the sage Confucius, the symbol of conservatism and no change, while he saw himself as Sun Wukong, the promethean monkey hero of the traditional novel, Journey to the West. He continued; "I believe that I live in the world of Copernicus," while Liang lives in the age before that pioneer of modern science.⁽³²⁾ How could, Wu asked, material civilisation be

bankrupt, as was suggested by Liang?; "Civilisation, it is another word for evolutionary development." (33)

A belief in the inevitable march of society to a higher and more advanced stage, presupposed an optimistic view of the development of man himself, a view that, given the right conditions, man could advance morally and spiritually. Wu's concept of perfection was the communist principle taken to the most extreme point. (34) But this is not to say that he believed that this point could actually be achieved.

"When you talk of the principles of evolution, you can never fix the period within which the point of perfection can be achieved. We are constantly evolving to a state closer to this point of perfection, so that the world daily becomes more and more enlightened. This process goes on without cease." (35)

From Wu's evolutionist standpoint, it seemed illogical to arbitrarily put some limit on social progress; thus human development was seen as open ended. As a further example of this position, one can consider what Rudolph Rucker wrote.

"[Anarchism] It does not believe in any absolute truth or in any definite final goals for human development, but in an unlimited perfectability of social patterns and human living conditions which are always straining after higher forms of expression, and to which, for this reason, one cannot assign any definite terminus, nor set any fixed goal." (36)

In 1907, Wu elaborated on social progress and his concept of human nature which would make this progress possible. He wrote that those who believed in authority considered man to be bad and so used laws to supervise him, while those who were slightly more advanced considered man to be both good and bad and so appealed to

their selfishness by creating a social balance between rights and duties. But "anarchists believe that all men's hearts are good."⁽³⁷⁾

But as in evolution in general, so in human society, perfection was never to be reached.

"The evolution of the world is like a spiral. The [ultimate] truth is something which can never be reached..... If the [ultimate] truth could be reached, then it would mean the end of heaven and earth. The principle of evolution is simply an advance from "relatively imperfect" to "relatively perfect." It is like a spiral turning in on itself, getting narrower all the time."⁽³⁸⁾

Wu gave the example of Mencius' theory of benevolence and righteousness, which though it had crude similarities to modern anarchism, in fact was very different. Both were forces for moral improvement and going in the same direction, but the Confucians were farther from the truth. The Confucian ideas were on the outside, lower part of the spiral of evolution, the anarchist ideas on the inner, higher part.⁽³⁹⁾

In another piece, Wu reiterated the view that "it is the common nature of things to go towards good and away from bad." But he again pointed out that when the datong was reached, there would still be stupidity and wisdom, good and bad, right and wrong. We were still far from the datong, but,

"in the future we will get relatively near to that point, but still good and bad will not be extinguished. As we get nearer to that point, the difference between good and bad will become more universally recognized. The age of datong can be described as the word for being relatively evolved."⁽⁴⁰⁾

Later, in the years after 1911, Wu expanded on his point that the ultimate perfection was never to be reached. First in an

article in his Zhonghua Xinbao soon after returning to China in 1916⁽⁴¹⁾ and later in various pieces written in the twenties,⁽⁴²⁾ he put forward the view that "good and evil advance together" (shan e jujin). As he stated in 1924;

"When I say that the ancients were not so advanced as people today and that people today are not so advanced as those who will come after, it is not a theory that man tends towards good only. It is saying that in good and evil, the ancients were not so advanced as people today and people today are in turn not so advanced in good and evil as those in the future."⁽⁴³⁾

Knowledge and education were tools for teaching people to be better, but they could also be used to teach them to be bad. Wu gave the example of a class of thirty pupils. Even though the teacher were a sage, he could not tell how many of them would become criminals and how many would become policemen. If they were taught to use revolvers, this skill could be used by them as easily for evil as for good purposes. Wu accepted Confucius' statement "those at the top are wise and those at the bottom are stupid, this does not change" as an "indisputable truth." In between the few at the top and bottom who were unchanging, there were however many who could be moulded by education. In a period of moral advance, Wu calculated, maybe 65% of the people would be good and in a period of retrogression the reverse would be true.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Within each period of advance there would be tiny retrogressions and in a period of retrogression countless small advances would occur, all going to make up the totality of evolution.⁽⁴⁵⁾ But this did not mean that evil would for ever be able to advance as quickly as good. Evolutionary theory convinced Wu that there was no way of eradicating all evil or preventing bad people from existing.

But he explained that there was no need to be pessimistic and pointed to the key function of good people in controlling the evil in others;

"If we use every ounce of our energies to win temporary victories [over evil] then our goals can certainly be attained."⁽⁴⁶⁾ It was unavoidable that bad advanced along with good, but,

"if after every short period you sum up what has happened and calculate the area conquered by good, you will always find that it has advanced further than the region occupied by evil. That is what evolution is."⁽⁴⁷⁾

Chu Minyi shared Wu's belief in the theory of good and evil advancing together and also his optimism over the certainty of the gradual victory of good over evil. Good would expand quicker and more broadly than evil. "Good will daily increase, evil will daily become destroyed, and society will daily move towards reform. Of this we can be sure."⁽⁴⁸⁾

But the terms good and evil are subjective and mean different things to different people. Thus it is necessary to examine what is meant by them. In relation to human affairs, Wu defined them as quite simply, "the natural division between conduct that is suitable [for evolution] and conduct that is unsuitable [for evolution]."⁽⁴⁹⁾

But Wu stressed that,

"before you can hope to cause men to advance from evil to good, you must first give them the ability to distinguish good from evil and the ability to distinguish good from evil is increased by knowledge."⁽⁵⁰⁾

Obviously this knowledge had to come from education (see Chapter 6).

However, on a more theoretical level, what kind of knowledge did Wu think would provide the driving force for social change? In an

exposition of his theory of knowledge, he stated that,

"from contact with external things, sensory perception is created. Acceptance and rejection in sensory perception creates feelings; when we fear that our feelings may have been mistaken, then there is created thought which leads to reason. (lizhi)"(51)

Wu considered that in the future, man ought to pay special attention to the development of reason.⁽⁵²⁾ In the past, intuition had, he continued, been mistakenly considered more important than reason, so much so that intuitive knowledge could not be amended in the light of reason.⁽⁵³⁾ He wrote of the protagonists of metaphysics in 1923;

"you wish to bind the feet of reason and ask Mr Intuition to bitterly go on."⁽⁵⁴⁾ The shackling of reason was a matter for great concern,

because Wu considered that it was from reason that science developed and he described science as the "study of reason" (lizhixue).⁽⁵⁵⁾ He

held that there were three broad categories of learning. Firstly aesthetics, literature and religion could be called the study of feelings.

Metaphysics and philosophy were the study of the principles behind the feelings. Science alone was purely the study of reason.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Reason

and science were the key to social progress. "If you place the highest value on feelings, then spiritual civilisation will become

universalised. But if you exalt reason, then material civilisation will be expanded."⁽⁵⁷⁾ It was man's "first duty to the universe" to

concentrate on science, on material civilisation, for man's abilities did not come from any god, Wu wrote, but from the universe and as

science advanced so there would be changes in man's abilities and behaviour.⁽⁵⁸⁾ Science was the means to give man the tools to trans-

form production and help him to produce the abundance upon which the

realisation of communism depended. Through this process, man's basic desires and needs would be satisfied;

"Only when people have enough to eat can you advance towards a higher morality. Only by improving agriculture, commerce, industry and machinery to profit the world, will it be enough to reach the xiaokang and then the road to the taiping."(59)

c) Industrialism: the Function of Science and Technology

Thus we arrive at Wu's firm belief in the power of science and technology (kexue gongyi) to transform society, which as a detailed theory dates from Wu's return in 1910 from Paris to London where he immersed himself in research into the problems of science and industry. (60)

"The reason why man has advanced better than wild beasts is the fact that he developed his front legs into hands, so that he was able to do more work and produce more. Thus mankind was improved and increasingly the things which in nature were lacking could more and more be supplied. This process of man using his hands to make objects, leading to an improvement in the human race and a remedying of the shortages which occur in nature, this is called evolution."(61)

Thus Wu stated his view of technical change. But further to this, it was the advent of tools other than hands, and later of machines which gave man the skills he needed. Able to use his hands, man soon devised ploughs and chisels to help him in his labours, Wu explained. Wu's ideal was for tools now doing ten per cent of man's work to be gradually improved until they did all the work. The hope of mankind was to "utilise the finest machines so as to replace men in labour," to provide "warm clothing, good food, spacious homes and speedy

transport," and what is more permit all mankind to enjoy these benefits. (62)

In an article in the New Youth magazine in 1916, Wu boldly stated that mankind's happiness advanced in proportion to the march of material civilisation. As to what material civilisation was, he urged the reader to look beyond products and goods (pin) and to become aware of the tools and skills which produced them. Animals had no other tools but their horns, mouth and feet. But man's early ancestors stood on their hind legs and transformed their front legs into hands which, as tools, could themselves produce other tools. From simple tools, man made increasingly complex tools such as nets, ploughs, bows and arrows, boats and carts, until at the end of the eighteenth century the steam engine was born. Wu identified this invention as the turning point in the development of industry and the forces of production, for the steam engine was not just a machine itself, infinitely more powerful than a pair of hands, but it could also be used to power a lathe or a drill. It not only made the machines it powered go more quickly, but also allowed them to carry out operations previously impossible.

Wu concluded that China was backward compared to the West because she lacked the tools to produce material things. He acknowledged that already (in 1916) there was a growing awareness of the need to expand the manufacture of machines, to spread "industrialism" (shiyè zhuyì) and stress scientific education. But he felt that unless a genuine interest in tools was stimulated amongst the youth, there would be no concrete results to show for all the plans;

it would be "like talking about the heavens but being cut off from them by clouds and mist." Wu argued that you could judge how civilised a country was by how many tool shops it had. He did not suggest relying on foreign products but rather the purchase of single foreign machines with a view to copying them. But he still doubted whether any of China's youth had ever seen a power lathe and he called on young people to forego eating out or going to the theatre and instead to build workshops in their homes where they could develop machines. Deeply impressed with technical education in Britain, where he had attended evening classes at the Regent Street Institute in London, (63) he thought China should learn from the way British children did wood-work and constructed models. (64)

In April 1924, Wu helped to found the Science Weekly (kexue zhoubao) and as editor contributed a number of important statements concerning the industrialisation of China. In the opening article of the first issue, he talked of the bright light of science which had illuminated Europe, influencing ninety per cent of learning from the most esoteric philosophy to aesthetics and psychology. One by one the various branches of learning "have stepped onto the stage of science and hand in hand have advanced together." Though men's thoughts were easily distracted and blinkered, now, having been moulded by science, we could "carry out an orderly investigation and ordering of our environment and also have a clear understanding of the universe. Thus we can establish a suitable view of society (shehuiguan)."⁶⁵ Then with characteristic enthusiasm, Wu summoned the Chinese people to action.

"Our race is rich in creativity. Let us occupy this rich land with its natural treasury, start singing songs about making a great effort, take up on our backs the hoe of science, open up and reap this boundless treasury. Come!"(66)

In another editorial in the same journal, Wu pointed out two hundred years before the West had been as backward as China, but that now with steam engines, electric generators and internal combustion engines, it was making rapid progress.⁽⁶⁷⁾ He called on friends and compatriots to "take off their long gowns" and to "put on the blue cloth of the workers and peasants," so as to achieve "the natural transformation according to the principles of Heaven."

"Transform what? Transform our environment. What is our environment? It is what we eat, wear, live in, use. Everybody must eat hygienically, wear more comfortable clothes, live in more pleasant homes, have more efficient tools to use."(68)

But Wu's view that "industry hastens the creation of communism"⁽⁶⁹⁾ did not go unchallenged by other anarchists. Liu Shiwei and the anarchists associated with the Tianyibao in Japan in 1907 had rejected the "material civilisation of the Westerners", claiming that although in the age of anarchy it could be valid, if used while government still existed it was harmful and "makes the people ill." Liu bemoaned the fact that many Chinese were dazzled by the civilisation of the industrialised world while they closed their eyes to the suffering of the majority of people in those countries.⁽⁷⁰⁾ In the years after 1911, Wu faced continued opposition from anarchists who rejected industrialisation. Dating from Laozi and in modern times popularized by Tolstoy, the concept of a return to the natural state, agricultural self-sufficiency, now manifested itself in slogans such as "destroy

machines in order that the world be correct."⁽⁷¹⁾ Those who mouthed such slogans, Wu wrote, wished to return to ploughing the fields, to drilling their own wells, rather than go along the road of mechanisation which would liberate mankind from labour. Rather than struggling to get for the poor that which the rich monopolised today, Wu continued, these critics of his wished to force the rich people to descend to the primitive level of consumption of the poor. This was "the case of the mangy dog falling into the water and dragging the lame cat in with him." Wu conceded that maybe those who lacked nothing might not in every case necessarily be happier than those who ploughed the fields. But he doubted whether those who did the ploughing were definitely happier than "wriggling creatures."⁽⁷²⁾

So, Wu summed up, there were two ways of "dreaming for the world of the datong." His datong was one in which machines would relieve man of the burden of daily toil. His critics rejected this world and, from a love of nature, longed for a thatched hut and a life in the mountains, "in the fresh wind and under the bright moon," But, Wu asked, would they feel differently about that world when storms and rain arrived, when they had to contend with snakes and wild animals?⁽⁷³⁾

d) Syndicalism

Wu's commitment to industrial development was such that he regarded capitalism, and the industry it gave birth to, as an inevitable, necessary stage, though for the workers in the short term not a harmonious or easy one. Wu talked glowingly about the

rapid expansion and concentration of capital which had occurred since Adam Smith so "brilliantly elucidated" the theory of the division of labour. Through this development of capitalism, the necessities of life could be provided; therefore "large-scale manufacturing industry is an indispensable product of the evolution of mankind."⁽⁷⁴⁾ But in arguing the necessity of the capitalist stage, Wu fell foul not only of the conservative "metaphysicians" like Carsun Chang, who blamed science for causing the First World War, but also of "some anarchist friends," who claimed that "science is the running dog of the capitalists." In their view, by developing industry the capitalist was helped to accumulate more wealth and, at the same time, local landlord despots were transformed into wealthy men who travelled around in motor-cars.⁽⁷⁵⁾ Wu did not side-step the problem:

"If these man-made things become more and more, but only go to a few people, it then saps their morality and they become rich, wealthy and proud and they mark themselves off from others. That is retrogression."⁽⁷⁶⁾

The capitalists no longer used their hands, but plundered the work of others and thus became parasites, a burden on mankind. Before the Yellow Emperor, Wu explained, sages had all been workers. But later Confucius and others developed the false idea that there should be rulers and ruled. However in recent times emperors and kings had become regarded as "bandits of the people" and the power of those who ruled had thus been weakened. Still at the same time, through the capitalist division of labour, Wu continued, the distinction between those who worked with their minds and those who worked with their hands had become reinforced. Indirectly this helped monarchs

and officials to survive, while directly it strengthened capitalists in their bid to replace the old rulers. As a way of eroding the division between mental and physical labour, productive work had to be linked to education (see Chapter 6). Only when everybody used their hands could mankind truly advance, through the eradication of deficiencies in supply. (77)

Wu's reply to criticism of his industrialism, closely resembled answers given by Errico Malatesta in an article which was translated and published in the New Century. In "Talk About Anarchist Communism Between the Workers", one worker argued that machines were tools for bringing misfortune to men. Since machines had been invented, there had been, he said, a dramatic rise in unemployment and therefore it was better that machines be done away with altogether. Malatesta in reply admitted that under the present social order machines caused suffering, but the reason for this was that the machines were controlled by the capitalists;

"If the machines are occupied by the capitalists, then men are the slaves of the machines and so they are poor and have hardships. If the machines are owned by all, then they are the masters of the machines and there can flow freedom and happiness." (78)

But the problem as Wu saw it was not just that the capitalists controlled the means of production. The very weakness, backwardness of the machines compounded the problem to produce a situation in which the labour of the workers was needed to supplement the power of the machines. So Wu proposed a two pronged assault on the capitalist class which operated the system and on the backwardness of the forces of production which helped perpetuate the division of

labour.

"On the one hand our labouring people must continue the just struggle against the rich people who occupy the machines and on the other they must also help to improve the machines."(79)

Wu went on to explain the inter-relationship between the two prongs of his theory. If the technological struggle for better machines outstripped the struggle for control of them by the workers, then the capitalist still operating the factory, would, because of the high efficiency of the machines, be able to dispense with the labour of the workers. As a result the workers would have no work and be faced with the choice of starving or fighting. Thus the revolution would be extremely violent and Wu baulked at what he called this "catastrophe of splitting of skins." (80)

If on the other hand, when the period of struggle for ownership of the machines arrived, the technological level of the machines was still low and human labour was still indispensable to the production process, then the capitalist could quite simply buy off the workers with wage increases. Economism would sap the revolutionary spirit of the workers. Moreover when such tactics failed and conflict could not be avoided, the workers, having little knowledge of science and technology and ignorant of how the machines actually functioned, were more likely to raise the slogan of "smash the machines" than to organise into "labour organisations." (laodong zuhe)⁽⁸¹⁾ with a view of seizing control of the means of production. An important weapon of the working class and lever for economic change was, as Wu saw it, to be the trade union, syndicates formed by workers as a natural result of the exploitation they experienced. Capitalism was for man-

kind a period of great suffering, but paradoxically it was also the order which gave birth to the datong.

From Wu's industrialism, his total reliance on industry and urban development as the road to a new society, there flowed a conviction that peasants had little or no potential as a revolutionary force, that is, as long as they remained peasants. Wu wrote that the peasants were like "scattered sand", lacking organisation, and so were unable to stand up to the landlord who came to collect rent or repayment on loans.⁽⁸²⁾ Science and industry, he continued, attracted the rural wealthy to the cities and the peasants then followed them there to become the work force and "gathered there in labour syndicates." (gongtuan)

"In the last one hundred and fifty years, science has become more prominent, and so you have had such concepts as republic, trade union, communism, anarchism and others which have shaken the world..... The faster factories are opened, the more we can get all the land in the countryside to be managed by the rich people, who could use machines to plough and plant it, and the peasants would more and more become workers and then a world datong would quickly arise."⁽⁸³⁾

One might compare this with the statement by Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto that,

"the bourgeoisie has subjected the country to the rule of the towns. It has created enormous cities, has greatly increased the urban population as compared with the rural, and has thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life."⁽⁸⁴⁾

Like them, Wu believe that the revolution could only come from the cities and that the backward, poorly organised peasantry was an obstacle to, rather than a positive factor in the struggle to come. But Marxism and the anarchism Wu embraced were products of the

rise of industrial capitalism in Europe. Wu, in common with many Western educated Chinese, returned to China and applied his European city-centred ideology to Chinese society in a dogmatic fashion with little regard to the objective conditions which prevailed. As another example of this tendency, one can look at the Chinese communist movement and cite the Li Lisan line and the Moscow position it reflected. In 1930, Li wrote that "the villages are the limbs of the ruling class. The cities are their brains and heart. If we cut out their brains and heart, they cannot escape death."⁽⁸⁵⁾ In fact the revolution in China was to be born in the countryside, where in the under-industrialised, semi-feudal China, significant economic power still lay. Wu's theory of revolution was not based on a true appreciation of the nature of Chinese society but rather on the influences he was exposed to while in Europe.

The basic theoretical assumptions of anarcho-syndicalism derive from anarchist socialism propagated within the First International. We can see this from the debates at its fourth conference at Basle in 1869 concerning the importance of the economic organisation of the workers. The form of organisation of anarcho-syndicalism was taken from the revolutionary syndicalist movement which reached a peak between 1895 and 1910, particularly in France, Italy and Spain.⁽⁸⁶⁾

At Basle in 1869, the Belgian anarchist Lins proposed a motion, which was adopted, part of which stated that "all workers should strive to establish associations for resistance in the various trades."⁽⁸⁷⁾ In his speech proposing the motion, Hins explained that

"the councils of the trades and the industrial organisations will take the place of the present government and this representation of labour will do away, once and forever, with the governments of the past."⁽⁸⁸⁾

Thus he envisaged labour syndicates as the basis for the new order. After the Paris Commune, this tendency which derived largely from the mutualism of Proudhon, underwent a process of transformation by the anarchism of Bakunin and Kropotkin and finally became harnessed to the revolutionary syndicalism of France to produce anarcho-syndicalism.⁽⁸⁹⁾

During the 1890's French anarchists abandoned individual acts of violence and increasingly participated in the trade union movement, helping to create a form of revolutionary syndicalism, based on anarchist principles.⁽⁹⁰⁾ Trade unions were declared to be not only important tools in the revolutionary process through their use of the General Strike, but also to be the basis for the future socialist society. "A network of syndicates and other worker's associations would administer economic affairs and, by dispensing with the state..... enable men to manage their affairs in freedom."⁽⁹¹⁾

At the 1907 International Anarchist Congress held in Amsterdam, the issue of syndicalism figured prominently, with a debate between Pierre Monatte, anarcho-syndicalist from the revolutionary wing of the French Confederation General du Travail (CGT) and the more purist anarchist communist Malatesta. But though the latter did not agree with Monatte that unions could form the organisational structure of the new society, he nevertheless recognised the important part they could play in the struggle with

capital.⁽⁹²⁾ In the same way, other anarchist communists like Paul Grave and Kropotkin were certainly not hostile to anarcho-syndicalism.⁽⁹³⁾ Indeed Kropotkin wrote that "the syndicalist and trade union movement, which permit the working men to realize their solidarity and to feel the community of their interests much better than any elections, prepare the way for these conceptions" [anarchist communism and revolutionary action.]⁽⁹⁴⁾

The importance attached to trade unions by anarchists in France and the rest of Europe at the beginning of the century, was reflected in the columns of the New Century. In July 1907 the journal carried an announcement of the International Anarchist Congress to be held at Amsterdam that August⁽⁹⁵⁾ and then in September it published detail reports from the congress. Though, presumably reflecting Malatesta's line, the New Century specifically stated that unions were not the central force of the revolution, still it ascribed an extremely important role to the general strike and described the labour syndicate as,

"an organisation for bringing about class (dengji) revolution. As a workers' body it can transform capitalism into communist society. Thus the congress recognizes the utmost importance of revolutionary trade union organisation."⁽⁹⁶⁾

Elsewhere in the New Century it was stressed that unions were not intended to serve as a means to seek government reforms, but should use tactics such as strikes and refusal to pay taxes for revolutionary ends. It was noted that strikes of Paris power workers had blacked out the whole city.⁽⁹⁷⁾

One article⁽⁹⁸⁾ in the New Century, came to terms with the

question of how one exported syndicalism to China by pointing to China's secret societies as the basis for the organisation of industrial workers. The secret societies over the centuries had, the article explained, symbolised the power of the Chinese people to unite, and represented their aspirations. Special reference was made to their role in driving the Mongols from China and in opposing the Manchu conquest. Although in recent times there had been a gradual development of Chinese industry through the import of foreign capital and the opening up of mines and the building of railways, the article continued, workers were still organised on the basis of secret societies. The author noted with urgency that "in recent years all the countries of Western Europe have been advocating syndicalism, with the vital task in the social revolution of organising the labouring people."⁽⁹⁹⁾ The natural conclusion had to be that revolutionaries "enter the factories and mines and propagate this idea" [syndicalism]. If China was to have a successful revolution it had to establish unions. "But in the new construction why not go to the already existing secret societies and reform them," replace their Ming restorationism with communism, their strict "class system" and its titles such as Chief and Deputy Dragons in the case of the Triads, with "free organisation."

Moreover secret societies already possessed progressive tendencies, the author stressed. For instance the Gelaohui provided mutual aid for transport workers carrying goods to the ports. In conclusion the author suggested that Chinese revolutionaries amend the 1870's Russian populist slogan of "Go and join ranks with the people" to "Go and join ranks with the secret societies."⁽¹⁰⁰⁾

In March 1918 in Shanghai, Wu founded the Laodong (Labour) magazine. The first journal of that name in China,⁽¹⁰¹⁾ it propagated Proudhon's theory of labour⁽¹⁰²⁾ and anarcho-syndicalism.⁽¹⁰³⁾ The primacy of productive work is a keystone of socialist economic thinking and in its opening declaration of principles the magazine put forward the slogan of "respect labour" (cunzhong laodong),⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ which resembled the banner of "The God of Work" (laodong shensheng)⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ later widely used in the Chinese labour movement. Another article in the magazine analysed the significance of labour; "It is through doing labour that man fulfils the greatest duty of life, for labour is the source of civilisation, society depends on it for its survival." Labour, it continued, was crucial for one's spiritual and physical fitness but above all it was important because labour was the "basic source of production." "If it were not for labour power, production would have no way of advancing."⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ Or as Wu and colleagues put it in the declaration of principles of the magazine, "the reason man is ennobled by work is that through work, products can be made and products are needed for human life." ⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

From the principle that labour is the source of all production flowed the view that those who labour ought to directly control and enjoy the fruits of their labour. But under the present order "those enjoy the products do not work for them. This is plunder which must be done away with and through this there arises the social revolution."⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ The products of labour belonged to the workers and had to be wrested from the capitalists. The opening editorial of Labour posed the problem in this way;

"How can one enjoy the products and not work for them, or work but not get tired..... In the end you become of no benefit to labour and finally belong to the parasites of society."(109)

Thus, peasants and workers lived pitiful existences. Peasants laboured but did not own their land or machinery and lost so much of their produce in rent and tax that there was not enough to feed the whole family, let alone the livestock.⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Likewise the workers did not own the raw materials for production, nor the machines. They were heavily taxed and the goods they produced were returned to them by the capitalist at inflated prices. Though they were the actual producers of the goods, they received a wage which was too little to provide a living.⁽¹¹¹⁾ As a result of this situation, the editorial continued, there arose what politicians in Europe and the U.S.A. called the "labour problem." In fact this problem was none other than "class war" (jiejí zhànzhēng) between those who did not work yet still lived a pleasant life and those who though they worked were always suffering and helpless.⁽¹¹²⁾

Or as Wu put it on another occasion, there were rich people who "rely on wealth inherited from earlier generations or on monopoly capital" and sacrificed countless numbers of their countrymen, causing them to have neither clothes nor food, so that they, the wealthy, could have warm clothes, eat fine food, live in spacious dwellings and have speedy transport.⁽¹¹³⁾

In an important article in the first issue of Labour, Wu explained the reasons for the rise of trade unions. In Europe and the U.S.A. every inch of land was owned by landlords, every piece of cloth

was made by large companies. The common people were either tenant farmers or employees in the cities, "to sum up they are just workers." (gong)⁽¹¹⁴⁾ Elsewhere, in relation to China, Wu distinguished between peasants (nongmin)⁽¹¹⁵⁾ and workers. (gongren).⁽¹¹⁶⁾ In the case of a general statement concerning both classes he used the term "labouring person." (laodongzhe)⁽¹¹⁷⁾ However he concluded that in Europe and the U.S.A. the commercialisation of agriculture had eradicated any clear distinction between those who worked on the land and those who worked in the factories. In those countries, Wu continued, capitalists on the one hand sought to lower wages and reduce costs, and on the other hand tried to increase the productivity of the workers while reducing their numbers. In the "uncivilised" countries like China there was widespread indolence and unemployment. In the "civilised"⁽¹¹⁸⁾ industrial world people worked extremely hard but still there was unemployment. In China the consequences of unemployment, Wu explained, were less grave than in the industrialised states where to be unemployed was to "enter the road death."⁽¹¹⁹⁾ This, Wu wrote, was the reason for the birth of trade unions.⁽¹²⁰⁾

"As a group they supported each other in their dealings with the capitalists by upholding the principles of justice and they comforted their fellow workers with the way of mutual love."⁽¹²¹⁾

Originally, he went on, China had had no capitalists or workers and had enjoyed "the happiness of being uncivilised." (yeman xingfu)⁽¹²²⁾ Thus in a paradoxical statement he expressed on the one hand the view that life before capitalism was for the people less harsh and on the other his distaste for backward "uncivilised" China without modern science and thus unable to develop. But now, as he put it, the tides

of civilisation were sweeping into China, foreign capitalists and local Chinese entrepreneurs were "springing up like bamboo shoots in Spring."⁽¹²³⁾ This being so, the only way for workers to save themselves from the depredations of capitalism, to "fight for survival in the world of capitalism", was to form themselves into trade unions. (gongdang)⁽¹²⁴⁾

It is clear that Wu's concept of working class organisation and revolutionary change derived from the anarcho-syndicalism of Western Europe at the beginning of this century. But how revolutionary was Wu's syndicalism by 1918 when he started the Labour magazine?

Anarcho-syndicalists eschewed conspiratorial or insurrectional action in favour of industrial action, in particular the general strike, as a means to achieve the social revolution.⁽¹²⁵⁾ Equally they were set against struggles for reform through parliament. Rather they relied on direct action by the syndicates, which as Rocker explained, entailed,

"every method of the immediate struggle by the workers against economic and political repression. Amongst these the outstanding are the strike in all its gradations, from the simple wage struggle to the general strike, organised boycotts and all other countless means which workers as producers have in their hands."⁽¹²⁶⁾

But it was in the general strike that "direct action by organised labour finds its strongest expression," continued Rocker.⁽¹²⁷⁾ The anarchist congress in Amsterdam in 1907, which was covered by the New Century, came out strongly in favour of strikes by syndicates and also encouraged the refusal to do military service and the subversion of discipline within the army⁽¹²⁸⁾ all key tactics of French revolutionary syndicalism.⁽¹²⁹⁾

The New Century responded to the revolutionary syndicalist tides of the time. It held up the Paris Commune as the great forerunner of the socialist revolution.⁽¹³⁰⁾ The influence of Proudhon and mutualism was dominant amongst the communards⁽¹³¹⁾ and Kropotkin acclaimed the Commune as a spontaneous revolt of the people, the classic example of direct action.⁽¹³²⁾ The New Century identified a close link between the tradition of the Commune and the revolutionary syndicalism in France and other countries which was manifesting itself in widespread resistance to taxation, strikes and anti-militarism.⁽¹³³⁾ Li Shiceng reported on the waves of opposition to the army in the South of France, where there were cases of the burning of government buildings, the killing of policemen and the mutiny of soldiers. He summed up what he considered to be the basic tactics of French revolutionaries fomenting such action; "syndicalist organisation" and anti-militarism.⁽¹³⁴⁾ The revolutionary role of trade unions was clearly expressed in another article in the New Century; "Today's unions do not seek governmental reforms, but just use revolutionary methods such as the strike, opposition to taxes, anti-militarism."⁽¹³⁵⁾

Though the New Century did list as a major reason for the failure of the Paris Commune the fact that "revolutionary ideas had not yet been popularised"⁽¹³⁶⁾, such questions were rarely permitted to dampen the revolutionary fervour to be found in its pages. But in 1918, back from Europe and confronted with the backwardness of China, Wu and those who worked on the Labour magazine took more seriously that problem of preparation for the revolution. They

became less militant and more inclined to stress the need to first raise the consciousness of China's newly-born working class.

In its five issues, Labour introduced a wealth of knowledge concerning the basic relationships in capitalist society. It stressed the dignity of labour⁽¹³⁷⁾ and popularized for the first time in China the celebration of May 1st as International Labour Day.⁽¹³⁸⁾ The author of the article on Labour Day outlined the format workers organisations should take. Syndicates had to be organised solely by workers and should reject the interference of capitalists in their running. Secondly, they should be organised from below up and link up with other syndicates to form federations. Thirdly there would be no leaders just officers (ganshi), "all would be equal without any ruling members, without dictatorship." Fourthly and finally, the social revolution was to be the final objective of syndicates, "with mutual prohibition of political activities, so as to end the ambitions of careerists."⁽¹³⁹⁾ Clearly this was a pure anarcho-syndicalist programme for the unions.⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ The author also laid down three steps for the Chinese syndicalist movement. First that of organising, then the struggle for higher wages and better hours and finally workers' direct management of the means of production with the equal distribution of things produced. He insisted that Labour Day should take as its objective not just the eight hour day but also the overthrow of capitalism.⁽¹⁴¹⁾ However, what is most significant is that the Labour magazine felt that the Chinese working class was barely ready to take the second step, the struggle for economic demands. Although a widespread shutdown of small traders in Shanghai in protest at

increases in taxation had been called "resisting taxation", the action, one contributor to Labour considered, had not been essentially different from the traditional kind of market shutdown. The traders had "begged for sympathy from society, hoping for support from the capitalist bosses."⁽¹⁴²⁾ Moreover, it was explained, many labour organisations remained mixed, with workers permitting capitalists to actually run them.⁽¹⁴³⁾ The reason for this was that workers lacked a grasp of the correct ideology and had no effective independent organisation.⁽¹⁴⁴⁾

Thus Labour announced that its aim was to "nurture the morality of the labouring people" and to "introduce to the labouring people, common scholarship on world knowledge."⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ Through introducing this knowledge to them it was hoped to raise their "character" to that of the rest of the world's citizens in response to the "currents of democracy." (pingmin zhuyi)⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ Wu reiterated the need for a great effort to bring education to the workers.⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ Just as political parties could not function because of the ignorance of the population at large, so,

"the reason why the unions do not come into being is that workers study does not flourish. If the workers are going to find a fundamental way of saving themselves, then the primary task is to seek study."⁽¹⁴⁸⁾

The Chinese workers were still at the stage of organising or even simply preparing the way to organisation through the raising of their level of class awareness and knowledge in general. Thus it might not have been of great significance that the slogans in the opening editorial of Labour carried no bold calls to direct action such as a

general strike. Such activity, it could be argued, was out of the question while the working class was immature.

However if we examine more closely how Wu and his colleagues visualised the revolutionary transition, we see that they in fact expected to effect a relatively peaceful and non-violent change which would not entail the kind of bloody conflicts fomented by syndicalists at the beginning of the century and which had been so warmly praised by Wu's *New Century*.⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ Writing in the early twenties, Wu revealed what can only be described as a romantic vision of how easily the capitalist would accede to the demands of the syndicates. The capitalist would set up a factory, bring in labour to work in it and as a result unions would spring up. Then the capitalist "will not be able to sleep well in bed. Then he will move from concessions [to the workers] to profit sharing, to co-operation and then to common ownership." (guigong)⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ It is conceivable, though it is not stated in that passage, that Wu meant that the capitalist retreated when faced with direct and, if necessary, violent action on the part of his work force. But no such interpretation is possible in the case of the stated objectives of the *Labour* magazine. Having identified the "problem of labour" as "class war" between workers and capital, it was explained that "the problem of labour arises when the class war is not pacified." (ping) Only, the piece continued, by getting to the bottom of how class war operated and then by using appropriate methods, could the war be pacified and the "problem of labour solved."⁽¹⁵¹⁾

"So the *Labour* magazine wishes to make clear the

principles of class war and to research methods of pacifying it , so that along with the labouring people of the whole world we can resolve this problem and seek a correct life."(152)

Thus it was stated quite unequivocally that the aim was to mediate rather than to exacerbate class conflict. As Wu stressed, it was hoped to avoid at all costs the "catastrophe of the splitting of skins." (153)

Footnotes

1. Kropotkin, "Must We Occupy Ourselves with an Examination of the Ideal of the Future System," in Miller, Op. Cit., p. 48.
2. "Yu youren shu lun xinshiji," XSJ.3. The term datong derives from the Liyun section of the Confucian canon, the Book of Rites. (Liji liyunpian) It referred to an ideal age without conflict in which "the whole world will be common to all." (tianxia weigong) This description of communist society became a powerful image in Chinese philosophy and it is natural that the anarchists should have taken over the term to translate Western utopian concepts. (see below, main text, for further discussion of this) I have hesitated to translate datong as utopia for the simple reason that Wu specifically stated that he regarded his concept of progress towards the datong as definitely not utopian. (see below, main text.) Other translations of the term have included the Great Unity (Fung, Short History of Chinese Philosophy), the Great Harmony, (Tseng, Modern Chinese Legal and Political Philosophy), Cosmopolitanism, (Hsu, Political Philosophy of Confucianism) and One World, (Thompson, Ta-t'ung-shu. The One World Philosophy of K'ang Yu-wei.)
3. Kropotkin, "Anarchist Communism," in Baldwin, Op. Cit., p. 46.
4. Berkman, What is Anarchist Communism, p. 197.
5. Woodcock, Anarchism, pp. 187-8. Berkman, Op. Cit., pp. 211-213. Kropotkin, "Anarchist Communism," in Baldwin, Op. cit., pp. 58-59.
6. Kropotkin, "Anarchist Communism," in Baldwin, Op. Cit., p. 59.
7. WZH, "shu ziyou yingye guanjian hou," WJHXJ xuba, p. 178.
8. WZH, "da youren shu. shehui wanti," CW.1.126.
9. WZH. "wuzhengfu zhuyi zhi xiantian," XSJ.49.
10. Ibid.
11. WZH, "jiqu cujin datong shuo," CW.4.419-420.
12. WZH, "New Belief". CW.1.70.
13. Ibid., CW.1.70
14. Ibid., CW.1.70. It should be noted that in this piece Wu used the terms socialism and communism interchangeably, continuing the practice common amongst 19th century socialists.

15. Lawrence G. Thompson, Ta-t'ung Shu. The One World Philosophy of K'ang Yu-wei, p. 55.
16. Francis L.K. Hsu, "Cultural Differences Between East and West and Their Significance for the World Today," Tsinghua Journal of Chinese Studies, Vol. 2, No. 1 (May 1960) p. 224.
17. Fung Yu-lan, A Short History of Chinese Philosophy, pp. 202-203.
18. Zhongguo kexueyuan (ed.) Zhongguo datong sixiang ziliao, Preface, pp. 1-2.
19. Sun Yat-sen, "zhi Quan Yangyi (Inukai Tsuyoshi) shu," in Ibid., pp. 94-95.
20. Sun Yat-sen, "sanmin zhuyi, minsheng zhuyi," in Ibid., p. 95.
21. Hsiao Kung-chuan, A Modern China and a New World, p. 501.
22. Thompson, Op. Cit., pp. 38-53.
23. Sir Thomas More, Utopia (1516) English translation by Ralph Robinson, London 1551. Definitive edition in Sir Thomas More, The Complete Works.
24. Negley and Patrick, The Quest for Utopia, an Anthology of Imaginary Societies.
25. Tomasso Campanella, "Civitas Solis Seu Ides Reipublicae Philosophicae," (written 1602) English translation in Negley and Patrick, Op. Cit., pp. 311-342.
26. Etienne Cabet, "A Voyage to Icaria" (Paris 1840) in Negley and Patrick, Op. Cit., p. 558.
27. James Reynolds, "Equality or a History of Lithconia," (1802) in Negley and Patrick, Op. Cit.
28. Robert Owen, "Book of the New Moral World," (1842), see Harty Ross, Utopias Old and New, pp. 125-128.
29. WZH, "jiqi cujin datong shuo," CW.4.420.
30. Kropotkin, "Anarchist Communism" in Baldwin, Op. Cit., p. 47.
31. WZH, "New Belief," CW.1.68.
32. Ibid., p. 68.

33. Ibid., p. 69.
34. WZH, "shu ziyou yingye guanjian hou," WJHXJ xuba, p. 178.
35. Ibid., p. 178.
36. Rocker, Anarchism and Anarcho-syndicalism, p. 14.
37. WZH, "da yourenshu. shehui wanti," CW.1.128.
38. Ibid., p. 128.
39. Ibid., p. 128.
40. WZH, "da sheijun zongjiaotan," CW.3.603.
41. WZH, "lun shan e jujin shuo zhi yingxiang," Zhonghua xinbao, 1916.
42. WZH, "erbaizhao pingmin dawenti zui qingbian de jiejuefa." CW.5.
232-271.
43. WZH, "New Belief," CW.1.67.
44. WZH, "erbaizhao pingmin...." CW.5.239-240.
45. WZH, "lun shan e zhi jinhua," CW.1.234.
46. WZH, "erbaizhao pingmin.....", CW.1.234.
47. WZH, "lun shan yijin, e yijin," CW.1.236.
48. Chu Minyi, "shan e jujin lun," Luou zazhi, No. 11, p. 5.
49. WZH, "lun shan yi jin, e yijin," CW.1.235.
50. Ibid., CW.1.235.
51. WZH, "New Belief," CW.1.17.
52. Zhang Wenbo, Wu Zhihui xiansheng zhuanji, Vol. 2, p. 158.
53. WZH, "New Belief," CW.1.60.
54. Ibid., CW.1.70.
55. Zhang Wenbo, Wu Zhihui xiansheng zhuanji, Vol. 2, p. 158.
56. WZH, "New Belief," CW.1.79.
57. Ibid., CW.1.30.
58. Ibid., CW.1.43 and 59-60.

59. Ibid., CW.1.36. The term xiaokang, like datong is to be found in the Li Yun section of the Book of Rites. Originally the age of xiaokang was conceived of as the age after the datong had come to an end. The datong was a golden age since when society had declined. After the age of datong declined there arose the age of xiaokang, typified by private property and often regarded as the period of the Xia, Shang and Zhou dynasties. (zhexue xiaocidian, p. 241.) However, Wu, like Kang Youwei, took the datong to be an age in the future, towards which man was progressing. Thus the xiaokang became the stage before rather than after the datong. The term Taiping is to be found in the Theory of the Three Ages (sanshishuo), located in the Gongyang Commentary of the Spring and Autumn Annals. Later these three ages became known as the states of Disorder, Rising Peace and Great Peace (taiping). Kang Youwei linked the theory of the Three Ages with the Li Yun concept of the datong, identifying the taiping age with that of datong and that of Rising Peace with that of xiaokang. (zhexue xiaocidian, p. 240).
60. Chen Linghai, Op. Cit., CW.18.37.
61. WZH, "qingong jianxue zhuanhu hou," (1919) CW.4.421.
62. WZH, "jiqi cujin datong shuo, CW.4.418-420.
63. WZH, Zhilao xianhua, p. 83.
64. WZH, "qingnian yu gongju," Xinqingnian (Oct.1.1916) Vol. 2. CW.4.404-409.
65. WZH, "Kexue zhoubao fakanyu," WJHXJ xuba, p. 93. Wu was approached by the Minguo ribao to work on a proposed supplement of the paper to be called the Kexue Zhoubao or Science Weekly, which had originally been the idea of students of the Science Research Society of the Peking Teachers College. The motto of the journal was "the study of the content of science and the realisation of the value of science." (Kwok, Scientism in Chinese Thought, p. 43.)
66. WZH, "Kexue zhoubao fakanyu," WJHXJ xuba, p. 93.
67. WZH, "Kexue zhoubao editorial", CW.4.378.
68. Ibid., p. 377.
69. WZH, "Kexue zhoubao editorial," CW.4.374.

70. Liu Shiwei, "lun xingzheng wei bingmin zhi gen," in Zhang and Wang, Op. Cit., Vol. 2, Part 2, p. 75.
71. WZH, "jiqi cujin datong shuo," CW.4.418.
72. Ibid., CW.4.418-419.
73. Ibid., CW.4.419.
74. WZH, "lun gongdang bu xing youyu gongxue busheng," WJHXJ, kexue, p. 18. In the early thirties with the Japanese aggression against Manchuria and Shanghai, Wu took his belief in machines as the key to social change still further with his slogan of "save the country with motors" (moto jiuguo). He popularised this concept in articles and speeches stressing industrial and military development to meet the Imperialist threat. He said that China should make machines a new kind of opium. In 1930 he addressed an audience at the Zhongyang University with these words; "If each Chinese became addicted to machines, then China could certainly be saved." ("moto jiuguo lun, yi." reported in the Nanking Zhongyang ribao, Feb. 13 Included in CW.4.452.) See also "Moto jiuguo lun, er," a speech to the Reconstruction Committee in 1933, reported in Zhongyang dangwu yuekan, No. 55, included in CW.4.452-455.. The journal New China (xinzhonghua) ran a special issue in 1933 under the title "Save the country with motors." Its editors acknowledged Wu Zhihui as the originator of the idea and the issue carried a lead article by him. (Xinzhonghua 1:13, 1933) Besides this, Wu wrote a frontispiece for the journal in praise of motors in the ancient seal script he was famous for. The inscription was:
 "The world had changed since the invention of the steam engine. The world changed again when the petroleum-driven engines were invented; the nineteenth century was an age governed by the steam engine; the twentieth century is an age ruled over by the petroleum-driven engine. How miraculous, the motor! the motor! How sacred, the motor!"
 (quoted in Kwok, Op. Cit., p. 41.) (See Appendix 1.)
75. WZH, "Kexue zhoubao editorial," WJHXJ kexue, pp. 76-78.
76. WZH, "qingong jianxue zhuanhu hou," (1918) CW.4.421.
77. Ibid., CW.4.421-424.
78. Errico Malatesta, "A Talk about Anarchist Communism Between the Workers," translated as "gongren zhi wuzhengfu tan," XSJ, 13, p. 2.

79. WZH, "jiqi cujin datong shuo," CW.4.420.
80. Ibid., CW.4.420.
81. Ibid., CW.4.420-421.
82. WZH, "Kexue zhoubao editorial," WJHXJ kexue, p. 78.
Sun Yat-sen often described the Chinese peasants as being like "scattered sand." See "Sanmin zhuyi, minsheng zhuyi", in Sun Zhongshan xuanji, Vol. 2, p. 679.
83. WZH, "kexue zhoubao editorial," WJHXJ kexue, p. 79.
84. Marx and Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party.
Moscow edition, p. 47.
85. Quoted in S. Schram, Mao Tse-tung, p. 142.
86. Rucker, Op. Cit., p. 25.
87. Quoted in Ibid., p. 26.
88. Quoted in Ibid., p. 26.
89. Woodcock, Pierre Joseph Proudhon, His Life and Work, p. 276.
90. Ibid., p. 298.
91. Ibid., p. 276.
92. Woodcock, Anarchism, pp. 249-250.
93. Miller, Introduction, p. 28, to Kropotkin, Selected Writings on Anarchism and Revolution.
94. Kropotkin, "Modern Science and Anarchism," in Baldwin (ed.) Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets, p. 174.
95. "Wanguo wuzhengfu dang hui," XSJ, 3.p.2.
96. "Wuzhengfu dang wanguo gongquhui," XSJ, 15.p.1.
97. "Gonghui," XSJ, 40.p.2.
98. "Quyí. Yu huidang wei wu," XSJ, 42.pp.1-2.
99. Ibid., p. 2.
100. Ibid., p. 2.

101. Makesi..... yanjiusuo, (ed.) wusi shiqi qikan jieshao, p. 167.
102. Chow Tse-tsung, The May Fourth Movement, p. 256.
103. Makesi....(ed.) Op. Cit., p. 167.
104. "Laodong yuekan fakanci," Laodong, No. 1, March 20, 1918.
in Makesi...(ed.), Op. Cit., p. 546.
105. Makesi... (ed.) Op. Cit., p. 169.
106. Laoren (pseud.) "cunlao", Laodong, No. 1. Quoted in Ibid., p. 168.
107. "Laodong yuekan fakanci," in Makesi...(ed.), Op. Cit., p. 546.
108. "cunlao," in Laodong, No. 1, in Makesi....(ed.), Op. Cit.,
p. 169.
109. "Laodong yuekan fakanci," in Makesi....(ed.), Op. Cit., p. 546.
110. Ibid., p. 546.
111. Ibid., p. 546.
112. Ibid., p. 547.
113. WZH, "jiqi cujin datong shuo," CW.4.418.
114. WZH, "lun gongdang buxing youyu gongxue busheng," Laodong, No.
1. In WJHXJ kexue, p. 18.
115. WZH, "Kexue zhoubao editorial," WJHXJ.kexue, p. 78.
116. WZH, "lun gongdang buxing....", WJHXJ.kexue, p. 19.
117. "Laodong yuekan fakanci," in Makesi...(ed.), Op. Cit., p. 546.
118. For Wu, civilisation was not to be equated with just the
cultural attributes of urban life, but quite simply with
science and technology, the force that led society to
abundance and progress. He wrote that once he was
lying on his sickbed reading a history of the evolution
of civilisation in the 18th and 19th centuries, when he
suddenly became aware of what civilisation was; the
axe and chisel. Being weak and poor was because such
tools were lacking. (WZH, "tanhua," CW.2.374-375.)
Elsewhere he put it like this; "What is civilisation? It
is the dark coal and iron." (WZH, "tanhua" CW.2.375).
119. WZH, "lun gongdang buxing....", WJHXJ kexue, p. 19.

120. Ibid., p. 19.
121. Ibid., p. 19.
122. Ibid., p. 19.
123. Ibid., p. 19.
124. Ibid., pp. 19-20.
125. Woodcock, Anarchism, p. 99.
126. Rocker, Op. Cit., p. 38.
127. Ibid., p. 39.
128. "wuzhengfu dang wanguo gongqunhui," XSJ.15, p.2.
129. Woodcock, Anarchism, pp. 299-300.
130. "xinshiji geming," XSJ.1.p.1.
131. Woodcock, Pierre Joseph Proudhon....., p. 276.
132. Kropotkin, "The Commune of Paris," first published in Le Revolte, reprinted in Miller (ed.), Op. Cit., pp. 124-125.
133. "xinshiji zhi geming," XSJ.1.p.1.
134. Li Shiceng, "jinri falanxi geming zhi fengchao," XSJ.2.p.3.
135. "gonghui," XSJ.40.p.2.
136. "xinshiji zhi geming," XSJ.1.p.2.
137. Laoren (pseud.), "cunlao," Laodong, No. 1.
138. "laodongjie," Laodong, No.3. (May 20, 1918).
139. S.S. (pseud.) "laodongzhe zhi zijue," Laodong, No. 4. Quoted in Makesi.....(ed.), Op. Cit., p. 177.
140. Makesi.....(ed.), Op. Cit., p. 177.
141. "laodongzhe zhi zijue," quoted in Ibid., p.175.
142. Ibid., p. 176.
143. Ibid., p. 176.
144. Ibid., p. 176.

145. "laodong yuekan fakanci," Makesi....(ed.), Op. Cit., p. 547.
146. Ibid., p. 547.
147. WZH, "lun gongdang buxing.....," WJHXXJ kexue, p. 19.
148. Ibid., p. 19.
149. Zhen (pseud. of Li Shiceng) "jinri falanxi geming zhi fengchao," XSJ.2.
150. WZH, "Kexue zhoubao editorial," WJHXXJ.kexue, p. 78.
151. "Laodong yuekan fakanci," Makesi....(ed.), Op. Cit., pp. 546-547.
152. Ibid., p. 547.
153. WZH, "jiqui cujin datong shuo," CW.4.420.

CHAPTER 3

POLITICAL IDEAS (1). 1890-1903

Wu Zhihui came to radical political ideas rather late in his life. The years before 1903 show a gradual and unspectacular development of his thought towards a revolutionary position. Far from being in the vanguard of intellectual change, as undoubtably he was after 1907, in these early years his response to change around him was often tardy when compared with that of many of his contemporaries.

a) Conservative Reformism

An incident in 1892, when Wu was twenty-eight years old and a Juren graduate, indicates a certain contempt for authority, but serves equally well to emphasise his conservatism. He and a number of fellow students from the Nan Qing Academy observed the magistrate of Jiangyin County ride in his sedan chair past a temple to Confucius without dismounting. Considering this act to be "slandering the Sage and lawless" (feishen wufa), they threatened the magistrate with stones. Furious, the magistrate arrested Wu and took him to the Yamen. But after the intervention of the headmaster of the Academy, he was released on the grounds that it was illegal to arrest a Juren. Wu returned to the Academy in a sedan chair, accompanied by a musical band provided by the magistrate. Although the matter appears to have been resolved to the satisfaction of both parties, nevertheless the

headmaster did not wish Wu to remain at the Academy and the next year, 1893, he moved to an academy in Suzhou to continue his preparation for the metropolitan examinations.⁽¹⁾

China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 underlined the total bankruptcy of the efforts of the Yangwu modernisers to strengthen China by using modern armed forces and industrial technology, while at the same time leaving the traditional political institutions untouched. The war left China virtually without a navy or an army and the Great Powers not only discussed the partition, but now also actively began the "scramble for concessions." The humiliating defeat at the hands of a nation traditionally despised by the Chinese and the apparent imminent colonisation of China gave rise to demands from many quarters for reform, a movement which culminated in the abortive Hundred Days Reforms of the Summer of 1898.⁽²⁾

Wu recalled that the defeat by the Japanese had a great impact on him and was the stimulus which led him to take the first steps towards reformism and ultimately revolution.⁽³⁾ Although he had felt indignation at China's weakness during the Sino-French War of 1884-85,⁽⁴⁾ the events of 1894-95 made an infinitely greater impression on him, leading him to conclude that it was imperative that China instigate reforms of the type carried out under the Meiji Emperor in Japan.⁽⁵⁾

The seizure of Jiaozhou Bay, Shandong, by the Germans in November 1897 further pointed to the gravity of the situation faced by China.⁽⁶⁾ As Li Chien-nung has written, as a result of the German

action in Shandong, "Chinese scholars of the whole empire were as excited as if they had taken morphine injections."⁽⁷⁾ In his diary, Wu recorded his anger at this affair, which he followed closely.⁽⁸⁾

At the beginning of 1895, Wu was in Peking for what was to be his final attempt to pass the metropolitan examinations. In response to the serious war situation, Kang Youwei, also in Peking for the examinations, wrote a petition to the Emperor calling for reforms. After Kang visited his hostel, Wu became one of the twelve hundred candidates who signed the petition, subsequently known as the Petition Presented by the Examination Candidates. (gongche shangshu)⁽⁹⁾ In 1897, Wu again went to Peking and visited Kang, agreeing with him that the three great evils which had to be eradicated were the binding of women's feet, the smoking of opium, and the Eight Legged Essay.⁽¹⁰⁾ Following his meeting with Kang, Wu was moved to write a three thousand character memorial to the Guang Xu emperor on the subject of reform. In the traditional manner, he stopped the sedan chair of Grand Councillor Qu Hongqi and presented it to him.⁽¹¹⁾

From 1896, starting with Kang Youwei's Society for Strengthening (qiangxuehui) in Peking, study clubs and newspapers were founded to promote reform ideas.⁽¹²⁾ In Shanghai, Wang Kangnian and Liang Qichao started the newspaper Current News (Shiwubao) and in Hunan, an important centre of the reformists, Tan Sitong and Tang Caichang opened the School of Current Affairs (Shiwu xuetang).⁽¹³⁾ During this period of ideological and political ferment, Wu, as a teacher at the Beiyang xuetang in Tientsin, associated with an active group of reformers in that city. The headmaster of the school, Wang

Yuansheng, worked with Yan Fu and others to found the reform newspaper, the Guowen Daily.⁽¹⁴⁾ During 1897, Wu not only regularly read the newspaper but also visited its editorial offices and often met with Yan Fu.⁽¹⁵⁾ It is said that at that time Wu regarded himself as a reformer. (weixindang)⁽¹⁶⁾ But how did his reform ideas compare with those of Kang Youwei and others of the radical wing of the reform movement? There is no doubt that Wu's position in many ways resembled that of certain conservatives within the movement who, though they saw the need for change, perceived of the most radical reform proposals as a threat to the political institutions of the Qing state.

Firstly, while Wu's association with Yan Fu and other reformers connected with the Guowen Daily brought him into contact with a wide range of Western ideas, it does not imply natural close links with reformers such as Kang Youwei or Liang Qichao. Yan Fu was Western trained and not the product of the official examination system and though in general he supported the reforms of 1898, he did not participate in them and remained something of an outsider.⁽¹⁷⁾

Secondly, the fact that Wu declined to contribute to the Guowen Daily on the grounds that it was too modern,⁽¹⁸⁾ indicates that although he was extremely interested in the new thought he came across in Tientsin, he was not yet prepared to give any strong commitment to it. Despite the deceptive cordiality of the encounter between Wu and Kang in 1897, the views of Kang and his followers were far from acceptable to Wu and other conservative reformers. On the issues discussed by Wu and Kang, footbinding, opium and the

Eight Legged Essay, there was a general consensus within the reform movement. Zhang Zhidong, who despite his initial patronage of the Kang-Liang group of reformers, ultimately turned against them in defence of his conservative political ideology, himself advocated wide-ranging reforms in education, including the abolition of the Eight Legged Essay.⁽¹⁹⁾ There were, however, other issues concerning the fundamental structure of the autocratic state on which Zhang took a conservative stand. In 1896, Kang won Zhang's support for setting up the Qiangxuehui in Peking and in Shanghai the Qiangxuebao was started. But Zhang quickly got cold feet; the Qiangxuebao was suppressed and the Qiangxuehui closed down.⁽²⁰⁾ The reasons for this are not difficult to find. Kang's dating of the Qiangxuebao according to the birth of Confucius instead of from the beginning of the Guang Xu reign was regarded as seditious and the whole tenor of Kang's Modern Text rejection of Confucian orthodoxy, his book entitled Confucius as a Reformer (Kongzi gaizhikao) and his view of Confucius as the founder of the Confucian religion and "uncrowned king" (suwang) produced a strong reaction not only from diehard conservatives but also from reforming officials such as Zhang Zhidong.⁽²¹⁾ Moreover, the name Kang gave himself, Zhangsu, was regarded as implying that he was the elder brother of Confucius, the suwang. Wu has recalled that he was led by this to regard Kang with deep suspicion.⁽²²⁾ But it was the views of Kang and his followers on institutional reform, the call for the establishment of a constitutional monarchy, albeit not fully democratic, and for progress towards "people's rights" (minquan) and "people's rule" (minzhu) which

threatened the fundamental relationships of the autocratic state structure. Wu has said of his visit to Kang in 1897, that though he agreed with Kang on many things, he could not accept his view that the emperor should be a 'public servant' (gongpu)⁽²³⁾, meaning that the emperor should accept some degree of popular control. It was on this issue of popular rights, as we shall see, that Wu clashed with his students in 1898.

Kang's views on institutional reform developed during the course of the reform movement. In 1895 he approved the setting up of a national assembly, but stressed that it should not weaken the power of the emperor, much as in Russia the Duma had ensured that power remained at the top. But in 1897, Kang called on the emperor to run the country in accordance with the wishes of an assembly and in 1898 he discussed with him the possibility of taking the French revolution, rather than the Japanese constitutional monarchy, as a model.⁽²⁴⁾ Wang Kangnian, a founder of the Shiwubao in Shanghai, was also a strong advocate of people's rights. He argued that when the people had no power they did not realise the nation belonged to them and so they became estranged from the Emperor. With people's rights, and the Emperor governing jointly with the people, as in Western countries, affection would grow between him and the people and thus the nation would be strengthened to meet the emergency. Wang stressed that the people would have a consultative role and that supreme power would still rest with the emperor. He concluded that the partial implementation of people's rights was the ideal way to strengthen the authority of the monarch.⁽²⁵⁾

Liang Qichao also advocated people's rights and constitutional government. In Hunan, where he worked with Tan Sitong and Tang Caichang on the Xiangxue xinbao, and opened a school the Shiwu xuetang,⁽²⁶⁾ his views gained great support and conservative reformers such as Bin Fengyang became extremely concerned. Bin accused Liang of using the concepts of "people's rights" and "equality" to subvert the province, to attack the correct relationships (lunchang) and to oppose the teachings of the sage Confucius (shangjiao).²⁷

Leading figures of the Hunan gentry under the banner of "defending the Way of the Sage" (Baowei shengdao) attacked the radicals, accusing the Shiwu xuetang of nurturing "rebels who recognise no father or ruler," and they petitioned the government to have Kang and Liang put to death for having tried to "change China into a democratic (minzhu) state on the Western model, which is the height of treason."⁽²⁸⁾

Given this background it is not surprising that Wu was warned by a friend to stay away from the "rebel" Kang and hearing rumours that there were petitions calling for Kang's execution, Wu did not visit Kang again.⁽²⁹⁾ In 1898, Zhang Zhidong withdrew his subsidy from the Xiangxue xinbao and endorsed a new journal, the Zhengxuebao, that was to reflect his views more closely. In the preface to this new journal, he called for a middle course. While he rejected the views of the diehard conservatives who admitted no change, at the same time he hoped to win back to the fold of orthodoxy those who promoted people's rights and who maintained that ruler and subjects, father and son were equal.⁽³⁰⁾ In his Exhortation to Learning (quanxue pian), published in 1898, Zhang stated very clearly his opposition to constitutional

government. Although the Outer Essays (waipian) of this work presented a wide-ranging reform programme, the Inner Essays (neipian) stressed the need for loyalty to the throne and for the preservation of the existing form of Imperial government. He discussed the Three Bonds (sangang) of Confucianism and maintained that the bond between ruler and subject was incompatible with people's rights. He also attacked the principle of parliamentary government;⁽³¹⁾

"They promote discussion of people's rights in order to get the people to unite and exert themselves.

Alas! Why use such words that incite disorder?

The doctrine of people's rights will not bring a single benefit but a hundred evils. Are we going to establish a parliament? Even suppose the confused and clamorous people are assembled in one house, for everyone of them that is clear-sighted, there will be a hundred whose vision is beclouded: they will converse at random and talk as if in a dream. What use will it be?"⁽³²⁾

In 1898, revealing a similar concern to that felt by Zhang Zhidong, Wu set his students at the Beiyang xuetang in Tientsin two essay questions designed to instill in them loyalty to the throne, for he believed that they had come under the influence of Kang and Liang and deplored the students' view that the emperor should be a "public servant." (gong nupu) The essays he received from the students were predictably heterodox and disloyal to the emperor and therefore he added a correction of several hundred to a thousand characters at the bottom of each script, in an attempt to restore the orthodoxy.⁽³³⁾

One essay he set was to discuss the Five Teachings (Wujiao) of Confucianism, that is the relationship between ruler and subject, father and son, elder and younger brother and finally between friends.⁽³⁴⁾

The essay title, written by Wu, declared that the Five Teachings were

the code of practice (gongfa) and the guarantee of stability in China. But this code, it continued, derived from a body of principles (gongli) . You could not hope to do away with the code of practice, the fundamental relationships of society, and still retain the principles it was based on. This argument was aimed at the use Kang Youwei made of the Modern Texts of the classics to advocate reform of political institutions. The second essay subject was a quotation from Mencius, originating in the Book of Songs; "everybody within the Empire is the subject of the ruler."⁽³⁵⁾

As was the case with most advocates of reform during this period, Wu's students looked to the classics for justification, quoting from the Analects of Confucius and from Mencius, pieces long regarded as having democratic or egalitarian implications and for that reason not often referred to for fear of punishment for sedition. But during the years 1895-98, the control on public opinion was relaxed as a result of the government's weak position after the war with Japan. One of the students, Guan Cede, quoted from the Analects (Book 12, Chapter 11) saying that when a ruler was not a ruler, then the subject was not a subject. If the virtue of the King, Guan continued, did not reach the people, then the country could not be ruled and the people could not be made his subjects. Another student wrote that the ruler was a ruler as long as he was able to protect the people from mistreatment at the hands of other countries and permit them to live in peace. Another argued that as the ruler did not carry out his duties in a kingly fashion, how could he feel any sympathy for him when he (the ruler) urged them to exert themselves for him. Others quoted

Mencius (Book 1, Chapter 1.): "to urge one's sovereign [to difficult achievements] may be called showing respect for him. To set before him what is good and to repress his perversities may be called showing reverence."⁽³⁶⁾

It is clear where the students derived their views from.

Wang Kangnian found justification for his advocacy of people's rights in Chinese history and in the classics. He quoted from the Book of History; "the Emperor frankly consults the people below him."⁽³⁷⁾

Guangdong reformers He Qi and Lu Litan quoted Confucius on the situation when a ruler is not a ruler and, attacking Zhang Zhidong for shamelessly teaching the people to be blindly loyal to the throne, they stressed that the ruler and subject each had duties to each other.⁽³⁸⁾

As Wang Kangnian wrote, the people,

"when faced with catastrophes, will desert the emperor one and all. They merely blame him for not being able to protect them, but they do not exert their minds and energy in the smallest degree for him."⁽³⁹⁾

This is exactly the view expressed in many of the students' scripts, that if the ruler fell down on his obligations, the obligations of the people to him were thereby nullified. The emperor no longer possessed the Mandate of Heaven.

Wu did not take the views of his students lightly. Unable to deny that Mencius had indicated that the ruler/subject relationship was reciprocal, in that the people could reproach the emperor in the same way that he could them, Wu wrote that one should first reproach oneself and fulfil one's duties to the emperor before criticising him. For an individual to reproach the ruler was acceptable, but for people to get together and offer criticism was, he said, rebellion. If a

father was not compassionate, then the son could be unfilial and reproach his father, but for sons to combine and criticise fathers in general was subversive nonsense. Wu went on to denounce a student who talked of oppression by officials and people withdrawing their support from the emperor because of misrule. These poisonous views, he declared, arose from the theories of people's rule (minzhu) and people's rights (minquan). They arose from hating the old and liking the new, from liking chaos and hating order, and he disputed the idea that all people were equal and therefore their knowledge equal. Wu wrote that those who disliked the theory that the people were ineducable did not understand that the Confucian concept was not that the people should be prevented from becoming educated but that they were incapable of being educated. To try to educate the people was to try to turn black into white. He then went on to mock those who believed that the Western countries were truly democratic. What was there to choose, he asked, between that form of government and that in China? Despite all the talk of equality, there was still an oppressive "democratic officialdom" which ruled the people in those countries.⁽⁴⁰⁾ This echoed what Zhang Zhidong wrote about the Western democracies;

"It is only designed that the people should be able to explain their feelings; it is not desired that they should wield any power. Translators have altered the wording to call it (this type of constitutional government) "people's rights" which is a mistake. Every Western state definitely has a government and a government has laws. Neither the ruler nor the people can violate the law. What is suggested by the executive may be argued by the members of parliament, and what is decided by parliament may be dissolved by the ruling dynasty."⁽⁴¹⁾

As has been shown above, a radical reformer such as Wang Kangnian

did not conceive of anything more than a constitutional system to strengthen the authority of the emperor, but with Kang Youwei moving towards advocating true popular government and with the obvious threat to autocracy from any talk of the people having rights, the conservative reformers such as Wu and Zhang Zhidong sought to show that "equality" and "people's rights" as embodied in existing constitutional systems were illusory.

Continuing his correction of the examination scripts, Wu attacked and derided Kang Youwei's plan to "Protect the Country, the Race and the Teaching." (baoguo, baozhong, baojiao).⁽⁴²⁾ These "three protections" (sanbao) were the policy of the Society to Protect the Country (baoguoahui), founded by Kang in Peking in April 1898.⁽⁴³⁾ Kang's plan to protect the Teaching meant not only setting up Confucianism as the state religion⁽⁴⁴⁾ but also sending missionaries abroad to spread Confucianism, all to the end of combatting foreign cultural and political influence.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Wu naturally opposed Chinese becoming Christians but he also disliked Kang's proselytising efforts; "If a Westerner became a Confucian, although we might like him and praise him, in our hearts we would despise him."⁽⁴⁶⁾ Attempts to spread Confucianism around the world were misguided, he felt, for a Christian knowing Confucianism was as ridiculous as the Chinese reciting the Bible. On the question of Protecting the Race, Wu asked what race was it hoped to protect? The Yellow Race? Why did they not protect the black and red races? They talked of protecting the race, but they did not protect the Emperor Aisin Gioro, he complained.⁽⁴⁷⁾

Wu passed on the scripts to the headmaster, Wang Yuansheng. Wang, supported the views of the students against those of Wu, adding his own comments to the scripts, in one instance challenging the orthodox interpretation of the expression "everyone within the empire is the subject of the ruler." He argued that this quotation from the Book of Songs was in later times taken out of context to refer to subjects remaining loyal to the ruler, regardless of how he treated them. Wang pointed out that if the saying was interpreted in that way, then the tours of Confucius and the visits of Mencius to other rulers were all contrary to the correct Way. (48)

As a result of this disagreement with Wang and using the excuse that his father was sick, Wu resigned his teaching post and returned South. (49) From the attitudes he exhibited while teaching in Tientsin, we can see that Wu was quite out of step with the radical wing of the reform movement. His ideas closely resembled those of Zhang Zhidong and other conservative reformers. Wu accepted the need for limited reforms for example in the field of education, but set his face against any reform of China's political institutions.

b) Japan 1901-1902

In the Summer of 1898, not long after resigning from the school in Tientsin, Wu joined the staff of the Nanyang gongxue in Shanghai, where he stayed until his departure for Japan at the beginning of 1901. (50) It was at this school that Wu first met Cai Yuanpei, who moved there after resigning from the Sino-Western School

in Shaoxing in 1900 after a row over his introducing of "new ideas" to the pupils.⁽⁵¹⁾ From Wu's teaching methods, his attitude to discipline and his attempt to have the school managed jointly by staff and students⁽⁵²⁾ it is apparent that during those years in Shanghai there was a marked radicalisation of Wu's political ideas, away from the strong authoritarianism he exhibited while in Tientsin towards concepts such as "freedom of speech" and democratic rights.⁽⁵³⁾ (see Chapter 7).

In March 1901, his travel expenses paid for by the Nanyang gongxue, Wu left for Japan where he studied at the Higher Normal School (keto shihan gakko) in Tokyo. The Winter of that year, at the invitation of a friend who was personal secretary to the Governor General of Guangdong and Guangxi, Wu travelled from Japan to Canton where he was employed to establish a new school, the Guangdong xuetang.⁽⁵⁴⁾ However in April 1902, he returned to Japan with a group of young scholars from Guangdong.⁽⁵⁵⁾ He resumed his studies at the Higher Normal School, but less than three months later he was deported from Japan after a clash with the Chinese Minister to Japan.⁽⁵⁶⁾

During the time he was in Japan, Wu studied hard, systematically assimilating "European learning"⁽⁵⁷⁾ and laying the foundations for his revolutionary thought as it emerged in 1903. Before 1900 there had been very few Chinese students in Japan, but after the Boxer rebellion, provincial authorities began sending officially financed students to Japan in considerable numbers,⁽⁵⁸⁾ and Tokyo became a centre of Chinese ideological ferment and a breeding ground for

student radicalism. But at that time there was no clear dichotomy between revolutionaries and reformists.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Only in late 1902 and in 1903 was there an open rift between the two groups. Before that, there was co-operation between, for instance, Sun Yat-sen and Liang Qichao, who following Kang Youwei's enforced departure from Japan in 1899, had broken free from his teacher and only in 1903 finally returned to the Kang fold.⁽⁶⁰⁾ Although the revolutionaries did not have the strength to support it actively, the uprising of Tang Caichang's Independence Army in Hankou, 1900, had been the result of co-operation between revolutionaries and reformists.⁽⁶¹⁾ During this period, Kang and particularly Liang had the greatest following amongst students in Japan. Sun Yat-sen remained an outsider until the founding of the Tongmanghui, when he began to rely on intellectuals rather than on secret societies and overseas Chinese merchants. Wu's attitude to Sun was typical of that of many Chinese intellectuals. He has recalled how in 1896 after the Canton uprising, the newspapers printed the wen character of Sun's name with the water radical implying that he was a common bandit and he visualised him as having red eyebrows and green eyes. By the Huizhou Uprising of 1900, Wu no longer regarded Sun as a "hero of the green woods" but thought he wanted to become a second Hong Xiuquan. Wu added that as he was still loyal to the emperor, he would have nothing to do with Sun.⁽⁶²⁾

In 1901, Wu still regarded Sun with disdain and declined to go with friends to visit him in Yokohama; only in 1905 in London did Wu and Sun meet, after which they became close friends.⁽⁶³⁾

This attitude of many intellectuals of Wu's background,

has been well summed up by Wu who wrote;

"The reason I first despised Sun, was simply that he was not a man who had passed the official examinations, nor was he a classical scholar and a man of letters. Moreover I suspected that he could not even read characters." (64)

Sun's divorce from the mainstream of Chinese radicals in Japan has been described by Schiffrin in this way:

"But while Sun was resting on his laurels in Yokohama, a few miles away a new breed of nationalist intellectuals was gathering in Tokyo. These Chinese students found their own path to political action and until a mutual adjustment enabled Sun to move in their midst, they would be the chief standard bearers of nationalist sentiment." (65)

In contrast, as a respected survivor of the 1898 reforms and a product of the examination system, Liang Qichao had no problem in being accepted. Wu for instance often visited the Qinghua School (formerly the Datong School) which was supported by Liang⁽⁶⁶⁾ and on several occasions Wu met him. On Wu's departure for Canton, Liang especially returned to Tokyo in order to ask Wu to act on his behalf while in Guangdong, his (Liang's) native province and Liang wrote to him several times while he was in Canton. But Wu never dared to reply to these letters for there were rumours flying around in Canton that he (Wu) was a revolutionary and he was forced to lie low while the accusations died down.⁽⁶⁷⁾ Later, in 1902, on the occasion of Wu being deported from Japan, Liang came to the station to see him off⁽⁶⁸⁾ and published a full account of the events leading up to the deportation in his journal, the Xinmin congbao.⁽⁶⁹⁾

Wu was involved with other Chinese radicals in Tokyo. He was a member of the Lizhihui (Society for Mutual Encouragement)⁽⁷⁰⁾. Founded in 1900, this society was the first Chinese students' body in

Japan⁽⁷¹⁾ but though in late 1901 it dissolved after a split between moderates and radicals, it originally did not concern itself with political matters and functioned purely as a forum for the new ideas. But many of its members participated in the Hankou uprising of 1900 and survivors of it like Ji Yuancheng and Wu Lüzhen returned to Japan and continued to play an active role in the Society.⁽⁷²⁾ Wu in his diaries recorded that he often had discussions with Ji Yuancheng⁽⁷³⁾ and Wu Lüzhen was one of the group of Wu's friends who tried to persuade Wu to visit Sun Yat-sen in Yokohama.⁽⁷⁴⁾ The aims of the Society may have been harmless enough, but those associated with it were not, and after the Hankou uprising Zhang Zhidong expressed concern about those students from Hubei province who had become members of the Lizhihui and were meeting frequently to engage in "false and perverse discussions", and he asked the Chinese Minister in Tokyo to warn the students of the danger of associating with rebels.⁽⁷⁵⁾ At the beginning of 1901, several members of the Lizhihui started a journal entitled Yishu huipian, which carried translations in summary form of many of the major works of Western liberalism such as Rousseau's Social Contract, Montesquieu's Spirit of the Laws and also Japanese interpretations of other works.⁽⁷⁶⁾ From the facts above, there can be no doubt that through contact with the most radical members of the Chinese community in Tokyo, Wu became exposed to a wide range of Western political thought and for the first time studied it in some depth.

It was out of disgust at what he called the "darkness" of official life⁽⁷⁷⁾ that Wu left his post in the Canton educational bureaucracy

and returned to Japan in April 1902. Back in Japan there were signs that Wu's nationalism was increasingly expressing itself in opposition to the rule of the Empress Dowager, though, as was the case with the majority of students at the time, he still had not moved beyond this to a thorough-going anti-Manchu revolutionary position. Hu Hanmin, who was one of the group of twenty-six young Cantonese scholars Wu had brought with him to Japan,⁽⁷⁸⁾ has described the political climate amongst Chinese students in Japan;

"All the students were dissatisfied with the politics of the Qing court and proudly considered themselves to be the future rulers. But their ideas had no system and their actions no organisation. Those who wanted to Protect the Emperor and the Constitutionalists were very much in evidence amongst the students!"⁽⁷⁹⁾

Hu wrote that Wu Zhihui in his speech to a meeting welcoming him back from Canton held by the General Association of Chinese Students in Japan "did little more than slander the Empress Dowager."⁽⁸⁰⁾

Lu Xun, who was studying in Japan, recalled how he heard Wu making such a speech, very probably the same one;

"The first speech I heard was in a hall the name of which I forget, where a bold young man with a white bandage on his head and a Wuxi accent was making an anti-Manchu speech."⁽⁸¹⁾

The audience roared with laughter when Wu said; "Here am I cursing the old woman (i.e. the Empress Dowager) while over there that old woman must be cursing Wu Zhihui too."⁽⁸²⁾ Both Hu Hanmin and Lu Xun referred to Wu's speech in order to illustrate how undeveloped the anti-Manchu feelings of the students were, most of their nationalist impulses being channelled purely into hatred for the Empress Dowager.

Wu's second stay in Japan was short, for at the end of July 1902 he was deported back to Shanghai after a clash with the Chinese Minister to Japan, Cai Jun. The incident arose out of Cai's refusal to stand surety for a number of self-supporting (as opposed to Chinese government funded) students, so that they could enter the Kōbun School in Tokyo to do military training. Cai's grounds for refusing to help these students were that they were "unruly elements."

(luandang)⁽⁸³⁾. Wu led a group of students to take up the case with the Minister.⁽⁸⁴⁾ The report of the affair, published in Liang Qichao's Xinmin congbao,⁽⁸⁵⁾ showed how the confrontation between Wu and Cai Jun escalated and throws further light on Wu's political position. Cai was obviously concerned at the effect military training might have on students over which the Chinese authorities had no direct control. Their training could easily be used to organise an insurrection. So Wu began by explaining to the Minister why the students should be admitted to the school. The army was, he said, the teeth and claws of every country and without it no nation could survive. China had always stressed civil affairs and neglected the military. China had to learn from Japan's experience in military organisation.⁽⁸⁶⁾ Wu also dealt with the Minister's concern that the new Western ideas were a threat to the dynasty. Wu asked if he did not know that the theories of equality and freedom were in fact the principles that Europe and the U.S.A. used to reinforce their countries. Such ideas, he stressed, would profit the state.⁽⁸⁷⁾

The meeting became steadily more heated, with Wu finally calling Cai Jun "stubborn and shameless."⁽⁸⁸⁾ Cai called the

Japanese police to the embassy and they arrested Wu and a friend, Sun Shufang. They were both charged with having "disturbed the peace" and were ordered to be deported.⁽⁸⁹⁾ The affair caused a storm. The arrest of Wu and Sun inside the embassy was regarded by the students as an insult to the Chinese state and a loss of national rights.⁽⁹⁰⁾ and a number of students, including Hu Hanmin, returned to China in protest.⁽⁹¹⁾

On the way to Tokyo station and deportation, Wu broke away from his escort and attempted to commit suicide by throwing himself into the moat of the Imperial Palace, but he was easily rescued by the police.⁽⁹²⁾ In the suicide note he had on him, Wu explained the motivation for this desperate act;

"As I die, it is clear that I am not a rebel. People's rights and freedom are things ordained in Heaven. It is obvious that we must have reform. Let my corpse be a reproof. I harboured worries and perceived the dangers ahead. Alas and alack, why did the Minister interfere. Confucius and Mencius both advocated dying to preserve one's virtue intact. China is going to suffer destruction. If, gentlemen, you exert yourselves to prevent this, then it will be as if I had not died."⁽⁹³⁾

The tone of this note was that of one who thought there was still some hope of the Manchus carrying out genuine reforms. We should not conclude because of the Minister's violent reaction that Wu was an outlaw, though certainly his reputation as a rebel was made overnight. Wu was, after all, a scholar of some standing. Wu Rulun, reforming official, leading member of the Tongcheng School of scholarship and mentor of Yan Fu, was in Japan at that time to investigate the Japanese educational system. Wu Zhihui had sought his help with the problem of Cai Jun and Wu Rulun had urged the

Minister to permit the students to enter the Kōbun School. When he heard of Wu's arrest, he was furious, considering such action to be a "disgrace to China."⁽⁹⁴⁾ The British press in Shanghai also sympathised with Wu Zhihui. The North China Herald talked of "worthy young reformers being wronged by representatives of their government."⁽⁹⁵⁾ The report continued,

"Mr Wu Ching-heng (Zhihui) is a distinguished scholar of the province of Kiangsu.....[He] is a man whose roots are wholly in the old Confucian learning and he is a representative of the best type of conservative reformers. He sees the necessity for reform, but his ideas on reform, especially on ethical and social lines are rather in the direction of a return to the neglected higher teachings of Confucianism, than a ready adoption of foreign reforms."⁽⁹⁶⁾

While other evidence shows that Wu had in fact moved a good way from the position described in this article, we should still not assume that the clash with the conservative Cai Jun, who was removed from his post later that year because of his mishandling of the affair,⁽⁹⁷⁾ indicated that Wu had burnt all his boats. An incident which occurred just before Wu left Japan throws some light on Wu's rapidly developing attitudes towards reform and revolution. The night before he was arrested, he was invited to the lodgings of a friend who asked him to consider joining a certain xiucai graduate called Deng from Shandong who was leading a rebellion in Jehol. He was reportedly in control of seven hundred square li. Wu wrote that later, on the steamer bound for Shanghai, he talked a great deal about this affair with Cai Yuanpei who was accompanying him. Cai is reported to have said, "Surely even Liang [Qichao] knows that the setting up of constitutional

government is impossible [without a revolution]"⁽⁹⁸⁾ Wu has declared that during the two days on the steamer, they both knew that revolution had to come. That Autumn, Wu read in the newspapers that the xiuca in question, almost certainly Deng Laifeng,⁽⁹⁹⁾ had finally been captured and executed by government troops.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ According to Wu, this episode was one of the main impulses which drove him to become a revolutionary at the beginning of 1903.⁽¹⁰¹⁾

c) The Subao, Shanghai

On his arrival in Shanghai in August 1902, Wu became involved with the Chinese Educational Association (zhongguo jiaoyuhui). It had been founded a few months earlier by Cai Yuanpei, Zhang Binglin (just returned from Japan), the Buddhist monk Huang Zongyang and others. It was originally set up to edit modern textbooks for schools; but with the growing radicalism of its members it became a meeting point for revolutionaries.⁽¹⁰²⁾ Following the mass walkout of over two hundred students from the Nanyang gongxue, Cai Yuanpei, head of the Association, who had close connections with the school having taught there for some time, in November 1902 with others from the Educational Association, set up the Patriotic School (aiguo xueshe) primarily to house the rebel students.⁽¹⁰³⁾ The number of students at the Patriotic School was further increased by a group who in May 1903 quit the Nanking Military Academy (Nanjing lushi xuetang).⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Cai was elected Head (zongli) and Wu Zhihui the Supervisor of Studies (xuejian) of the Patriotic School. The teachers

included Wu, Cai, Zhang Binglin and Wu Zhongji. That Winter (1902) partly because of its shaky financial situation and partly because Wu felt there was a need for the school to have a radical mouthpiece, the school came to an arrangement with the Subao or Jiangsu Journal, a Shanghai newspaper of hitherto reformist tendencies, whereby seven teachers from the school would write articles for the paper on a seven day rota basis, in return for one hundred yuan every month towards financing the school. Wu was one of the teachers who regularly wrote for the Subao. From the beginning of 1903, Wu, Cai and others held weekly speech meetings in the Ankai Pavilion of the Zhang Garden near the Race Course in Shanghai. The speeches, many of them by Wu, were reported in the Subao.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ During 1903, Zhang Shizhao, one of the students who had come to the Patriotic School from the Nanking Academy, took over from Chen Fan as editor of the Subao and the paper began openly to call for a revolution to overthrow the Manchus.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ During June, the Chinese authorities became increasingly concerned about those associated with the Subao and the Patriotic School and put pressure on the British in Shanghai to suppress them. At the end of June, Chinese and Western police raided the Subao and the school premises.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ Having been tipped off by an official, Yu Mingzhen, with whose son Wu had been friendly, Wu had already departed for Hong Kong, where he picked up a Japanese steamer and reached Britain in the late Summer of 1903.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ But those arrested at the School included Zhang Binglin. Zou Rong, the young author of the pamphlet "The Revolutionary Army," soon gave himself up.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ Against the wishes of the Chinese authorities, who

wanted it held in Nanking, the trial of Zhang and Zou and the other defendants in the so-called Subao case was held at the Mixed Court in Shanghai, ending after twelve months in May 1904 with four being released and light sentences being imposed on Zhang and Zou, three and two years respectively. Tragically Zou fell ill and died in prison.⁽¹¹⁰⁾

In the years 1901 to 1904 and particularly in the last half of 1902 and during 1903, a total and irreversible rift formed amongst Chinese radicals between the reformists, who still thought China could be saved through reform carried out within the existing political order, and those, the revolutionaries, who following the Boxer episode became convinced that only through the overthrow of the Manchus could China be reformed.⁽¹¹¹⁾ Reformists such as Kang Youwei, who in 1898 were at the vanguard of the Chinese intelligentsia, now failed to continue developing in the progressive direction taken by many of their contemporaries and balked at the idea of overthrowing the monarchy. Kang stood opposed to the personal power of the Empress Dowager, who had crushed the movement in 1898. But history had moved on and Kang's objective role from this period onward became that of defending the dynasty and opposing revolution. Liang Qichao was less consistent in his ideas than Kang. Although he never publicly broke with him, after Kang was forced to leave Japan in 1899, Liang for a time worked with revolutionaries, including Sun Yat-sen.⁽¹¹²⁾ After 1900, partly as a result of the failure of the Hankou uprising⁽¹¹³⁾ and partly because on visits to Honolulu Liang had won over a large section of the overseas Chinese community

there to the Emperor Protection Society, Liang and Sun parted company. However Liang failed to return immediately to Kang's camp, despite pressure from Kang to do so.⁽¹¹⁴⁾ In fact his ideas continued to develop to a position not far short of advocating the overthrow of the dynasty. Although he still defended the powerless Guang Xu Emperor, in 1902 he launched into violent attacks on the Manchu ruling clique, attacks which verged on pure anti-Manchuism.⁽¹¹⁵⁾ However, in the middle of 1903, Liang dramatically turned against his radical views, even going so far as to reject any form of constitutional government.⁽¹¹⁶⁾ This about turn was to a large extent the product of disappointment with "democracy" after his protracted visit to North America in that year⁽¹¹⁷⁾ and also, no doubt, the result of pressure from Kang, who was having to contend with the growing polarisation amongst Chinese students, particularly in Japan.

The Lizhihui in Tokyo had been dissolved in late 1902 after conflict between moderate and radical elements. In the 1903 Chinese lunar new year celebrations of Chinese students in Tokyo, anti-Manchu speeches were made by Ma Junwu and Liu Zhengyu⁽¹¹⁸⁾ and Manchu students present at the proceedings protested loudly.⁽¹¹⁹⁾ In March 1903, the failure of the Russians to withdraw from the North East of China where they had been since the Boxer rebellion, coupled with the Chinese government's refusal to act against the Russians, produced a violent reaction from the student movement.⁽¹²⁰⁾ In Shanghai, like Tokyo a major centre of revolutionary ferment, the Subao began publishing fierce attacks on the Manchus and also on the reformists. The journal carried Zhang Binglin's "Preface to the Revolutionary

Army" (gemingjun xu) which reviewed Zou Rong's celebrated revolutionary tract "The Revolutionary Army," published in Shanghai at that time. (121)

As stated above, on the ship returning to China in 1902, Wu was already prepared to admit that there was no hope of real change unless there was revolution. On his arrival in Shanghai, he addressed a meeting of several hundred people held to welcome him and violently attacked the Qing government for its corruption and deplored China's loss of sovereignty. (122) Relatively secure in the foreign concessions of Shanghai, dissidents were free to express their opinions. Wu's involvement with the Educational Association brought him into contact with many intellectuals such as Zhang Binglin, who were already unequivocal anti-Manchu revolutionaries. The Association itself had as its programme "educate the Chinese nation, raise its character as a basis for restoring China's national rights," (123) and it supposedly concentrated on editing text books. But in fact it has been described as a "revolutionary body" and it became a centre for revolutionaries from all over Jiangsu. Wu has recalled that it was at the Zhang Garden speech meetings, starting at the beginning of 1903, that he first openly called for revolution and around that time he cut off his queue. (124) The Subao printed the Zhang Garden speeches and although there was a policy of avoiding the word "revolution" in the reports for reasons of security, (125) it is possible to gain a clear picture from them of Wu's political ideas.

Wu addressed about seven hundred people at the second speech meeting held at the Zhang Garden and warned them that in the

course of evolution weak races were bound to be destroyed by the "superior" races of greater strength. He continued:

"Let us with pain in our hearts, consider the wanton slaughter inflicted on the Chinese by a foreign race in times past and also the cruel misfortunes which have befallen Poland, India and the black slaves. If the Chinese have been moulded as an unreformably inferior race, the wanton slaughter suffered by the Chinese at the hands of a foreign race in the past will now be followed by the same misfortune which befell Poland, India and the black slaves." (126)

And he stressed that "man is a political animal. If he has no political rights, how can he be considered a man?" (127) The reference to "wanton slaughter" inflicted on the Chinese by a "foreign race" was frankly anti-Manchu and concerned the massacres of civilians by Manchu troops during their conquest of China in the 1640's. Two accounts of these massacres, "Diary of Ten Days at Yangzhou" and "Account of the Jiading Massacre" were reprinted and widely used against the government at the end of the nineteenth century. (128) Wu was telling his audience that unless they took action, China would be lost to foreigners for a second time. The Manchus were seen as the prime obstacle to China avoiding a recurrence of the disaster. Reforms to save China from national extinction could only come through the overthrow of the Qing. The plight of Poland, India and the American blacks was well known in educated circles in China. In 1901, a book describing the fate of Poland, which was partitioned in 1795 by Russia, translated from the Japanese, was published in China. (129) The same year, Uncle Tom's Cabin, which described the conditions of American blacks, was translated into Chinese by Lin Shu. (130)

At another point during the same speech meeting, Wu spoke

of the "misery of human slavery" and proclaimed that "independence of the nation cannot be delayed." The account described how he "spoke passionately, pouring out his heart to his compatriots" (Lit. piece by piece cut out his lungs and liver and presented them to his compatriots) and many of the audience wept.⁽¹³¹⁾ The word "slavery" used by Wu referred to the subjugation of the Chinese by the Manchus. Only by sweeping away the cause of slavery, the Manchu dynasty, could the Chinese people become true citizens and contribute to the building of the nation. As Zou Rong wrote in "The Revolutionary Army";

"Citizens have the capacity for self-rule, they are independent of nature, they have the right to participate in government, they enjoy freedom, and whatever their occupation, they can be complete and rounded human beings. Slaves on the other hand, lack strength to rule themselves and have no inclination towards independence."⁽¹³²⁾

The relationship between revolution and slavery was clearly spelt out in an article in the Subao: "How do you leave behind slavery and move towards citizenship? Through revolution."⁽¹³³⁾

Further evidence that Wu was indeed in the revolutionary camp is offered by the Subao report of a speech meeting which stated that Wu expressed opposition to the views presented in a speech made by a certain Chen who "spoke moderately and moreover especially expressed his objections to violent reforms. His words were cautious."⁽¹³⁴⁾

Another example of Wu aligning himself against the reformists can be found in an examination of the history of Guomin gonghui. Following several meetings at the Zhang Garden in April to oppose the continued presence of Russian troops in the North East, a society called the Simin gonghui was formed. Subsequently its name was changed to the more modern sounding Guomin gonghui.⁽¹³⁵⁾ It was founded by Feng

Jingru, Long Cehou, Wu Zhihui, Zou Rong and others. Soon, complaints were made by a few members that the regulations of the society were "unreasonable" (wuli), in other words too radical. As an article in the Subao admitted, the regulations had been borrowed from a revolutionary organisation founded in Japan the year before.⁽¹³⁶⁾ The first clause of the Guomin gonghui's regulations stated that its aims were,

"To get rid of the slave mentality, bring about a national spirit and permit the four hundred million Chinese to enjoy the natural rights of man."⁽¹³⁷⁾

This proved unacceptable to members like Long Cehou, who is said to have been a follower of Kang Youwei, and he changed the name of the society to Guomin yizhenghui (Society for National Constitutional Government) in an attempt to steer it away from revolution and towards reform. At this, Zou Rong, Wu Zhihui and all the other members who were involved with the Patriotic School walked out, and the Guomin yizhenghui never got off the ground.⁽¹³⁸⁾

There were two key issues in the early Summer of 1903 which stirred up violent nationalistic feelings in China and which led inevitably to a focusing of the people's outrage on the Qing government and certain local officials who were regarded as being guilty of national betrayal:- the presence of the Russians in the North East and the situation in Guangxi. Towards the end of April, there were rumours that the Governor of Guangxi, Wang Zhiqun had entered or was about to enter into negotiations with the military authorities of French Indo-China for the introduction of French troops into Guangxi and for a loan of French money in order to help the Governor suppress a serious

uprising in the province, in return for mining and railway concessions. (139)

Merchants and gentry from Guangxi and Guangdong living in Shanghai sent telegrams to senior officials expressing concern over the rumours, and they called a meeting at the Zhang Garden for April 25, which was attended by some five hundred gentry, merchants and students. (140) The hand clapping, feet stamping audience heard passionate speeches attacking Wang Zhiqun. One speaker compared China's situation with that of ancient Britain. The Britons who were being harried by the Picts and Scots after the departure of the Romans, invited the Saxons to help expel the Picts from Southern England. This the Saxons did, but they then turned round and enslaved the Britons. (141) The audience could quickly draw a parallel between that and the actions of Wu Sangui, the traitorous Chinese at the end of the Ming who invited the Manchus through the Great Wall to suppress a rebellion, with disastrous consequences.

Wu took to the platform and likewise castigated Wang Zhiqun. He went into the causes of the Guangxi rebellion;

"The Chaos in Guangxi is simply a case of the poor people having no means of existence. They are oppressed and so they rebel. The people of the border provinces have a violent spirit. When not one of China's officials does anything on behalf of the people, the people have no choice but to rebel." (142)

The Guangxi officials, Wu declared,

"think nothing of killing people and make a habit of pacifying villages (Lit. washing villages, xicun.). But now Wang's situation is like loose sand. However many troops he obtains, he will not be able to suppress the uprising." (143)

He then cited an example of Chinese resistance to the French; the

incident in 1896 when the French tried to build a road through a graveyard of the Ningpo people resident in Shanghai. Wu told how he himself saw the French, armed with mausers, kill seven of the Ningpo people who had nothing to fight with but their bare fists. Then Wu went on to call for protest telegrams to be sent, concerning the Guangxi affair and also the secret negotiations between the Chinese government and the Russians over the North East. Wu ended by demanding that if the rumours of French involvement in Guangxi were confirmed, then those present, whether workers or merchants, should strike in protest. (144)

The meeting reflected the growing nationalism amongst many sections of urban society which later expressed itself in such movements as the boycott of American goods in 1905. It is significant that the driving force behind the protests was Shanghai merchants and gentry. The growing national emergency coupled with the Qing government's vacillation and tendency to capitulate in face of the foreign threat, was leading to the regime's isolation not only from revolutionary intellectuals such as Wu Zhihui, but also from a much broader section of the patriotic urban bourgeoisie.

Footnotes

1. WZH, Zhilao xianhua, p. 8. Among the other students involved in this incident was Niu Tisheng, who remained a lifelong friend of Wu.
2. Fan Wenlan, Zhongguo jindaishi, p. 294.
3. WZH, Zhilao xianhua, p. 10.
4. WZH, "Subao an qianhou," CW.7.390.
5. WZH, "huiyi Jiang Zhujian zhi huiyi," Dongfang zazhi, Vol. 33. No. 1. p. 17.
6. Schrecker, Imperialism and Chinese Nationalism, pp. 32-34.
7. Li Chien-nung, The Political History of China, 1840-1928, p. 154.
8. WZH, "sanshinian qian riji zhi yiban," CW, 16.157.
9. Chen Linghai, op. cit., p. 15. and WZH, "Subao an qianhou," CW. 7.392.
10. Chen Linghai, op. cit., p. 15 and WZH, "Subao an qianhou," CW.7.392.
11. WZH, Zhilao xianhua, p. 10.
12. Ibid., p. 10.
13. Fan Wenlan, Op. Cit., pp. 300-301.
14. WZH, Zhilao xianhua, p. 10.
15. WZH, "sanshinian qian riji zhi yiban, CW.16. 154-158.
16. Chen Linghai, Op. Cit., p. 18.
17. Schwartz, In Search of Wealth and Power, Yen Fu and the West, p. 82.
18. WZH, Zhilao xianhua, p. 10.
19. Ayers, Chang Chih-tung and Educational Reform in China, p. 163.
20. Li Chien-nung, Op. Cit., p. 154.
21. Hsiao Kung-ch'uan, A Modern China and a New World, pp. 101-102.

22. WZH, "huiyi Jiang Zhujian....." Op. Cit., p. 18.
23. WZH, "hanyai shiji xu," CW.16.279.
24. Feng Youlan, "Kang Youwei de sixiang," in Zhongguo jindai sixiangshi lunwenji, p. 116.
25. Wang Kangnian, "Wan K'ang-nien On Democracy," in Teng and Fairbank, China's Response to the West, pp. 161-163.
26. Li Chien-nung, Op. Cit., p. 155.
27. Zhang Pengyuan, Liang Qichao yu qingji geming, pp. 63-64.
28. Fan Wenlan, Op. Cit., p. 301.
29. WZH, "huiyi Jiang Zhujian.....," Op. Cit., p. 18.
30. Ayers, Op. Cit., p. 147.
31. Ibid., p. 152.
32. Zhang Zhidong, "quanxue pian," in Teng and Fairbank, Op. Cit., p. 167.
33. WZH, "zhilao xianhua," pp. 10-11.
34. Li Jinxi, Cihai, p. 67.
35. WZH, "wuxu nian zhijiao beiyang daxuetang yu zhongjun aiguo zhi yiji," CW.16.134-135.
36. The translation is by Legge. WZH, "wuxu nian.....," CW.16.134-142.
37. Wang Kangnian, in Teng and Fairbank, Op. Cit., p. 161.
38. Ren Jiyu, "He Qi, Hu Litan de gailiang zhuyi sixiang," in Zhongguo jindai sixiangshi lunwenji, p. 84.
39. Wang Kangnian, in Teng and Fairbank, Op. Cit., p. 163.
40. WZH, "wuxu nian.....," CW.16.137-138.
41. Zhang Zhidong in Teng and Fairbank, Op. Cit., p. 168.
42. WZH, "wuxu nian.....," CW.16.139.
43. Hsiao Kung-ch'uan, "K'ang Yu-wei and Confucianism," Monumenta Serica, No. 8, p. 194.

44. Ibid., p. 194.
45. Feng Youlan, "Kang Youwei de sixiang," in Zhongguo jindai sixiangshi lunwenji, p. 114.
46. WZH, "wuxu nian...", CW.16.140.
47. Ibid., CW.16.141.
48. Ibid., CW.16.136 and WZH, Zhilao xianhua, p. 11.
49. Chen Linghai, Op. Cit., p.18.
50. Ibid., p. 19.
51. Li Shihua, "Wu Zhihui xiansheng cong weixinpai chengwei gemingdang de jingguo," Zhuanji wenxue, Vol. 14, No. 3, p. 36.
52. WZH, "Nanyang gongxue youren zuo nimingtie pi bubi dui xuesheng yandui biji," CW.2.81, and WZH, Zhilao xianhua, pp. 11-12.
53. WZH, "gesheng ke ge shu suojian xuanzhubimo wuyong yousuo guji," CW.2.81, and WZH, Zhilao xianhua, p. 11.
54. Chen Linghai, Op. Cit., p. 21.
55. Ibid., p. 22.
56. Ibid., p. 22.
57. WZH, "Han yai shi jixu," CW.16.279.
58. WZH, Zhilao xianhua, p. 12.
59. Li Shuhua, Op. Cit., p. 36.
60. Zhang Pengyuan, Op. Cit., pp. 122 and 163.
61. Ibid., p. 134.
62. WZH, "wo yi jiang Zhongshan xiansheng," WJHXJ zhenglun (2), pp. 254-255.
63. Ibid., pp. 255-256.
64. Ibid., p. 256.
65. Schiffrin, Sun Yat-sen and the Origins of the Chinese Revolution, p. 254.

66. Chen Linghai, Op. Cit., p. 22.
67. WZH, "bishi nian qian zhi xiao gushi," Zhuanji wenxue, Vol. 14, No. 5, p. 15.
68. Chen Linghai, Op. Cit., p. 24.
69. Liang Qichao, (ed) Xinmin congbao, Nos. 8, 9.
70. WZH, "Lizhihui tongren mingdan," CW.12.681.
71. Lust, (trans) The Revolutionary Army, p. 10.
72. Zhongguo minguo kaiguo wushinian wenxian (below as wenxian) 1st Edition, Vol. 2, ("geming zhi changdao yu fazhan") p. 80.
73. WZH, "minguo qian shiyinian riji," CW.12.662, 667, 668.
74. Chen Linghai, Op. Cit., p. 21.
75. Ayers, Op. Cit., p. 192.
76. Wenxian, Vol. 2, p. 80.
77. WZH, Zhilao xianhua, p. 13.
78. Chen Linghai, Op. Cit., p. 22.
79. Hu Hanmin, "Hu Hanmin zizhuan," in wenxian, Vol. 12, p. 319.
80. Ibid., p. 319.
81. Lu Xun, "yan Taiyan xiansheng erxiangqi de er sanshi," Lu Xun quanji, Vol. 1, p. 451.
82. Ibid., p. 451.
83. WZH, Zhilao xianhua, p. 14.
84. Ibid., p. 15.
85. Xinmin congbao, Nos. 8, 9.
86. "caishi yaoqiu jingcha ru jubu, bu xuesheng shimoji," CW.2.245.
87. Ibid., CW.2.246.
88. Ibid., CW.2.248.

89. WZH, Zhilao xianhua, p. 14.
90. "caishi yaoqiu.....," CW.2.257.
91. Hu Hanmin, Op. Cit., p. 320.
92. WZH, Zhilao xianhua, p. 14.
93. "caishi yaoqiu.....," CW.2.238.
94. Wu Rulun, Tongcheng Wu xiansheng quanshu, Vol. 29.
95. North China Herald. Sept. 24, 1902, p. 644.
96. Ibid., p. 644.
97. North China Herald, Oct. 22, 1902, p. 849.
98. WZH, "sishinian qian zhi xiaogushi, " Zhuanji wenxue, Vol. 14, No. 5, p. 15.
99. North China Herald, Nov. 28, 1902.
100. WZH, "sanshinian qian zhi xiao gushi, " Zhuanji wenxue, Vol. 14, No. 5, p. 15.
101. WZH, Zhilao xianhua, p. 14.
102. Chen Linghai, Op. Cit., p. 24.
103. Wenxian, Vol. 12, p. 346 and "nanyang gongxue 1902 nian bake fengchao he Aiguo xueshe, " Xinhai geming huiyilu, (Peking ed.) Vol. 4, pp. 72-73.
104. Jiang Weiqiao, "Zhongguo jiaoyuhui zhi huiyi," in Zhongguo shixuehui, (ed.) Xinhai geming, Vol. 1, pp. 489-490.
105. Chen Linghai, Op. Cit., pp. 24-25.
106. WZH, Zhilao xianhua, p. 27.
107. Chen Linghai, Op. Cit., p. 28. Towards the end of April and during May and June, the position of the Shanghai revolutionaries became increasingly untenable. On several occasions Wu and others were called to the British police station in the Concessions and were questioned as to whether they had any weapons. Having denied that they had any, they were released each time. (WZH, "Subao an qianhou," CW.7.400) On one occasion an attempt was made by the Chinese authorities to lure Wu out of the Concessions so that they could arrest him. (WZH, Zhilao xianhua, p. 15.)

Telegrams from the Governor General of Hunan and Hubei, Duan Fang reveal the growing concern with which the intellectuals of the Subao were viewed, with references to the Patriotic School propagating revolution and of the Zhang Garden being used to carry out subversive agitation, ("jianhuguang zongdu Duan Fang zhi junjichu baogao fang zhi aiguo xueshe ru changjiang geming dian," wenxian, Vol. 2, p. 639). Zou and Zhang having been arrested, Duan Fang cabled Ferguson, a leading member of the British community in Shanghai (he was closely associated with Nanyang gongxue where Wu had taught) specifically requesting that everything be done to capture Wu Zhihui, writing that "I feel that his crimes are especially serious." ("jian huguang zongdu Duan Fang zhi Fukaisen qingxu na Wu Tiao dian," wenxian, Vol. 2, p. 641.)

108. WZH, Zhilao xianhua, pp. 16-20. The day before the raid on the Subao, Yu Mingzhen showed Wu a list of names, including Wu's, of people to be arrested and executed. (WZH, Zhilao xianhua, p. 19). The circumstances of Wu's escape, whether he betrayed his comrades, became a cause celebre. Wu was accused by Zhang Binglin of having made a deal with Yu Mingzhen but Wu claimed that he tried to warn Zhang. However Wu's dispute with Zhang dated from before the alleged betrayal, as can be seen from differences of opinion between them on the running of the Patriotic School. This and the fact that Zhang made no effort to escape, deliberately courting disaster and seeking martyrdom, indicate that the accusations arose as much from personal animosity as from anything else. (This is the view expressed in Rankin, Early Chinese Revolutionaries, p. 268.)
109. Chen Linghai, Op. Cit., p. 27.
110. "Subao an shimo," wenxian, Vol. 2, pp. 529-539. Zhang Binglin was released in June 1906. For a detailed examination of the trial and its diplomatic implications see J. Lust, "The Subao Case, An Episode in the Early Chinese Nationalist Movement," Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Vol. XXVII, (1964) pp. 408-429.
111. Zhang and Wang, Op. Cit., Vol. 1, Part 2, p. 5.
112. Zhang Pengyuan, Op. Cit., pp. 125-127.
113. Chang Hao, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Intellectual Transition in China, p. 221.
114. Zhang Pengyuan, Op. Cit., pp. 127-133.
115. Ibid., pp. 91-95.

116. Zhang Pengyuan, Op. Cit., p. 140.
117. Chang Hao, Op. Cit., pp. 239-239.
118. Feng Ziyou, Zhonghua minguo kaiguoqian gemingshi, Vol. 1, p. 56.
119. "Xuesheng fengchao," Subao, Feb. 28, 1903, p. 10.
120. Rankin, Early Chinese Revolutionaries, p. 4.
121. Feng Ziyou, Op. Cit., p. 128.
122. Zhongguo shixuehui, (ed.) Xinhai geming, Vol. 1, p. 486.
123. Wenxian, Vol. 2, p. 356.
124. Chen Linghai, Op. Cit., p. 24. WZH, Zhilao xianhua, pp. 14-15.
125. Wanxian, Vol. 2, p. 604.
126. Subao (Feb. 27 1903) Taipei reprint edited by Wu Xiangxiang, p. 101.
127. Ibid., p. 118.
128. Lust, The Revolutionary Army, p. 93.
129. Zhang Jinglu, Zhongguo jindai chuban shiliao, chubian, p. 276.
130. Lust, Op. Cit., p. 66.
131. Subao, Taipei reprint edited by Wu Xiangxiang, p. 101.
132. Lust, Op. Cit., p. 113.
132. "Du Gemingjun," Subao, June 9, 1903, In Zhang and Wang, Op. Cit., Vol. 1, p. 684.
134. Subao, Taipei reprint, Wu Xiangxiang (ed.), p. 100.
135. Wenxian, Vol. 2.
136. Wenxian, Vol. 2, pp. 381-382.
137. Ibid., p. 377.
138. Feng Ziyou, Op. Cit., p. 131.
139. North China Herald, April 30, 1903, pp. 834-836.
140. Ibid., pp. 834-836.

141. Ibid., pp. 834-835.
142. Subao, April 27, 1903, Taipei reprint, Wu Xiangxiang (ed.) pp. 344-345.
143. Ibid., pp. 344-345.
144. Ibid., pp. 344-345.

CHAPTER 4

POLITICAL IDEAS (2). 1903-1911

In 1903, Wu's political thought focused on the task of overthrowing the Manchu autocracy and establishing a state within which its citizens could enjoy certain democratic rights. By 1907, his political position had become more complex and deeply thought out. The goal of ridding China of the monarchy remained as important as ever, but his new found anarchist theories provided broader perspectives for a total social revolution.

a) Libertarian Opposition to Authority

The question of the nature of the anarchist society to come and the path to it, in terms of the transformation of the relationship between capitalist and worker through syndicalist action, has been discussed above. But what, in general terms, did the New Century group see as the fundamental obstacles to the social revolution and the main targets to be attacked?

Berkmann wrote that "anarchism means that you are free, that no one should enslave you, boss you, rob you, or impose on you."⁽¹⁾ Kropotkin defined anarchism as the concept of a society in which harmony was obtained "not through submission to law, or by obedience to any authority, but by free agreements concluded between various groups."⁽²⁾ The term "authority" is a key one in the

vocabulary of an anarchist. As Kropotkin explained, long before the emergence of the state with its range of coercive laws, authority in the form of family ethics, religion and superstition existed as a check on personal freedom. But in modern times, authority has served to reinforce the legal code. It "takes upon itself to manufacture these laws and to apply them."⁽³⁾

The New Century took the concept of authority (qiangguan) to encompass all forms of social coercion, whether formal institutions or informal patterns of behaviour reinforced by ideology. Chu Minyi wrote that "revolution depends on justice and that which is most contrary to justice is authority. Therefore revolution is opposition to authority."⁽⁴⁾ Wu reiterated this;

"Opposing authority to seek freedom, equality and the happiness of others ought to be the only objective recognised by those in the world who esteem truth and practice justice."⁽⁵⁾

The manifestation of authority which anarchists stand most clearly opposed to is government. Kropotkin gave this definition;

"Anarchism (from the Greek ἀν-, and ἀρχη, contrary to authority), is the name given to a principle or theory of life and conduct under which society is conceived of without government."⁽⁶⁾

It was not until the middle of the 19th century, with the consolidation of the European nation-states and unprecedented political and economic centralisation, that the anarchist movement developed in Europe on a large scale. This concentration of political authority" was accompanied by the formation of national ideologies which attempted to create an identification between the citizenry and the abstract entity of the state."⁽⁷⁾ The anarchism of Kropotkin and others was a reaction

against the extreme nationalism and chauvinism born of the flourishing of industrial capitalism.

Kropotkin in "The State, Its Historic Role," translated by Li Shiceng and published in the New Century, stated his opposition to any form of state and explained his divergence from those socialists who foresaw a role for a transformed state in the future:

"There are those, on the one hand, who hope to achieve the social revolution through the state, by preserving and even extending most of its powers to be used for the revolution. And there are those like ourselves, who see the state, both in its present form, in its very essence, and in whatever guise it may appear, as an obstacle to the social revolution, the greatest hindrance to the birth of a society based on equality and liberty, as well as the historic means designed to prevent this blossoming. The latter work to abolish the state and not to reform it."(8)

The New Century took as two of its guiding principles, equality and freedom.⁽⁹⁾ Wu called on the Chinese to refuse to be slaves any longer and to implement a "revolution of equality and freedom."⁽¹⁰⁾ Such concepts were current during the French Revolution and became the battle cry of many movements to overthrow absolute monarchy. Indeed, Sun Yat-sen in the statement of the objectives of the Tongmenghui in 1905 wrote that the spirit of this body was these very principles of "freedom, equality and love."⁽¹¹⁾ But the anarchists infused the terms with new meaning. Cafiero wrote that freedom meant anarchism, the absence of government, equality meant communism.⁽¹²⁾ The aim of the "new century revolution," as stated in the opening number of the New Century, was to abolish all government in order to achieve "pure freedom."⁽¹³⁾ As Li Shiceng put it;

"The correct society is the one which permits free contact between individuals, mutual help and co-operation and the common enjoyment of peace and happiness in society, without them being controlled by a minority. (that is what anarchism seeks to achieve.) The state (that is government) of today, however, is organised by the few who in turn set rules (that is laws.) in order to control others. Their programme, their means and the results are purely to protect the interests of a minority (that is the rich who control others) and the majority (the poor people who are controlled) cannot flourish. Thus the state is truly the destroyer of correct society. To sum up, what we seek is to destroy the destroyer of correct society."(14)

Wu argued that those who wished to revive China ought to realise that not only was government incapable of bringing about reforms, but that it was actually an obstacle to the fulfillment of their goals. He pointed out that in China it was traditionally recognized that projects carried out co-operatively by the community were more successful than those managed by officials and he expressed astonishment that people could believe in the "omnipotence of government;" (zhengfu wanneng) "Don't they know that when it is said that revolution is getting rid of the obstacles to society [s progress], it just means [getting rid of] lowly things like government?!" Most people, he went on, still pinned their faith on the new government after the revolution, hoping that aspects of it which obstruct freedom would be reduced. (15)

In fact,

"The advance of society simply comes from the energies of society being freed and thus coming into operation of their own accord. The original vitality (yuanqi) of Chinese society depends completely on society advancing itself. How can you instead get involved with government which obstructs freedom and everywhere changes the situation into one of official managed corruption, and still hope that the original vitality can be nurtured?"(16)

Wu concluded that one should reject all government in order that

individuals might maximise their potential. (17)

The New Century's objection to a partial revolution as a stage towards the final goal is well illustrated by Li Shiceng's answers to a correspondent. The latter claimed to share the journal's objectives and offered a practical means of achieving them. He drew two diagrams. While other more powerful countries (diagram 1) suffered only from "powerful people and capitalists," China (diagram

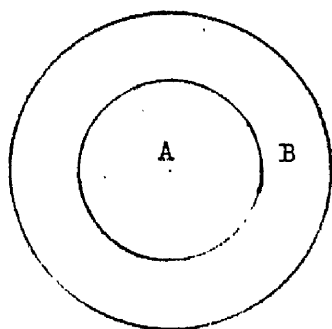
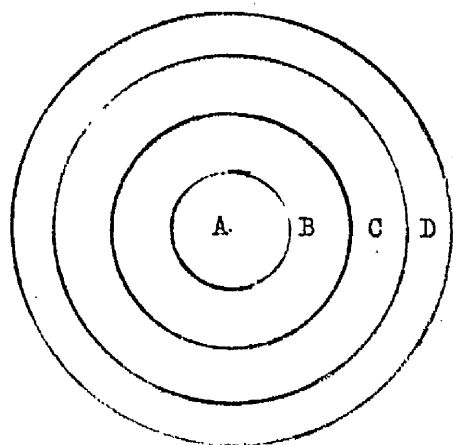


Diagram 1

- A. Ordinary people.
- B. Powerful people and capitalists.

Diagram 2

- A. Ordinary people of China.
- B. China's officials and rich people.
- C. Manchu government.
- D. The Great Powers: Britain, Japan, Germany, France, USA, Russia.



2) was also the victim of the Manchus and the Imperialist Powers. He argued that while other countries could simply throw off the outer ring of authority, they in China should first take "racial nationalism" (minzu zhi guojia zhuyi) as the means of achieving the first step of overthrowing the outer rings of Manchu and Imperialist domination. (18)

Li replied by asking how could they somehow jump over the ring of officials and rich people in order to first break the two outer rings for,

"the majority of officials and wealthy people do not seek justice but use government as their defence. I have never seen that they can join forces with the people to plot the destruction of the Manchu government."(19)

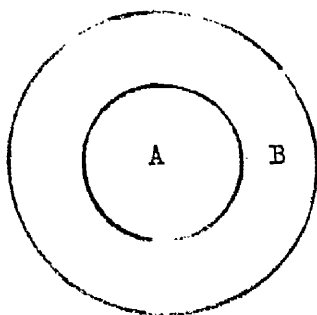


Diagram 3

A. Ordinary people of the whole world.

B. All authority.

He was, he continued,

opposed to Manchus and officials alike, because they wielded authority

and he drew his own diagram (diagram 3) to illustrate his point that

the only solution was for

"the united people of the whole world to attack and destroy all authority."(20) As shall be shown in the next section, the Paris Group was unable in practice to sustain this extreme position and in fact supported the multi-class nationalist movement and its main organisation, the Tongmenghui.

The main targets of the anarchist revolution were laid out by Chu Minyi in a table:

Oppose {	with regard to government	- oppose militarism
	with regard to capitalists	- oppose laws
	with regard to society	- oppose taxes
		- oppose property
		- oppose religion

(21)

Government could only perpetuate its authority by the maintenance of armed forces and legitimising laws and by the imposition of taxation to draw off the economic surplus to finance the state machine. Though Chu singled out religion as a chief target in society at large, this was

but one aspect of the informal normative controls which the anarchists attacked. An indispensable part of the maintenance of a repressive social order is the ideology of obedience to authority which backs up the coercive controls. Before the institutions of repression could be destroyed it was necessary to fight an ideological battle to liberate man from obedience to authority whether it be that of the Gods, which prevented one from having a true scientific view of the world, or of government which denied one freedom.

Wu wrote of the problem of obedience;

"People liking freedom is their conscience. Their liking dictatorship is handed down by tradition. The evolution of mankind today is such that their conscience still does not combat their handed-down traditions. Therefore, as soon as they hear there are aspects of dictatorship, they can still live with its stench and even altogether treasure it as an otherworldly peach-blossom spring. In fact the cleverness of dictatorship is that while there are those who obey orders, there are also those who are obeyed by others. Thus the Chinese have no intention of opposing the dictatorial officials. They just wish that when their sons have finished studying abroad, they will come home and become officials, and then be able to beat the buttocks of others."(22)

The prevailing ideology and the class structure of society ensured that, to a great extent, society could be relied upon to perpetuate and police itself. The reality of social mobility, however limited, gave even the most humble citizen a stake in the status quo.

The attack on authority by Wu and the Paris anarchists led them to make a bold critique of the family institution. Kropotkin dealt with the question of authoritarian ideology as it manifested itself in the home and at school:

"Indeed for thousands of years, those who govern us have done nothing but ring the changes upon "respect the law,

obedience to authority." This is the moral atmosphere in which parents bring up their children and school serves to confirm this impression."(23)

Wu echoed this,

"When Chinese children learn to talk, their parents' sole duty is to teach their sons and daughters to worship Heaven, Earth, the Gods, the ancestors, elders, neighbours and guests, in order to nurture the instinct to obey."(24)

Wu wrote that in the Chinese family, fathers and elder brothers were like "officials", while sons and daughters were like "prisoners" and added, "I warmly approve of the destruction of the family system."(25)

Li Shiceng, in his article "Ancestor Revolution," examined in some detail the role of the family. Religion, he wrote, used concepts such as misfortune and happiness to exercise authority over people's thoughts, while government used the superstition of false morality to establish the authority of superiors. The family, however, used both these forms of superstition and therefore "the poison of the family is very deep and the harm it does to mankind very great."(26) He singled out ancestor worship as the most pernicious aspect of the family and quoted the current saying,

"Causing children and grandchildren not to forget their origins is the most important aspect of ethics. If you do not revere the ancestors, then they [the children] will inevitably be irreverent towards their parents."(27)

Ancestor worship was, Li explained, similar to religious practices. It left the people weak and stupid and thus easily coerced.

"Worshipping ancestors is none other than a cunning plan to shackle sons and grandsons, to suppress them. Stupid, weak people cannot debate questions of right and wrong and simply obey."(28)

Li saw a close connection between the ethics cultivated in the family and the need of the state to inculcate obedience to official authority, quoting as evidence the saying "seek loyal subjects amongst filial sons."⁽²⁹⁾

Wu inveighed against those who argued that to rebel against the throne was an unfilial act towards one's ancestors who had bestowed power on those in authority. He pointed out that although he himself was a descendant of his ancestors, he was also the ancestor of his descendants. He asked,

"How can I be willing to sell out the freedom of my sons and grandsons in order to protect the power of my ancestors? If the freedom of my sons and grandsons can be sold out, then the power of the ancestors cannot be lost and those in power will hold scrolls giving them special rights and will forever stand in the position of butcher and the people will forever stand in the position of pigs, sheep and objects to be bought and sold."⁽³⁰⁾

Li Shiceng wrote of the role played by superstition in helping to preserve the Three Bonds, the authority of ruler, father and husband over subject, son and wife. He called for a "family revolution", deploring the fact that a husband could discard a wife at will and even kill her with impunity, while she had no recourse to such sanctions.⁽³¹⁾ "When you have the family, you substitute dictatorship for freedom,"⁽³²⁾ he wrote, and demanded economic independence for women as the road to their emancipation. Then women and men could pair off and separate as they wished and the family would die out, making way for a new code of morality which enshrined "freedom, equality and love."⁽³³⁾

Wu, no less than his colleagues on the New Century, gave himself to the cause of women's liberation, writing that "in the present

world, there are two kinds of obedience, that of women and that of soldiers."⁽³⁴⁾ He expressed outrage at the way men cunningly relied both on the false morality of the family and on discriminatory laws to preserve their own position.⁽³⁵⁾ He attacked the morality which dictated that widows should not remarry, that they should "rather die of hunger, than lose their chastity."⁽³⁶⁾ Elsewhere, Wu described the taking of concubines and the buying of maidservants as virtually a system of slavery. Such practices, he wrote, represented the "authority of men" being used to destroy the rights of women, and he called for "family revolution" and "free marriage."⁽³⁷⁾

The Paris anarchists were not the first Chinese in modern times to launch an attack on the authoritarian social code based on such Confucian concept as the Three Bonds. The Taipings advocated an end to the subjugation of women by men.⁽³⁸⁾ Tan Sitong, in his work "A Study of Benevolence," (renxue) stressed the need to break through what he called the "nets" (wangluo), that is the different layers of status which divide man from man, and thus to allow those in superior and inferior positions to "penetrate" or "communicate" (tong), to establish relations of total equality.⁽³⁹⁾ But where Wu and his colleagues differed from these forerunners was in the way they openly and systematically argued their case using modern Western theory and terminology. In the bold forthright way they denounced the old social order and its normative controls as epitomised by traditional family ethics, they themselves were forerunners of the iconoclasts of the May Fourth Period.⁽⁴⁰⁾

From a violent hatred of the darkness of Chinese society,

Wu did not swing to any blind admiration of the "democratic" societies in which he was exiled. He stated forcibly that the old world of the autocratic states was giving way to the "world of the rich." Whether it was a constitutional monarchy (Britain) or a "democratic constitutional form of government", it amounted to the "minority suppressing the majority;" "On the surface they appear to be a little civilised. But the sufferings of the people are roughly the same as in the old autocracies."⁽⁴¹⁾ Wu reprinted a cartoon from the London Daily Mail showing the leaders of the British parliament followed by representatives from other parliamentary systems around the world. The mace carried by the Speaker of the House, Wu explained, symbolized the fact that the first duty of Members of Parliament was to preserve law and order. Below the cartoon, he printed a picture showing revolutionaries using a rope to pull down the Houses of Parliament at Westminster. In their hands was a flag, added by Wu, with the inscription in Chinese, "international social revolution."⁽⁴²⁾

In another article, Wu pointed out that in France the rich still held sway and the poor still died of cold and hunger. France claimed to be civilised, yet the so called "socialist" government of the Republic had recently brought back the death penalty.⁽⁴³⁾ He described in detail the public guillotining of four criminals in Northern France and stressed that the coming revolution in China would not indulge in the bloodletting that had accompanied the French Revolution.⁽⁴⁴⁾ He also published pictures of a public flogging in Delaware, U.S.A. and bemoaned the fact that in a place which had stood against slavery and which had the most advanced economic

production in the world, there could still be such "uncivilised, inhuman behaviour," adding that "we should not blindly follow the West."⁽⁴⁵⁾

Further evidence that Wu was far from starry-eyed about the progress of social reform in the West, is offered by what he had to say about the status of women in Europe. He argued that in the West, just as in China, it was still the accepted norm that women should obey men, and he cited the clause in the French marriage ceremony which demanded that the wife follow the wishes of the husband.⁽⁴⁶⁾ During the 1900's, the Suffragette Movement reached its height in Britain and Wu did not fail to draw lessons from what happened. He observed that British women had at first used peaceful methods in the struggle for the vote in the hope that the government would help them. But they had come to realize that it had no intention of acting and so had changed their tactics to those of disrupting the speeches of cabinet ministers, a method Wu strongly approved of. He went on to deplore the barbarous behaviour of medical students who had smashed chairs and attacked the stage at suffragette meetings, and expressed concern that the Chinese through ignorance of the West often envied the progress made there towards women's rights. Though he conceded that Western women were freer than their sisters in China, they were still "but the playthings of men" and he concluded; "So in calling for women's rights, we should not follow in the same steps as the Westerners, but should take as our objective the equality of men and women."⁽⁴⁷⁾

b) Anti-Qing Position

The theoretical position in relation to government, outlined above, could be interpreted as excluding participation in the anti-Manchu republican movement. In fact Wu and his colleagues joined the Tongmenghui and gave consistent and active support to the objective of overthrowing the monarchy. The nature of Wu's relationship with Sun Yat-sen and the Tongmenghui will be discussed below. But first let us examine whether the Paris anarchists offered any theoretical justifications for this position.

Was their support for the anti-Manchu struggle, as Scalapino and Yu argue, "a marriage of convenience and friendship, not of logic."?(48) Gasster considers this to be the "obvious answer" and "also the chief explanation," stating that "in general, their argument was that the T'ung-meng-hui advocated only a partial revolution and therefore a meaningless one."(49) These two assessments contain some elements of truth. As shall be shown there was a strong bond of friendship between Wu and Sun Yat-sen which dated from 1905. To consider Gasster's point, if one takes the statements quoted above concerning the long-term social revolution, indeed the revolution promoted by the Tongmenghui must have been regarded by the anarchists as only a "partial" one. But this stated, it cannot be accepted that the Paris group therefore considered the struggle against the monarchy "meaningless." The voluminous anti-Qing tracts in the New Century bear witness to this. Moreover, one can find in the writing of Wu and his colleagues sufficient evidence to prove that, in

fact, there was a strong "logic" in their approach to the problem.

First let us look at the New Century's opening statement about the nature of revolution. It identified three categories of revolution. Firstly there was the simple dynastic change which produced no fundamental changes and preserved the rights of the minority. The culmination of the revolutionary process, the third category, was the achievement of anarchism, as exemplified by the Paris Commune, "the forerunner of the coming social revolution." But in between the stage of crude substitution of one imperial clan for another and the total "new century revolution", there was envisaged a second stage, a "transitional period", such as the French Revolution of 1789 which "abolished the monarchy and proclaimed people's rights." This stage in fact amounted to the "first year of the new century revolution."⁽⁵⁰⁾ To make this analysis quite clear, the New Century added a "table of the evolution of revolutionary thought";

Old Centuries

Changing of dynasties.	:- in order to replace violence with violence
Changing of names (<u>xing</u>)	
Great fiefdoms.	:- renew the "three heroes." (i.e. Zhang Liang, Xiao Ho and Han Xin of the Han.)
Meritorious officials.	
Fame and profit received together.	:- obtaining official posts and making a fortune.

Transitional period between old and new centuries

Overthrow old governments, set up new governments.	:- the new one is better than the old one.
Party leaders, assembly gentry.	:- reform movements.
Sacrifice: profit Hunger and thirst: fame	:- bronze statues erected everywhere.

New Century

Do away with all governments. :- pure freedom.
 Do away with officials, end :- no private profit.
 official salaries.
 Throw away all titles and :- only esteem justice."⁽⁵¹⁾
 end fame.

For Chu Minyi the ideal was "social revolution," brought about by the majority of the people and therefore peaceful and speedy. But nevertheless he supported "political revolution" as superior to the simple dynastic changeover which led to great slaughter and chaos.⁽⁵²⁾ Li Shiceng likewise saw a need for stages in the revolutionary process. Revolution, he wrote, could be equated with opposition to government. The government of China was run by Manchus, "so we treat opposing the Manchus and revolution as one thing." But opposing the Manchus, he stressed, was only one "stage" (duan) of the process, just "political revolution." The final goal was social revolution, the equalisation of rich and poor, lowly and noble. But,

"in overthrowing authority you have to start by overthrowing the emperor. So we say political revolution is power coming to the people. Social revolution is the final end."⁽⁵³⁾

Wu for his part admitted that the total social revolution was far off and devoted much of his energy to the short-term objective of overthrowing the dynasty, describing this latter struggle as the "revolution which is the first step in the reform of China."⁽⁵⁴⁾ As he put it elsewhere, "Governments are things which are not wanted. Governments with emperors are particularly unwanted."⁽⁵⁵⁾ Using an evolutionist approach, he wrote that compared with a monarchy, a

republic seemed to be perfection. But in fact evolution continued and "therefore republics daily develop towards anarchy." (sic.) He then gave a list of various political tendencies which began with the "Three Bonds and Five Constants Group" (sangang wuchang pai), that is the most hardened conservatives in China, and continued through to the "Truth and Evolution Group" (zhenli jinhua pai), the anarchists, the final category which was nearest to perfection. But only slightly less evolved than the anarchists, came the "Equality and Freedom Group" (pingdeng ziyou pai), those associated with the Minbao and the main stream of the Tongmenghui.⁽⁵⁶⁾ The anarchists did not exhibit sectarian exclusivism towards other anti-Qing groupings. Rather this evolutionist relativism gave plenty of justification for working with other political tendencies.

In its opening article in Autumn 1905, the Minbao introduced to its readers Sun Yat-sen's "Three People's Principles", "Nationalism", "Democracy" and "People's livelihood"⁽⁵⁷⁾ which became the backbone of the Tongmenghui programme. The anarchists defined their own concept of socialism or communism (they did not distinguish between the two) on many occasions and took care to explain the difference between "true socialists", that is anarchists, and phoney "assembly" socialists such as those in the French government which restored the death penalty.⁽⁵⁸⁾ Thus they did little to challenge Sun's concept of "people's livelihood" (minsheng) or socialism, as it is often translated, which in any case was only vaguely expounded. But the New Century took trouble to criticize the Principles of Nationalism and Democracy. In understanding the ideological relationship between the Paris anarchists

and the mainstream of the Tongmenghui, one must identify the tone of voice with which they offered these criticisms. Gasster has written that it is clear "that the anarchists' opposition to authority brought them into direct conflict with their "comrades" on the Minbao." (59)

What this implies is that there was serious hostility between the anarchists and those of Sun's persuasion. This is in fact far from the case. Chu Minyi wrote a major article in which he compared the anarchists' type of socialism with the nationalism and democracy as expounded by Sun.⁽⁶⁰⁾ Stimulation from the outside world and also his passionate feeling about the state of China, had, he explained, led him from his former enthusiasm for nationalism and democracy, to the higher stage of commitment to the "broader, more correct socialism." But he stressed that nationalism and democracy were not at total variance with socialism, but simply had slight differences. Socialism served the same short term ends in bringing about freedom and equality, but it did not have the "selfishness" of nationalism and democracy, for it aimed at the freedom, equality and happiness of not just one nation, a minority, but of all mankind. The two schools of thought were not mutually exclusive. The differences were not qualitative but quantitative: "it is a question of degree (daxiao), being far-reaching or limited."⁽⁶¹⁾ Chu first dealt with nationalism, which, he argued, differed from the socialist position in that it fought only for one race, attempting to substitute the political power of the Hans for that of the Manchus. This form of anti-Manchuism was "selfish" for there was no lack of progressive Manchus, he wrote. Chu was criticizing the arguments contained for instance in Clause One

of the Tongmenghui programme which called for the "expulsion of the Tartars," claiming as justification the illegality of the Manchus' brutal invasion two hundred and sixty years before.⁽⁶²⁾ Chu was not impressed by those who were "drunk on nationalism" and who wanted to "restore the borders" and "glorify the ancestors." He pointed to the weakness of these arguments. The Yellow Emperor had in fact come from North West Asia. The South of China had belonged to the Miaos. Therefore in early times, China had been seized by the Hans, using force and "authority". This being so, could not the Manchus say they were entitled to China because they had seized it a couple of hundred years before? He felt that the crimes committed by the Manchus during their invasion of China should not be visited on those descendants who were innocent and concluded, "nationalism is revengism and revengism is selfishness." Their target was purely those Manchus who "today use their power and ambition to suppress and exploit the race."⁽⁶³⁾

This argument was aimed not just at the nationalism expounded by Sun but also at the racial theories of the right wing of the Tongmenghui, represented by men such as Zhang Binglin who held the opinion that since in the massacres committed during their invasion, the Manchus had shown that they wished to annihilate the Chinese, therefore "Chinese hatred of the Manchus should be hatred of them all."⁽⁶⁴⁾ It should be stated, however, that Sun and even Zhang Binglin denied that their anti-Manchuism was basically racist. Sun wrote that "we do not hate the Manchus, we hate those Manchus who bring harm to the Hans,"⁽⁶⁵⁾ and Zhang insisted that his anti-Manchuism was

directed solely at those Manchus in power and not at those ordinary Manchus who worked in the fields.⁽⁶⁶⁾ But this said, there remains a crude anti-Manchu tone in many of the revolutionary tracts of the time and the anarchists were concerned about this, not only because it went contrary to their own beliefs, but also because the reformists were able with some success to latch onto the question of race in their attacks on the revolutionaries. The reformists accused the Minbao group of using false theories of "racial revolution" to divide the Hans and Manchus.⁽⁶⁷⁾ Liang Qichao claimed that the first task was to oppose bad government and that the Han-Manchu question was irrelevant, for the two races were thoroughly mixed. He found what he called Zhang Binglin's "revengism", the term also used by Chu, particularly distasteful.⁽⁶⁸⁾

Next, Chu turned to democracy, pointing out that although Japan, Europe and the U.S.A. appeared politically advanced, this was illusory. In the U.S.A. neither women nor the poor had political power. Political dictatorship had been replaced by the "poison of the economic monopoly" of the rich. He concluded his article with an elaborate "table comparing nationalism, democracy and socialism."⁽⁶⁹⁾ (see Appendix 3).

Li Shiceng reiterated Chu's views on the Tongmenghui programme, explaining how he first had been attracted to racial revolution and nationalism because they were "relatively civilised" compared to selfish individualism, but how later, with the development of his consciousness, he had come to socialism. Like Chu, Li concluded that nationalism and anarchism "are not opposites", but that they

differed only in "size" (daxiao) that is in relative and quantitative terms, and he claimed that "it can be deduced from the principles of evolution" that those still advocating nationalism would in time come to support socialism. (70)

Thus we can see that the anarchists could share with others in the Tongmenghui the short-term objective of overthrowing the monarchy, while at the same time hoping, by participation in the broad revolutionary movement, to act as a type of ultra-left ginger group which sought to open up longer revolutionary perspectives to those politically more backward. Through the spreading of anarchism, they hoped to ensure the speedy achievement of the immediate objectives of the revolution, and at the same time, by giving people longer term goals to aim for, to prevent any backsliding or loss of radicalism in the revolutionary ranks. This view of the role of the anarchists in the Tongmenghui was well expressed by Wu in an article entitled "Anarchism can strengthen the sense of responsibility of the revolutionaries." (71)

Wu began by conceding that, in the Chinese context, slogans such as nationalism and republicanism could win a great deal of support for the revolution. But he went on to argue that they also had very real disadvantages, even in the short term struggle, while anarchism did not.

First he looked at nationalism. Factors such as deeply seated racial prejudice ensured nationalism a good chance of gaining support. Even "diehards" like Zhang Zhidong and "vagabonds" such as Kang Youwei sometimes felt the iniquity of Manchu rule. But, Wu warned, if you called for racial revolution, it amounted to one of

revenge and people would, for their ends, attack it as such, just as Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao were doing. Wu pointed out that Liang had been greatly influenced by nationalism and had had some commitment to revolution, but subsequently had abandoned these views and started opposing the "revolution of revenge." From this example, he argued, it was clear that nationalism was incapable of preventing an individual's "sense of responsibility" (zerenxin) or commitment to revolution being "eroded and killed off" (jiansha)⁽⁷²⁾.

Wu had this to say about republicanism. It meant executive power being in the hands of the people and therefore it went without saying that its achievement entailed the overthrow of the Manchu government. Racial revolution was implicit in it for "as ideologies are broadened, they include the narrower ideologies and do not prevent the other being realized."⁽⁷³⁾ Obviously there was no hope of true constitutional government while the Manchus were in power and therefore there were, he conceded, valid reasons for taking republicanism as one's slogan. But it too had its problems, for if one were bound by its limitations, then one's opponents were bound to make historical, educational and political comparisons, as in fact Liang Qichao was doing, and argue that the "level" (chengdu) of the Chinese was too low to permit republican government. Instead, the Chinese were offered a constitutional monarchy. Though this proposal was clearly a fraud, the people were still uneasy about whether a republic was suitable for their level of evolution and so still felt the need for an emperor and "did not dare to incline boldly towards revolution."⁽⁷⁴⁾ Thus republicanism also had grave shortcomings.

Instead, Wu advocated the spreading of anarchist ideas in order to,

"inform the world's peoples that in a short while there will be the datong revolution and that national boundaries will be obliterated and so republican politics can be no more than a thing of transition and that there is absolutely no room any more for emperors." (75) (my emphasis)

Thus Wu accepted the need for a transitional republican stage of development, for, as he explained in the same article, the replacement of government by anarchist-style loosely federated organisation could not be accomplished overnight. But he expanded on what he meant by a transitional stage. First of all, the popular government that the revolutionaries in China would establish would inevitably be superior to that of the U.S.A. or France. Moreover, government was not only "an organ for the strong to control the weak," but also "an organ for co-operation amongst the people." The transition from government to anarchist social organisation could not be arrived at through just a short revolution and thus it was their duty to make public opinion favourable to the anarchist movement and thus, he wrote, in the transitional period, coercive aspects of government would become less and the co-operative, federal aspects would become stronger. It was the "established principle of evolution", he asserted, that while the new ideas were replacing the old, there would be a period of transition, a period of "popular politics", supported by both "phoney" and "true" socialists. (76) Thus,

"If the revolutionaries can hang up anarchism as the target they are aiming for, and consider there is no alternative, but still hold that popular government has a function during a certain period, then they will not be turning their back on the main idea of revolution being something

which hastens the evolution of mankind."(77)

So anarchist ideas would ensure that when the republic was established people would already be looking towards a higher stage of social development and progress towards anarchism would continue. However, what emerges from this analysis of social change, is that the process would essentially be one of gradual reform. Anarchism would not come about as the result of a sudden and violent destruction of the old order, but would emerge piecemeal from within republican society.

With regard to the short term objectives, the propagation of anarchism would remove all the justification for having a monarchy and the establishment of a republic would seem quite natural. Replying to those who suggested that anarchism would make people less willing to end the monarchy, Wu pointed out that although anarchism was more advanced than nationalism and republicanism, it still encompassed these lower ideologies and certainly did not exclude or obstruct them. (78)

So, in Wu's view, in strengthening the resolve of the revolutionaries, whether with regard to the establishment of a republic or in order to ensure a continuing social revolution, there was no better means than disseminating anarchism throughout the revolutionary movement. The role the anarchists of the New Century saw for themselves in the movement, reveals one of the many political divergences within the loose alliance of revolutionary groups which formed the Tongmenghui. It also shows the New Century's strength of commitment to working with these different political tendencies

on the basis of an anti-Qing united front.

Wu and his comrades filled the pages of the New Century with articles which violently abused and attacked the Qing dynasty. The corrupt and evil Manchu throne was, Wu wrote, "the first direct target of the social revolution."⁽⁷⁹⁾ Wu was happy to admit that "all of us on this paper are absolute anti-Manchu revolutionaries."⁽⁸⁰⁾ All emperors were "obstacles to the evolution of mankind"⁽⁸¹⁾ and the twentieth century would see the total elimination of monarchies, for they were political excrescences (aowu). In the case of China, Wu explained, all the changes which would ensure China's survival, such as educational reform and the formation of new habits, depended on the "development of freedom". This in turn, could only come about after the abolition of the monarchy and what he called the "remaking of the people's soul."⁽⁸²⁾ Replying to those who charged the revolutionaries with disturbing order, Wu insisted that the main task was to destroy the government which itself symbolized disorder. "Only if you cut away illegality, can legality arise."⁽⁸³⁾

The revolutionaries considered the overthrow of the Qing to be the only way to prevent the colonisation of China by the Great Powers. As one correspondent to the New Century wrote, revolution was the only effective cure for China's "slavish nature"; "Only if we use that medicine can we be independent and avoid partition (guafen)"⁽⁸⁴⁾ Wu bemoaned the fact that, with the rise of Imperialism, many civilised countries, such as Egypt and Greece, as well as less developed peoples such as the Africans and the American Indians had been subjugated. He hoped that Chinese youth would understand that

the Russo-Japanese war was simply the result of Imperialist rivalry. They should not be dazzled by Imperialism but ponder on its crimes. He warned that unless the Chinese abandoned their superstitious reverence for the throne and developed a "revolutionary character and an independent spirit," it would not be long before China was "in the hands of the whites."⁽⁸⁵⁾ In a letter to a Korean journal, Wu pointed to India, Burma and Annam which had all been enslaved, "swallowed up by those in the world with authority", and noted that the same was happening to Korea and China. But Wu was clear on the priorities for survival as a nation. "I consider that in order to resist the actions of those with authority, we must first get rid of our traitors (neijian)"⁽⁸⁶⁾

Predictably, much of Wu's hatred of the dynasty was focused on the Emperor Guangxu and the Empress Dowager, Zixi. He celebrated their deaths in November 1908 with an article entitled "the devils are finished, the people's hearts are happy," in which he described them as;

"Prostitute of the West, Nala. Little turtle head, Cai Dian. These two great omens of misfortune, butchers of the Han race, the criminal heads of the Boxers, the great bandits who unleashed the officials to disturb the peace, to seize property and produce."⁽⁸⁷⁾

But he was quick to observe that as soon as the "fox empress and the rat emperor" were dead, new ones succeeded them. Already, officials such as Zhang Zhidong and Yuan Shikai were kow-towing before the "new-born rat", Pu Yi.⁽⁸⁸⁾ But Wu's invective against the "whore empress and the rat emperor," titles he was fond of using,⁽⁸⁹⁾ did not go unnoticed in Peking. In 1907, it was reported that the

Chinese foreign ministry had cabled the ambassador in France, Liu Shixun, instructing him to investigate the New Century and have it closed down. There was also news that any students involved with the paper would be ordered back to China. Wu responded defiantly by stating that there was nothing secret about the paper, and he published the addresses where it was printed and edited, admitting quite openly that it was a revolutionary organ.⁽⁹⁰⁾ Then a few weeks later, the Zhongguo ribao reported that a special emissary sent to France had cabled Peking to say that despite several meetings with French officials, he had failed to have the New Century closed down. Other Chinese newspapers reported that the French refused to take action because of the principle of free speech and because the New Century was not disturbing the peace in France.⁽⁹¹⁾ In 1908, the Chinese authorities again tried unsuccessfully to get the French to act against the journal. Several French soldiers had been killed in Annam by Chinese revolutionaries and the Chinese government claimed that this was the result of agitation by the New Century.⁽⁹²⁾ In fact it was financial difficulties which were finally to close the New Century in May 1910.⁽⁹³⁾

c) Revolutionary Methods: Propaganda, Assassination and Uprisings

How then were the immediate goals of the revolution to be achieved? One letter published in the New Century suggested two broad areas of revolutionary action: "books and newspapers to transform the

hearts of men. Violent methods to execute the bandits of humanity."

The correspondent concluded that if those "hard and soft" methods were used in conjunction then results would be swift. Wu, adding his editorial comment, entirely endorsed this schema.⁽⁹⁴⁾ Li Shiceng produced a more detailed list of methods.

1. Books and speeches, "to move people."
2. Resistance; refusal to pay taxes, to do military service, strikes and market shutdowns.
3. Meetings.
4. Assassination.
5. Mass uprisings.⁽⁹⁵⁾

Let us first consider how those in the New Century regarded propaganda work. Wu wrote that one stimulus for his founding the journal was an article he read about explorers at the South Pole who took with them a printing press on which they produced a fortnightly newspaper. It served as a news-sheet for communications amongst the two hundred odd members of the expedition, and at the same time informed them of events back home.⁽⁹⁶⁾ Thus Wu conceived of the New Century as an organ of Chinese living abroad and also an important source of information about what was happening in China. Wu urged his readers to constantly proselytise about revolution to friends and relatives, to keep the word revolution ringing in their ears, like Amitabha or the Lord's Prayer.⁽⁹⁷⁾

A letter to the New Century attacked Wu and his colleagues for being all talk and no action. They had "never unfurled the flag of revolution." Fine words, the correspondent continued, did not help

free China.⁽⁹⁸⁾ In keeping with its statement of aims in the first issue⁽⁹⁹⁾, the New Century published many such views which conflicted with that of the journal, but the pattern was that hostile pieces would be followed by comments from one of the editorial group. In this case, it was Wu who replied to the criticism.

"Our talking about revolution is sowing seeds. The day when we expel the bandit of the people (i.e. the Emperor), and increase happiness, that will be the harvest."⁽¹⁰⁰⁾

If, he went on, you neglected propaganda, the implementation of the revolution would be slower. "The more propaganda there is, the more action there is bound to be." He pointed to the role of Rousseau and Descartes in the eighteenth century of preparing the way for the freedoms that were established in the next century and he stressed the importance of the agitation of the Tokyo community of Chinese students in undermining the authority of the Manchus, concluding with the saying, "words are the mother of action."⁽¹⁰¹⁾

The New Century group never controlled or tried to form its own separate armed force. But it did give its support to various kinds of violence. Scalapino and Yu write blandly that the New Century was "pro-violence"⁽¹⁰²⁾ which tells us little, other than the unremarkable fact that the Paris anarchists were not pacifists. Chu Minyi explained his views on violence; towards government they should practice assassination, but towards society they should practice love.⁽¹⁰³⁾ Li Shiceng wrote that revolution used violence to oppose authority and bring about justice, not to exercise authority.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Elsewhere he explained that their opposition to militarism was not because it was

violent but because it went contrary to justice. They were prepared to use violence in the right circumstances and, he added, would take up arms to resist any country which invaded China.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Echoing this last point, Chu said that, though he would co-operate with any foreigner who supported their aims; if the foreign powers interfered in Chinese affairs, he would not be intimidated by them and would do his utmost to resist.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ Replying to criticism that as anarchists they should renounce the use of all military force, Wu stated that "we advocate a temporary expansion of military preparations," not for selfish reasons but to "put to death the enemies of humanity" in the hope of finally ending all militarism.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

Though Wu accepted entirely the need for revolutionary violence, he was quick to allay the fears of those who were apprehensive of even just violence. He printed a picture of Louis the Sixteenth and family and expressed the conviction that the Chinese revolutionaries would not seek revenge as in the French Revolution.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾

Wu divided killing into three categories. The first was acts of revenge, which he held to be wrong in principle. Moreover, he insisted that the deterrent argument was false and cited the cases of Holland and Sweden where, following the abolition of the death penalty, murders had decreased.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ The other two categories of killing represented forms of revolutionary violence and Wu approved of them. "C is going to kill D, so D kills C to save himself." Such action was unfortunate, Wu wrote, but nevertheless it was correct and virtuous to resist armies of aggression. If the Manchus would voluntarily end the dynasty and return to Manchuria, then the

revolutionaries would wave their hats and see them off. If not, then they would have to use a military force to expel them from China. The expulsion of the Manchus from China would save the Chinese from further slaughter and so was "benevolent". This question of armed uprisings will be discussed at some length below. But first let us look at his final category of killing, political assassination. Just as he approved of just wars, so Wu agreed with the removal by assassination of individuals who represented serious obstacles to mankind's progress. (110)

There was widespread support for assassination throughout the Tongmenghui. Sun Yat-sen considered it to be an important part of the struggle and the Tongmenghui set up a special department to deal with assassinations. (111) In 1908, at the request of the Chinese authorities, the Japanese government closed down the Minbao, accusing it of "encouraging assassinations and endangering public security." (112) But assassinations is undoubtedly a characteristically anarchist method. Chinese revolutionaries living in Japan were strongly influenced by many Russian anarchists who fled to Japan after the Russian Revolution of 1905 and learnt many of their terrorist techniques, including bomb making, from them. (113)

The concept of "propaganda of the deed", acts of violence against authority in order to inspire the people to revolutionary action, was first articulated by the Italian anarchist Pisacane who wrote,

"The propaganda of the idea is a chimera. Ideas result from deeds, not the latter from the former, and the people will not be free when they are educated, but will be educated when they are free. The only work a citizen

can do for the good of the country is that of co-operating with the material revolution; therefore, conspiracies, plots, attempts etc., are that series of deeds by which Italy proceeds towards her goals. "(114)

The most striking period of anarchist terrorist acts in Western Europe occurred in France between 1892 and 1894. (115) Earlier, in 1881, the Russian Czar Alexander had been assassinated by populists. (116) Kropotkin praised this killing as an "enormous step toward the approaching revolution in Russia. "(117) The wave of bombings in France during the 1890's achieved little except produce a backlash from the state, resulting in the destruction of the anarchist press and the dispersal of the anarchist movement in France. (118) Many anarchists came to see the futility of tactics such as assassination. Berkmann, writing in 1929, while denying that anarchism had any "monopoly of political violence" or that it was even the root cause of violence, declared that anarchists no longer generally used such methods because "modern conditions of life made them unnecessary and even harmful to the spread of ideas. "(119) Berkmann understood the problem from first hand experience, for in 1892 he had failed in an attempt to shoot dead the manager of a steel mill in Pennsylvania and as a result spent fourteen years in jail. (120)

Individual acts of violence in fact reveal a certain lack of faith in the power of one's ideas, as well as "contempt for the masses. "(121) Impatience with the slow speed of revolutionary developments and sometimes pessimism have led anarchists to adopt such tactics. As Lenin has written; "anarchism is the product of despair. The psychology of the unsettled intellectual or the vagabond and not of the proletarian. "(122) The daunting task of mobilising the Chinese people

as a whole for revolution was one which the Revolution of 1911 barely began. The New Century revolutionaries showed an awareness of the need for ideological change to complement political revolution far in advance of most of their contemporaries. But even Wu bemoaned the "cowardliness and lack of organisation" of the Eastern peoples, which he attributed to several thousand years of bad education.⁽¹²³⁾ This being so, a revolution in which the whole population participated could not, he believed, be achieved immediately. In the first stage of the revolution,

"we must rely on the organisation of a minority (xiaobufen). In arousing the right spirit (kaitong fengqi) we must totally rely on the action of individuals."⁽¹²⁴⁾

Wu then went on to praise the lead taken by political assassins in China and around the world.⁽¹²⁵⁾ Elsewhere he wrote, "I hope China's youth will do more studying of science and more bomb making."⁽¹²⁶⁾ Thus he expressed his faith in transforming China through science, for him the truest and purest form of knowledge, while at the same time, by encouraging the supreme form of individualistic struggle divorced from the people, he admitted a yawning gap between social reality in China and his own impatient desire for radical change.

Li Shiceng wrote unashamably that "armies mean militarism. Pistols and bombs mean revolution", concluding that "revolutionary assassination is the sacrifice of an individual in order to eradicate an enemy of humanity, thus extending justice throughout the world."⁽¹²⁷⁾ Another writer in the New Century criticised Chinese students in Japan who were committing suicide in protest at Chinese government

policies;

"If you fellows really see in death the answer to things, why do you not follow in the footsteps of the Russian terrorists by killing one or two thieves of mankind as the price of death." (128)

The New Century carried innumerable articles and reports on assassination. There was a special feature on this history of assassination with a description of the killing of Alexander II. (129) Considerable coverage was given to the assassination, by an Indian student, of a senior India Office official in London in July 1909. (130) Wu also warmly praised the killing of Japanese minister Ito Hirobumi by the young Korean patriot An Chung-gŭn in Harbin during October of the same year. (131) Wu reported a bomb throwing incident at the home of the Archbishop of Lisbon and the sending of an explosive device through the post to a Swedish capitalist. (132) He also published pictures of Wu Yue's mutilated body after his attempt to assassinate Duan Fang and other officials in 1905 and praised his heroism. (133) Wu was one of the organisers of a large meeting held in Paris to commemorate Xu Xilin, assassin of En Ming, Governor of Anhui. (134)

Let us now return to the question of the just war of self defence. We saw above that Wu approved of such action and sanctioned a "war of expulsion" against the Manchus. One present-day Peking view is that although the Paris anarchists advocated assassination and strikes, they were opposed to armed uprisings (135) and great weight is put on a statement by Chu Minyi that it was too early for uprisings because they did not yet have broad support from the people. When revolutionary ideas were spread amongst the people, authority would melt away without the need for violence. (136) In fact this

evidence is taken totally out of context, for in the very same article Chu offered an alternative to this utopian ideal of revolution coming about when the whole population was fully conscious. He expressed a preference, *de faut de mieux*, for revolution supported by a sizeable minority, which had "relatively few dangers and made relatively swift progress," over revolution instigated by a handful of people which led to a bloodbath. (137)

Wu took an active interest in the fortunes of Tongmenghui organised uprisings. In June 1911, he wrote to Sun Yat-sen urging him to take advantage of the chaotic situation in Sichuan and the drought at Hankou, and to organise a large scale uprising in the Yangtze Valley. Wu discussed the problem of financing the operation and expressed the hope that funds would be forthcoming in the U.S.A. (138) He summed up his strategy;

"If Nanking can fall, then the Sichuan troubles will press East. The Hunan revolutionaries will move North to capture Hankou, and then Wuchang will be taken next. When Hankou is in our hands, then the Guizhou and Guangdong revolutionaries will be strengthened. Surely then the whole of the South can declare independence." (139)

Such a detailed appraisal of the situation, shows us that Wu was working closely with the leadership of the Tongmenghui to plan an immediate revolutionary seizure of power and, in fact, in his stress on activities primarily in Central China, was pushing for the tactics which in October of that year were to be successful.

But while Wu never wavered in his support for uprisings, he showed on many occasions a lack of enthusiasm for a centralised management of the military operations by Sun Yat-sen. Coverage given by the New Century to an uprising which finally failed in December

1906 reveals a great deal about how Wu and his comrades viewed armed struggles within China. In 1907 the paper produced a special pamphlet⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ on the uprising in Pingxiang, Liling and Liuyang, a region on the borders of Jiangxi and Hunan. The main force of the uprising was six thousand miners from the Anyuan coal field in Pingxiang County, Hunan. Floods in the Yangtze Valley had caused a severe famine and, near to starvation, the miners rose up "instinctively", rather from any developed class consciousness.⁽¹⁴¹⁾ But as Wu Yuzhang has written, "the honour must go to them for writing the first page in the history of the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese working class."⁽¹⁴²⁾ Though the Pingxiang rebels linked up with others in Liling and Liu Yang Counties of Jiangxi to form a force of thirty thousand or more, finally in December 1906, partly through a lack of co-ordination between the different parts of the uprising, they were suppressed by government troops.⁽¹⁴³⁾

The New Century singled out as the prime mover of the uprising a man who died even before it began on a large scale: Ma Fuyi, a secret society chief and one of the leaders of the Huaxinghui which launched the Changsha Uprising in 1904, had been arrested and executed in 1905.⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ The New Century pamphlet heaped praise on Ma, explaining that though he had first arrived at a revolutionary position from reading the works of Wang Fuzhi and had stressed the racial aspects of the anti-Manchu struggle, subsequently he had not just "debated race and seizing power from the Emperor," but had also assimilated the "purest principles of revolution" from Japan and the West. When he organised his rebel band of miners, he laid down a

ten clause code of behaviour for this revolutionary force which, the New Century wrote, made the uprising infinitely more enlightened (kaiming) than the old style of revolution which led to wanton death and destruction. (145)

The New Century described the "ten clauses" (shitiao) in general terms, as forbidding the troops to commit wanton slaughter of the population, to disrupt markets or to intimidate strangers. (146)

The veteran revolutionary Zhang Pingzi has recalled the code in greater detail;

1. No cheating at gambling.
2. It was not permitted to act cruelly or to quarrel.
3. If there was a dispute, it was not permitted to intervene on the side of one of the parties, but the matter had to be settled in a way which was fair to both sides.
4. It was absolutely forbidden to pillage or swindle. No banditry or thieving was to be permitted within twenty li of the market.
5. Anyone who had committed theft just once, would no longer be permitted to live in the region. (147)

Zhang stated that after these rules were established, the places administered by the rebellion were extremely peaceful and the reputation of Ma Fuyi grew greatly as a result. (148)

Ma's death, far from halting the troubles in Pingxiang, prompted others to set in progress a full-scale uprising. (149) The Ping-Li-Liu Uprising in December 1906 was sparked off by Liu Daoyi and Cai Shaonan who in the Spring of that year had been sent by the Tongmenghui in Tokyo to foment revolution in Hunan. (150) But the

insurrection was "only the result of their energetic activities and did not have any systematic plan."⁽¹⁵¹⁾ Liu Daoyi's coded reports cabled to Japan were held up by the Changsha Telegraph Office, so that the Tongmenghui Headquarters only found out about the uprising from the Japanese newspapers.⁽¹⁵²⁾ By the time Sun Yat-sen and Huang Xing heard the news and sent a number of comrades to Central China to subvert the army and back up the struggle in Pingxiang, Liu and Cai had both been captured and executed.⁽¹⁵³⁾ Sun in a letter to Wu in 1910 wrote that he had had no hand in the planning of the uprising. By the time he had managed to make contact with Hunan, the Pingxiang rebel forces had been defeated because of lack of weapons.⁽¹⁵⁴⁾

The New Century held up the Pingxiang Uprising as a model because of its progressive leadership. Ma Fuyi's "ten clauses" showed the way forward for a disciplined military insurrection as distinct from the traditional peasant rebellion characterised by wilful killing and pillage. Moreover the uprising issued a proclamation stating that not only would it overthrow the Manchus and set up a republic but would also "research new laws" to "equalise landownership among the people."⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ The New Century had good reason to claim that "from the time the Pingxiang revolutionary army arose, China for the first time had a proper revolutionary banner planted in the Yangtze Valley."⁽¹⁵⁶⁾

But there is another aspect of the reaction of Wu and his comrades to the uprising which reveals a good deal about how, as anarchists, they felt the revolution should be conducted. The fact, established above, that the uprising had only the weakest links with

the Tongmenghui central leadership and was certainly not planned by Sun Yat-sen was strongly praised by the New Century for it seemed to prove that the Chinese people, in this case the Anyuan miners, led by a secret society and its local head, were capable of revolutionary activity independent of outside organisation. The New Century stressed with enthusiasm that it was not Sun Yat-sen, active in revolutionary work for twenty years, but Ma Fuyi who had started the uprising.⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ Wu expressed a similar attitude towards Sun's role as central co-ordinator of the Tongmenghui's revolutionary activities in comments he made to answers given by a Chinese supporter of Kang Youwei's reformist camp to a French newspaper. When asked by the French interviewer about Sun's statement that there would increasingly be uprisings in the interior of China as well as in the far South, the reformist replied that though Sun cited the miners' uprising in Hunan as evidence of these new activities in Central China, the truth was that Sun had "absolutely no connection" with the Pingxiang miners who were all uneducated ignoramuses.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ Wu commenting on this, wrote that he totally accepted what the reformist said about Sun's non-involvement.⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ In common parlance, Wu went on, the term "to have a connection" (guanxi),

"inevitably means that the Pingxiang army only rose up after it had received orders from Mr Sun. But surely you know that in the case of revolution of the civilised world, nobody needs to give orders to anyone else. They just cherish the same objectives, in order to overthrow the government."⁽¹⁶⁰⁾

In giving himself totally to the "common task" (gongshi) of the revolution, each individual had his own "private task" (sishi). Everyone acted as an inspiration and encouragement to each other, and therefore

there was absolutely no need for people with titles such as party leader, chairman or general secretary to supervise and lead the revolutionary activities.⁽¹⁶¹⁾ From this we can see that Wu was not in favour of any tightening up of the leadership of the Tongmenghui, but if anything approved of less centralised control from Tokyo.

d) Support for Sun Yat-sen

As we have seen above, Wu declined the opportunity to visit Sun Yat-sen in Yokohama in 1902. It was not until 1905 in London that they first became acquainted. In the Spring of 1905, Sun went to Europe to gain support from Chinese students there for the formation of a new revolutionary body on the lines of a modern political party, to replace the Xingzhonghui.⁽¹⁶²⁾ Sun held important discussions with Chinese students in Brussels. Although the name Xingzhonghui was retained until the formal founding of the Tongmenghui in Tokyo that Autumn,⁽¹⁶³⁾ these events in Europe have been described as the beginning of the Tongmenghui.⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ Zhu Hezhong has recalled that he travelled from Berlin to attend the talks with Sun in Brussels. Sun addressed the students, putting great weight on how central the role of the secret societies was in the struggle. Zhu disagreed strongly, arguing that the reason for Sun's lack of success was that he had failed to win the support of revolutionary intellectuals. Sun finally accepted this criticism and resolved that in the future he would rely on revolutionary activists amongst Chinese students overseas rather than on secret societies. This statement was warmly received by the students present

and they happily signed an oath of allegiance written out there and then by Sun.⁽¹⁶⁵⁾ At Brussels, Sun gained over thirty members for the Tongmenghui, and at further meetings in Berlin and Paris another thirty joined.⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ The issue of secret societies continued to be debated after the founding of the Tongmenghui. The most moving appeal for a new policy came from Chen Tianhua. Elected secretary of the Tongmenghui in September 1905, only a few months later he committed suicide, having written in his final note that "the secret societies can be used, but they cannot be relied upon as our main force."⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ The outcome of this debate was the organisation of a "Tongmenghui which takes intellectuals as its heart."⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ This new policy was successful in revitalising Sun's revolutionary organisation by bringing into it men such as Wu Zhihui who earlier had been reluctant to work with Sun.

Before returning to Japan, Sun visited London and obtained Wu's address from students there.⁽¹⁶⁹⁾ As Wu recalled it, "there was a knock at the door and there was Sun Yat-sen."⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ Thus began a long friendship. During this stay of Sun's in London, they met frequently to discuss revolutionary matters and Sun introduced Wu to his old friend Dr Cantlie.⁽¹⁷¹⁾ However, Sun did not manage to add Wu's name to the list of Tongmenghui members. Wu has recalled that finally that Winter he was persuaded to join somewhat reluctantly, by Cao Yabo who had come from Tokyo.⁽¹⁷²⁾ Cai Yuanpei had joined in September 1905. Zhang Jingjiang joined in March 1906 in Singapore and subsequently, in August of the same year in Paris, introduced Li Shiceng into the organisation.⁽¹⁷³⁾ Thus, on an individual basis, the

group of intellectuals who were shortly to found the New Century pledged allegiance to Sun's revolutionary programme.

According to a biographer from then on Wu "wholeheartedly accepted the leadership of the Father of the Nation (i.e. Sun)."(174) This, I shall show, has little basis. The truth would appear to lie somewhere between that opinion and the one expressed by Zhu Hezhong that Wu and his colleagues were soon to betray this pledge of allegiance to the Tongmenghui. The Marxist Zhu, writing in China in 1963, has stated that soon the influence of the Tongmenghui in Paris declined,

"because Li Shiceng became attracted to the anarchists, considered the romantic Proudhon and Bakunin to be divine sages and worshipped them. Wu Jingheng [Zhihui] originally knew nothing about European writing and also blindly followed him and became cool towards the revolution and the paper he put out, the New Century, in fact criticised Sun Wen and Huang Xing."(175)

Later criticism of the way Wu behaved towards students in France during the Work-Study Movement (see Chapter 7) coupled with the role Wu came to play in the Guomindang may well have coloured Zhu's assessment of Wu before 1911. But still let us take these accusations seriously. I would not challenge Zhu's negative view of anarchism. But though Wu was indeed introduced to anarchism by Li, it has been shown above that by 1907 he had a broad knowledge of Western philosophy and in no way followed Li "blindly". Moreover all the evidence shows that, far from being less enthusiastic about revolution, having embraced anarchism Wu threw himself with all his energy into attacking the Qing government in the pages of the New Century. But of greater significance is the suggestion by Zhu that Wu and the New Century actually criticised the leadership of Sun. It has been

seen how Wu approved of the way the Pingxiang uprising came about independently of the Tokyo central organisation of the Tongmenghui. But the fact that he was happy to confirm that Sun was not involved in the uprising did not arise from any hostility to Sun as a person, but from Wu's own anarchist view of how a revolutionary struggle should be conducted.

Wu further explained his attitude to revolutionary leadership in his comments on the last words written by Xu Xilin just before he was executed for assassinating En Ming, Governor of Anhui in 1907.⁽¹⁷⁶⁾ As a leader of the crudely Ming restorationist Guangfuhui, which stressed above all the anti-Manchu aspects of the struggle, Xu had in 1905 found himself unable to support the other objectives of Sun's programme and had thus refused to join the Tongmenghui⁽¹⁷⁷⁾.

In his statement from prison, Xu claimed to be the great leader of the revolutionaries and stated that he did not share the same objectives as Sun.⁽¹⁷⁸⁾ Wu obviously did not approve of Xu's traditional anti-

Manchuism and moreover denied that Xu was the supreme leader of the revolutionaries for, in his opinion, no such person existed.⁽¹⁷⁹⁾

But he used Xu's point that his programme (zongzhi) was different from that of Sun to explain his ideas on how the disparate anti-Qing groupings related to each other;

"The programme of action [on which Xu and Sun differ] is not the general programme (da zongzhi) of the revolution. As long as there is agreement on the general programme of the revolution, there is really no need for close co-ordination with respect to the rest of the programme which deals with operations."⁽¹⁸⁰⁾

Then commenting on Xu's point that Sun "did not send me to carry out the assassination," Wu wrote;

"That is quite correct. Clearly Sun is just a good friend of the revolutionaries. How can there be those who accept that he is a man who can give orders to others? Moreover, revolution is a personal matter which each individual does in his own way. How can it be that only having received orders from others does one take action?"(181)

In another article, Wu reiterated that "Mr Sun is especially a good friend of the revolutionaries. He has absolutely no desire to be King (zhengwang)."(182) When a Chinese newspaper reported that the Chinese ambassador to France had cabled the Chinese government claiming that the New Century had been started by Sun Yat-sen, Wu thought it was "highly amusing" and mocked the idea that Sun was omnipotent like the mythical monkey, Sun Wukong.(183) Elsewhere, Wu wrote that Sun was just "one man involved in the task of revolution"; they did not consider him to be the "party leader," but simply a good friend. Wu then attacked the idea that the Chairman of the Tongmenghui would automatically be the supreme head of the "Great Republic of China." This was "a matter to be decided publicly by the four hundred million Chinese after the revolution has been successful."(184)

Though this last piece written in 1909 might appear to undermine Sun's leadership, it was in fact part of a strong defence of Sun by Wu against certain elements of the Tongmenghui, led by Zhang Binglin and Tao Chengzhang, who wished to oust Sun from the leadership of the Tongmenghui.

Sun's position was weak for a number of reasons. He no longer had control of the Minbao. In June 1906, Zhang Binglin was released from prison in Shanghai after serving three years for his part in the Subao affair and from September took over the editorship

of the Minbao.⁽¹⁸⁵⁾ Except for one issue edited by Zhang Ji, from then on either Zhang Binglin or his Guangfuhui comrade Tao Chengzhang ran the Minbao until it was closed down by the Japanese in October 1908.⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ The Tongmenghui had been the result of co-operation between basically three revolutionary groups: Sun's Xingzhonghui, the Guangfuhui and the Huaxinghui.⁽¹⁸⁷⁾ As we have seen, Xu Xilin of the Guangfuhui refused to join the Tongmenghui. Zhang and Tao, also of the Guangfuhui, did however join, but, as Sun wrote, without accepting his third Principle relating to People's Livelihood.⁽¹⁸⁸⁾ In fact the Guangfuhui stressed anti-Manchuism to the exclusion of all else, to such an extent that its members were called "believers in One People's Principle." (yimin zhuyi zhe)⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ In 1909, Zhang Binglin and his followers re-established the administration of the Guangfuhui in Tokyo, signalling their withdrawal from the Tongmenghui, in practice if not in name.⁽¹⁹⁰⁾ Tao Chengzhang, who in 1907 had re-established the Guangfuhui in South East Asia, now became its deputy head under Zhang Binglin.⁽¹⁹¹⁾

To further complicate matters, in March 1907, at the request of the Chinese Minister in Japan, the Japanese government had forced Sun to leave the country and he travelled to South East Asia, taking with him his close associates, Hu Hanmin and Wang Jingwei.⁽¹⁹²⁾ Furthermore, between 1906 and 1908, seven attempts to overthrow the Qing, all but two started by Tongmenghui members, ended in failure.⁽¹⁹³⁾ This, coupled with Zhang Binglin's influence as editor of the Minbao and Sun's absence from Tokyo, led to open conflict in the revolutionary ranks. In 1906, Liang Qichao had

written to Kang Youwei expressing serious concern that "the revolutionaries now wield great power in Tokyo."⁽¹⁹⁴⁾ By 1907, he was writing to Kang with some glee that;

"The power of the revolutionaries in Tokyo is crippled, the members of the Minbao rebuking each other, various groups scattered and even incapable of continuing the publication of the Minbao itself."⁽¹⁹⁵⁾

Opposition to Sun from Zhang Binglin and others in Tokyo built up during 1907. There was resentment that having been given large gifts of money by the Japanese government and a Tokyo broker, Sun gave only two thousand Yen to the Minbao and then left Japan with the remainder without consulting his comrades about the financial future of the paper or the Tongmenghui. Zhang Binglin is said to have taken Sun's portrait off the wall in the Minbao office and to have written on the back, "Sun who sold the Minbao must be removed immediately", and sent it to Hong Kong where he thought Sun was.⁽¹⁹⁶⁾ Then later that year, after the failure of the uprising at Huizhou and other places, Zhang proposed that Sun give up his post of Chairman and be replaced by Huang Xing.⁽¹⁹⁷⁾ But Liu Kuiyi, as acting Vice-chairman, refused to call a meeting to discuss the proposal.⁽¹⁹⁸⁾

When, in 1909, Zhang and his faction renewed their attack on Sun, Wu Zhihui came to Sun's defence. As Scalapino and Yu have written, "Sun and the Paris group were brought even closer together by having a mutual enemy."⁽¹⁹⁹⁾ Wu in particular was extremely hostile to Zhang Binglin, for a mixture of personal, political and intellectual reasons. The history of their conflict dated from Wu's alleged betrayal of his comrades on the Subao in 1903. (see Chapter

3, note 108). In his biography of Zou Rong published in 1907, Zhang bitterly attacked Wu for his role in the Subao Affair.⁽²⁰⁰⁾ Besides this bitter personal element to the feud, there were also substantive differences of opinion between them over such issues as National Essence and cultural modernisation. These facts, in addition to Wu's warm friendship with Sun after their first meeting in 1905, made it natural for Wu to enter the polemic on Sun's side against Zhang and his group.

In 1909, Wu moved to London, from where he continued to write for the New Century in Paris. In August of that year, Sun came to London and again met Wu, eating with his family on a number of occasions.⁽²⁰¹⁾ On October 30, 1909, Zhang Binglin, Tao Chengzhang and others issued a manifesto attacking Sun.⁽²⁰²⁾ Sun wrote to Wu, agreeing to a suggestion made by Wu that the New Century print an article defending him, in order to quell people's "doubts". The accusations partly concerned the question of Sun's handling of Tongmenghui funds and the reasons for the repeated failure of uprisings. In his letter to Wu, Sun provided a detailed description of his financial sources and expenditures.⁽²⁰³⁾ Then on the 12th November, Sun wrote to Wu again, asking that he have the New Century send a letter to a number of Chinese newspapers in the U.S.A. and Japan pointing out that Zhang's accusations were without foundation, Sun added that if the letter bore the stamp of the New Century it would be bound to carry a great deal of weight.⁽²⁰⁴⁾

Wu sprang to Sun's defence. In his article,⁽²⁰⁵⁾ quoted above, we saw how he defended Sun in an oblique way, playing down the significance of the position of Chairman in The Tongmenghui and

explaining that Sun was not the "party leader" but just a "good friend." This was in reply to Zhang and Tao's manifesto, which stated that Sun had no particular merit whatsoever and that they had elected him Chairman only because they had "listened to his big words," believing he had organs in South East Asia and would be able to raise funds from the overseas Chinese. (206) Wu, using the evidence provided by Sun, also refuted the claim that Sun had embezzled Tongmenghui funds. (207)

On December 4, Sun wrote to Wu expressing approval of Wu's defence of him in the latest issue of the New Century. But Sun went on to say that Zhang Binglin had launched a "wild attack" on him in the Rihua xinbao in Japan and that the accusations, which he was unwilling to discuss, were even more "despicable" than those in the earlier attack which were confined basically to financial questions. Sun felt that Zhang looked upon the Minbao as if it were China and that its editorship was "one particular person's Imperial dynasty which would last for ten thousand generations." Sun concluded by asking Wu, "could you publish a public criticism [of Zhang] in the New Century?" (208) On December 13, Sun wrote to Wu again, informing him that Zhang's attack had now been reprinted in a newspaper controlled by the Emperor Protection Society and stressing that such activities to "sabotage party affairs" could not go unanswered. Sun repeated his request that the New Century carry an attack on Zhang in its next number, emphasising that Zhang's period in prison had greatly enhanced his reputation and that unless they did something to counter the slanders, many people would be taken in by him. (209)

Three days later Sun wrote again, asking Wu to send him evidence, in the form of documents and photographs, of Zhang's involvement with Liu Shiwei, editor of the Tianyibao in Tokyo, in spying for the Manchus.⁽²¹⁰⁾ Liu had been a close friend of Zhang's, but this relationship ended in the Spring of 1908 after a quarrel. In the Winter of that year, Liu and his wife, He Zhen, returned to Shanghai to work for the Qing government.⁽²¹¹⁾ Sun reiterated in his letter to Wu that "many revolutionary activists abroad consider Taiyan (Zhang Binglin) to be a Mount Tai and Great Dipper," (i.e. a man of great stature) and therefore it was crucial to have "real evidence in order to prove his treachery."⁽²¹²⁾ In his second article defending Sun, Wu not only repeated his refutation of charges against Sun of misuse of funds, but also turned the tables on Zhang, accusing him of "accepting money and selling out the revolution" and he published as evidence at the end of the article five letters purporting to be from Zhang to Liu Shiwei and He Zhen.⁽²¹³⁾

Besides such articles in the New Century, Wu also wrote to friends attacking Zhang and Tao. In one letter he urged a friend to write to Zhang and Tao to refute their "absurd nonsense." Clearly taking considerable satisfaction in attacking his old enemy, Wu concluded that some good could come out of the troubles, for, as a result, Zhang's "whole life's fame can from now on be demolished."⁽²¹⁴⁾

Sun's emotional and frantic appeals for help reveal the extent of Sun's isolation and precarious position within the revolutionary movement. Whether, as one commentator has written, Wu's defence of Sun was "extremely important and had a huge effect on the revolu-

tion which created the Republic of China"⁽²¹⁵⁾ it is impossible to gauge. But certainly it must have strengthened Sun's position at a time when it was extremely weak and to that extent may well have ensured that he retained the leadership of the revolutionary movement.

e) Opposition to the Constitutionalists

We have discussed two key aspects of Wu's role in the Tongmenghui; his support for the anti-Qing struggle and his vigorous defence of Sun Yat-sen against serious criticisms from within the revolutionary movement. A third and equally important aspect of his participation in the Tongmenghui were his fierce attacks on those who advocated the establishment of a constitutional monarchy as an alternative to the overthrow of the Qing.

In 1903, the Subao in Shanghai, of which Wu was one of the editors, had engaged in a violent polemic with Kang Youwei and the Emperor Protection Society in Japan.⁽²¹⁶⁾ In 1905, with the founding of the Tongmenghui, the revolutionary movement found a new vitality and the fight to wrest the students in Japan away from reformist influence moved into a new phase. Liang Qichao clearly realised the growing isolation of the reformist position and he wrote to his master Kang Youwei that "for our part, in such circumstances struggle against the government should be considered as merely secondary. Our primary target must be the revolutionaries."⁽²¹⁷⁾ With an article by Wang Jingwei in the first issue of the Minbao, there began a historic polemic between that journal and the Xinmin congbao, edited by Liang Qichao, representing the reformist side.⁽²¹⁸⁾

The Tongmenghui grew rapidly, winning over to the revolutionary cause many of the students in Japan who earlier had supported Kang and Liang. The polemic between the two journals came to a conclusion with the Xinmin congbao ceasing publication in August 1907 as a result of declining readership and a serious lack of funds.⁽²¹⁹⁾ Though this round of the fight against the reformists ended in a resounding victory for the Tongmenghui, the situation within China was less favourable for revolution.

As early as 1903, the wealthy industrialist Zhang Jian had begun to draw up plans for a constitutional monarchy in China. In 1904 he worked with certain provincial officials such as Zhang Zhidong and Yuan Shikai in the hope of bringing pressure to bear on the Qing court to establish a constitution. The victory of the Japanese over the Russians in 1905 served to drive home the success of constitutional government over autocracy and in that year a number of senior officials petitioned the throne requesting that China become a constitutional monarchy.⁽²²⁰⁾ In July 1905, in response to these demands and the growing strength of the revolutionaries, the Empress Dowager sent a mission of five ministers abroad to study constitutions in practice,⁽²²¹⁾ and, according to a report of the time, promised to establish constitutional rule if the mission's investigations proved that such a policy would "consolidate the foundations of the Qing dynasty for ever" and thus "automatically wipe out the theories of revolution."⁽²²²⁾

Despite the attempt of Wu Yue to blow up the mission at Peking station, it finally left China and toured Europe, the U.S.A. and Japan and on its return in 1906, petitioned the throne to institute

constitutional rule. In a confidential ememorial to the Empress Dowager, Prince Cai Ze, a member of the mission, wrote that constitutional rule would ensure "the eternal consolidation of the Imperial throne" and "the prevention of internal chaos," and he added that if necessary, they could easily delay the implementation of the constitution, citing as an example of this the case of Japan where the Diet was only convened nearly ten years after constitutional government was announced. (223)

In September 1906, the Qing government issued an edict ordering preparations to be made for "the establishment of constitutional government imitating [foreign models]." and stating that "state power is to be concentrated in the court and state affairs will be open to public opinion, so as to establish a basis for the state having its Way for ten thousand years." But, it continued, because of the low educational level of the people, it was necessary first to implement various educational reforms to prepare them for the responsibilities of constitutional rights. Constitutional rule would not come for several years and in the meantime it was the duty of officials and the people to remain loyal to the throne. (224)

In 1908, the government published "the regulations for provincial consultative assemblies" and later the "outline of the constitution" (225) which planned a nine year period before it would become effective and even when implemented, it was laid down that the emperor would have even greater powers than did the monarch in the Japanese constitution. (226) Clearly, from the statements of leading officials advocating constitutional rule and from the government edicts

themselves, one can see that the Qing government did not sincerely wish to give power to the people, but was using the promise of political reforms to defuse the growing revolutionary movement. It was the "phoney constitution to control the revolution." (227)

The reformists in Japan were in an extremely weak position but,

"when the Ching government pretended to make preparations for a constitutional government they were besides themselves with joy. They took active steps to organise a party for the support of the constitutional monarchy and prepared to return to China as honoured pioneers of constitutionalism with the Ching government." (228)

At the beginning 1907, Kang Youwei published an announcement i instructing the branches of the Emperor Protection Society around the world to change themselves into National Constitutional Associations. (229)

In August 1907, Liang Qichao and Jiang Zhiyou established in Tokyo the Zhengwenshe which soon forged strong links with constitutionalists within China including Zhang Jian with the objective of "implementing a national assembly system and establishing responsible government." (230).

However, the Empress Dowager was not convinced that Kang and Liang had abandoned their support for the Emperor and opposition to her and she issued orders for their arrest. Thus they were unable to return to China. But constitutionalists such as Zhang Jian and Tang Hualong continued to agitate for the reforms within China and, working with certain local officials and gentry members, set up associations to lobby the government. (231)

The year 1907 marked a significant counter offensive by

cultural conservatives within the revolutionary movement such as Zhang Binglin against strains of modern thought which were eroding Chinese traditional culture. But this form of conservatism was also shared by certain officials and intellectuals, such as Zhang Zhidong and Duan Fang, who were loyal to the Qing. They began promoting concepts such as National Essence in order to counter the influence of the revolutionaries amongst the student population. But this cultural counter-offensive was cleverly linked to the government's promise to establish a constitution. As Wu put it, "the poison of constitutional government is taking advantage of the evil ideas (i.e. National Essence) to launch an attack."⁽²³²⁾ In 1907, Duan Fang sent Kuai Guangdian to Paris to supervise the Chinese students there. In his speech to an audience of students in Shanghai shortly before leaving for France, Kuai posed as a true believer in constitutional government;

"What is the best way to seek good government. It is to quickly open an assembly. The national assembly is the source of politics. As soon as the national assembly is opened, then all the reforms can become a reality. Why is that? The national assembly, although it is an organ above the judiciary, still supervises the executive of the government. Supporting the independence of the judiciary is something the national assembly is capable of. If China does not quickly open a national assembly, whatever reforms there are, they will not take root."⁽²³³⁾

Kuai went on to express his profound admiration for the British form of constitutional monarchy.⁽²³⁴⁾

Such statements, however worthless they were in view of the Qing's insincerity in its proposals for governmental reform, posed a serious threat to the revolutionaries who, having won the first round against the reformists during the debate between the

Minbao and the Xinmin congbao, were now faced with the need to continue their propaganda in order to expose the sham constitutionalism being used to shore up the dynasty.

In 1908, Wu expressed grave concern at the way many students in Tokyo were "shamelessly" returning to the ideas of Kang and Liang and in many cases still believed that the "bandit emperor" was their father. He wrote with some desperation that "they do not think of driving out the Manchu tartars, but just demand constitutional government."⁽²³⁵⁾ Wu used many images to describe the function constitutional served for the Manchus. They were like "opening the net wide to catch fish" (zhangwang buyu)⁽²³⁶⁾ or as he put it in another article, a small mud pill given by the mother (government) to the child (the Chinese) after which the child is comforted and goes back to sleep again.⁽²³⁷⁾ The proposals could not be genuine, for their objective was to "dissipate (jiesan) revolution, to forge amongst the people a mentality of slavery, daily getting greater." The "phoney constitution" could not bring about any true reforms but was designed purely to "eradicate revolution" and to remove any remaining opposition to Manchu rule.⁽²³⁸⁾ Wu warned that the Manchus' constitutional proposals would lead "the few shoots of progress of the Chinese to be totally trampled underfoot"⁽²³⁹⁾ and went on to explain in detail;

"What is creating havoc by "establishing a constitution"? It is trampling on the shoots of China's progress. Whether or not we can achieve an advancement of our morality depends totally on whether we have vigour (Lit. morning spirit, zhaoqi) or are listless (Lit. have evening spirit, muqi). What the character of the Chinese is short of is the demeanour which makes one stand strongly upright and not give in. (all uncivilised races lack that

character, it is not just the Chinese who are like that) If the Chinese truly hope that China will advance and arrive at intellectual equality with the whole world, it must have the vigour which does not fear hardships or difficulties."(240)

Revolution was, he continued, "the pill to cure the brain of China and also the touchstone of the character of the Chinese." Revolution would produce in the people a vigour akin to that in "grass and trees," while the establishment of a phoney constitution would produce the listless, slavish obedience of "cows and sheep."(241)

A key theme in the polemics between revolutionaries and reformists was the question of whether revolution would provoke the partition of China by the Great Powers. There were in turn two related aspects to this question; would revolution cause a bloodbath which would then lead secondly to a foreign invasion of China to quell the ensuing chaos. The reformists argued that revolution would inevitably lead to wanton slaughter and therefore it was more responsible to request the Manchus for constitutional government.(242) Second, they believed that the violence during the revolution would be bound to provoke foreign intervention leading to the partition of China. Liang Qichao wrote that,

"as soon as the violence starts, however civilised those who start it are, you cannot say that nowhere will there be attacks on missionaries and the killing of foreigners. It could easily happen."(243)

Judging from the experience of the Boxers, the foreigners would be bound to intervene.(244)

Wu replied that if the phoney constitution was established, the promised reforms would remain on paper. The people's hard-

ships would get worse and the internal problems such as the Boxers, instead of decreasing, would in fact become more serious.⁽²⁴⁵⁾ Wu took great care to explain that the violence represented by the Boxers was far removed from true revolution. Moreover he blamed the Qing for allowing its troops to stand by while churches burnt. The Boxers, he insisted, were the creation of the Manchus and quoted as evidence of this the Boxer slogan, "support the Qing, annihilate the foreigner."⁽²⁴⁶⁾

Li Shiceng dismissed the suggestion that revolution would provoke partition, arguing that the Chinese possessed no freedom that they could lose through such a disaster. China was living under the most brutal form of dictatorship and so "we are at this time already slaves," he stressed.⁽²⁴⁷⁾ As Wu wrote, the Chinese were fighting for political rights as the prerequisite for national survival. Only through overthrowing the Manchus could the Chinese achieve "complete freedom and also avoid partition."⁽²⁴⁸⁾ If the Chinese were to find new strength and vigour through revolution, he explained, then those who contemplated aggression against China, would be warned and realise that partition was no longer a simple matter.⁽²⁴⁹⁾ The decadence (fubai) which was perpetuated by the Manchus led to a situation whereby,

"the great Powers all have their spheres of interest and although there is not partition in name, in reality there is. The constitutionalists cannot necessarily protect the imperial system of ten thousand generations of the Manchu government. In that case, the Great Powers will do their utmost to protect it, and will make it for ever their sheepminding running dog, and the Chinese will not endure such suffering and there will be repeated outbreaks of mindless violence (violence and revolution are miles apart, one has an aim, the other is resistance as a result of suffering). After time after

time, hundreds upon thousands of years, every time there is violence, the influence of the whites will increase and those amongst them who cannot get work will colonise our country and the Chinese people's forces of production will be reduced. Gradually the race will decline and although the Manchus will have troubles and will be insulted, just like the masses, the whites at the same time will everywhere use the words "your majesty", "prince", "great master" to mock them and yet they will still have the right to trample on the Hans. (like today, although they are low as beggars, when they see a Han, they take on the attitude of a master), so thus the previous four hundred million will only be four million and we shall be a finished race."(250)

Thus, with the utmost clarity, Wu described China's semi-colonial status. The Manchus were the willing servants of the Imperialist Powers, their "running dogs" who minded the Chinese people, the "sheep", for them. The continuation of Manchu rule could only lead to an increase of the influence of the foreign powers in China with the result that not only her political but also her economic progress would be shackled.

Besides revealing the true purpose of the Manchus' "phoney" constitution, Wu also drew his readers' attention to other examples of sham constitutional government around the world, notably that in Russia, but also in Turkey and Persia. In response to Kuai Guangdian's speech, referred to above, in which he praised constitutional rule, Wu asked whether what Kuai envisaged was a system like that in Russia where students were dying in the struggle for freedom? Or would it be like the "phoney" constitution in Turkey or as in Persia where they "bombed the Assembly and killed Assembly members."(251) He compared the disembowelment of Xu Xilin by the Qing with the burning alive of social revolutionaries in Russia, (252) and reported that Prince Qun was most appropriately sending Manchu students to

study police affairs in Russia, a country which, Wu said, specialised in training spies to infiltrate the revolutionaries. (253)

Wu published a letter by a Russian social revolutionary concerning the revolt of the Lettish people of the Baltic states in 1905. Following the establishment of the Russian constitution in October 1905, the Lettish people began to exercise their new freedom of opinion and assembly and to criticise the government, only to be brutally suppressed, many being killed or imprisoned. (254) The Russian wrote;

"A dictatorship cannot give the people true freedom, that is abundantly clear. Therefore today we absolutely cannot again rely on the government in the hope that it will implement a real constitution." (255)

Wu translated Kropotkin's pamphlet "The Terror in Russia" published in London in 1909, in the hope, as he put it, that the Chinese might understand what was happening in Russia and feel ashamed at the way they were accepting the Qing's fraudulent constitutional proposals, adding that since 1905, two hundred and thirty seven Duma members had been thrown into prison in Russia. (256) Wu also translated an article concerning Tolstoy's protests at the arrest and exile in Siberia of his secretary Gossef. It quoted a Russian who stated that "the Duma does not limit Autocracy, but is limited by Autocracy" and an English commentator who said that the Russian constitutional government was a "delusion and a snare." (257) Wu added his own comment;

"A constitution has for long been a "delusion" and a "snare". It is not just the cunning Russians who can utilise it. The Manchus, who are as stupid as deer and pigs, can also use it." (258)

Footnotes

1. Berkmann, What is Anarchist Communism, Introduction, p. 26.
2. Kropotkin, "Anarchism", article written in 1905 for the 11th edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica. In Baldwin, (ed.) Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets, p. 284.
3. Kropotkin, "Law and Authority", in Baldwin, Op. Cit., pp. 196-218.
4. Chu Minyi, "xu puji geming", XSJ 17, p. 2.
5. WZH, "Lin lin zhua zhua," CW.10.1203.
6. Kropotkin, "Anarchism", in Baldwin, Op. Cit., p. 284.
7. M.A. Miller, "Introduction", to Kropotkin, Selected Writings on Anarchism and Revolution, p. 2.
8. Kropotkin, "The State, Its Historic Role," in Miller, Op. Cit., p. 211. A translation of this section by Li Shiceng was published in XSJ 58, p. 2.
9. Xinshiji congshu, 1st Collection (1907).
10. WZH, "choupi nangtui hua." CW.7.131.
11. Sun Yat-sen, "Tongmenghui xuanyan," (August 1905) In Sun Yat-sen, Sun Zhongshan xuanji, Vol. 1, p. 68.
12. Li Shiceng (trans.) "wuzhengfu zhuyi yu gongchan zhuyi," in Xinshiji congshu, 1st Collection. Translation of Italian anarchist, Cafiero's work, Anarchie and Communism. I have translated out of the Chinese.
13. Anon. "xinshiji geming," XSJ 1, p. 1.
14. Li Shiceng, "moushi yu xinshiji shu, fuda," XSJ 8, p. 3.
It should be noted that in this quotation the state is equated quite simply with government, rather than as a broader term describing the whole coercive apparatus including not only government but also the armed forces etc.
15. WZH, "geming shang," CW.7.103.
16. Ibid., CW.7.103-4.
17. Ibid., CW.7.104.
18. Li Shiceng, "laishu (junhun), fuda," XSJ.6.p.1.

19. Ibid., p. 1.
20. Ibid., p. 1.
21. Chu Minyi, "xu puji geming," XSJ.17, p. 2.
22. WZH, "junren yu fucong," CW.10.1121.
23. Kropotkin, "Law and Authority," in Baldwin, Op. Cit., p. 197.
24. WZH, "pengjiao jishou," CW.7.230.
25. WZH, "tanhua," CW.2.321.
26. Li Shiceng, "zuzong geming," XSJ.2.p.2.
27. Ibid., p.3
28. Ibid., p. 3.
29. Ibid., p. 4.
30. WZH, "Bali gonghebao zhongguo zhi geming tan," CW.7.9.
31. Li Shiceng, "sangang geming," XSJ.11. In Zhang and Wang, Op. Cit., pp. 1015-1021.
32. Ibid., p. 1020.
33. Ibid., p. 1020. Wu Zhihui expressed identical views in his extended philosophical work, A New Belief, written in 1924. (CW.1.44)
34. WZH, "junran yu fucong," CW.10.1120.
35. WZH, "xu gedie yubo", CW.3.532.
36. WZH, "sixing", CW.10.1250.
37. WZH, "Linlin zhuazhua", CW.10.1199-1200.
38. See Shi Xing, "Taiping tianguo shiqi "fankong" he "zunkong" de douzheng," in Heilongjiang People's Publishing House (ed) Fankong yu zunkong de douzheng, pp. 114-123.
39. Yang Rongguo, Jianming zhongguo zhexueshi, (revised edition) pp. 547-550.
40. Chow Tse-tsung, The May Fourth Movement, pp. 58-59.
41. WZH, "buyao rang fugui ren duyong shijie," CW.10.1256.

42. WZH, "yiyuan wei heru zhi yuwu hu," CW.10.1245-1247.
See Appendix 2 for actual cartoons.
43. WZH, "buyao rang fugui ren duyong shijie," CW.10.1256.
44. WZH, "Baidouheng" zhi sixing zhixing," CW.10.1251-1255.
45. WZH, "hundun shijie," CW.10.1140-1142.
46. WZH, "qiangquan," CW.18.1057.
47. WZH, "yingfu lizheng xuanjuquan zhi yundong," CW.10.1113-1114.
48. Scalapino and Yu, The Chinese Anarchist Movement, p. 26.
49. Gasster, Op. Cit., p. 182, and p. 165.
50. "xinshiji zhi geming," XSJ, 1, pp.1-2.
51. Ibid., p. 2.
52. Chu Minyi, "xu puji geming," XSJ.17.p.2.
53. Li Shiceng, "geming", in xinshiji congshu, 1st Collection, p. 1.
54. WZH, "ganggang jiajia zhi shidai," CW.10.1178 and WZH, "wo shi shaonian," CW.7.267.
55. WZH, "xu laishu lun xinshiji fakan zhi quyī," CW.7.19.
56. WZH, "jinhua yu geming," CW.1.133-137.
57. Sun Yat-sen, "Minbao fakanci," (November 1905) in Sun Yat-sen, Sun Zhongshan xuanji, Vol. 1, p. 71.
- 58.1 WZH, "Baidouheng" zhi sixing zhixing," CW.10.1251. See also WZH, "linlin zhuazhua", CW.10.1197.
59. Gasster, Op. Cit., p. 165.
60. Chu Minyi, "shenlun minzu, minquan, shehui zhuyi zhi yitong zai da laishu lun xinshiji fakan zhi quyī," XSJ.6.pp.3-4.
61. Ibid., p. 3.
62. Sun Yat-sen, "Tongmenghui xuanyan," in Sun Yat-sen, Sun Zhongshan xuanji, Vol. 1, pp. 68-99.
63. Chu Minyi, "shenlun minzu.....", XSJ.6.p.4.

64. Zhang Binglin, "bo Kang Youwei lun geming shu," in Zhongguo jindai sixiangshi cankao ziliao jianbian, p. 600. Quoted in Gasster, Op. Cit., p. 196. During the Movement to Criticise Lin Biao and Confucius in 1974 and 1975, Zhang Binglin was portrayed as an extremely progressive legalist thinker and anti-Manchu revolutionary. During 1978 as part of the critique of alleged distortions of history by the Shanghai Four, there has been a reassessment of Zhang Binglin. Chinese historians today hold a negative view of his narrowly racist nationalism and other aspects of his revolutionary ideology. (see Tang Zhenchang, "Lun Zhang Taiyan", Lishi yanjiu, No. 1, 1978, pp. 67-85).
65. Quoted in Zhang Kaiyan, xinhai geming qianye de yichang da lunzhan, p. 30.
66. Quoted in Ibid., p. 31.
67. Ibid., pp. 30-32.
68. Liang Qichao, (zhongguo xinmin, pseud.) "zhengzhixue dajia Bolunzhili zhixueshuo," in Xinmin congbao, Nos. 38, 39 combined issue, p. 31. For further discussion of this article and the question of race, see Qi Bingfeng, Op. Cit., pp. 178-189.
69. Chu Minyi, "shenlun minzu....." XSJ.6.p.4 See Appendix 3.
70. Li Shiceng, "Yu yourenshu lun xinshiji," Noted by WZH. CW.7.12.
71. WZH, "wuzhengfu shuyi keyi jianjue gemingdang zhi zerenxin," CW.10.1148-1151.
72. Ibid., p. 1148.
73. Ibid., pp. 1148-1149.
74. Ibid., p. 1149.
75. Ibid., p. 1149.
76. Ibid. pp. 1149-1150.
77. Ibid. p. 1150.
78. Ibid., p. 1150.
79. WZH, "xu laishu lun xinshiji fakan zhi quyì," CW.7.19.
80. WZH, "zada", CW.7.50.

81. WZH, "huhou shudi eguan sheng er siyi minghu," CW.7.136.
82. WZH, "huangdi," CW.7.112-113.
83. WZH, "manli," CW.7.48.
84. Ibid., CW.7.46.
85. WZH, "diguo zhuyi zhi jieguo", CW.10.1151-1153.
86. WZH, "zhi xinhanminbao she tongrenshu," CW.7.171.
87. WZH, "yaomo yizhong, renxin dakuai," CW.7.134-135.
88. WZH, "huhou shudi eguansheng er siyi minghu", CW.7.136-137.
89. WZH, "efu shansi," CW.7.132. See Appendix 4.
90. WZH, "chile fan, meiyou shi zuo," CW.10.1110-1111.
91. WZH, "zhen bu naren dangren," CW.7.50-54. The reports of the French refusal to act against the New Century were in the Zhongwai ribao and the Shibao.
92. WZH, "manzhou shengfu zhu wulai er elian," CW.7.76.
93. Chen Linghai, Op. Cit. pp. 35-36.
94. WZH, "yu youren lun xinshiji," CW.7.13.
95. Li Shiceng, "geming" p. 8. In xinshiji congshu, 1st Coll.
96. WZH, "you Yingshancun zhimindi", in WJHXXJ zawen, pp. 104-105.
97. WZH, "gemingshang", CW.7.103.
98. WZH, "yanlun yu shixing zhi guanxi," CW.7.208.
99. "fakan zhi quyì," XSJ.1.p.1.
100. WZH, "yanlun yu shixing zhi guanxi," CW.7.208.
101. Ibid., p. 208.
102. Scalapino and Yu, Op. Cit., p. 7.
103. Chu Minyi, "xu puji geming", XSJ,17.p.2.
104. Li Shiceng, "moushi yu xinshiji shu, fuda," XSJ.8.p.3.

105. Li Shiceng, "laishu (junhun), fuda," XSJ.8.p.3
106. Chu Minyi, "shenlun minzu.....", XSJ.6, p.3
107. WZH, "yu youren shu lun xinshiji," CW.7.15.
108. WZH, "yuan shengsheng shishi wusheng diwangjia," CW.7.120.
109. WZH, "jiudi zhengfa," CW.7.148. The first section of this article has been published under the title of "sharen" in WJHXJ zawen, pp. 174-177.
110. Ibid., CW.7. 147-149.
111. Wu Yu-chang, The Revolution of 1911, p. 97.
112. Ibid., p. 95.
113. Ibid., p. 95.
114. Quoted in Woodcock, Anarchism, p. 308.
115. Ibid., p. 287.
116. Ibid., p. 281.
117. In Lebedev, Kropotkin i narodovol'tsy, p. 124. quoted in Miller, Introduction to Kropotkin, Selected Writings on Anarchism and Revolution, p. 22.
118. Woodcock, Anarchism, p. 295.
119. Berkmann, Op. Cit., pp. 176-177.
120. Ibid., Introduction by Paul Evrich, p. 8.
121. Wu Yu-chang, Op. Cit., p. 92.
122. V.I. Lenin, "Anarchism and Socialism", in Collected Works, Vol. 5., pp. 327-328.
123. WZH, "ansha jinbu," CW.7.196.
124. Ibid., CW.7.197.
125. Ibid., CW.7.197.
126. WZH, "diguo zhuyi zhi jieguo," CW.10.1154.
127. Li Shiceng, "bo xinshiji congshu geming, fuda," XSJ.6.p.2.

128. Xing (pseud.), "lun daohai zhifei," XSJ.6, p.2. I have taken the translation from Scalapino and Yu (Op. Cit., p. 16). The term "Russian terrorists", however is my translation of "eguo anshadang." Scalapino and Yu render this as the "Russian Terrorist Party." However, I have failed to trace such an organisation and it is reasonable to conclude that it is just a general term, used much as gemingdang was used to mean "revolutionaries."
129. WZH, "ansha lishi zhiyi" XSJ.14.p.3.
130. WZH, Ibid., CW.7.197. and WZH, "lundun ansha an qiangu," CW.10.1340-1342. In this article, Wu also described the scene in court during the trial of the Indian. The Indian declared that he was innocent, for Britain and the jury had no jurisdiction over him. He was sentenced to death. Wu also chronicled the suppression of an Indian-run journal in London for having allegedly incited the student to commit the crime. Its editor Shyamaji Krishnavarma fled to Paris. The printer of the journal was imprisoned. But it continued to be printed, secretly by the Bakunin Press run by a British anarchist called Aldred. Subsequently, he too was prosecuted. (see WZH, "yinshua yindu gemingbao zhi yingguoren," CW.10.1368-1371.)
131. WZH, "chaoxian nanzi An Zhonggen," CW.10.1423-1425. An Chung-gun shot Ito dead as he emerged from talks at Harbin, NE China with the Russian Finance Minister concerning the future of Korea. See C.I. Eugene Kim and Han-kyo Kim, Korea and the Politics of Imperialism, 1876-1910.
132. WZH, "wanguo geming fengchao," CW.10.1438-1474.
133. WZH, "sizhe changyi, shengzhe fuhewei," CW.7.109-112.
134. WZH, "zhuidao Xu Xilin lieshi gaobai," CW.7.44. There was some concern amongst Chinese in Paris that to hold such a meeting would result in students being recalled to China. Wu disagreed that this was any consequence and argued strongly in favour of the meeting. (WZH, "bo saoke zhi ma xiyang liuxuesheng," CW.7.37-43.)
135. Zhang and Wang, Op. Cit., Introduction to Vol. 2, Part 1, p.19.
136. Chu Minyi, "puji geming", in Ibid., Vol. 2, Part 2, p. 1022.
137. Ibid., Vol. 2, Part 2, p. 1022.
138. WZH, "shang Guofu han," CW.7.270.
139. Ibid., CW.7.270-271.

140. Pingxiang gemingjun yu Ma Fuyi, Xinshiji congshu, 1907.
141. Zhongguo jindaishi congshu bianxiezu, (below as "bianxiezu") xinhai geming, pp. 34-35, and Wu Yu-chang, Op. Cit., p. 87.
142. Wu Yu-chang, Op. Cit., p. 88.
143. Bianxiezu, Op. Cit., pp. 34-35, and jindai zhongguo shishi rizi, Vol. 2, p. 1265.
144. Bianxiezu, Op. Cit., p. 34.
145. Pingxiang gemingjun yu Mafuyi, xinshiji congshu, 1907.
146. Ibid. The New Century group wrote that they had heard about Ma's "ten clauses" from coverage of the uprising in the Times of London. But the original source of the information was very likely Japan. Chinese students in Tokyo held a large meeting to commemorate Ma and subsequently printed the "ten clauses" and distributed several hundred copies. (Chen Qunsheng, "bingwu pingli qiyi ji," in Zhongguo shixuehui (ed.) Xinhai geming, Vol. 2, p. 463.
147. Zhang Pingzi, "wo suo zhidao de Ma Fuyi," in xinhai geming huiyilu, Vol. 2, p. 240.
148. Ibid., p. 240.
149. Chen Qunsheng, "bingwu pingli qiyi ji," in Zhongguo shixuehui (ed.), xinhai geming, Vol. 2, p. 463.
150. Ibid., p. 463. and Bianxiezu, Op. Cit., p. 34.
151. Chen Qunsheng, Op. Cit., pp. 463-464.
152. Bianxiezu, Op. Cit., p. 36.
153. Ibid., p. 36 and Chen Qunsheng, Op. Cit., p. 464.
154. Sun Yat-sen, "Guofu han," appendix to WZH, "bo Tao Chengzhang Zhang Binglin wabang congli shi zhimouhan," CW. 7.245.
155. Bianxiezu, Op. Cit., p. 35.
156. Pingxiang gemingjun yu Ma Fuyi. Xinshiji congshu, 1907.
157. Ibid.
158. WZH, "bali gonghebao zhongguo geming tan," CW. 7.6.

159. Ibid., CW.7.6.
160. Ibid., CW.7.7.
161. Ibid., CW.7.7.
162. Li Chien-nung, Op. Cit., p. 201.
163. WZH, "Zhongshan xiansheng nianxi," in WJHXJ zhenglun (2), p. 274.
164. See Zhu Hezhong, "Ouzhou Tongmenghui jishi," in Xinhai geming huiyilu, (Peking) Vol. 6, pp.1-9.
165. Ibid., pp 5-6.
166. WZH, "zhongshan xiansheng nianxi," in WJHXJ zhenglun (2) pp. 274-275.
167. Wang Dezhaoh, "Tongmenghui shiqi Sun Zhongshan xiansheng geming sixiang de fenxi yanjiu," in Zhongguo xiandaishi congkan, Vol. 1, p. 71.
168. Ibid., p. 73.
169. "zongli xingyi," WJHXJ zhenglun (2), p. 244, and also WZH, "wo yi yi jiang Zhongshan xiansheng," WJHXJ zhenglun (2), p. 256.
170. WZH, "wo yi yi jiang Zhongshan xiansheng," WJHXJ shenglun (2), p. 275.
171. Chen Linghai, Op. Cit., p. 29.
172. WZH, "Zhongshan xiansheng nianxi," WJHXJ, zhenglun (2), p. 275.
173. Chen Linghai, Op. Cit., p. 29.
174. Zhang Wenbo, Wu Zhihui xiansheng zhuanji, p. 28.
175. Zhu Hezhong, Op. Cit., p. 18.
176. WZH, "Xu Xilin xiansheng zhi yixun," CW.7.35-37.
177. Bianxiezu, Op. Cit., p. 37.
178. WZH, "Xu Xilin xiansheng zhi yixun," CW.7.35-36.
179. Ibid., CW.7.35.

180. Ibid., CW.7.36.
181. Ibid., CW.7.36.
182. WZH, "linlin zhuazhua," CW.10.1203.
183. WZH, "zhen bu naren dangren," CW.7.54.
184. WZH, "quan, quan, quan," CW.7.220-221.
185. Onagawa Hidemi, Op. Cit., p. 70.
186. Qi Bingfeng, Op. Cit., p. 163.
187. Bianxiezu, Op. Cit., p. 22.
188. Sun Yat-sen, "zhi Chen Qiangming ji Zhongguo Tongmenghui diaohe dangzheng dian," Guofu quanji, Vol. 4, p. 168.
189. Bianxiezu, Op. Cit., p. 23.
190. Turchvinsky, Zhongguo jindaishi, Vol. 2, p. 553. This is a Chinese reprint (1974) of Soviet original (1972), used as negative teaching material in China.
191. Onagawa Hidemi, Op. Cit., p. 98 and Zhang Huangji, "Guang-fuhui lingxiu Tao Chenzhang gemingshi," in Zhongguo shixuehui (ed.) Xinhai geming Vol. 1, pp. 525-526.
192. Onagawa Hidemi, Op. Cit., p. 73 and Wang Dong, "Tongmenghui he 'Minbao' pianduan huiyi," in Xinhai geming huiyilu (Peking) Vol. 6, p. 29.
193. Li Chien-nung, Op. Cit., p. 221.
194. Liang Qichao, "yu fuzi daren shu," (November 1906) in Liang Rengong xiansheng nianpugao, Vol. 1, p. 218.
195. Liang Qichao, "yu Nanhai fuzi daren shu," (June 1907), in Liang Rengong xiansheng nianpugao, Vol. 1, p. 245.
196. Feng Ziyou, "Hu Hanmin jiangshu nanyang huaqiao canjia geming zhi jingguo," in Feng Ziyou, geming yishi, Vol. 5, p. 212.
197. Hidemi, Op. Cit., pp. 73-74, and Wang Dong, Op. Cit., p. 29.
198. Liu Kuiyi, Huang Xing zhuanji, p. 16. Quoted in Gasster, Op. Cit., p. 212.
199. Scalapino and Yu, Op. Cit., p. 24.

200. Zhang Binglin, "Zou Rong zhuan," in geming pinglun, No. 10, March 25, 1907.
201. Chen Linghai, Op. Cit., pp. 33-34. A record of one of these occasions is a photograph of Sun with Wu and his son at their home in Battersea, South West London. (see CW.1.).
202. Chen Linghai, Op. Cit., p. 34. Scalapino and Yu give that date of the manifesto as October 1907. But I agree with Gasster that it was almost certainly 1909. Firstly, as Gasster says, Zou Lu (in his Zhongguo guomindang shigao, p. 74) writes that it was issued after the Anjing Uprising (November 1908). Wu, in his attacks on Zhang Binglin in 1908, did not mention the manifesto. But most conclusive seems to be the date of the actual articles defending Sun written by Wu in Nos. 115, 116 and 117 of the New Century in Autumn 1909.
203. Sun Yat-sen "zaiou jiangqu meiguo shi zhi Lundun Wu Jingheng han," in Guofu quanji, Vol. 5, pp. 82-85.
204. Sun Yat-sen, "fudao meiguo zhi Wu Jingheng han," (November 12, 1909) in Guofu quanji, Vol. 5, pp. 86-87.
205. WZH, "quan, quan, quan," CW.7.220-228. This article, published in New Century, Nos. 115-116, was signed by "one of the revolutionaries", not a pen name normally used by Wu. But Sun's letter (see below) thanking Wu for the support and particularly Lo Jialun's inclusion of the article of the article in Wu's Collected Works indicates that it was Wu who wrote it. In addition, the style is typically Wu's.
206. Ibid., CW.7.220.
207. Ibid., CW.7.222.
208. Sun Yat-sen, "zhi Wu Jingheng qing yu xinshiji pinglun Rihua xinbao pohuai dangshi miulun gehan," Letter No. 1, December 4, 1909, in Guofu quanji, Vol. 5, pp. 89-90.
209. Ibid., letter No. 2, December 13, 1909, in Guofu quanji, Vol. 5, p. 90. As Gasster points out (Op. Cit., p. 185.) the New Century was only appearing monthly due to financial difficulties.
210. Ibid., Letter No. 3, December 16, 1909, in Guofu quanji, Vol. 5, p. 90.
211. Hidemi, Op. Cit., pp. 89-99.

212. Sun Yat-sen, "zhi Wu Jingheng.....gehan," Letter 3, in Guofu quanji Vol. 5, p. 90. Having forgotten to give a forwarding address, Sun had to write to Wu again on the same day (Ibid., Letter No. 4, p. 90.)
213. WZH, "dangren," CW.10.1430-1438.
214. WZH, "bo Tao Chengzhang, Zhang Binglin wubang zongli shi zhimou han," CW.7.242-243.
215. Chen Linghai, Op. Cit., p. 35.
216. See Qi Bingfeng, Op. Cit., pp. 111-122.
217. Liang Qichao, "yu fuzi daren shu," (November 1906) in Liang Rengong xiansheng nianpugao, Vol. 1., p. 218.
218. See Qi Bingfeng, Op. Cit., pp. 145-234, for an extremely thorough discussion of this polemic. See also Bernal, Chinese Socialism to 1907.
Wang Jingwei's article was entitled "minzu de guomin", published in the Minbao No. 1. November 1905. This conflict reverberated round the world, with fierce debates between revolutionary and reformist newspapers in Singapore, Hong Kong, San Francisco, Yokohama as well as in Tokyo. (see Zhang Kaiyan, Op. Cit., p. 27.)
219. Qi Bingfeng, Op. Cit., p. 230.
220. Bianxiezu, Op. Cit., p. 48.
221. Ibid., p. 48.
222. Quoted in Fudan University History Dept. (ed.), Zhongguo jindai jianshi p. 285.
223. Ibid., p. 285 and Bianxiezu, Op. Cit., p. 49.
224. Fudan University, Op. Cit., p. 285, and bianxiezu, Op. Cit., p. 49.
225. Bianxiezu, Op. Cit., p. 51.
226. Hsu, The Rise of Modern China, p. 498.
227. Fudan University, Op. Cit., p. 284.
228. Wu Yu-chang, Op. Cit., pp. 86-87.
229. Bianxiezu, Op. Cit., p. 50.

230. Li Shiyue, Zhang Jian he lixianpai, pp. 48-50.
231. Bianxiezu, Op. Cit., p. 50.
232. WZH, "wuhu lixiandang," CW.7.88.
233. Kuai Guangdian, "ouzhou liuxuesheng zongjiandu, yanshuoci," Speech to the Huanqiu Student Club in Shanghai, reported in the Shenzhou ribao. Also in WZH, CW.2.526.
234. Ibid., CW.3.526.
235. WZH, "diguo zhuyi zhi jieguo," CW.10.1153.
236. WZH, "wo shi shaonian," CW.7.266.
237. WZH, "linlin zhuazhua," (No. 2). CW.10.1186-1187.
238. WZH, "Zhina jinri zhi yulun," CW.7.98-99.
239. WZH, "wuhu lixiandang," CW.7.86.
240. Ibid., CW.7.87.
241. Ibid., CW.7.87-89.
242. Qi Bingfeng, Op. Cit., pp. 168-169.
243. Liang Qichao, "shenlun zhongzu geming yu zhengzhi geming zhi deshi," in xinmin congbao, No. 4, p. 31.
244. Ibid., p. 31.
245. WZH, "wuhu lixiandang," CW.7.91.
246. WZH, "he buwei geming shihua ce," CW.7.116.
247. Li Shiceng, geming, XSJ pamphlet, pp. 2-3.
248. WZH, "gemingshang," CW.7.102.
249. WZH, "Wuhu lixiandang," CW.7.91.
250. WZH, "zhina jinri yulun," CW.7.99.
251. WZH, "qinyu," CW.3.99.
252. WZH, "gou dou buji de zhengfu," CW.10.122-123.
253. WZH, "eluosi jingjie zhi chouju," CW.10.1293.

254. WZH, "eguo geming," CW.10.1125-1129.
255. Ibid., CW.10.1134.
256. WZH, "eluosi zhi xiong e," CW.10.1383-1410. This translation of Kropotkin's The Terror in Russia was carried in XSJ Nos. 109-113. The Terror in Russia was written by Kropotkin at the invitation of the British Parliamentary Committee on Russian Affairs. The pamphlet had a very wide circulation and a considerable influence on British opinion. (see Woodcock, The Anarchist Prince, pp. 372-373.)
257. WZH, "linlin zhuazhua," CW.10.1210.1211.
258. Ibid., CW.10.1211.

CHAPTER 5

POLITICAL IDEAS (3). 1911-1927

"In the ten odd years from 1912 to 1925 when Sun Yat-sen died, what Wu gave his utmost energy to was work promoting education, science and technology. He never gratified himself by taking an official post and deeply believed in abstaining from becoming an official."⁽¹⁾

Thus a biographer of Wu described his principled abstention from government service. In fact, in Guomindang historiography it is generally held that Wu "all his life held fast to his principle of not becoming an official."⁽²⁾ But we should take care to define his attitude to politics in the Republican period. Was it the "absolute abstention in political matters" of the Bakunists which Engels declared to be impossible because, by committing themselves to revolution the anarchist abstentionists were in fact committing themselves to the "supreme political act."⁽³⁾ In reality Wu's position fell far short of this, as is demonstrated in a letter to Li Shiceng in 1925 urging him not to become head of education in Peking in which he said that "one should absolutely not become an official, but one has to involve oneself in national affairs (guoshi)."⁽⁴⁾ Wu carefully maintained the distinction between serving in government and a level of participation in political life, which he considered compatible with his anarchist principles. However, in the eyes of some anarchists, Wu's stand appeared to be one of opportunism and not of principle. Indeed after his participation from 1924 in the Guomindang, which sought to become and finally established itself as a Party government, his distinction between

political activism in and out of office became blurred to the point of meaninglessness. It is the intention here to examine a few key movements and organisations Wu was involved in, as well as his defence of his membership of the Guomindang, in order to reveal his view of his role in the politics of the Republic and uncover the inconsistencies and compromises in his position.

a) The Revolution of 1911

As was shown in the previous chapter, Wu actively supported the broad goals of the Tongmenghui and saw a positive, if only transitional, role for the future Chinese Republic. In Britain at the time of the Wuchang Uprising, Wu reacted with enthusiasm to the unexpected turn of events. As an elder revolutionary, he took responsibility for drafting and dispatching many of the telegrams sent by the Chinese community in Europe to China in support of the revolution. He was delegated to send two telegrams urging the Emperor to abdicate.⁽⁵⁾ Another, which went to Li Yuanhong, commander of the rebel forces in Hubei, expressed profound sympathy for his "great actions", but also requested that Li "strictly prohibit the massacring of Manchus."⁽⁶⁾

Sun Yat-sen was in Denver, Colorado, when he heard of the Wuchang Uprising. Instead of returning to China straight away, in November he travelled to London to seek the support of the British government. Wu visited him every day at the Savoy Hotel, helping to draft telegrams.⁽⁷⁾ Soon, Sun received an invitation from Chen Qimei to return to China and he set off for home via France. But before he

left Britain, he gave Wu and Shi Ying, an ex-naval student, six hundred Yuan each for travelling expenses and Wu and Shi travelled to Italy where they picked up a German vessel which finally reached Shanghai at the end of December. (8)

Sun invited Wu to stay with him in the President's residence in Nanking and for four days they discussed problems of government. Sun wished to appoint Wu as Education Minister but Wu vigorously declined the offer and in May 1912 the post went to Cai Yuanpei. (9) Clearly Wu could have chosen a career in government at that stage if he had wished, but despite his strong interest in affairs of state, he opted instead to direct his energies into other channels.

b) The Movement for Social Reform

The growth of anarchism in Europe during the last century was in response to the consolidation of the industrial nation states. Though anarchists revolted against the unprecedented concentration of state power, in general they did not desire a return to an earlier economic order. The new society dreamt of by most European anarchists was a stage beyond the present one. It was to be the super-industrial society, more mechanised and urbanised, much richer and thus capable of sustaining a communist system of distribution. But at the same time, the nation states showed few signs of collapse and the utopia remained beyond the horizon of even the most ardent anarchist. Frustration at the slow rate of progress in winning workers over to anarchism and difficulties in organising in face of state repression, led

many anarchists to indulge in communist experiments in the countryside. In 1890, a group of Italian anarchists, amid accusations of betrayal from their comrades, abandoned the struggles of urban Italy and set up an ill-fated communist community in Brazil called La Cecilia.⁽¹⁰⁾ A publication of the New Century group in Paris in 1907 carried an advertisement for another such communist experiment called "L'essai", founded in 1903 at Aiglemont in the Ardennes on the Franco-Belgian border by the French anarchist Fortuné Henry.⁽¹¹⁾ In 1908 Zhang Ji visited the colony and in his own recollections and also through an article by Wu describing Zhang's visit, one can detect a great sympathy felt by the Chinese anarchists in Paris for this experiment, which Wu described as "a new Peach Blossom Spring ahead of its time." Zhang, who spent three months there in the hills, recalled the pleasure of rising at sunrise to the sound of lowing cows. The early thatched huts built by Henry only remained as memorials to the pioneers and the members of the colony were housed in fine new buildings two stories high. Printing presses published a stream of anarchist newspapers and pamphlets; but the main productive activity was farming. Labour, and the distribution of its fruits, was according to the communist principle. Wu extolled this existence, writing that "the pleasure of working freely in the fields is all pervasive and profound, something unknown to those fettered to the gentry."⁽¹²⁾

But however much Wu and his colleagues were impressed by such experiments, there is little evidence that following the Revolution of 1911 they regarded such activities as a viable or useful means to achieve their objectives in China. However an experimental farm was

set up in 1912 by Jiang Kanghu's Socialist Party, with the support of Tang Shaoyi then the Premier in Peking, on Qingming Island at the mouth of the Yangtze opposite Shanghai, but because of the shaky political situation the project finally proved abortive.⁽¹³⁾ Wu was an active member of the Socialist Party, but the experiment on the island was more likely the work of the non-anarchist wing of the party, for the project was characterised by an attempt to practice Henry George's "single tax" policy.⁽¹⁴⁾ The party branch on the island invited Sun Yat-sen to come and do research into the land tax.⁽¹⁵⁾ Later, in the early twenties, Li Shiceng experimented with agricultural and industrial co-operatives and other new forms of social organisation in villages around the Western hills near Peking.⁽¹⁶⁾ In France, while organising the Work-Study programme, Wu paid close attention to agricultural education, particularly the training of Chinese students at the agricultural college at Montargis. But during 1912-13, he concentrated instead on promoting the moral regeneration of China, sometimes described as the Movement for a New Society (xinshenhui yundong) or the Movement for Social Reform (shenhui gailiang yundong).⁽¹⁷⁾ A major aspect of this movement, the Work-Study programme, is dealt with below in Chapter 7. But the agitational and educational work took many other forms.

For instance, Wu devised a modern marriage ceremony which was actually used in August 1912 to marry a niece of Wu's called Chen Shu to Ding Xuxian. Although in itself a compromise with Wu's earlier attack on marriage of any kind, the simple procedure dispensed with the superstitious bowing to Heaven and Earth as well as the

dominating role of parents. The marriage certificate simply stated that the bride and bridegroom "both agree to be married as man and wife and from now on for a hundred years will accompany each other until old age." It was then signed by two witnesses, the family heads and the couple themselves. Before the signing, the couple bowed three times to each other and after the signing this was repeated.⁽¹⁸⁾ Though one may wonder how much, as one writer has suggested, "the ceremony in fact opened up a flood of modern style marriages,"⁽¹⁹⁾ this small innovation offers us a glimpse of how Wu translated his ideas into reforms within China.

Of greater significance was the creation by Wu in Shanghai in the middle of January 1912 of the Society for the Promotion of Virtue (jindehui) (henceforth JDH) which sought to change social habits by laying down certain abstinences for its members. Membership fell into five categories, beginning with simple "supporters" who undertook not to visit prostitutes or to gamble. "Common members" in addition agreed not to take concubines. Finally there were "special members" divided into three groups. Group A in addition to the abstinences practiced by common members were also constrained from taking official positions. Group B further included no membership of parliament and no smoking. Finally the highest commitment was that of special members Group C who also undertook not to eat meat or drink wine. As befitted an organisation started by anarchists, it was laid down that there would be no posts such as Chairman or executive members. Though it had a constitution, there were to be no rules, subscription dues or fines. If a member contravened his undertakings, fellow

members would, following an investigation, be asked to "take off their hats in disquiet and offer a silent reproach."⁽²⁰⁾

In March 1912, a list of prohibitions for female members was introduced. Group A of its special membership undertook not to gamble, drink wine, smoke, use make-up, engage in prostitution, become concubines, bring up female servants in the home, rear child brides, to become an official or a member of parliament. Group B were in addition not to eat meat.⁽²¹⁾

The basic function of the JDH was stated by its founders, Wu Zhihui, Wang Jingwei, Li Shiceng and Zhang Ji:

"The corruption of the old Qing dynasty was formed through the accumulation of society's corruption. Although there are all kinds of reasons for corruption, the most common ones can be considered roughly as "visiting prostitutes", playing Majong, as well as taking child brides. Now that the Republic is newly established, if we continue these traditions and do not pay attention to them, do not get rid of the roots and trunk of the corruption, then the original vitality [of the Chinese] which has declined will be difficult to revive. Therefore we have started the Society for the Promotion of Virtue in order on a broad scale to summon all principled gentlemen within China, and to make certain undertakings with them, in order to plant a new trend for society, so that the new society can be stabilised and the national habits changed."⁽²²⁾

Its founders and its principles of organisation may have been anarchist, but the role of the JDH was conceived of as one of consolidating the newly formed republican polity. As Wang Jingwei wrote in 1912; "Alas. This revolution from the point of view of form is definitely completed. But it is still not yet completed from the point of view of spirit."⁽²³⁾ Wu and his colleagues perceived clearly of the need to back up political change with a corresponding transformation in the

the ideological field. The JDH represented an attempt, in the flush of optimism over the future of the Republic apparent during 1912, to begin the remoulding of the attitudes and habits of the Chinese people. As one member wrote; "what value is it if you change the government and not the mind?"⁽²⁴⁾ Though one member enthused that the JDH "has no classes, has no officers, everything is equal, the era of the world datong has arrived,"⁽²⁵⁾ others saw the JDH in terms of nationalism. "If I have morality, I can build the state and profit my compatriots,"⁽²⁶⁾ wrote one member, while another expressed the hope that "the compatriots of the whole nation will keep to the covenant of the JDH and consolidate the foundations of the Republic securely in rock."⁽²⁷⁾ This attitude was summed up by a member who boldly stated that "morality is the mother of Republicanism."⁽²⁸⁾ Clearly the prohibitions of the society were contrary to absolute libertarianism but one member, derided by his friends for joining an organisation which sought to curtail his freedom, replied that all it took away from him was the "false freedom of licence" in order that he could attain "the boundless happiness of true freedom."⁽²⁹⁾ This theme of "freedom within morality"⁽³⁰⁾ was a common one and the words of Rousseau were invoked; "Without freedom the state cannot survive, without moral actions, freedom cannot survive."⁽³¹⁾

Let us now examine more closely the prohibitions of the JDH. Though Wu Zhihui had no wish to enter parliament and pass legislation himself, he still managed to have a strong faith in legal backing for his reforms, for he expressed the hope that the three basic principles of the JDH, no prostitutes, no gambling and no concubines would soon

become law. He then went on to explain the ban on taking official office. Far from opposing the concept of having officers of the state, he declared that "officials in fact serve the common good" and should be revered and loved by society." During the Qing, the problem had been "the fever for official salaries" and so there was a need for certain people to volunteer to stay out of office and be the "teachers and supervisors" of officials. Likewise Wu saw an important role for members of parliament, who could monitor the activities of officials. But because of the "foreign" craze of entering parliament to satisfy one's craving for an official salary, there ought also to be,

"a few who are capable of supervising the officials, but who stand apart from the members of parliament, so that they can supervise the members of parliament as well." (32)

There was a need for this "small section of those who know the Way" to write in the newspapers and in general keep the political parties on their toes. (33) Thus Wu in fact summed up how he saw his own position in the political world.

The most difficult prohibitions to implement, as Wu explained, (34) were abstention from smoking, wine and meat. Though Buddhist practices may well have influenced the society's founders, (35) Wu was quick to stress that anarchist vegetarianism "has no religious significance" (36) and Li Shiceng, who like Wu remained a vegetarian all his life, was active in developing bean curd as part of an "agricultural product revolution" in order to promote "health through being careful with food." (37) However it should be added that the JDH objection to meat was strongly tinged with conservative sexual mores, being based at least partly on the idea that meat eaters "have a strong addiction to lust." (38) A similar puritanism was also present in the

society's objection to women smoking on the grounds that besides harming their health, it also "makes their appearance unrefined" and to women wearing make-up because to please others in that way was to prostitute oneself.⁽³⁹⁾

Of the small group of original members of the JDH in January 1912, only Wu Zhihui, Li Shiceng and Lian Huiqing pledged themselves to the whole range of prohibitions for Special Members, Group C. Wang Jingwei and Chu Minyi were Group B, not permitted to become officials or members of parliament but allowed to eat meat. Zhang Jingjiang, Zhang Ji and Dai Jitao were among those in Group A, which forbade becoming an official but permitted service in parliament. The common members included Cai Yuanpei⁽⁴⁰⁾ and later in March also Hu Hanmin.⁽⁴¹⁾

It was stated that because, unlike other societies, the JDH was "body brought together on a spiritual basis", there would be no branches, just the one organisation in Shanghai.⁽⁴²⁾ This fact must have restricted its penetration of the interior of China, but nevertheless it claimed in May 1912 to have several thousand members.⁽⁴³⁾ Calculations based on daily lists of new members published in the Minlibao show that membership was indeed of the order of not less than about two thousand. Between January 1912 and January 1913 names of 1916 new members were published, the fastest growth being in March 1912 (increase of 837). Of the 1764 men who joined, 61 belonged to the special membership Group C, while 315 and 376 belonged to Groups B and A respectively.⁽⁴⁴⁾ (see Appendix 5 for these details in tabular form)

The JDH spawned other organisations. The Conscience Society (xinshe) founded by Liu Shifu in Canton in 1912 distributed ten thousand copies of its own ten strict prohibitions and had a considerable impact in many parts of China.⁽⁴⁵⁾ And at the end of February 1912 Sun Yat-sen sent a mission to Peking which tried without success to persuade Yuan Shikai to come to Nanking. On the steamer from Shanghai to Tientsin, Sun's envoys, their leader Cai Yuanpei with Li Shiceng, Wang Jingwei, Song Jiaoren and others formed the Society for Social Reform (shehui gailiang hui) which took as its objectives "to promote humanism in order to eradicate the traditions of monarchy, to use scientific knowledge to eradicate superstitious beliefs."⁽⁴⁶⁾ The society had six prohibitions, the same as those of the JDH, but excluding the ban on becoming an official or a member of parliament. Thus it was also known as the Six Nots Society (liubuhui) in contrast to the JDH, also known as the Eight Nots Society (babuhui). There were those who wished to foreswear meat eating, alcohol and smoking, but who maybe wished to become officials or members of parliament. But in Wu's JDH the dietary restrictions (the highest form of commitment) could not be observed without also abstaining from politics. Hence, as Li Shiceng put it, the Six Nots Society used the framework of the JDH but popularised it and reduced those aspects which were difficult to implement."⁽⁴⁷⁾

This brings us to a question which provoked considerable debate amongst members of the JDH. Clearly, anarchist purity demanded a tough line on political abstention, but given the frailty of the young Republic, was it not vital to have all possible talent available for

government or parliamentary service. A Chinese student in Wisconsin, U.S.A., in a letter to the Minlibao, agreed that on a personal level the ban on taking an official post restricted one's "craving for official salaries", but he expressed his doubts about the policy's usefulness in the fight for good government. If the number of those committed to not becoming officials were to grow a great deal, many useful people, he felt, would be excluded from serving the state and beggars and riff-raff would fill the ranks of officials.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Despite such warnings, the covenant certainly had an impact on the actions of its members. For instance, both Sun Yat-sen and Yuan Shikai agreed to appoint Wang Jingwei as Premier, but because he was a special member, group B, of the JDH, Wang declined.⁽⁴⁹⁾

Wu Zhihui would not compromise on this issue. He received a letter from Hong Guantao in Fujian requesting that a member, Wang Ziyuan, be temporarily released from his special member, Group C obligations and be permitted to become just an ordinary member, so that he would be free to be appointed head of education in Fujian. Hong explained that in Fujian serious financial and military problems were compounded by a lack of suitable administrators. He promised that once education there was back on its feet, Wang would return to being a special member "so that he could follow his ambition."⁽⁵⁰⁾ Wu refused to agree to this, writing that,

"the JDH advances and does not contract. If its character can be narrowed at one's convenience, then it would appear that there is little hope for education. Therefore, those who love education ought first to love the JDH. Along with the whole Society, I simply take off my hat in disquiet."⁽⁵¹⁾

Wu suggested that if Wang wished to promote education in Fujian, he should join an educational association or act as an advisor to the education department officials.⁽⁵²⁾ This was in fact exactly the kind of role Wu had in the early years of the Republic for instance as Chairman of the Conference on the Unification of the National Sounds.

Scalapino and Yu regard the form of abstention from politics promoted by Wu and the JDH, at a time when trained administrators were extremely scarce, as a negative factor in the building of the Republic and they state that "to some extent the anarchist movement must share the responsibility for the rapid collapse of Nationalist aspirations after 1911."⁽⁵³⁾ But one might list a number of other factors, such as the overwhelming strength of Yuan Shikai's power base in the North, and the weakness of the ideology of nationalist leaders such as Sun Yat-sen, which to a far greater extent contributed to the failure of the Revolution of 1911. In fact those members of the JDH who intended to enter politics simply remained in the lower categories of the Society, thus leaving themselves total freedom to participate in politics. This was the case with Cai Yuanpei (common member) who became Minister of Education⁽⁵⁴⁾ and also with Zhang Ji (special member, group A) who in 1912 was elected representative for Fujian in the Provisional Senate and who in April 1913 was elected Chairman of the Senate.⁽⁵⁵⁾

In fact Zhang Ji's entry into politics provoked a strong reaction from the left wing of the anarchist movement, which regarded the JDH as far too compromising in its attitude towards abstentionism. Chen Fen, a special member, group C, wrote to Wu expressing concern that Zhang, a founder of the Society, had become a senator.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Wu replied that at the time when the JDH had been founded, Zhang was

already a senator and therefore had joined only as a special member, group A, which permitted him to become a politician. Wu added that on many occasions Zhang had wished to leave politics but pressure from the political world had prevented him from doing so. (57)

But the fiercest attack on Zhang Ji came from outside the JDH, from the anarchist Liu Shifu in Canton who wrote to Zhang telling of his initial disbelief and eventual dismay at reports that he had become a senator. He put two points to Zhang. The first was,

"You formerly were an advocate of anarchism. Anarchism absolutely does not recognise politics as something of benefit to society. Your going helter skelter into politics means that you have changed from your former anarchism." (58)

Secondly Liu claimed that at the founding of the JDH, Zhang had been a special member, group C, and thus was not permitted to become a member of parliament. Did not his being a senator of the Chinese Republic mean in effect that he had left the Society? (59) Liu also wrote to Wu Zhihui about Zhang's alleged betrayal of principles. He revealed his absolute aversion to politics; "Now the seas of politics and the tides of evil from the seas of politics are drowning our people in unhappiness." He suggested that Wu urge Zhang either to resign from the Senate or to announce that he had abandoned anarchism and wished to leave the JDH. (60) Wu replied to Liu, as he had to Chen Fen, that at the founding of the JDH Zhang became only a group A, special member. (61) Liu thereupon sent a second letter to Wu, accepting that he had been mistaken about Zhang's membership but conceding nothing more. (62) In a commentary, published along with this letter in his Cock Crow Journal (huiminglu), he voiced serious

concern at the way the early pioneers of Chinese anarchism appeared to be falling short of the standards they themselves had set;

"Recently there have been those who have talked about "semi-banmian] socialism" and who constantly say that you can use politics to arrive at the objective of socialism. This kind of heterodox theory is a blot on socialism. Zhang Ji and Wu Zhihui have been the foremost advocates of anarchism. A few years ago, when writing in the New Century, they were very passionate [in advocating anarchism]. Now Zhang Ji has become a senator. Wu Zhihui sometimes consorts with the Guomindang and daily becomes closer to the political parties which is the same as daily becoming more estranged from the socialists and anarchists."(63)

Liu noted with bitterness that, although Zhang had devoted all his energies to opposing politics, "while the words are still ringing in the ears and the ink not yet dry, in one day the words and actions are opposite."(64) Liu took strong exception to the statement in the Minlibao that "since the revolution Zhang Ji has held that anarchism is not suitable for present day China." Firstly, Liu insisted that anarchism was a world ideology and that there was no question of it being suitable for one country and not for another. Even France, which had evolved rapidly, still had not achieved anarchism, but no anarchist would therefore say that anarchism was not suitable for France, he continued. He then poured scorn on the idea that anarchism could come about when all parliaments around the world were full of anarchists who would then somehow bureaucratically all government. But Liu despised Zhang Ji basically for what he saw as his opportunism in justifying his entry into parliament by reversing his earlier opinion that China was ready for anarchism and he concluded that whereas "our intention is to discuss truth", Zhang Ji used anarchism in whichever way was useful to him. (65)

What these exchanges show with the utmost clarity is what Liu Shifu called the "estrangement" (shuli) of Wu Zhihui and others of the Paris Group from a younger generation of anarchists who refused to join with their former mentors in political or quasi-political activities, designed to build up the republican state. Wu was able legalistically speaking to exculpate Zhang Ji. But the principled, moral victory was with Liu Shifu, for a committed anarchist could reasonably ask why, if the founders of the JDH were anarchists, did they see fit to create various categories of membership which permitted total participation in politics? But as was shown in the previous chapter, Wu and his colleagues, ever since they claimed to be anarchists, had also stressed the need for a period of republican government. This initial compromise having been made, it would have been inconsistent for them to have refused to co-operate with the new order. It is perhaps surprising that they did not follow Zhang Ji's lead and become politicians straight away. In reality the role they chose for themselves was, as Wu explained, one of standing on the sidelines and supervising the bureaucracy and elected representatives. This choice was attacked from both sides, by those who felt that the JDH discouraged useful people from entering politics thus weakening the state, and also by fellow anarchists who regarded the political abstentionism of the founders of the JDH to be hollow.

c) The Chinese Socialist Party

An examination of Wu's role within the Chinese Socialist Party (zhongguo shehuidang) can help us to further identify his attitude to revolution and politics in the first years of the Republic. A Taiwan historian describes Jiang Kanghu (1885-1945), founder of the Party in Shanghai in November 1911, as the first person to openly propagate socialism in the interior of China, but goes on to identify the socialism propounded by Jiang as the single tax system of Henry George.⁽⁶⁶⁾ As Bernal has written, it was "not a political party, nor was it strictly speaking a socialist one" and it was never accepted into the Socialist International.⁽⁶⁷⁾ But its membership was extremely eclectic, as was Jiang himself, and though it never directly took part in politics, it grew to a remarkable size and was responsible for spreading socialist ideas into the interior.

Jiang Kanghu's maximum programme appeared militantly socialist and close to anarchist communism. In 1912 he started the Three-Two Society (saner xueshe) devoted to conducting research into what he called "pure socialism", that is the "theory of the Three-nos and the Two-eaches", no religion, government or family and from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.⁽⁶⁸⁾

However Jiang argued that these ideas were only at the stage of propagation, that the Chinese were not yet ready for the implementation of full-blooded socialism because,

"its meaning is not yet clear and public opinion is not yet sympathetic: even if there were action it would be difficult to hope for success.... Do not ask of the harvest but of the ploughing."⁽⁶⁹⁾

In the Party objectives, drafted by Jiang, we find a clear statement of his thoroughly reformist minimum programme which called for the support of the Republic and the establishment of "public organs to spread equal education."⁽⁷⁰⁾ Though Jiang stated that the heart of his Party programme was the communist principle,⁽⁷¹⁾ one is inclined to agree with a recent Chinese communist opinion that the programme's moderate policies, which hoped, through winning finance for education from the landlord and capitalist classes, to arrive at intellectual and ultimately social equality, were "optimism taken to an infantile, laughable degree."⁽⁷²⁾

Despite its reformist programme, many anarchists, including Wu Zhihui, joined the Party. As a veteran revolutionary, Wu was much in demand for Socialist Party meetings. In June 1912 he took the platform at a Party meeting along with Jiang Kanghu and Sha Kan.⁽⁷³⁾ This line-up symbolised the broad range of political tendencies within the Party, from the relatively conservative Jiang to Sha Kan who was subsequently to lead a breakaway by anarchists. In July 1912, Wu appeared at a Party meeting with Sun Yat-sen⁽⁷⁴⁾ who was later to try to win the Party over to his idea of it having an overt political role. Yet another meeting of the Shanghai branch was more strongly anarchist, and was addressed by Chu Minyi, Wu Zhihui and Cao Yabo. Cao in his speech argued that although anarchism had been described as being like a bandit, in fact it was "governmentism" which gave birth to bandits.⁽⁷⁵⁾

Such a loose coalition inevitably became strained. Bernal has described Jiang's ideas as "naive and muddled"⁽⁷⁶⁾, but this

vagueness and inconsistency made it possible for him for a time to steer an erratic course, apparently bound to no particular tendency and thus capable of appealing to people of differing persuasions. In June 1912 he went to Peking, where he visited Yuan Shikai, assuring him that his "world socialism" would not endanger the state, for his party, not being a political one, had no wish to seize power. But he did urge Yuan to implement state socialism; to use a strengthened state to bring about social reform.⁽⁷⁷⁾ This visit and other such activities soon led to strong criticism from anarchist circles which, for instance, attacked his ideas as non-socialist and purely "social policy" as practiced by Bismarck.⁽⁷⁸⁾

The issue which led to an eventual split in the Party was whether or not it should become a fully-fledged political party and contest parliamentary elections. There were basically two camps aligned in relation to this question and the conflict came to a head at the second annual congress of the Party in October 1912. Sun Yat-sen, who on his return to China in December 1911 described himself as a member of the Party,⁽⁷⁹⁾ stood on the right wing of the debate. Immediately before the congress opened, Sun delivered a series of lectures to Party members, telling them that "it is proper that the Socialist Party becomes a large political party."⁽⁸⁰⁾ Friedman holds the view that Sun was testing out the idea of transforming the Socialist Party into the one large political party of China and that he was "making a bid for the leadership of a politically active Socialist Party."⁽⁸¹⁾

Jiang Kanghu attacked Sun's "superstitious faith in politics"⁽⁸²⁾ and insisted that Sun could not become leader of the Party because it

had no leader, a strange comment given Jiang's central role in the Party.⁽⁸³⁾ Jiang was well aware of the strong opposition amongst members to any move to turn it into a political party. One member wrote that any change to a political role would be a betrayal of him and thousands of others who had joined as anarchists⁽⁸⁴⁾ and he continued;

"Political parties are established by authority, authority is the scourge of the people and the public enemy of socialism. I ask you comrades, do you want to accept the violence of government?"⁽⁸⁵⁾

He warned that if the party became political, he would resign.⁽⁸⁶⁾

Jiang was personally unwilling for the Party to become totally political, but because of the growing rift between right and left, he called for a debate on the "most important question" of its relationship to politics, hopefully leading to a resolution of the problem at the annual congress in October 1912.⁽⁸⁷⁾ It was at that point that Wu wrote to Jiang offering his views on the subject. His letter is discussed below.

The congress opened and the first resolution put to it by Jiang was one designed to deal with harrassment by the authorities on the grounds that the Party was a threat to the state.⁽⁸⁸⁾ He proposed that at the beginning of the Party programme there be added the preamble; "Within the sphere of not harming the existence of the state, it advocates pure socialism."⁽⁸⁹⁾ The reference to "pure socialism" may have been a gesture to the anarchist wing. But this proposed clause provoked attacks from both right and left. Yin Ren for the right objected to the term "pure socialism" and proposed that the Party support state socialism and become a political party. But he did not leave the Party over this question.⁽⁹⁰⁾ The more

serious split occurred on the left. A section of the membership objected to "within the sphere of not harming the existence of the state" and also to the advice, to be inserted into the Party constitution that "members ought in groups or as individuals to devote themselves to political activity."⁽⁹¹⁾ Sha Kan, a young medical student, led a number of anarchists, one source says about twenty or thirty,⁽⁹²⁾ to form a breakaway Socialist Party, as opposed to the Chinese Socialist Party they had left, because,

"the Socialist Party has no national boundaries, but the Chinese Socialist Party clearly does have them. The Socialist Party opposes government but the Chinese Socialist Party clearly does not harm government."⁽⁹³⁾

Sha's new Socialist Party, with a programme of unadulterated anarchist communism, was banned by Yuan Shikai in December, less than a month after its founding.⁽⁹⁴⁾ Subsequently Jiang Kanghu in fact rejected participation in elections and restricted his Party's political activities to a series of requests to parliament. In August 1913, it too was proscribed.⁽⁹⁵⁾

What then was Wu Zhihui's point of view within the Chinese Socialist Party? By taking the key question of whether or not the Party should seek an overtly political role as our litmus paper it is possible to identify his orientation. Wu wrote a letter to Jiang Kanghu giving his views on political parties.⁽⁹⁶⁾ He began by stating possible objections to them. People of the old order hated them because their main task was to bring benefits to the people, while on the other hand those ideologically most advanced disliked them for the opposite reasons: that they supported authority and "have the bad result of creating classes." While naturally Wu did not accept the diehard

conservative view, neither did he share the anarchists' totally negative verdict on political parties. "Political parties are a relatively good, important factor in the period when there are governments," he wrote. "If political parties are not formed, " public opinion "will be like fine sand and the constitution will be difficult to stabilise and will have very little effectiveness." (97) He invoked the principles of evolution.

"A nation with a constitution is superior to a nation without one. A relatively stable constitution is superior to a relatively unstable one. This is something which has to be accepted by someone who follows the principle of "relatively good." Naturally political parties will from now onwards be worthless things which in evolution are transitional. But while we are still in the transition, we also cannot but permit them to survive for short while." (98)

It was better, he continued, to make use of what was available until something superior was devised. (99)

Wu was fully aware that what he was saying flew in the face of his anarchism and he concluded with this apology.

"I as an individual in fact have the character of an anarchist. The programme that I personally believe in is in fact set against parties. But having pity on the young China, I fear she will die young if we do not pass through a stage of Roman politics. So I go against my conscience." (100)

Thus Wu established beyond any doubt that his anarchist programme had been shelved in favour of a defence of the Republic and from this period onwards his ideals increasingly became just part of his "character", his temperament, expressed only in his eccentric personal rejection of government office. Over the years, the anarchist utopia was pushed further and further into the future until in the mid-twenties he was of the opinion that anarchism would take three thousand years to achieve. (101) From his letter to Jiang, we can see

that Wu was enthusiastic about the Party playing a political role. He was not himself offering to enter politics but in effect was supporting the attempt by his close friend, Sun Yat-sen, to steer the Party in a political direction and possibly lead it in its new form. Objectively, Wu stood further to the right than Jiang, who while not averse to offering advice to members to enter politics, felt that the Party itself should not take the plunge. Feng Ziyou wrote with some feeling about those who before 1911 advocated socialism, but who after the revolution became officials, went into business or organised political parties, and he concluded that socialism was no longer talked about except by Liu Shifu in Guangdong.⁽¹⁰²⁾ Liu died in 1915 and in a piece commemorating him, Wu wrote that,

"since Mr. Shifu has died, the Chinese anarchist movement has been cold and scattered. This indicates that since Mr. Shifu's death from tuberculosis, the Chinese anarchists have likewise died from tuberculosis."⁽¹⁰³⁾

Though Wu had been severely criticised by Liu, Wu clearly felt a deep respect for his steadfastness of principle, something which he himself had been unable or unwilling to maintain. Certainly Wu's anarchism was as good as dead when he called for a "stage of Roman politics." Presumably Wu meant by this the Republic of early Rome, not the later Empire under the monarchy. But ironically in China the latter almost followed as well, as if as a lesson to those like Jiang Kanghu who hoped to win Yuan Shikai over to socialism. After the assassination of Sung Jiaoren in March 1913, Cai Yuanpei resigned as Education Minister and so did Wu as Chairman of the Conference on the Unification of the National Sounds, and together they left Peking for Shanghai where they started the Gonglunbao in which they urged that military action be

taken against Yuan. After the failure of the Second Revolution, Wu fled with Cai to Europe.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ It was at that time that the first class of Frugal Study students arrived in France⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ and work connected with the Work-Study programme was to preoccupy Wu Zhihui, Li Shiceng and other older members of the anarchist movement while in exile.

d) The May Fourth Movement

The betrayal of China's interest by the Allies at the Versailles Peace Conference led to a fierce outburst of patriotic indignation during 1919. Wu's reaction to the shabby treatment of China shows us that his nationalism and his wish to defend China from foreign interference was coming to the fore, leaving little trace of his anarchist objections to building a strong military state. In a letter to Dai Jitao written during the May Fourth Movement, Wu explained his wish to become a "military official" (bingguan) in order to resist the "Five Great Powers who are Wilhelm the Second in a new form." Wu never lost his objection to becoming an official (guan) and we should not take this statement absolutely literally. Wu's style was colourful and prone to hyperbole. But there is no doubting his sincerity in wanting China to strengthen herself militarily. He stated his approval of French anti-militarists who had joined the French army to fight against Germany, but he regretted that they were not now showing a similar concern for the plight of China as the victim of the victorious Great Powers. He hoped, he said, to carry on the duty

European radicals had welshed on. He explained that his wish to become a military official was not because he was "jealous of the omnipotence of the warlords" but because he wished to "protect the nation and the people" and to "defend justice;"⁽¹⁰⁶⁾

"I just wish to unite with several tens of thousands of friends whose desires are the same as mine, in order to organise a corps of watchmen, an army of Door Guardians, armed with the finest weapons, using the latest military tactics and needless to say with officers and soldiers sharing hardships and easy times together."⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

Such strident nationalism was characteristic of the tides of patriotic fervour which spread over China during the May Fourth movement.

In examining Wu's thought, this letter is significant that in it Wu attempted to justify his position by reference back to French anarchists who compromised themselves, ideologically speaking, by joining the French army. What Wu speaks is a full-blooded nationalism of the sort he was expressing before he left for Europe in 1903. No attention is paid to the role of education and ideas. Instead, faith is put in military technology and techniques. In calling for an army of comrades, Wu was significantly feeling towards a realisation that political organisation was of little value unless it could wield some physical force through, for instance, a party army of the type created by the Guomindang in the early twenties.

e) Nationalism and the Guomindang

Despite such a passionate reaction to the events of 1919, Wu did not immediately throw himself into political life. Indeed for several years he continued with the promotion of the Work-Study Movement,

activities which entailed a number of visits to Europe culminating in the founding of the Sino-French University in Lyons in 1921. Though this institution survived for many years, economic conditions in France and dissension amongst the students led to the gradual demise of the movement and in 1922 Wu returned to China where the forces of nationalism were soon to crystallise around the reorganised Guomindang. (henceforth GMD)

In January 1923 a manifesto for the reorganisation of the GMD was issued and Sun Yat-sen appointed new officers at the headquarters of the Party. Amongst those made councillors were Zhang Ji and Zhang Jingjiang, old members of the anarchist movement. In October of that year Sun appointed a Provisional Central Committee to make preparations for the first congress of the reorganised party in January 1924.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ Wu, accompanied by Zou Lu, went to Canton to assist Sun with these preparations. The congress opened, with Wu present, on January 20th. On the 24th, it passed Sun's motion proposing Wu Zhihui, Deng Zeru, Li Shiceng, Zhang Ji and Xie Chi as the five full members of the Central Supervisory Committee. Zhang Jingjiang was elected to the Central Executive Committee. Wu was also invited to become head of the political education department of the Huangpu Military Academy in Canton but he declined the offer.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾

Wu's acceptance of a senior position in the central organisation of the GMD was a logical action by somebody who had fought consistently for Sun Yat-sen's goals of a strong, independent and united Republic. Later he was also to become a member of the Senate, representative in the National Congress, member of the Reconstruction Committee of the National Government, Fellow of the Central Research

Institute, member of the Standing Committee of the Supreme Military Council and advisor to Chiang Kai-shek. But he always claimed that because these posts were either in the GMD or as elected representatives of the people, it was no compromise of his abstentionism and perfectly in harmony with his principle of "I absolutely must not become an official (guan) but national affairs are something I must involve myself in."⁽¹¹⁰⁾ But when one considers that the GMD became the ruling party in a one party state, the distinction between the GMD and the government appears somewhat academic. Wu chose not to become a government official but rather to wield considerable political power from within the Party. But just as in 1912 Zhang Ji's participation in politics had been attacked by Liu Shifu, so now Wu's new role in the GMD came under fire from anarchist quarters.

Hua Lin, who had been in the first batch of students Wu took to France to attend the Sino-French University in 1921,⁽¹¹¹⁾ wrote a letter to Zhang Ji, subsequently published in the press, arguing that, by joining the GMD, Wu Zhihui and Li Shiceng were thus announcing that they were severing relations with the anarchist movement. He continued; "Surely this proclaims that the character of Li and Wu is bankrupt?"⁽¹¹²⁾

Wu's main defence was simply that there was no contradiction in being both an anarchist and working in the GMD. In fact, he argued that he would indeed be bankrupt if he did not work with the GMD for, Wu went on, in every historical period there were three tendencies; the old counter-revolutionary groupings, the moderate centre which sought a compromise between old and new and thirdly the

radical grouping which stood for revolution. He stressed that the GMD was the standard bearer of this last position; it was a "revolutionary party and moreover a radical party." He pointed out that just as he had before supported the old GMD, the Tongmenghui, so he now supported the reorganised party. Though Kropotkin's support for the Allies in the First World War was roundly condemned by anarchists and Marxists, curiously Wu chose to cite Kropotkin's action in his defence for, in Wu's words, the War "killed two great mother pests Wilhelm and Nicholas ." "Surely in the history of the world datong that kind of war of sacrifice counts as a little bit progressive?" Wu asked. "If he [Kropotkin] were in the China of today he would be certain to join the GMD."⁽¹¹³⁾ Wu showed considerable awareness of the political tendencies of Kropotkin whom Trotsky described as "this denouncer of the state " who "supported the Entente."⁽¹¹⁴⁾ But Wu's argument could hardly have been expected to disarm the principled anarchist criticism levelled by Hua. In fact, Wu was not ashamed to proclaim his nationalism. He wrote that "I myself have suffered the oppression of the machine guns of those with blond hair and blue eyes" and simply wished that the Chinese could themselves have machine guns to defend themselves and end their slavery, even, he stated with the utmost honesty, at the risk of creating "militarism".⁽¹¹⁵⁾

In another article in 1924, he defined what he meant by progressive nationalism. He opposed the "narrow nationalism" which entailed "the closing of the borders, the writing of eight-legged essays, the smoking of opium and living in a pigsty."⁽¹¹⁶⁾ There was;

"a strong feeling in China that we should not stress

narrow nationalism. This is an advantage. When you consider rights, it is correct to attach little importance to the state. But when you look at it from the point of view of duties, if you place little value on the state, then you fall into error."(117)

While the state, in their case the Chinese Republic, still existed, Wu continued, they should fulfil their duties towards it. He concluded that "as long as the Chinese do not wish to use nationalism to agres against others, I approve of it with every bit of me."(118) While the discussion about Kropotkin and what a true anarchist would or would not do seems somewhat forced and frankly unconvincing, Wu's expression of anti-Imperialist sentiments and the strong desire to defend the Chinese nation-state in contrast flow naturally from the prevailing political currents in China following the May Fourth Movement.

Thus we have established one of the two main strands of Wu's political thought during the 1920's and after: militant nationalism. The other key element in the composition of his political position during this period was an equally militant and uncompromising anti-communism, by which I mean an opposition to Marxism and in particular Leninism.

f) Anti-Communism

Superficially it may appear strange that Wu, who while in France wrote with great enthusiasm about the coming age of communism, should have come to oppose the Communists so vehemently. But both in the context of historical struggles between anarchists and Marxists and also against the background of growing tensions in the First GMD-CCP United Front, it is not difficult to show a strong rationale behind Wu's

anti-communism for which he is so celebrated in Taiwan today.

Struggles between anarchist (utopian socialists in Marxist terminology) and Marxists (state socialists in anarchists parlance) have punctuated the international socialist movement since last century. The International Working Men's Association, the First International, founded in 1864, was torn by conflict between Bakunists and Marxists. Put crudely, Marx in comparison with the anarchists, was authoritarian, centralist and stood for political action by the workers and the capture of the state, leading to the nationalisation of the means of production. Bakunin, when compared with Marx, was libertarian, federalist, was opposed to political action, and sought to destroy the state and establish workers' control.⁽¹¹⁹⁾ The Marxists' struggle with the anarchists, who they claimed were "preaching the emasculating doctrine of absolute abstention from political action"⁽¹²⁰⁾ came to a head at the Hague congress of the International, when the organisation split into a Marxist rump based in New York and the anti-authoritarian majority centred on the Bakunist Jura Federation.⁽¹²¹⁾ The Second International, founded in 1889, suffered similarly from the incompatibility of the two viewpoints and in 1896 in London the anarchists were expelled.⁽¹²²⁾ Wu in his writings showed himself to be well aware of these early conflicts, referring to "Marx's phoney communist party created by the struggle for power with Bakunin."⁽¹²³⁾

But that which had a far greater impact on Wu was the Bolshevik Revolution and the form of state subsequently established by Lenin. Kropotkin was overjoyed at the news of the February Uprising in Russia, writing with excitement about "the Red Flag

floating on the Peter and Paul Fortress." Later in 1917, he returned to Russia and even after the Bolshevik seizure of power was able for a time to work without interference from the authorities. (124)

Wu's magazine, Labour, has been praised by recent historians in Peking for being one of the few publications in China during 1918 which gave a full and sympathetic coverage of the Bolshevik Revolution. (125)

One article in the journal heaped praise on Lenin, describing him as acting "in harmony with material forces and human feelings," for "the ideology he adheres to desires that amongst all the people of the world there will be equality for men and woman, no differentiation between rich and poor." (126)

Labour tried hard to fit events in Russia into an anarchist mould. One article claimed that the Russians had no concept of the state and that "in their brains they do not have the word "laws". (127)

It was also claimed that "Lenin pays not the slightest attention to the narrow concept of fatherland or to patriotism, but just thinks about the happiness of mankind." (128) However the next issue carried an article which, while still sympathetic to Lenin's revolution, was less ignorant and starry-eyed about its true nature. The author discussed the differences between the Bakunists and Marxists in the First International and then quoted Lenin to the effect that though he opposed the bourgeois state, he still recognized the need to seize political power and establish a new state. But though the article admitted that the Russian Revolution was not anarchist, it still played down the authoritarian aspects of a proletarian seizure of state power to the point of stating that Lenin's policy was to put power in the hands of the labouring people and so was almost "direct action" and that the

political power was not going to be used to suppress others but simply to wrest power from those who monopolized it. (129)

Such optimism over developments in Russia did not last long amongst anarchists. During the Spring of 1918, the Bolsheviks began attacks on minority groups such as anarchists and in the following years Kropotkin's position became similar to that of Tolstoy under the Tzarist regime. (130) Kropotkin wrote that,

"Lenin is not comparable to any revolutionary figure in history. Revolutionaries have ideals. Lenin has none. He is a madman, an immolator, wishful of burning and slaughter and sacrificing." (131)

Nevertheless, following the Bolshevik Revolution and in particular after the May Fourth Movement, Marxism began to rapidly emerge as the main radical socialist tendency in China. Russian offers in 1918 and 1919 to renounce Czarist privileges in China in sharp contrast to the actions of the Allies at the Paris Peace Conference, coupled with Lenin's success in applying Marxism to a relatively poor and largely peasant country, left China's leftist intellectuals well disposed towards Soviet Russia and its ruling ideology. (132)

But it should be stressed that though Marxism had had some influence in China since the first years of the century, it was anarchism which had been the dominant philosophy of the left and this trend, of which Wu Zhihui was an early protagonist, remained a powerful influence and was only gradually displaced after the Bolshevik Revolution. Until the early twenties, anarchists were numerically stronger than Marxist-Leninists. (133) As Mao Zedong has written, before October 1917, "the Chinese were not only ignorant of Lenin and

Stalin, they did not even know of Marx and Engels."⁽¹³⁴⁾ In 1918 in Peking, Mao read books by Kropotkin, Bakunin and Tolstoy and at one stage considered founding an anarchist association.⁽¹³⁵⁾ In fact, Mao told Edgar Snow that during that year,

"my interest in politics continued to increase, and my mind turned more and more radical. I have just told you of the background to this. But just now I was still confused, looking for a road, as we say. I read some pamphlets on anarchy, and was much influenced by them. With a student named Chu Hsun-pei who used to visit me, I often discussed anarchism and its possibilities in China. At that time I favoured many of its proposals."⁽¹³⁶⁾

A further indication of the weakness of Marxism during this early period is the fact that Chen Duxiu invited more anarchists and even conservatives than future communists, in the Summer of 1920, to meet Voitinsky, who had been sent by the Third International to link up with Chinese communists and nurture a Chinese Communist Party.⁽¹³⁷⁾

But the example of Russia and the influence of the Third International began to leave its mark and small communist nuclei emerged out of large anarchist groupings. In late 1920 and early 1921, communist activists began to concentrate on the establishment of Party branches, not just in Shanghai, but in many other cities, and in so doing began to break with anarchists and others who opposed Leninism. Though Mao continued for some time to co-operate with the anarchist oriented Workers' Association of Hunan, in August 1920, he organised a Russia Research Society to prepare a work-study programme in Russia.⁽¹³⁸⁾ This illustrates the rapid growth of interest in Bolshevism for only two years before in 1918, Mao and some friends had come from Hunan to Peking to prepare to travel to France on the work-study scheme organised by Wu Zhihui. Mao stayed in China but his friend

Cai Hesen and others left Shanghai for France in early 1919.⁽¹³⁹⁾ But a similar growth of Leninism occurred also amongst these students in France. Cai Hesen, Li Lisan and others set up a Youth Socialist Group with over forty members drawn from Chinese students all over France. In 1922, the Group became a branch of the CCP and its importance can be gauged by the fact that in the 1950's about one quarter of China's top leadership, including Zhou Enlai, had been in France during this period.⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ The activities of these communists in the work-study programme in France led to a serious split between them and the anarchists in it, and to clashes with its leaders, including Wu Zhihui, culminating in 1922 with the expulsion from France of communists Cai Hesen, Li Lisan, Li Wei-han and Chen Yi. (See Chapter 7)

These events played a crucial part in the moulding of Wu Zhihui's anti-communism.⁽¹⁴¹⁾ This conflict within the work-study movement left it crippled and reflected the growing isolation of anarchists from the mainstream of Chinese leftism. It marked the eclipse of Wu as a hero and a veteran of the revolution in the eyes of radical students and strongly reinforced his opposition to Leninism, which flowed from an awareness of general political trends in Soviet Russia, and in particular the treatment meted out to anarchists in that country.

Wu was an early critic of Sun Yat-sen's policy of allying with Russia and permitting communists to enter the GMD (lian E, ronggong). He had a violent distaste for the social order in Russia as well as a distrust, dating from his experiences in France, of any co-operation with Chinese communists, whom he regarded as simply

pawns of the Third International and agents of Russian state policy.

In his letter to Hua Lin explaining his reasons for joining the GMD, Wu introduced an evolutionist argument of stages to show how the Russian Revolution had gone wrong. Though he accepted the need for a certain amount of destruction, he felt that it should be combined with education, otherwise it would just be "using dictatorial authority in the style of Lenin." Kropotkin, he continued, had enthusiastically supported the Russian Revolution but because the situation had not yet been ripe for anarchism, the relatively lower ideology of the communists was able to achieve dominance. But, Wu went on, neither were conditions ready for Lenin's communism to be implemented and Russia had been forced to adopt the New Economic Policy. In Wu's opinion, the GMD had learnt from that experience and was lowering its aims to suit the historical stage. It was a question of "revolution being suited to the environment." He did profess a hope, however, that "if the revolutionary spirit can survive", the GMD and also the communists would evolve towards anarchism. But he had nothing but contempt for Lenin, whom he considered had betrayed the friendship Kropotkin had offered him. Wu also had harsh words for the Chinese communists who had entered the GMD at the same time as himself. He stressed that unlike the communists, the anarchists were not entering the party to destroy it, but "because we wish to achieve our own objectives." "It is not to serve a master." i.e. Soviet Russia (142)

The conventional right wing GMD view of the development of the rift with the CCP is that following Sun's death in March 1925, the CCP intensified its subversion and recruitment within the GMD,

secretly attacking the Three Principles of the People and aiming to capture the Central Committee of the GMD.⁽¹⁴³⁾ In the Spring of 1925, Zhang Jingjiang expressed concern at what he considered to be plotting by the CCP at the behest of the Comintern advisors to the GMD, describing the CCP as being like a cuckoo in its hosts nest (i.e. the GMD) which it destroyed after it had been raised.⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ In the same year, a group of right wing members of the GMD Executive and Supervisory Committees met in front of Sun Yat-sen's coffin at the Temple of Azure Clouds in the Western Hills near Peking. This Western Hills Faction (xishanpai), as it became known, which included Wu Zhihui, Zhang Ji, Zou Lu, Lin Sen and Shi Ying, called for the expulsion from the GMD of all communists including Li Dazhao and the dismissal of Borodin as advisor. However, the GMD left wing, based in Canton, refused to accept their motion as valid.⁽¹⁴⁵⁾

Wu praised the Western Hills meeting as "a great expression of opposition to the CCP." He poured scorn on the idea that CCP leaders Chen Duxiu and Tan Pingshan were true communists, for he saw no evidence of the Russian trying to implement a true communist order. He attacked those who while speaking about defending the GMD constitution and upholding the Three Principles of the People, were in fact trying to divide the GMD into left and right. He concluded that "the right wing of the GMD must recognize that only when you have no trace of communism (gongchan caise) are you a true GMD member."⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ Thus he was accepting the polarisation within the Party which a few lines before he accused the CCP of wishing to foster.

In a speech to GMD members in 1925, Wu, making use of a phrase coined by Lenin in 1920, attacked the "infantile disorder" (youzhibing) of the communists. He claimed that the dictatorship in Russia was just a new version of the old Czarist one, and, referring to Ming rebellions in China, he said that "the communism of Lenin is simply the ideology Zhang Xianzhong and Li Zicheng on a more organised and disciplined basis."⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ Wu also accused Lenin of having departed from the "true Marxism", represented by "proletarians of the world unite" and taken up the slogan "unite the oppressed peoples of the world." This criticism of Lenin for having concentrated on the National Question around the world as opposed to socialist revolution, is somewhat curious in view of the fact that Wu in the same speech claimed the more narrowly nationalist Three Principles of the People to be "progressive" and "in keeping with the times," in contrast to "regressive Leninism."⁽¹⁴⁸⁾

In early 1927, as Chiang Kai-shek moved towards Shanghai, the right wing of the GMD, on the initiative of Wu Zhihui, began new demands for a "movement to clean out the Party (qingdang)", that is, a break with Russia, an ending of the United Front, and the suppression of the CCP. On March 12, 1927, Wu gave an interview to a journalist in which he offered first hand evidence of the communist plans to seize power from the GMD.⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ He claimed to have had a conversation with Chen Duxiu in which Chen had argued that the Chinese Republic was false and that there was little to choose between it and Yuan Shikai's rule. When asked by Wu for his view on Comintern advisor Joffe's opinion expressed to Sun Yat-sen that Lenin's

communism would take two hundred years to implement, Chen disagreed with Joffe's assessment, and felt that communism could be achieved very swiftly. In reply to Wu's question as to how long would be needed to implement communism, Chen is said to have answered that twenty years would be enough. Wu took this to be clear evidence of the CCP's intention to overthrow the GMD in the near future and ample justification for breaking with the communists. Wu then went on, in his interview, to agree with Li Shiceng and Cai Yuanpei that "class struggle is intrigue, it is immoral" and he portrayed the conflict with the CCP as essentially "not being willing to allow Zhongshan [Sun Yat-sen] to be finally annihilated by Lenin," explaining that "the Three Principles of the People of the President are the most perfect egalitarianism and also will develop into the future communism which does not use class struggle." (150)

Wu then examined the three main policies initiated by Sun, showing how they had been sabotaged by the Russians and the CCP. First the alliance with Russia. It had been intended to be on the basis of equality, but with the interference of Borodin and other Russian advisors, the Wuhan government had become the puppet of Russia. Secondly, allowing CCP members to join the GMD. Instead of working for the GMD and Sun's Principles, the CCP members had joined the GMD to make revolution against it and to capture its branches. Thirdly, the policy towards workers and peasants. Sun's Principle of People's Livelihood had, Wu went on, been intended to bring equality and freedom to workers and peasants. But now quite contrary to what Sun had intended, the CCP was leading the workers and peasants to

engage blindly in violence and destruction.⁽¹⁵¹⁾ Thus Wu could dismiss any criticism that to break with Russia and the CCP was contrary to the policies laid down by Sun by claiming that the conditions under which the co-operation was initiated had been totally and cynically violated.

On April 2, 1927, in Shanghai, the GMD Central Supervisory Committee held an emergency meeting. It was attended by Cai Yuanpei (elected chairman), Wu Zhihui, Zhang Jingjiang, Li Shiceng, Chen Guofu and three others, eight in all out of a possible twenty.⁽¹⁵²⁾ The main item of business was a presentation by Wu of evidence, identical to that outlined above, of the traitorous intentions of Chen Duxiu and the CCP. Wu warned his comrades that the CCP was plotting to rebel and that if China were united by the strength of the CCP, then China would without doubt come under the control of Soviet Russia. He vented his hatred of the communists and their Comintern backers;

"Borodin uses particularly loathsome methods to provoke and divide. Outwardly, he is very friendly, but this facade is the one which their training gives to both Russian and Chinese communists. They are extremely affable in their social dealings and their speech. When speaking of their social relations with us they profess solidarity, but in action they are evil and harsh. Deceit is the first verse of their gospel."⁽¹⁵³⁾

Wu dismissed as a trick the idea that because after a CCP victory China would be in the Third International along with Russia, China would not be controlled by Russia and added that "China has only been conquered a couple of times, but she has never been made a satellite country. We GMD do not wish that the CCP experiment with this."⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ The meeting discussed Wu's evidence and having heard from other committee members of action by the CCP in Hunan, Hubei, Jiangxi

and Shanghai which was "disrupting society and bringing disorder to the rear of the Northern Expedition," it sent a copy of Wu's speech, along with a petition, to the GMD Central Executive Committee requesting that it take "urgent measures" before the "Party is lost and the nation is sold out."⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ Almost immediately, Chiang Kai-shek moved against the communists and other working class organizations.

Wu's "exposure of the rebellion of the CCP" is celebrated by the GMD today as a historic event in its struggle against communism, so much so that one GMD history of the Republic contains the entire text of Wu's address to the Supervisory Committee,⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ an event described by a biographer of Wu as of "tumultuous" importance.⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ Wu is held to be "the vanguard of anti-communism. As early as 1923 and 1924 while the Father of the Nation Sun was still alive, he had already begun his campaign to purge the Party of communists."⁽¹⁵⁸⁾

We can conclude our examination of Wu's anti-communism with what he told a journalist in the Spring of 1935, at a time when the CCP had just left Cunyi in the middle of the Long March;

"China's Communist Party is not only a false communist party, but moreover it is a common bandit which kills and burns, which uses its concentrated power to dupe people."⁽¹⁵⁹⁾

Footnotes

1. Zhang Wenbo, Wu Zhihui xiansheng zhuanji, Vol. 1, p. 35.
2. Gao Baishi, guqun fenglou suoji, p. 9.
3. F. Engels, "On political action of the working class." Notes of a speech delivered on September 21, 1871 at a session of the London Conference. In Marx, Engels, Lenin, Anarchism and Anarcho-syndicalism, p. 51.
4. WZH, "zhi Li Shiceng shu," CW.8.523.
5. WZH, "dai lüou huaqiao ni quan qingdi tuiwei dian," CW.7.273. WZH, "dai lüou huaqiao ni quan tuiwei su gai gonghe dian," CW.7.273-4.
6. WZH, "zhi Li Yuanhong dian," CW.7.272.
7. C.Y. Hsu, The Rise of Modern China, p. 557, and Li Shuhua, "Wu Zhihui xiansheng shengping lüeshu," in Taiwansheng guoyu tuixing weiyuanhui, (ed.), Wu Zhihui xiansheng de shengping,
8. Hsu, Op. cit., p. 557, and Li Shuhua, "Wu Zhihui xiansheng shengping lüeshu," pp. 58-59.
9. Zhang Wenbo, Wu Zhihui xiansheng zhuanji, Vol. 1, p. 34, and Li Shuhua, "Wu Zhihui xiansheng shengping lüeshu," p. 59.
10. Jean Maitron, Histoire du Mouvement Anarchiste en France (1880-1914), The establishment of the community by the Italian anarchists on land granted to them by the Emperor of Brazil and its dissolution in 1894 is depicted in the film La Cecilia, made by the French director Jean-Louis Comolli in 1976.
11. Maitron, Op. Cit., pp. 366-372, and Advertisement for "Communisme experimental, Colonie d'Aiglemont, (Yingshancun zhimindi)", in xinshiji congshu, 1st Collection, 1907. Maitron describes the colony in some detail, telling how, riddled with personal conflicts, hampered by indolent intellectuals and with heavy debts taken on for instance to finance a series of pamphlets and two journals, it finally collapsed in 1909. Le Libertaire commented; "The colony L'essai....is no more. After five years of efforts, of ridiculous privations.... this attempt has foundered lamentably.... Maybe it would have been better if it had never existed." Quoted in Maitron, Op. Cit., p. 371.
12. WZH, "you yingshancun zhimindi", in WJHXJ, youji, pp. 100-105, and Zhang Ji, Zhang Puquan xiansheng quanji, Vol. 1, p. 236.

13. Wu Xiangxiang, "Jiang Kanghu yu Zhongguo shehuidang," in Wu Xiangxiang, (ed.) zhongguo xiangaishi congkan, Vol. 2, p. 57, and Boorman, Biographical Dictionary, entry on Jiang Kanghu, Vol. 1, p. 340.
14. M. Bernal, Chinese Socialism to 1913, Unpublished PhD thesis, Cambridge 1967, p. 400.
15. Minlibao, July 5, 1912 (reprint edited by Huang Jilu, Taipei, 1969.) p. 4361.
16. Li Shiceng, shiseng biji, p. 32.
17. Ibid., pp. 26 and 89.
18. WZH, "ni jiehun chengxu dan", CW.15.2609-2611, "ni jiehun dengshu CW.15.2611-2612. Chen Linghai, Op. Cit., p. 41.
19. Chen Linghai, Op. Cit., p. 41.
20. WZH et al., "jindehui huiyue," CW.3.627-629. First published in Minlibao Jan. 19, 1912.
21. "Jindehui xiaoxi" (JDHXX), Minlibao (MLB), March 7, 1912. (3551 in reprint).
22. WZH et al., "jindehui huiyue," CW.3.627.
23. Wang Jingwei, "fakanci," of Minde zazhi, in Huaafa jiaoyuhui (ed.), Lou jiaoyu yundong, p. 7.
24. "Jinde zhi sheng" (henceforth JDZS), MLB. March 20, 1912 (3668)
25. JDZS, MLB, March 5, 1912 (3534)
26. JDZS, MLB, March 1, 1912 (3498)
27. JDZS, MLB, March 10, 1912 (3578)
28. JDZS, MLB, March 26, 1912 (3722)
29. Wang Xingmeng, JDZS, MLB, March 18, 1912
30. JDZS, MLB, March 6, 1912 (3543)
31. JDZS, MLB, March 11, 1912.
32. WZH et al., "jindehui huiyue," CW.3.629.
33. Ibid., p. 629.

34. Ibid., p. 629.
35. See Holmes Welch, The Practice of Chinese Buddhism. 1900-1950, Harvard, 1967.
36. WZH, "You yingshancun zhimindi," WJHXJ. Youji, p. 102.
37. Li Shiceng, shiseng biji, p. 10 and p. 26.
38. JDZS, MLB, June 24, 1912. (4532.)
39. "jindehui nüzibu huiyue," MLB (3156)
40. "canjia jindehui shouci huiyuan mingdan," in WZH, CW.635-637.
41. MLB, March 1, 1912.
42. "Jindehui xiaoxi" (henceforth JDHXX), MLB, March 16, 1912, (3532).
43. JDZS, MLB, March 11, 1912 (4073).
44. Derived from an analysis of JDHXX in MLB, Feb. 1912-Jan. 1913.
45. Bernal, "Liu Ssu-fu and Anarchism," in introduction to Minsheng, p. 1.
46. "Shehui gailianghui xuanyan," MLB, March 29, 1912, (3745) and Li Shuhua, "xinhai geming qianhou de Li Shiceng xiansheng," in Li Shiceng xiansheng jinianji, pp. 194-195.
47. Li Shiceng, Shiseng biji, p. 68.
48. Zhu Jin, "taolun jindehui huiyue," MLB, June 23-26, 1912 (4526, 4535, 4544, 4553.)
49. MLB, March 6, 1912, p. 3.
50. "Hong Guantao laihan," appendix to WZH, "jindehui zhi baozhang," CW.3.630.
51. WZH, "jindehui zhi baozhang," CW.3.630.
52. Ibid., p. 630.
53. Scalapino and Yu, Op. Cit., p. 39.
54. Li Chien-nung, Op. Cit., p. 272.
55. Zhang Ji, "huiyilu," (zizhuan nianpu) in Zhang Ji, Zhang Puquan xiansheng quanji, pp. 238-240.

56. Letter from Chen Fen to WZH, appendix to WZH, "keyi zhi yi," CW.8.428.
57. WZH, "keyi zhi yi," CW.8.428-429.
58. Li Shifu, "shifu zhi Zhang Ji shu," in Huiminglu, No. 2, p. 10.
59. Ibid., pp. 10-11.
60. Ibid., pp. 9-10.
61. WZH, "Wu Zhihui dashu," in Huiminglu, No. 2, p. 10.
62. Liu Shifu, "zai zhi Wu Zhihui shu," in Huiminglu, No. 2, pp. 7-8.
63. Ibid., p. 7.
64. Ibid., pp. 7-8.
65. Ibid., pp. 7-8.
66. Wu Xiangxiang, "Jiang Kanghu yu Zhongguo shehuidang," in Wu Xiangxiang, (ed.) Minguo zhengzhi renwu, Vol. 1, p. 145.
67. Bernal, Chinese Socialism to 1913, Thesis, Cambridge, 1967. p. 305.
68. MBL, Nov. 9, 1912 (5763)
69. Liu Shifu, Hongshuiji, p. 44. Translated in Bernal thesis, p. 394.
70. Jiang Kanghu, "Zhongguo shehuidang xuangao," in Hongshuiji,
Also in Gu Jigang, Cao Ruozhi and Cao Jiayin,
"Zhongguo shehuidang he Chen Yilong de si," in xinhai geming huiyilu, Vol. 6, pp. 497-498. My translation is taken from
Bernal, "Chinese Socialism Before 1913," in Gray, Op. Cit., p. 90.
71. Gu Jigang et al., Op. Cit., p. 498.
72. Ibid., p. 499.
73. MLB, June 16, 1912 (4460)
74. MLB, July 2, 1912 (4604)
75. MLB, July 16, 1912 (4730)
76. Bernal in Gray, Op. Cit., p. 95.

77. Wu Xiangxiang, Op. Cit., pp. 153-154.
78. Ibid., p. 155.
79. Jiang Kanghu, Hongshuiji, p. 82. Quoted in Bernal Thesis. A report in MLB, March 4, 1912, stated that "although Jiang Kanghu started the Socialist Party, Mr. Sun Yat-sen also greatly supported it."
80. MLB, Oct. 15, 1912. Translation in Edward Friedman, Backward Toward Revolution, The Chinese Revolutionary Party, p. 24.
81. Ibid., p. 25.
82. Jiang Kanghu, Hongshuiji, p. 82. Cited in Bernal Thesis.
83. Ibid., pp. 62-63. Cited in Bernal Thesis.
84. MLB, Sept. 5, 1912. (5187)
85. Ibid., (5187)
86. Ibid. (5187)
87. Wu Xiangxiang, Op. Cit., p. 152.
88. Bernal, Thesis, p. 326.
89. Ibid., p. 325 and Gu Jigang et al., Op. Cit., p. 497.
90. Bernal, Thesis, pp. 326-327.
91. Li Shifu, "zhengfu yu shehuidang," in Huiminglu, No. 2, p. 3.
92. Bernal, Thesis, p. 327 and Xie Bin, Minguo zhengdangshi, p. 42. and Wu Xiangxiang, Op. Cit., p. 156.
93. "shehuidang yuanqi ji yuezhang," MLB, Nov. 1912. Bernal (thesis, p. 327) calls the new party the Pure Socialist Party (cunzui shehuidang). In this he appears to be following Xie Bin, (Op. Cit., p. 41). Wu Xiangxiang (Op. Cit., p. 156) writes that Sha Kan "set up another socialist party." Gu Jigang et al. (Op. Cit., p. 500) are quite unambiguous, stating that Sha said that the Socialist Party claimed not to have national boundaries and therefore ought not to be called the Chinese Socialist Party and he organised another party called simply the Socialist Party. In addition, the original letter from the new party, quoted above, makes it quite clear that it was not called the Pure Socialist Party.

94. Sha Kan, "duiyu zhongguo shehuidang diyici lianhehui ganyan," MLB, Nov. 15, 1912, (5820). Liu Shifu, "zhengfu yu shehuidang," Huiminglu, no. 2, p. 1 and p. 5.
95. Bernal in Gray, Op. Cit., pp. 93-94.
96. WZH "zhi Jiang Kanghu taolun zhengdang han," CW.10.1495-1496.
97. Ibid., p. 1496.
98. Ibid., p. 1496.
99. Ibid., p. 1496.
100. Ibid., p. 1496.
101. WZH, "jinian Shifu xiansheng," CW.10.1622.
102. Feng Ziyou, Shehui zhuyi yu zhongguo, pp. 5-6.
103. WZH, "jinian Shifu xiansheng," CW.10.1622.
104. WZH, Zhilao xianhua, p. 47.
105. Ibid., p. 47.
106. WZH, "zhi Dai Jitao lun zuo bingguan, CW.8.509-10. Written June 1919.
107. Ibid., p. 510.
108. Boorman, Op. Cit., Vol. 1, p. 18.
109. Chen Linghai, Op. Cit., pp. 56-58.
110. Zhang Wenbo, Wu Zhihui xiansheng zhuanji, Vol. 1, p. 74.
111. WZH, "zai Beijing kao bu faguo li-ao zhongfa daxue sheng chubu mingdan," CW.15.2581. And WZH, "faguo li-ao daxue fangjian fenpei biao," CW.15.2584.
112. WZH, "zhi Hua Lin shu," CW.10.1581.
113. Ibid., pp. 1582-1586.
114. L. Trotsky, The History of the Russian Revolution, quoted in Woodcock, The Anarchist Prince, p. 380.
115. WZH, "zhi Hua Lin shu," CW.10.1584.
116. WZH, "erbaizhao pingmin dawenti zui qingbian de jiejuefa," CW.5.242.

117. Ibid., p. 241.
118. Ibid., p. 241.
119. Woodcock, Anarchism, p. 158.
120. F. Engels, "Address: The General Council and All the Members of the IWMA," 1872, in Marx, Engels, Lenin, Anarchism and Anarchosyndicalism, p. 81.
121. Woodcock, Anarchism, p. 218.
122. Ibid., pp. 246-247.
123. WZH, "Wu Zhihui xerci fangwenji," CW.3.744.
124. Woodcock, The Anarchist Prince, pp. 388-406.
125. Makesi.....yanjiusuo (ed.) Wusi shiqi qikan jieshao, pp. 171-173.
126. "Lining shilüe," Laodong, No. 2, quoted in Ibid., p. 173.
127. "Eguo guojipai sixing zhi zhenglüe," Laodong, No. 2, quoted in Ibid., pp. 173-174.
128. "Lining shilüe," in Ibid., p. 174.
129. "Lining zhi jiepou, Eguo geming zhi zhenxiang," Laodong No. 3 quoted in Ibid., p. 174.
130. Woodcock, The Anarchist Prince, pp. 406-408.
131. Quoted in Ibid., p. 407.
132. Hsu, Op. Cit., p. 605.
133. J.P. Harrison, The Long March to Power, pp. 15-16.
134. Mao Zedong, "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," Collected Works, Vol. 4, p. 413.
135. Jerome Ch'en, Mao and the Chinese Revolution, p. 53 and R Payne, Mao Tse-tung, Ruler of Red China, p. 56.
136. Edgar Snow, Red Star Over China, p. 177.
137. Harrison, Op. Cit., p. 28.
138. Ibid., pp. 29-30.
139. J. Ch'en, Op. Cit., pp. 52-54.

140. Harrison, Op. Cit., pp. 52-54.
141. In an interview in Mexico, March 1978, Y.S. Chu, a former Republic of China diplomat, told me that sabotage of the Work-Study Movement by Chinese Communists and the Third International was the main reason for the development of Wu Zhihui's anti-communism.
142. WZH, "zhi Hua Lin shu," CW.10.1582-1588.
143. Zhang Qiyun, Op. Cit., Vol. 2, p. 231.
144. Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 146.
145. Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 147. and Chen Linghai, Op. Cit., p. 62.
146. WZH, "guanyu, gongchandang yu, Wu Zhihui yu," CW.8.566-567.
147. WZH, "gongchandang zhi youzhibing," CW.9.804-5. In 1927, Wu explained that by "infantile disorder" of the communists, he meant their plotting and scheming. As to where the term came from he said that it was used amongst certain knowledgeable communist leaders including Li Dazhao who had used it in conversation with Li Shiceng. ("hudang jiuguo yundong hua," CW.9.822). The original location of the term is Lenin's pamphlet, Left Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder, first published in 1920.
148. WZH, "gongchandang zhi youzhibing," CW.9.804.
149. WZH, "dui gongchandang wenti tanhua," CW.8.805-9. March 12, 1927.
150. Ibid., p. 807.
151. Ibid., pp. 806-9.
152. "zhongguo guomindang jiancha weiyuanhui zi zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui jianju gongchan fenzi wen," CW.9.819. WZH, "zhi zhongyang jiancha weiyuanhui qing chaban gongchandang wen," CW.9.809-814. J. Guillerma, A History of the Chinese Communist Party 1921-1949, p. 124.
153. WZH, "zhi zhongyang jiancha weiyuanhui.....", CW.9.813. This translation is from Guillerma, Op. Cit., p. 124.
154. WZH, "zhi zhongyang jiancha weiyuanhui.....", CW.9.813.
155. "Zhongguo guomindang zhongyang jiancha weiyuanhui zi zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui jianju gongchan fenzi wen," CW.9.809-814.

156. Zhang Qiyun, Op. Cit., Vol. 2, pp. 237-240.
157. Zhang Wenbo, Wu Zhihui xiansheng zhuanji, Vol. 1, p. 74.
158. Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 83.
159. WZH, "zhilao erci fangwenji," CW.3.744.

CHAPTER 6

PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

a) Education and Revolution

It was not until after his arrival in Europe in 1903 that Wu Zhihui began to formulate a comprehensive philosophy of education. In the years before, first as a reformer and then as a revolutionary, he sought through educational work to generate a spirit which would save the nation from disaster. Imbued with social Darwinism, he saw the raising of the nation's collective knowledge as the prerequisite for China's survival.⁽¹⁾ Germany and Japan were greatly admired by educators such as Wu. A memorial to the throne in 1901 pointed out that,

"Germany is the most powerful nation today and its school system is the most developed. Japan attained quickly unto prosperity and the number of its schools is the greatest among all Eastern countries. This is clear evidence of the value of a flourishing school system."⁽²⁾

The Prussian state owed much of its strength to the fact that it had employed popular education as an instrument of policy and when the Japanese came to build their modern state, their education programme followed that of Prussia in many respects.⁽³⁾ In 1900, Wu wrote that the best way to reform China was to use "Germanism" and he called for universal primary education as in Germany.⁽⁴⁾ Wu's period of study in Japan left him more convinced than ever of the crucial role of

education, writing in his diary that it was the foundation of the state. The spread of modern schools would, he was sure, lead to the emergence of men of talent to lead the country.⁽⁵⁾

In France, Wu's nationalism became largely submerged as he developed a whole body of utopian socialist thought which included a well defined philosophy of education. In the utopia conceived of by Wu, education would play a central role. Kropotkin wrote that "in a future society, education... will and must be compulsory"⁽⁶⁾ and Wu echoed this by insisting that education for all to an equivalent of university level should be compulsory until the age of twenty. People would be free to study what they wished, so that each could make the most of his natural endowment.⁽⁷⁾ Seventy to eighty per cent of the learning should be devoted to scientific knowledge and the remaining proportion should be "anarchist morality."⁽⁸⁾ As machines would have liberated man from much of his toil, he would only work two hours a day, leaving at least eight hours for "wholehearted studying and inventing". The rest of the time would be taken up by sleep and pleasure.⁽⁹⁾

Though Wu, as a materialist who believed in the evolution of the human species to a higher stage, was always quick to add that anarchist society was no "idle dream",⁽¹⁰⁾ he could not deny how far the world was from his ideal and he stressed the role played by mankind, through a true understanding of the workings of evolution, in hastening the dawning of the golden age. Education was of primary importance in reforming society⁽¹¹⁾ for through the spreading of knowledge not only could the people be led to an understanding of what was good, that is beneficial to evolution, but also to an ability to

combat and restrain action which hampered human progress. (12)

As Wang Jingwei wrote in 1913;

"There is nothing better for promoting the public morality of the Chinese people than humanism. The essence of humanism is love, equality and freedom.... If these ideas are spread throughout the country there will be no more struggle between people and no more talk of dictatorship by a minority. Spread these ideas throughout the world and there will be no more struggle between countries and imperialism will be ended. Thus the true, pure and unsullied nature of mankind will appear and people will love and help each other..... Morality and the people's knowledge have a causal relationship. When knowledge advances, then so does morality." (13)

What was needed, he wrote, was knowledge to establish what was right and wrong, what was true and false.

"We should make the truth as clear as day and mistaken opinions will be destroyed. And thus, through the renovation of their knowledge, we renovate their morality." (14)

Such a naive view of the role of knowledge was a product of the brief period of euphoria following the 1911 revolution and was bound to founder when confronted with the realities of naked power in the early Republic.

But it should be noted that anarchists have generally considered education to be a determining factor in revolution. (15) Jean Grave said that the revolutionary task was to "cram ideas into the heads of individuals". (16) The revolution had to be made in people before it could be realised in things. Only when intellectual and moral emancipation had been largely achieved could the revolution be lasting. Kropotkin wrote that "to prepare men's minds" for the approaching revolution was the task of those who foresaw the course of evolution. (17) Bakunin stressed that there could be no complete freedom until there

was a high level of knowledge in society.⁽¹⁸⁾

In 1908, Wu Zhihui explored in some depth the relationship between education and revolution,⁽¹⁹⁾ between which, he claimed a false dichotomy was often made. Revolution was seen by many as destructive and negative, education as constructive. This confusion arose, he said, because people generalized about revolution from the results of political revolution, which took as its objective solely the struggle for political rights. After the revolution, public virtue was still embodied in state power and the revolutionaries often acted with unjustified violence, continuing to fight among themselves on the pretext of defending the motherland and state power. "It is as if, apart from state power there is no other public morality," he wrote. This situation was the result of revolution and education being treated as separate things. But anarchism, he went on, had as its main aim the arousing of the people's spirit of public morality and put emphasis on the reciprocity between individual and society, so as to do away with so-called rights and work for the happiness of all. Education would be universalized, everybody would rid themselves of their old habits, start a new life and revolution would be inevitable. Thus revolution and education were interdependent. The results of education were incremental, daily slightly changing society's habits and producing a small revolution. There was no question of there being a sudden and total revolution;

"There is no day when the revolution will be completed. Truth and justice daily advance, so education cannot halt for a minute, nor can revolution cease. Education will inevitably have good results and these results will be revolution, and through revolution mankind's spirit of public morality is increased and expanded."⁽²⁰⁾

Thus reform and evolution were indistinguishable from revolution. The goal was to bring knowledge to a benighted people and mankind at large. The survival of humanity was not a question of strong and weak but of whether one had knowledge or not. The more enlightened the knowledge, the more war would be suppressed and so finally eradicated.⁽²¹⁾ In 1908, Wu attacked the clause on militarism in the aims for education issued by the Chinese government. The Chinese, he wrote, should learn from the experience of the Mongols and the present Manchu rulers that brute strength was no basis for survival. Only a totally new education could guarantee survival by providing the right knowledge which would lead them to discard their animal hearts obstructing the attainment of the "datong and to relate sympathetically towards others." "Today's civilisation comes totally from education and not from force."⁽²²⁾ He declared that the Chinese should stop mystifying the success of Japan by saying it was the result of Bushido, the martial spirit, and realise that Japan's revival was the result of the acquisition of new knowledge.⁽²³⁾ As Li Shiceng wrote,

"The evolution of mankind is from ignorance in the direction of civilisation..... It is through study being made most widely available throughout mankind that we can develop and thus hasten the flow of evolution. Study is necessary for mankind as food is for a starving man."⁽²⁴⁾

Though while in Paris Wu developed the gradualist theory of revolution through education, this in no way undermined his resolve to overthrow the dynasty, for though the term revolution in the broader sense related to the long term process of hastening human evolution, in the narrower sense, also used by Wu, it implied the removal by force of social obstacles to the advancement of education, knowledge and thus

evolution.

The problem was that while a true education could enlighten and liberate man, so the old ideas were used to enslave him. During the last years of the dynasty Wu wrote;

"The Manchu government profits from the ignorance of the people, using the wrong theories of reverence and respect to keep their loyalty and make them content with oppression, preventing them from obtaining freedom or reform. In this way, the minority which consists of the Emperor and high officials is preserved intact.(25)

The Manchus, and also Hans such as Zhang Zhidong, were using Confucianism to pacify the people and prevent the emergence of "rebellious subjects and bandit sons." (26) The morality talked about by the sages was used to support the strong against the weak. The Confucian virtues of loyalty, trust, sincerity and reverence, control oneself and restore the rites, (27) Wu explained, produced in people a "slavish nature". Any possible rebellious feelings were destroyed not only amongst the common people, but also amongst the scholar class. (28) The old enslaving ideas were perpetuated by a small clique for their own interests. Before any real education could be introduced, the Manchu rulers had to be removed; Wu wrote.

"The bandit of the people wishes to strengthen his position and so considers transmitting the slave teachings as his first task and thus creates the obstacle which blocks the people's knowledge. So if you wish to get rid of this obstacle to mankind, you will naturally take the destruction of the Imperial system as your basis." (29)

Such an argument directly refuted the view, put forward by Constitutionalists like Liang Qichao to combat the growing revolution, that because "power comes from knowledge", therefore the people had to be prepared up to a certain cultural level before they could enjoy

political power.⁽³⁰⁾ Wu compared the problem of education and revolution to our existence in the natural environment. When Winter came, everybody put on warm clothes. But if they did not have warm clothes they died. If one could, it would be better to make the weather warm. Likewise it was pointless to talk about education and morality before you had removed the Manchus and reorganised society.⁽³¹⁾ "If China does not have a revolution, it will never liberate itself." (fanshen)⁽³²⁾

In the years after the Revolution of 1911, Wu Zhihui and his fellow anarchists derived from Kropotkin's theory of Mutual Aid the belief that through education inequality could be eroded and class conflict mediated. The declaration of principles of the World Association (shijieshe) founded by them in 1912 stated that the tendency of human evolution was towards a united world and the association pledged itself to bring about this world culture. In the past, evolution had been hampered by the fact that sages and heroes had used their skills to rule over the ignorant people. Using a biological analogy the statement argued that "the development of a living creature does not depend on a couple of excellent cells suddenly advancing ahead of others, but relies on each cell having the same ability. Surely mankind in its relationship to the world is just the same?" That was why recent philosophers, it went on, had put so much effort into universalising education, for

"far-sighted men regard the fact that higher education is not yet universal as the reason why classes are born. They grieve about this and the way they see of remedying the situation is for education to be made equal."⁽³³⁾

The same group, Wu, Li Shiceng, Cai Yuanpei and others, in 1915 set up a publishing and translation organisation. Its founding statement also discussed the question of knowledge and equality. The sad thing was not just that the strong devoured the weak, but that those with knowledge were the rulers and those who were ignorant were the slaves. The solution was to eradicate ignorance by improving people's knowledge and end their weakness by improving their abilities. However, it was stated, this was not so that the slaves could themselves become the master, but rather to bring an end to social strife. The knowledge and ability so gained would be used to further mutual aid. (34)

This gradualist, education-based approach to revolution was shared by most progressive intellectuals in China until the growth of Leninism. Before 1921, action to heighten class struggle was widely rejected in China. (35) Subsequently though, such tendencies, particularly anarchism, came under heavy fire from Marxists. Chen Duxiu found the anarchists too optimistic regarding human nature and too pessimistic regarding politics. As he said,

"Anarchism is based upon the assumption that human nature is good and that education has been popularized. But the rise of political and economic systems is precisely due to the fact that men are not all good by nature and popular education has not been realised. What we need is to reform slowly the political and economic institutions so as to make men good and popularize education." (36)

In an attack on Ou Shengbai, Chen stressed that not all men tended to be good and even those who were good, could not be reached during the capitalist age. Some men could not be reformed and had to be removed. Thorough enlightenment and true education was not possible while militarists, tyrants and capitalists were in control. (37)

Ironically this was almost identical to the argument put forward by Wu for overthrowing the Manchus which later, after the establishment of the Republic, was abandoned in favour of a non-political path to change. Ou, in his reply to Chen, denied that anarchists renounced violence. They only renounced the use of violence to capture institutions which were inherently oppressive. Nevertheless Ou insisted that men were "stubborn" because they had insufficient knowledge, and expressed great hope in the power of education. (38)

The Leninists and anarchists approached the question of revolution from opposite directions . The former saw the seizure of state power by the working class as the only way to bring true education to the people. The anarchists held that only through the education of the people could there be ensured a revolution which did not lead to tyranny.

b) Reasons for Study and the Content of Education

Wu insisted that education should introduce modern science and anarchists morality, that theory and practice should be linked in order to erode the existing division of labour and that finally the aim of the student should be to serve mankind, not just his own interests. Such a programme flew in the face of the whole tradition of education in China and Wu devoted much of his energy to attacking this tenacious tradition. Though the eight-legged essay and the official examinations were abolished in the last years of the Qing, he argued that the "collected poison is deep in people's hearts and cannot be quickly

eradicated."⁽³⁹⁾ He attacked the "new education", brought in by the Manchus, as "false education", worse than the education before. Its "poison" was intended as a drug to lead the youth astray.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Although the modern schools taught western learning and modern science, at the same time people such as Zhang Zhidong were insisting that the schools also teach the five classics.⁽⁴¹⁾ But what angered him most was that the new studies were regarded, like the old studies, as a road to official positions. The aim of studying was to become a Hanlin scholar and if that was not possible, the student would hope to buy a railway or a mine "to comfort one for having given so many years to studying."⁽⁴²⁾ He mocked the students who were sent under official auspices to the West and to Japan. Although on their return to China they appeared in every way - walking, speaking, laughing - to be foreigners and called themselves civilised, in fact they were just the inheritors of the old eight-legged essay. They prided themselves on all their foreign books and notebooks full of new terms, but in reality they were not truly Westernised. They were the "great writers of the foreign eight-legged essay (yang bagu) era."⁽⁴³⁾ The old eight-legged essay with its rigid formalism and dogmatism so alien to the modern scientific spirit and the very symbol of the concept of education in the classics as the door to an official career, had developed into a style of study using Western learning rather than the classics, but still with the same lifelessness, formalism and careerist significance.

After the revolution of 1911, the foreign eight-legged essay survived and thrived. In 1924, Wu wrote that it was astonishing that thirty years after reforms were first discussed, education still meant

the foreign eight-legged essay and industry was still on a market-place scale: "all that has been done is to change the signs".⁽⁴⁴⁾ Little had changed and then only superficially. As he wrote in 1919 in the publication of a technical school he taught at:

"The conservative tradition has too tight a grip. They have opened all sorts of schools but most of them teach the foreign eight-legged essay and those schools which really stress science and engineering are very few."⁽⁴⁵⁾

China did not have the facilities to educate its youth in all modern subjects and large numbers of young people went abroad to study. But as Wu explained, they went abroad for a few years, got their doctorates and master's degrees but had no grasp of reality. "Whether what they study is agriculture or industry, it is just going into tea houses to chat. That is the industrial and the agricultural eight-legged essay."⁽⁴⁶⁾

The distractions in foreign parts were many and so few spent much time in the laboratories. But not only was this new education failing to produce scientists, but it also propagated the old maxim that "in study there is an official salary."⁽⁴⁷⁾ Of those who received the new learning, he estimated that eight or nine out of ten still used their education for self-advancement.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Wang Jingwei doubted whether, even though the official examinations had long been abolished, students had really changed their idea of what education was for. It was still seen as just a mechanism for profiting the individual, while the ideal which Wang, Wu and others promoted in the Frugal Study Movement was that "studying is for society and not for oneself."⁽⁴⁹⁾

The attack on these remnants of the old educational tradition was conducted not just by Wu Zhihui and his colleagues and has

continued to the present day. Shu Xincheng, the famous educationalist of the republican period wrote,

"China, throughout her history, has only had education in the art of government and although those who set up the "new education" paid special attention to production, when all the new subjects like physics, chemistry, technology and agriculture were imported into China, they all changed into the so-called "foreign eight-legged essay", and became new tools for the art of government." (50)

Lu Xun was a forthright critic of the foreign-eight-legged essay, in particular its dogmatism.

"A clean sweep should be made of all eight-legged essays, whether old or new..... For instance it is also a kind of eight-legged essay if all one can do is.... merely copy old formulas and apply them indiscriminately to every fact, instead of specifically and concretely using formulas derived from science to interpret facts and phenomena which emerge today." (51)

In 1942, Mao Zedong wrote his celebrated essay denouncing the "party eight-legged essay", which he regarded as a development of the foreign eight-legged essay. (52) During recent years as part of a critique of Confucianism, much has been made of the close relationship between the old eight-legged essay and its modern variations. (53)

It has been widely accepted that the Chinese intellectual tradition had a largely negative influence on scientific development, particularly since the linking up of the official examinations with education during the Tang. The "debating" form of intellectual activity which can lead to scientific discovery, was dominant in China during the Warring States period but later gave way to a more dull and uncreative form of scientific activity based on the recording of observations rather than the analysing of them. However the tradition of "debating" was maintained in the West where "the prevalence of

disputation in medieval intellectual life led to the continued development of logical analysis and also stimulated thought into anti-traditional channels."⁽⁵⁴⁾ Russell, who visited China in 1920-21, felt, unlike Wu and many of his contemporaries, a nostalgia for China's spiritual past, but he still recognised that China was greatly lacking in modern scientific education. He wrote that "Chinese education produced stability and art, it failed to produce progress and science."⁽⁵⁵⁾ Sun Yat-sen in a speech claimed that what China lacked was science, not politics and philosophy and he urged that students going abroad should be restricted to those doing scientific and technological subjects.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Wu Zhihui, especially before he became closely associated with the Guomindang, had little time for China's spiritual heritage. He wrote in 1908 that,

"the only education that deserves the name is in the physical, chemical and mechanical sciences and industries, for these pursuits can constantly press for new theories and inventions, creating the happiness of mankind and bringing about the progress of the world."⁽⁵⁷⁾

In 1924, at a time when his nationalism was re-emerging, Wu wrote to Cai Yuanpei that although to a "certain extent" he could agree with those who said that in ideas and morality the Chinese were not weaker than other nations, he insisted that in science and technology they certainly were. Science was the most important but technology had to be stressed as well because he feared that because industry had been "out of harmony with the atmosphere in our country during the last two thousand years", even those who advocated science still had the old habits and easily fell into metaphysical discussion. He praised Cai for the example he had set in sending his son to study technology.⁽⁵⁸⁾ The separation of scholar from artisan, of student from practical

work was a deeply engrained characteristic of the old education and Wu's view was that unless this division of labour was ended, science could not advance as it should.

"Amongst the youth there must be a knowledge of the simplest principles of tools. Only then can China advance to making her own machines, to industrialism, to the so-called scientific education. The scientific education has to be related to practical tasks, otherwise it just becomes like the old education."(59)

Marxists and anarchists alike have deplored the results of the social division of labour, a division which Adam Smith⁽⁶⁰⁾ regarded as natural and vital for the development of the productive forces.

Anarchists held that not only was the division of labour a cause of gross inequality, making some men rulers and others mere "appendages of machines",⁽⁶¹⁾ but, as Kropotkin wrote, it also hampered scientific development and human progress.

"On the one side, we have men who are endowed with capabilities for invention, but have neither the necessary scientific knowledge nor the means for experimenting during long years; and on the other side, we have men endowed with knowledge and facilities for experimenting, but devoid of inventive genius, owing to their education, too abstract, too scholastic, too bookish...."(62)

The "flight of genius", which workers had at the beginning of modern industry, was missing in modern scientists. The latter would not recover it, Kropotkin went on, "as long as they remained strangers to the world, amidst their dusty bookshelves; as long as they were not workers themselves."⁽⁶³⁾ In order to erode the division of labour which divided the consumers from the producers, those who worked with their minds from those who did physical work, there had to be, he argued, changes in education.⁽⁶⁴⁾

"Instead of.... the maintenance of the present division between brain work and manual, we advocate the education integrale or complete education, which means the disappearance of that pernicious distinction."(65)

Wu echoed Kropotkin's words⁽⁶⁶⁾ when to emphasise how important it was for scientists to be workers as well he listed many men, with little or no education, for example Watt and Stevenson, who made great inventions.⁽⁶⁷⁾ Wu's view on the integration of labour and learning are well summed up by this piece:

"Don't you know that whether it is study or work, you have to use both mind and strength in them. In study there are the principles of research and there is also practice; in work if you wish to do a good job, you must apply thought to the problem. In working with one's mind or with one's muscles, how can there be the distinction between working and studying? Work and study are inseparable. Those who do science, draw plans. Craftsmen take measurements. Study is simply the preparation for work, work is just the practical application of study. Those who study ought to work, those who work ought also to study. If this were so, how could there be the division between those who rule and those who are ruled?"(68)

This was written as part of a statement of his views on the work-study movement of which he was one of the founders. Education which helped to break down the division of labour could, through advancing science, hasten industrial development and improve the material well-being of mankind. This in turn was crucial for any improvement of human behaviour. At the same time, such an education could weaken class society which was constantly being regenerated through the division of labour from an early age.

c) Education, Nationalism and the Guomindang

In most philosophies of education it is possible to find both proximate and ultimate aims.⁽⁶⁹⁾ It is difficult to conceive of social development without stages, which means that however absolute a theory is, in practice there will emerge long term and short term objectives. The anarchist cosmopolitanism which overlaid Wu's nationalism after he went to Europe in 1903 endured into the early Republic. Given the appalling state of political life, the priority appeared to be to create the new morality which the Revolution of 1911 had failed to bring. But with the upsurge of nationalism in the early twenties, new alternatives presented themselves. The educational programmes had had little effect as a result of the continuing warlordism, but disciplined organisation, in the shape of the Guomindang, offered hope of uniting the country. Although Hu Shi, partly because of his Deweyite view of the role of the educator, abstained for a long time from participation in the party, Wu, after the reorganisation of the party in 1924, participated actively in its affairs and contributed to the formulation of its educational policy. He explained his compromise by saying that while the nation existed one had to operate on that basis and that in the field of education "if the Chinese do not take care of it, then who will take care of it for them."⁽⁷⁰⁾ On another occasion he explained his position with regard to nationalism by stating that education was spiritual food for mankind. It had to be suited to the guest and the recipe had to be kept to. He went on,

"I have always had the high ideal that education is for the whole of mankind. That cannot be disputed. But the

economic situations of different sections of mankind are very disparate. So although I have this high theory, I know that it is not the right time for the whole of mankind to have the same education..... Before the datong is arrived at, we should each go to our country and carry out to the full the evolution of that group..... Education should suit national feelings."(71)

By 1927 Wu had moved far to the right and his plans for a "revolution in education" reflected his strong anti-communism.

"I hope that we shall quickly reach the stage of compulsory university education. If we give a university education to the whole of what the Communist Party call the proletariat, in its [the proletariat's] social organisation what need would it have for any lowly Marx or common Lenin to come and make plans for it? The hope for compulsory university education is not utopian.... It just requires that the world's manufacturing production be enough to provide the schools. I estimate that compulsory university education can finally become a reality within two hundred years."(72)

His immediate aims for education were more practical, being the aims of the Three Principles of the People Education Programme; to build a strong state and to counter the rising revolution.⁽⁷³⁾ Student unrest in the universities and schools was blamed largely on the liberal educators of the previous period who had failed to exercise leadership over the students, permitting them to have democratic freedoms which endangered school discipline and caused chaos in society at large. It was claimed that in primary schools, pupils called for the expulsion of teachers and boycotted classes.⁽⁷⁴⁾ Wu commented with disapproval; "The feelings of the teachers are that they wish never to be reborn as a teacher."⁽⁷⁵⁾

One writer came up with the analysis that the problem of student unrest was caused by material factors which led them to rebel, from a mixture of economic necessity and a desire to bring

peace to the nation. The way to solve the problem was, he argued, to promote a "scientific spirit and material civilisation", (terms he credited Wu with popularizing) and thus get young people to engage in industrial development, thus improving the productive forces and bringing benefits to the people and, what was obviously equally important, keep them occupied and their minds off rebellion.⁽⁷⁶⁾ This was the essence of the function Wu and others in the Guomindang saw for scientific and industrial education, formulated many years before by Wu for quite different ends.

Footnotes

1. WZH, "quanzhihui jishi", CW.16.142.
2. Quoted in Peake, Nationalism and Education in Modern China, p. 39.
3. Keenleyside and Thomas, A History of Japanese Education, pp. 74-75.
4. WZH, "siyue riben lüguan she yu", CW.3.506-7.
5. WZH, "Diary of 1901", CW.12.664.
6. P. A. Kropotkin, "Must we occupy ourselves with an examination of the ideal system?", in M.A. Miller (ed.) Selected Writings, p. 59.
7. WZH, "da Jiang Menglin shu", CW.2.158.
8. WZH, "wuzhengfu zhi xiantian", XSJ. No. 49, p. 3.
9. WZH, "jiqi cujin datong shuo", WJHXJ, Kexue, p. 31.
10. WZH, "da Jiang Menglin shu", CW.2.158.
11. Wu Zhihui, Wang Jingwei, Li Shiceng, Chu Minyi et al., Preamble to the regulations of the Society for Frugal Study in France (Liufa jianxue hui) in Lüou jiaoyu yundong, p. 50.
12. WZH, "erbaizhao pingmin dawenti zui qingbian de jiejuéfa", CW.1.234.
13. Wang Jingwei. "Fakanci" (Opening leader) of first edition of Minde (People's Morality) Magazine, in Lüou jiaoyu yundong, p. 12.
14. Ibid., p. 13.
15. Jean Maitron, Histoire du Mouvement Anarchiste en France 1880-1914, p. 324.
16. Jean Grave, "La Panacée-révolution", Les Temps Nouveaux, No. 33 pp. 12-18. December 1896, Quoted in Maitron, Op. Cit., p. 234.
17. P. A. Kropotkin, "Paroles d'un révolte", p. 26. Quoted in Elzbacher, Anarchism, p. 177.
18. Bakunin, quoted in Feng Ziyou, shehui zhuyi yu Zhongguo, p. 32.
19. WZH, "wuzhengfu zhuyi yi jiaoyu wei geming shuo", CW.10. 1154-7.

20. Ibid., p. 1155.
21. WZH, "houzi nuole maozhua", CW.10.1144.
22. WZH, "yanshi laigao," CW.3.583.
23. WZH, "lun qianhang jun zhi "lun zhishi yiwai wu daode "bing pi zongjiao weichi daode zhi mixin," CW.10.1235-6
24. Li Shiceng, "qingong jianxue zhuanyin yan," in Lou jiaoyu yundong p. 75.
25. WZH, "jiudi zhengfa," CW.7.153.
26. WZH, "ji Jiujinshan tongren shu," CW.7.163.
27. WZH, "zhen bu na ren dang ren," CW.7.50-55.
28. WZH, "Liang jiadou," CW.3.594-5.
29. WZH, "zhi Aixin jue Luo caidian jun shu," CW.7.182.
30. Hu Bin, Op. Cit., p. 138.
31. WZH, "Liang jiadou," CW.3.594.
32. WZH, "gemingdang zhi guangrong," CW.7.257.
33. Wu Zhihui, Wang Jingwei, Li Shiceng, Chen Bijun, Zhang Jingjiang, Cai Yuanpei et al., "shijieshe zhi yiqu," 1912, in Lou jiaoyu yundong, pp. 99-100.
34. "Shijie pianyishe yiqu" in Lou jiaoyu yundong, p. 42.
35. Chow Tse-tsung, The May Fourth Movement, p. 176.
36. Chen Duxiu, Speech before the Canton Public School of Law and Politics, entitled "Critique of Socialism," in New Youth Society publ., shehui zhuyi taolunji, pp. 74-96. Quoted in Scalapino and Yu, Op. Cit., p. 74.
37. Chen Duxiu, "Another answer by Chen Duxiu to Ou Shengbai," in Ibid., p. 119. Quoted in Scalapino and Yu, Op. Cit., p. 74.
38. Ou Shengbai, "Ou Shengbai's Answer to Chen Duxiu," in Ibid. p. 119 quoted in Scalapino and Yu, Op. Cit., p. 75.
39. WZH, "xuewen biaojun qijidu shuo," CW.3.646.
40. WZH, "can tongbao cujinhua zei si," CW.7.213.

41. WZH, "jinyu," CW.3.568-9.
42. WZH, "zhongguo zhi fubaibing," CW.3.545.
43. WZH, "nongdao xiyang ye bu nan dan kan riben wuhu," CW.18.1218.
44. WZH, "qishinian qian de riben guan bushi shitan," CW.18.1095.
45. WZH, "Tangshan Jiaotong Daxue biyesheng jinian tekan xu," CW. 4.425.
46. WZH, "tan zhongguo jiaoyu fubai jidai gailiang," CW.3.696.
47. WZH, "Liang Siseng jiangyan lu, xu," CW.1.96.
48. WZH, "tanhua," CW.2.438.
49. Wang Jingwei, "shuo jianxue," in Lilou jiaoyu yundong, pp. 32-35.
50. Shu Xincheng, jindai zhongguo jiaoyushi gao xuancun, pp. 176-177.
51. Lu Xu, hui Zhu Xiuxia xin, appended to Toudi.
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55. B. Russell, On Education, p. 40.
56. Sun Yat-sen, Speech on nationalism. Recorded in WZH, "zuijin duiyu daxue weiyuanhui zhi tian," CW.3.672-3.
57. WZH, "da renshu...jiaoyu....geming," in WZH, Wu Zhihui xueshu lunzhu, p. 237.
58. WZH, "fu Cai Jiemin shu," CW.5.431.
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62. P. A. Kropotkin, "Fields, Factories and Workshops", in C. Ward (ed.) Fields, Factories and Workshops Tomorrow, p. 185.
63. Ibid., p. 185.
64. Osuki Sakae, Op. Cit., p. 297.
65. Kropotkin, "Fields...", p. 172.
66. Ibid., p. 183.
67. WZH, "tanhua," CW.2.367.
68. WZH, "qingong jianxue zhuanshu hou," CW.4.423.
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70. WZH, "erbaizhao pingmin dawenti zuiqingbian de jiejuafa," CW.5.2241.
71. WZH, "Chen Lifu zhu" Zhongguo jiaoyu gaige zhi yujing "xu," in WJHXJ xuba, pp. 25-26.
72. WZH, "dule Wang xiansheng" fengong yihou "de aoyan," CW.9.841-2.
73. Chen Qitian, zuijin sanshi nian zhongguo jiaoyu shi, p. 205, and John Dewey, Lectures in China, "Introduction", p. 26.
74. Shu Xincheng, "jindai zhongguo jiaoyu sixiang shi", pp. 251-253.
75. WZH, Letter to Chen Dewei over the student troubles in the Shanghai Datong School, Wu Zhihui quanji, Vol. 19, p. 172. Quoted in Ibid., p. 253.
76. Shu Xincheng, jindai zhongguo jiaoyu sixiang shi, p. 255.

CHAPTER 7

EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE

a) The Japanese Model

The first clause of the constitution of the Patriotic School, founded by Wu Zhihui and others in 1903, declared that the school took as its model the educational work done in Japan by Yoshida Kumaji.⁽¹⁾ Professor at the Higher Normal School in Tokyo, he had earlier studied at Berlin University and was a follower of German pedagogy.⁽²⁾ As Yoshida himself has written, from the 1860's onwards there was in Japan a wholesale imitation of Germany in many fields of government and culture. With the adoption of a constitution and a system of local government based on those of Germany, education likewise came to follow the German pattern.⁽³⁾ The use by Prussia and Meiji Japan of popular education as an instrument of policy in their state-building,⁽⁴⁾ was greatly admired by Chinese educators like Wu. In 1900, he called for universal primary education as in Germany.⁽⁵⁾ The immediate model for reform in China however was Japan and a Japanese was employed at the Nanyang Gongxue in Shanghai, where Wu taught from 1898 to 1901, to translate Japanese books and teach his language.⁽⁶⁾ Wu praised the Japanese style of teaching which did not restrict itself to lifeless textbook recitation. He disliked the method of teacher and students sitting facing each other, each with a textbook, for in his experience after half-an-hour the students fell asleep. He contrasted that situation with the

dynamic methods of Japanese teachers who stood all through the lesson, explaining things with hand gestures and writing key passages on the blackboard.⁽⁷⁾

b) Military Education

The success of Prussian militarism, the blood and iron policy of Bismarck, in uniting Germany and the growing might of Japan through similar methods, left a deep impression in China.⁽⁸⁾ An important part of Japan's new education was a strong emphasis on military training. Before the Meiji Restoration there had been, it is true, a strong militaristic samurai tradition, but immediately after the Restoration, the Japanese had tended to neglect physical education. However, after about 1860, a system of gymnastics based mainly on the German model was taught to pupils and, as a Japanese wrote in 1907, just as in the old days the samurai practiced martial arts, "now everybody was liable to military service, it was deemed proper that military gymnastics and drill should be taught in schools."⁽⁹⁾

Chinese intellectuals had traditionally despised soldiering, an attitude well illustrated by the saying "good iron isn't beaten into nails, good Hans do not become soldiers." During the period of Self Strengthening, attempts had been made to modernise China's armed forces, to train people who could lead the new armies. But this was different from attempts after 1894 to build a "military nation" (jun guomin) through encouraging the general population, in particular school students, to do military drill. Liang Qichao, writing in 1903,

attributed the success of Sparta, Germany and Japan to their having military training in their primary schools.⁽¹⁰⁾ In 1897, while in Tientsin, Wu wrote that "the reason why China is weak and her scholars ineffectual, is that the bodies of the Chinese are weak," and suggested that schools should adopt military drill.⁽¹¹⁾ As a teacher at the Nanyang Gongxue, Wu actively promoted physical exercises which included military drill. In 1899, in instructions to pupils, he called on them to work conscientiously at their exercises in preparation for a competition with St. John's College. He announced that martial music had been prepared for the event and stressed that military drill was the basis of all other exercises, for it produced in people "a resolute and serious spirit;"

"Only if you can endure the cold and discipline of military drill, can you become truly hard and fierce, truly strong."⁽¹²⁾

A contemporary newspaper report on graduation day at the Nanyang Gongxue gave a good picture of its militaristic ethos.

"One of the most interesting features of the programme was military drill on the campus. The cadets were all dressed in neat uniforms of modern cut and performed their evolutions with remarkable precision. A large and well trained drum and fife corps added to the zest of the drill and presented a natty appearance in brown uniforms and cockaded hats."⁽¹³⁾

Dr. Ferguson, President of the school, commenting on the scene, remarked that the simplest way to introduce modern sports into China and to overcome the Chinese students' "traditional sedative habits" was to give them military drill.⁽¹⁴⁾ An indication of Wu's enthusiasm of military training is provided by an incident in 1900, during the Boxer crisis. With the arrival of Niu Tisheng, an old friend of Wu's,

and Chen Lengxue from a military school to teach at the Nanyang Gongxue, Wu wanted to give rifles to the students and drill them in order to build a "military nation," but the Manager of the school, He Meisheng, a strong advocate of neutrality for South China during the rebellion, refused him permission to do so and Wu resigned the post of Supervisor of Studies and returned to pure teaching. (15)

At the Patriotic School in 1903, Wu and his colleagues set great store by military drill and physical exercises. An article in the school's organ, the Subao, explained the need for a military spirit;

"My dear gentlemen. Do you know the reason for the strength of all the Western powers and Japan in Asia? Their strength lies in the fact that everybody does military drill, everybody can use weapons. They have a dignified, militant and active manner which fills those who see them with awe. Their spirit is robust, their soul is vigorous. So when they plan some thing, they carry it out thoroughly. Gentlemen. Do you know why the Chinese are weak? If you look closely at the Chinese people, you will observe that they all have bent necks and never walk quickly. They limp around and never advance, as if deeply hurt. Their spirit lies hidden as ghosts..... Our motherland with many thousand years of civilisation is portrayed around the world as the sick man of Asia. If we want a strong country, we must first strengthen our bodies and if we wish to strengthen our bodies we must first do military drill." (16)

In the summer of 1903, Wu organised what he has described as China's first athletics meeting and it drew not less than ten thousand spectators. (17) Earlier that year, the China Educational Association, wishing to establish a physical exercise section to "discipline the body of the nation," held a meeting at which Wu made a speech calling on those present to sign up for the section and over one hundred did so. (18) With the influx of students who had resigned from the Nanking Military Academy, military training at the Patriotic School was

enhanced considerably. Wu himself personally went to the Military Academy to encourage the students in their struggle against the authorities.⁽¹⁹⁾ His efforts bore fruit, most significantly in the arrival at the Patriotic School of Zhang Shizhao. Having done military training at Nanking, Zhang was appointed physical exercise teacher with responsibility for military drill.⁽²⁰⁾ The school was a centre of opposition to the Qing regime and such military activities had clear revolutionary implications. Zhang Daqu, who was a student there, has written;

"At that time we made propaganda for revolution and militarism and everybody had to be a soldier, every day we had to do drill. The Patriotic School so much emphasised this form of activity, that formal classroom lessons were very few."⁽²¹⁾

c) Democratic Education

In Wu Zhihui's work at the Nanyang Gongxue and most strikingly at the Patriotic School, there can be seen certain democratic and libertarian tendencies which contrasted sharply with traditional school discipline in China. The Nanyang Gongxue, despite the modern aspects of its curriculum, was a most conservative institution, founded by Sheng Xuanhuai and supervised by Sheng's close associate John Ferguson, who by all accounts was a man who disapproved of the new political ideas which were rapidly gaining a hold on the students.⁽²²⁾ This radicalisation came to a head in 1902 with the mass walkout of two hundred students.⁽²³⁾ They were not without the support of a few teachers, amongst them Cai Yuanpei.⁽²⁴⁾ Cai had worked as

Supervisor at the Sino-Western in Shaoxing, but resigned in 1900, after a row over his introduction of "new ideas," and left to take up a post at the Nanyang Gongxue, where he permitted students to freely read what they wished. Wu, who met Cai for the first time at the school, ⁽²⁵⁾ came to share his progressive approach to teaching.

In his role of Dean of Studies at the Nanyang Gongxue, Wu was responsible for discipline amongst the students; but the way in which he urged them to obey the school rules showed a markedly democratic approach. He appealed to their nationalism, urging them to protect school property because it was the public property of China. ⁽²⁶⁾ He called on the students to express themselves freely, adding that in the marking of their essays he would not discriminate against views different from his own, for "depriving others of the freedom of speech is most contrary to justice." ⁽²⁷⁾ A slogan he was fond of using was "when there is a dispute between teacher and pupil, I support the pupil." ⁽²⁸⁾ Wu worked for an end to the traditional teacher-student relationship and wrote that although teacher and student had different titles, they should nonetheless try to create a school in which all worked together. ⁽²⁹⁾ At the beginning of 1901, he called for joint staff-student management of the school. Predictably, the proposal was unacceptable to the headmaster, Zhang Jusheng, Wu resigned and went to study in Japan. ⁽³⁰⁾

Wu has recalled that such ideas of equality of status for teacher and student had little chance of being accepted at that time; but he pointed out that not long afterwards, he was able to translate these ideas into reality at the Patriotic School. ⁽³¹⁾ Throughout 1902

and 1903, school students rebelled against the severe discipline imposed on them. The students of the Nanyang Gongxue, who finally quit the school and prompted Wu, Cai and others to open the Patriotic School, had accused the headmaster of suppressing their freedom of speech and asked how, they, as citizens, could be expected to endure such "slavish education." They resigned en bloc and their desire for a "republican school," that is one run on democratic lines, was fulfilled by the founding of the Patriotic School.⁽³²⁾ In this school, largely conceived of and organised by himself,⁽³³⁾ Wu had for the first time a free hand to conduct bold educational experiments.

When the school first opened, there was a shortage of suitable teachers and so a dozen or so senior students were chosen to spend half their time helping to teach the junior students. As a result, not only were the juniors very close to these teacher/students, but the seniors also benefited greatly from the chance to teach as well as to study. Although at first a temporary measure, with the constant influx of new students, the practice was continued and became known as the "mutual aid system" (huzhu zhi)⁽³⁴⁾. In the field of administration, Wu's "self-management system" (zizhizhi), which had been rejected at the Nanyang gongxue, was now implemented.⁽³⁵⁾ Under this system, staff and students were equals, a fact which, as one veteran of the period who studied there has remarked, made it totally different from any other school in China.⁽³⁶⁾ Regardless of seniority, students were divided into about ten groups (dui), each ten strong. In each group, one student was chosen to be its leader and dealt with minor problems on the spot. If the problem could not be dealt with in this

way, it was referred to higher authorities in the school.⁽³⁷⁾ The highest executive officer of the School was the Chairman (yizhang) and below him there was a Senate (pingyihui), which discussed all important matters concerning the running of the school. Teachers were not permitted to curse the students or use harsh words with them. The only method of correction which could be employed was gentle remonstrance and persuasion. For example, if a student smoked in the classroom or came late to the dining hall, his error would be pointed out to him with reference to the appropriate clauses in the school regulations. If the student repeatedly offended, then the teachers reported the offence to the Senate, which would then decide on the matter. If the matter was trivial, the student would be admonished. If it was serious, the Chairman would then call a large meeting at which the student would be publicly reprimanded. This could happen twice, in relation to one offence, but the third time, the student was expelled from the school forthwith.⁽³⁸⁾ This system of ten man groups, group leaders and above them the Senate and Chairman, permitted the school to function efficiently, and at the same time gave students a degree of democratic control, which encouraged self-discipline and removed the need for harsh rules.⁽³⁹⁾

d) The Work Study Movement

"Europe is the centre of modern civilisation. This is generally recognised. But Europe's civilisation does not belong just to Europe. It is in fact formed by the confluence of the world's intellectual currents. Europe is just one corner of the world. Therefore Europe's civilisation is the world's civilisation."⁽⁴⁰⁾

Written in 1916 by the Sino-French Educational Association, this typifies the attitude of Chinese like Wu Zhihui who, after the Revolution of 1911 and right through the twenties, devoted great energy to organising programmes for Chinese to study and work in Europe, in particular France.

Before 1911, Wu had had considerable experience of study overseas: two periods of study in Japan and after 1903, exile in Britain and then France. His enthusiasm for study abroad can be seen from the fact that in 1902 when he returned to Japan from Guangdong he took with him a group of young students, including Hu Hanmin and Zhu Zhixin.⁽⁴¹⁾ While in Britain, Wu wrote to Chinese students in Tokyo encouraging them to come and study in Europe. Ding Wangjiang, Zhuang Wenya and Li Zuhong were among those who responded to his suggestion and came to Britain.⁽⁴²⁾ However it was not until the founding of the Republic that he was able to promote study overseas on a large scale. With the end of the monarchy, radicals had great faith in the power of modern education to create the new society.

Wang Jingwei wrote,

"The way to equalise the people's happiness is to advance their morality. Immoral happiness is not happiness. If you wish to seek the people's happiness, you cannot seek it separate from their morality. It is said, 'the advancement of the people's morality, how can it be done in a day and a night?' But if you take the intelligence of our four hundred millions and add to that several decades of world civilisation, surely there will be the young shoots of morality?"⁽⁴³⁾

This desire that China should develop as a result of, as it were, plugging into European or "world" civilisation, is reiterated in this declaration:

"The result of spreading the works of people like Darwin and Lamarck throughout the world would be that the principles of evolution would go deeper into people's heads, leading to a new twentieth century. Oh! How great is the power of learned principles to change society."(44)

The Chinese social environment was considered inimical to the new ideas. It was held that at that time China was incapable of providing the "material education," that is education in scientific, technical and other modern subjects, that was needed.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Study overseas, in particular Europe, would open up communications between China and sources of modern thought. Wu pointed out that, in addition to classroom lessons, society outside had an effect on the final results of education. Although he conceded that China had the capability of building excellent universities, it was still not yet possible to rapidly transform Chinese society and provide the students with a perfect environment. In China, he went on, students

"come into contact with phenomena such as social violence and indolence. On top of this, low places of amusement and the habit of going with friends to participate in debauchery and gambling all add a layer of difficulties which hamper the university students."(46)

Moreover, from a purely practical point of view, China was unsuitable, for even in the largest cities it was impossible to buy the necessary books and advanced scientific equipment. Nor were there, Wu wrote, any museums or scientific societies as in the West. But he did not claim that if Paris was substituted for Shanghai, Peking or Canton the environment would be perfect. But he did argue that, although there was also violence and indolence in Paris, it was not allowed to pass as natural as in China. Such aspects of society were used as negative examples in the educational process.⁽⁴⁷⁾

On his return to China in 1916, Wu had to combat the educational theories of the American sociologist John Broadus Watson, which, he claimed, had influenced the Ministry of Education to restrict study overseas. Watson had argued, Wu said, that only those over the age of twenty-five should go abroad to study and then only to do specialised research. Wu attacked these views as applied to China, making the point that such ideas of cultural self-sufficiency made no sense in China, whose scholastic level was greatly inferior to those in Europe, the U.S.A. and even Japan. Watson had, Wu wrote, exaggerated the negative aspects of study overseas and had stressed the concept of "service" (liyi) to one's nation, in order to win acceptance from the conservative scholars he had met on his visit to China. These scholars had wrongly linked the question of service to that of protecting the national essence. Terms like "independent culture," used by Watson, were totally inapplicable in the modern world. Service should relate to what was beautiful and fitting, not be restricted to one "independent" national culture. Education should serve the world. (48)

Wu held the view that the younger the children were when they left China the better, and he urged whole families to move abroad. A "chronically sick" society like China could not, he said, be transformed without several thousands of Westernised people. The best way to arrive at this, was to have parents take their children to Europe with them and let them receive a complete education, from primary school to university, away from China. Wu noted the case of Yan Fu who, having studied in Britain, on his return to China attacked the Eight Legged Essay and translated works by Darwin and Spencer. (49)

Wu's views on the value of study overseas are summed up by the following piece.

"Improvement in our life can be made in ten thousand ways and our need is not limited to academic knowledge. Only by seeking from world knowledge information on all kinds of subjects, can we create habits which make us suited for the times and permit us to survive amongst mankind. To take the whole family abroad will enable all its members to live in a reformed city of the world, enable them to remodel their habits on those of a progressive society.....Academic knowledge and facilities in our country cannot reach a satisfactory level in a short time. nor is the social environment helpful. Hence the best graduates from our schools are often not as good as an ordinary returned student."(50)

Effort was concentrated on bringing students to Europe, the "centre of modern civilisation." France was particularly favoured because of its revolutionary and libertarian tradition. A letter encouraging local authorities in China to send students to France explained that,

"the freedom of thought enjoyed by the French is the best in the world. They do not have the custom of revering officials or gentry and the traces of superstition and religion are very few."(51)

Elsewhere it was stated that France was chosen because education there had been secularised, religious lessons having been ended in 1886 and the church and state formally separated in 1907. Another reason given was that France was preeminent in many fields of learning and the fact that Darwin's theories originated from those of Lamarck was cited as evidence. (52) Moreover, France was the home of revolutionary syndicalism, the inheritor of the traditions of the Paris Commune and it was natural that Wu and his colleagues should have regarded it as the ideal environment for Chinese students.

Although in his enthusiasm for study overseas, Wu came close to writing off any hopes for education within China for some time to come, he was quick to add that he did not mean that there should be no schools in China and that everybody should travel abroad for their education. Such a view was, he said, as extreme and absurd as Watson's opinion that study abroad had little value whatsoever.⁽⁵³⁾ Study abroad was a phenomenon of a particular period and should not be seen as a permanent solution; "If in the future we want China to be a country in its own right, we must plan so that it will be possible to study in China." He concluded that study abroad could only be a solution for a tiny percentage of young people.⁽⁵⁴⁾

In 1912, Wu Zhihui, Wang Jingwei, Li Shiceng, Zhang Ji, Chu Minyi and Qi Zhushan founded the Society for Frugal Study in France (hereafter SFSF) (Liufa jianxuehui)⁽⁵⁵⁾ Although some Chinese students in Japan during the late Qing had managed to live off less than ten per cent of the income of official Chinese students,⁽⁵⁶⁾ the SFSF basically had its origins in the activities of Wu and others in Europe before 1911. In 1906, Zhang Jingjiang set up a trading company and a teashop in Paris to serve the needs of Chinese students there. In 1907, Wu with Li Shiceng and Chu Minyi organised a printing works in Paris. They all lived together, experimenting with living as frugally as possible and were able to reduce what they needed to live on by half. In 1909, Li Shiceng set up a beancurd factory in Paris, employing Chinese. A number of self-financing students came to live with the workers at the factory and managed to live off little more than forty francs a month. Experience such as this laid the foundations for the later programme.⁽⁵⁷⁾

The aims of the SFSF were stated in the preamble to its constitution;

"To reform society you must first pay special attention to education. If you want to transmit world civilisation to China, the chief policy should be to have students go to the West. But living costs and expenses for study in the West are high, so it is difficult to universalise such study. For some time now, we comrades have had plans for creating a trend towards studying under difficult conditions, in order to broaden the possibilities for study in Europe. Now the Republic is set up, we want to create a new society, a new people. This cannot be done without study abroad in the countries where the people's spirit and knowledge are the most suitable. Therefore we comrades have organised the Society for Frugal Study in France, in order to create a trend in society which esteems frugality and takes pleasure in study." (58)

Cai Yuanpei, in a speech to the SFSF elaborated on the significance of frugality, Emperor Yu ate coarse food in his palace and if somebody was drowning in the empire, it was as if he himself was drowning. Mo Zi esteemed frugality and loved others. Tolstoy, though a nobleman, worked in the fields to help his peasants. Only by being frugal, concluded Cai, could you express love for others. (59) However, other leaders of the frugal study movement held a less moralistic, more practical view of frugality. Wang Jingwei saw frugality as a means of making study cheaper, a means of making it possible for more students to come to Europe. Their ultimate aim was, he said, a world of abundance where each would take what he needed. But meanwhile, frugality was a necessary tool, but not a virtue in itself. (60) As the regulations of the SFSF laid down, its programme was to "use the frugal management of expenses as a means of extending study abroad." (61)

Reflecting its anarchist leanings, the SFSF had no chairman; tasks were allotted to a number of members. It was laid down that

students should travel to France on the Siberian railway, a route which took eighteen days and cost two hundred Yuan. In France, food would be frugal but healthy, clothes simple and convenient. Expenses for housing, board and tuition for one year were estimated as five or six hundred Yuan, which had to be found by the student. Courses were to concentrate on scientific and technological subjects and be related to practical life. It was stipulated that no attention would be paid to politics or military training. It was planned that students would do some work with their hands, which would complement their theoretical studies, and at the same time the products they made would relieve the financial pressures. Students were prohibited from visiting prostitutes, from gambling, smoking or doing anything which harmed "life or property."⁽⁶²⁾

In the Spring 1912, the SFSF set up a preparatory school in a building in Peking lent by the Minister of Education, Cai Yuanpei. Shortly afterwards, Wu Yuzhang and others founded the Sichuan Frugal Study Society and opened a preparatory school in that province. The Peking school employed a Frenchman as a teacher and in the several months before the students left for France they were given a basic introduction to the French language. Habits of diligence and frugality were developed through the students cooking and doing other practical tasks. Only about a hundred students reached France from this school, because, after the failure of the Second Revolution, the government took back the premises. The school moved, but after much police harassment finally closed. However, even after this, students such as Hua Lin made their own way to France. The moving of whole families to Europe for study also continued, a practice particularly encouraged by Wu Zhihui, who lived in exile in Britain with his wife and children until

1916. In France alone, there were altogether forty parents and children studying in this way. In 1912, Zhang Jingjiang visited France and was impressed by the frugal study programme there and thought it could be extended to Britain. On his return to China, he and Wu founded the Society for Frugal Study in Britain, which sent over twenty students to Britain, where they were generally received by Wu and his wife.⁽⁶³⁾ In 1913, Wu joined with others to found the Society for Frugal Study in the East, to encourage students to go to Japan.⁽⁶⁴⁾

Following the setting up of the SFSF, schools had to be found in France for the Chinese students. This was more economical than starting new ones for them and it also had the advantage of letting them mix with French students. What were needed were not only agricultural, industrial and other technical schools. Middle and even primary schools were all regarded as suitable for the purposes of the Society.⁽⁶⁵⁾ Between 1903 and 1906, Li Shiceng had studied at the Ecole Pratique d'Agriculture at Montargis, a small town South of Paris on the road to Lyons.⁽⁶⁶⁾ Now, working with the headmaster of this agricultural school at Montargis, Li contacted schools around Paris to find out which would take frugal study students, and if possible start special classes for them. A middle school at Montargis was the first to open its doors and middle schools at Fontainebleau, Melun and other places followed suit, as did the industrial school at Montargis. The greatest concentration of students was at Montargis where over seventy attended middle, agricultural or industrial schools. Also there were the children of families who had moved from China, who were given Chinese lessons three times a week. Speech meetings and film shows

were held for the adults. In the Spring of 1914, Wu Zhihui came from Britain to visit Montargis and with Chu Minyi addressed a large gathering. Wu was warmly welcomed by teachers from the middle school and by the headmaster of the agricultural school.⁽⁶⁷⁾ Montargis, in particular its agricultural school, greatly impressed him; so much so that he wrote an article discussing the value of such schools for China.⁽⁶⁸⁾ These contacts with Montargis were significant in view of the role the town played in housing many of the later work study students from China, particularly in the early twenties.⁽⁶⁹⁾

The gathering in the Spring of 1914 at Montargis, represented the high point of the frugal study programme.⁽⁷⁰⁾ In August, the First World War broke out. Schools closed and, fearing what the war might bring, many of the students suggested returning to China. However, Cai Yuanpei called on them not to, arguing that the war only affected Belgium and a small corner of France. He said that sheltering in parts of France away from the fighting would be no more dangerous than the journey back to China by sea. A body was set up at Montargis to organise an evacuation and with financial support from the Chinese ambassador most of the students moved to the South West of France, where schools were still open.⁽⁷¹⁾

Although after 1914 the frugal study programme declined, its leaders throughout the war and in the years immediately after, introduced a new way of educating Chinese in Europe, through a system of part study and part work which they had pioneered some years before. Before the Revolution of 1911, Wu Zhihui and Li Shiceng had employed over one hundred Chinese workers at their printing works and beancurd

factory in Paris. Attached to these enterprises, there was a Chinese Workers School in which Wu and Cai Yuanpei taught from text books edited and printed by themselves.⁽⁷²⁾ The workers, besides being taught how to write, were also introduced to simple scientific subjects.⁽⁷³⁾ Before the outbreak of the war, Wu and his colleagues had arranged for about sixty Chinese to go and work in a man-made fibre factory in Northern France. They included a number of middle school and teacher training students. There was a shortage of labour and these Chinese were welcomed by both the French unions and management. In the Spring of 1914, Wu visited the factory with Cai, Li and Chu Minyi, and wrote that he found Chinese workers' quarters clean and spacious. Their dining hall was also used as a classroom, On the wall hung blackboards and charts on biology, chemistry and physics. Every day the Chinese workers received a couple of hours of lessons from a French teacher. They also had lessons in Chinese.⁽⁷⁴⁾ Wu and the others came away convinced of the viability of a scheme under which Chinese students would finance their studies in Europe by working part of the time in factories, and in June the Society for Diligent Work and Frugal Study (hereafter SDWFS) (qingong jianxue hui) was founded in France.⁽⁷⁵⁾ Its aim was "through diligence in work and frugality in study, to advance the knowledge of those who labour."⁽⁷⁶⁾

In discussing the work study scheme, it is important to make clear at whom it was directed. Obviously there was a great difference between using it to educate illiterate Chinese workers and using it to permit Chinese intellectuals to finance their studies in France.

Contemporary sources were often unable, or thought it unimportant,

to distinguish between these two types of Chinese who became workers in French factories. However, one educational historian describes how the leaders of the scheme, having seen how the Chinese workers in France were able to study in their spare time, turned the practice around to permit students to finance their studies through factory work. But, he writes, this scheme, meaning the one for Chinese students, could not continue and it was not until after the war in 1919-20, that this part of the work study programme really flourished and came to people's attention in China. ⁽⁷⁷⁾

It was the war itself which provided the work study programme with a new role. By 1916, the mass slaughter on the battlefields of Northern France and Belgium had led to a serious shortage of labour. ⁽⁷⁸⁾ Anxious to keep up the production of munitions, French army representatives went to China in the Spring of 1916 to negotiate the mass shipment of Chinese coolie labour to France. ⁽⁷⁹⁾ After talks with the Chinese finance minister, Liang Shiyi, an agreement was made, under which a recruiting bureau called the Huimin Company was established. China was at that stage neutral and although officials participated in the recruitment, it was conducted as a purely commercial enterprise. It was planned that the Huimin Company would initially recruit 60,000 Chinese coolies, earning itself forty Yuan per head. This would produce, Wu claimed, a clear profit of two million Yuan. In August, after a delay caused by the overthrow of Yuan Shikai, the first batch of 1700 workers arrived at Marseilles. ⁽⁸⁰⁾ Attempts by the company to recruit in Guangdong failed when the harsh treatment of recruited workers led to violent protests by local people and the banning of the

company's activities there by the governor of the province.⁽⁸¹⁾

Despite such setbacks, during the war about 200,000 Chinese labourers, mostly from North China, in particular Shandong, were transported to France, where, according to one account, rather few went to factories. Many were sent to the front to dig trenches and at least ten thousand died under fire.⁽⁸²⁾

With a deal already made between French military authorities and certain officials in China, the leaders of the work study programme, fearing that the Chinese labourers would be exploited as they had been in South Africa and the United States, intervened to try and set up a reformed code for the recruitment and employment of Chinese labour.⁽⁸³⁾

Wu has written that the British press was quick to criticise the French for introducing "uncivilised" coolies into Europe, and he and his colleagues were concerned lest the wrong type of workers were recruited and spent their leisure hours in France gambling and smoking opium, thus arousing the contempt of the Europeans.⁽⁸⁴⁾ Fortunately, the French Ministry of Labour objected to the army interfering in the recruitment of workers, which it regarded as a purely civil affair, and, after negotiations with Li Shiceng, a new recruitment scheme, operated by the Frugal Study Society and parallel to the one run by the Huimin Company, was established. The conditions of the new scheme, insisted upon by Li were:-

1. Same wages as French workers.
2. Workers selected should not have "bad habits."
3. The travel and wages should be arranged between the French employer and the Chinese worker directly and not using the recruiter as intermediary.
4. The French employer should undertake to provide education for the Chinese workers.⁽⁸⁵⁾

A contemporary article was quick to point out that this scheme was a great improvement on that of the Huimin Company, under which Chinese workers had worse conditions than French workers,⁽⁸⁶⁾ earning only 50% of the French wage.⁽⁸⁷⁾ Moreover, the SFSF, unlike the Huimin company, which actually handled the wages for the workers, was entirely non-profit making and left the worker to deal freely with his employer on matters such as wages and accommodation.⁽⁸⁸⁾ Li Guangan was sent by the SFSF to Yunnan and Guangxi, where he enlisted the help of the education authorities in recruiting in the villages; and during August and September, 1916, 5000 workers arrived in France from this source.⁽⁸⁹⁾ According to Wu, 50-60% went to armament factories, The rest were distributed to other factories and farms around France.⁽⁹⁰⁾ The Ministry of Labour and the SFSF planned to bring 50,000 workers to France, but there is no evidence that this figure was reached. During the war years, those workers recruited by the French army in conjunction with the Huimin Company and later, when China entered the war, the Chinese government, greatly outnumbered those recruited by the work study movement.

In June 1916, the movement threw up a new organisation, the Sino-French Educational Association (hereafter SFEA) (huafa jiaoyu hui), composed of the Chinese leaders of the movement, such as Wu Zhihui, and an impressive assortment of French academics, writers, newspaper owners and representatives of French commerce.⁽⁹¹⁾ Although it saw for itself a broad educational role, furthering the exchange of ideas and students between China and France, its immediate task was "to develop economic relations between China and France and help to advance

the organisation of Chinese workers to go to France." This was to be conducted on the basis of the French Republic's principles of "equality and justice."⁽⁹²⁾

The China branch of the SFEA was based in Peking and there were sub-branches in Guangdong and Shanghai.⁽⁹³⁾ Supported by the French government, which provided a building and ten thousand francs a year, the SFEA set up a Chinese Workers' School in Paris. The school, which taught Chinese and French as well as scientific subjects and trade union organisation, was intended to give a basic education to a number of Chinese workers who would then be sent to the various factories to act as interpreters and, after work, as teachers for the Chinese workers.⁽⁹⁴⁾

The Association of Chinese Workers in France (lǚfa huagong gonghui), modelled on the French Syndicat (according to its constitution) was founded in Paris, as was the Co-operative Society for Chinese in France (lǚfa huagiao xieshe), likewise based on a French model, the Société Cooperative. Any profit made in the process of buying goods for members of the co-operative society was used to buy books, set up schools, reading rooms and clubs.⁽⁹⁵⁾

Having suffered casualties of about three million, post-war France continued to have a labour shortage.⁽⁹⁶⁾ In addition, the Saarland had been seized from Germany and this boosted industrial activity and the need for labour. Many Chinese were able to find work and there were three hundred in the Billancourt district of Paris alone. Factories such as Renault welcomed the Chinese workers.⁽⁹⁷⁾ However, the work study movement now turned away from recruiting

Chinese peasants and workers and concentrated on bringing students from China to finance their studies through working in factories. After the war, the SDWFS opened over ten preparatory schools in Peking, Tientsin, Baoding, Changxindian and other places in China.⁽⁹⁸⁾ By the end of 1919, more than 150 such students had reached France and another 60 were on their way. By 1920, there were over one thousand in France and at least two-thirds of them went straight to factories.⁽⁹⁹⁾ Problems however soon arose because many of the students objected to doing the menial tasks they were offered. Zhou Enlai quit the Renault plant because of bad work conditions. An exception was Li Lisan who stuck at his job.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ Sometimes, students worked during the day and studied in the evening or else they worked for several months, then studied for a period on the earnings; but invariably they had to work longer hours than they studied.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ From 1920 onwards, with unemployment in France rising as the economy stagnated, Chinese students, because of their lack of skills and their language problems, could not compete with French workers and by 1921, Chinese students in France without any means of support numbered 1,700.⁽¹⁰²⁾ The premises of the SFEA in Paris became overcrowded and tents had to be erected outside to house the overflow. Many became weak from lack of food and within two years sixty-one died from sickness, often consumption. Others died by misadventure, like three who were poisoned by fungi they found in the woods.⁽¹⁰³⁾ Visits by Wu Zhihui and Li Shiceng to China in 1920 to raise funds were unsuccessful⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ and in 1921 the SFEA formally announced it was no longer responsible for the work study students.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Wu co-operated with the Chinese embassy to ensure that in future only students with sufficient funds were permitted

to come to France.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ Such action amounted to a recognition of the failure of work study in France.

Already, new political tendencies were emerging in the students ranks. After representations to the Chinese embassy over problems faced by students had yielded no results, the leading organisation of Chinese students in France, the Work Study Mutual Aid Group, in February 1921 organised a demonstration outside the embassy calling for the "right to eat, work and study." Violence broke out and the police dispersed the demonstration. Before this incident, at meetings of the Mutual Aid Group, Marxists such as Cai Hesen, Li Wei-han and Li Fuqun had made speeches attacking anarchist members. A total rift opened up between anarchist and Marxists; the Mutual Aid Group, now dominated by the latter faction, changed its name to the Work Study World Association and its membership rose to over three thousand.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

The most serious incident occurred in late 1921 at the Sino-French University in Lyons. Largely financed by the Guangdong warlord Chen Jiongming⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ and basically a preparatory school for Chinese hoping to enter French universities, it was the brainchild of Wu Zhihui, who became its first head. In 1921, Wu selected its first group of students in Peking, Shanghai and Canton and travelled with them to France to open the new institution, which was situated in an old fort rented from the French government.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ The work study students were under the impression that the university was to be for them, and when they heard that Wu was to be its head, they were convinced that their troubles were over and many of them prepared to leave for Lyons. But just before the university was due to open,

news came that Wu was on his way from China with other students. With Wu already at Marseilles, a group of a hundred work study students led by Cai Hesen, Li Lisan, Li Weiham and Chen Yi, travelled to Lyons and occupied the fort. The next day, several hundred police with an armoured car forced their way into the fort and took the students by surprise. They were all put on a ship and deported back to China. Wu's role in all this is controversial. Though at first he wrote an article abusing the Chinese ambassador for supporting the French authorities, the continued faith of the students in him was misplaced, for he soon accepted the view that the occupation of the fort was unjustified and did nothing to stop the deportations.⁽¹¹⁰⁾ The next year, Wu returned to China and his experiment in work study in France drew to a close. Nevertheless, the Sino-French University continued, and from 1921 to 1947, when it closed down, apart from the war years, between eighty and one hundred and thirty Chinese students passed through it every year.⁽¹¹¹⁾

The movement for study in France had a significant impact, but not the one intended by Wu Zhihui and his colleagues. The early frugal study scheme, though it ran smoothly, was short-lived and reached a rather small number of people; but the subsequent work study programme had a lasting effect on Chinese political life, for from among the students it brought to France there grew a nucleus of the Chinese Communist Party as important as the first party cells back in China.

The theoretical background to Wu Zhihui's enthusiasm for work study can be found in Kropotkin's ideas on the integration of education with manual work.⁽¹¹²⁾ Wu hoped that young people would

"unite with the workers" in France and gain an ability to draw charts, make calculations and develop new tools. They would learn how to make moulds and turn out castings, to saw, plane and to assemble. (113)

As an example of the effect the movement could have on Chinese industry, he cited the case of a Chinese worker in French sugar refinery who told him that although Sichuan, his home province, produced sugar cane, it could not be refined locally. The Japanese bought it up, refined it and then sent the processed sugar back to Sichuan. The worker hoped that on his return to China he could use the skills acquired in France to transform the sugar industry in Sichuan. (114) In an interview in 1916, Wu expressed the conviction that with the manpower shortage in France, the Chinese would in many cases manage to obtain skilled work, (115) and he insisted that conditions of Chinese workers in France would be better than those under which Chinese had suffered in South Africa and the United States. (116)

The optimism expressed by Wu was shown by events to be unwarranted. Bad organisation on the part of the Chinese leaders of the movement, the unavoidable harshness of factory life compounded by adverse economic conditions, led to a profound discontentment amongst the work study students. The Marxist He Changong, who was one of them, castigates Wu, Li and other leaders of the movement for being the "running dogs of French capitalism." "Their aim was simply to nurture slaves on behalf of the French capitalists or to produce some new followers of their anarchism, to make some political capital." However, the movement, disintegrated, he claims, because its leaders were incapable of solving practical problems. (117) Li Huang, writing

recently in Taiwan, blames the economic depression in France. But both He and Li, from their different standpoints, agree that it was the rapid growth of Marxism amongst the students in France which finally split the movement apart. This new tendency, parallel to a similar one within China, fuelled and gave coherence to the discontent resulting from the economic crisis and the movement's mismanagement. Li claims that the students became pawns of the Third International,⁽¹¹⁸⁾ and though the aims of Wu Zhihui and Li Shiceng were, he says, perfectly laudable, the movement was a "hundred per-cent failure," for as a result of it "many fine youthful elements were sacrificed and moreover there were born a whole host of misfortunes for the nation." Li concludes that Wu and Li's shortsightedness was chiefly to blame.⁽¹¹⁹⁾ But there is no evidence that the Chinese communist group in France was the creation of agents from Moscow.⁽¹²⁰⁾ As He Changong writes, from the end of the First World War the work study movement had exhibited two diametrically opposed political tendencies and struggle became unavoidable.⁽¹²¹⁾

As was seen above, in 1921 a rift was already appearing in the Work Study Mutual Aid Group between anarchists and Marxists led by Cai Hesen. Cai and other Hunanese such as Cai Chang, Li Weiham and Li Fuqun were amongst the work study students at the agricultural school at Montargis. Earlier in Changsha they had with Mao Zedong organised the xinmin xuehui and now they set up a branch at their school in France.⁽¹²²⁾ The largest single group of students in France came from Hunan, about a quarter of the total. Next came those from Sichuan, about 18%,⁽¹²³⁾ among whom were Chen Yi and

Deng Xiaoping, the latter reaching France in 1920.⁽¹²⁴⁾ Soon a Socialist Youth League was set up by Chinese students in Paris. It had contact with the Central Committee of the newly founded CCP back in China and in July 1922 Zhou Enlai came from Germany and with others, including Chen Duxiu's son Chen Yannian, established the CCP's European branch.⁽¹²⁵⁾

Footnotes

1. Clause one of constitution of Patriotic School. (aiguo xueshe) Wenxian, Vol. 10, p. 361.
2. Japanese Biographical Dictionary and Whos Who. Yoshida Kumaji (b. 1874) was educated at Tokyo University. In 1901, he went to Germany where he studied at Berlin University. He returned to Japan in 1902.
3. Yoshida Kumaji, "The European and American Influences in Japanese Education," in Inazo Nitobe, Western Influences in Modern Japan, pp. 40-45.
4. Keenlyside and Thomas, History of Japanese Education, pp. 74-75.
5. WZH, "Siyue riben lǔguanshe yu," CW.3.506-507.
6. WZH, "Nanyang gongxue jishigao," CW.2.95.
7. WZH, "yanshuo xuetang jiaoshou shi," CW.2.111.
8. Shu Xincheng, jindai zhongguo jiaoyu sixiang shi, p. 113.
9. Dairoku Kikuchi, Japanese Education, p. 333.
10. Shu Xincheng, Op. Cit., pp. 113-114.
11. WZH, "beiyang zhijiao suo shi lei ji," CW.12.645.
12. WZH, "Nanyang gongxue juban ticao zhiyi shixiang," CW.2.83.
13. Shanghai Mercury, July 14, 1903. Quoted in Peake, Nationalism and Education in Modern China, p. 33.
14. Ibid., p. 33.
15. Chen Linghai, Op. Cit., pp. 19-20.
16. Subao, May 23, 1903.
17. WZH, zhilao xianhua, p. 15.
18. Subao, March 17, 1903, in Wu Xiangxiang (ed.) Reprint, p. 100.
19. "nanyang gongxue 1902 nian bake fengchao he aiguo xueshe," in Xinhai geming huiyilu (Peking), Vol. 4, p. 75.
20. Ibid., p. 73.

21. Ibid., p. 73.
22. Rankin, Early Chinese Revolutionaries, p. 62.
23. "nanyang gongxue 1902 nian....," pp. 63-77.
24. Rankin, Op. Cit., p. 63.
25. Li Shuhua, "Wu Zhihui xiansheng cong weixinpai chengwei gemingdang de jingguo," in Zhuanji wenxue, Vol. 14, No. 3, p. 36.
26. WZH, "gaoxie xuesheng ying zhong gongwu," CW.2.84.
27. WZH, "geshang ke geshu suojian xuan zhubimo wuyong you suo guji," CW.2.81.
28. WZH, zhilao xianhua, p. 11.
29. WZH, "nanyang gongxue youren zuo nimingtie pi bubi dui xuesheng yandui biji," CW.2.81.
30. WZH, zhilao xianhua, pp. 11-12.
31. WZH, "huiyi Jiang Zhujiang zhi huiyi," Dongfang zazhi, Vol. 33, No. 1, pp. 322-323.
32. Wenxian, Vol. 2, pp. 351 and 332.
33. You Deji, "Wu Zhihui xiansheng yu aiguo xueshe," in Wu Zhihui xiansheng jinianji, p. 48.
34. Ibid., p. 49.
35. Wenxian, Vol. 2, p. 351.
36. "Nanyang gongxue 1902 nian....," p. 75.
37. You Deji, Op. Cit., p. 49.
38. "Nanyang gongxue 1902 nian....," p. 75.
39. You Deji, Op. Cit., p. 49.
40. Huafa jiaoyu hui, (ed.), Lou jiaoyu yundong, p. 1.
41. Chen Linghai, Op. Cit., p. 22.
42. Li Zuhong, "liuxue shidai de Ding Wenjiang," in Duli pinglun, No. 208, July 1936, p. 12.
43. Wang Jingwei, "Fakanci," of Minde magazine, in Huafa jiaoyuhui (ed.), Op. Cit., p. 11.

44. Huafa jiaoyuhui (ed.), Op. Cit., p. 123.
45. WZH, "haiwai zhongguo daxue moyi," CW.2.125.
46. Ibid., p. 125.
47. Ibid., pp. 125-126.
48. WZH, "tanhua," CW.2.435. John Broadus Watson (1878-1958). In 1908, he was appointed professor of experimental and comparative psychology and director of the psychological laboratory at Johns Hopkins University. He is best known for his behaviourism which became dominant in the field of psychology in the U.S.A. during the 1920's.
49. Ibid., CW.2.466.
50. Ibid., CW.2.436.
51. "zhi gesheng xingzheng jiguan han," in Huafa jiaoyujui, (ed.), Op. Cit., p. 82.
52. "chuzhong falanxi jiaoyu zhi liyou," in Huafa jiaoyuhui (ed.) Op. Cit., pp. 63-64.
53. WZH, "tanhua," CW.2.435.
54. Ibid., CW.2.421.
55. "Beijing liufa jianxuehui jianzhang," in Xingningnian, Vol. 3, No. 2, p. 1.
56. He Changgong, qingong jianxue xuesheng shenghuo huiyi, p. 5.
57. Huafa jiaoyuhui, Op. Cit., pp. 49-50.
58. "Beijing liufa jianxuehui jianzhang," in Xingningnian, Vol. 3, No. 2, p. 1.
59. Cai Yuanpei, "shuo jianxuehui," in Lou zazhi, No. 24.
60. Wang Jingwei, "shuo jianxue," in Huafa jiaoyuhui, (ed.) Op. Cit., pp. 32-35.
61. Constitution of Liufa jianxuehui, in Huafa jiaoyuhui (ed.) Op. Cit., p. 51.
62. Ibid., pp. 51-54.
63. Ibid., p. 59.

64. WZH, "liudong jianxuehui yiqu shu," CW.2.199.
65. Huafa jiaoyuhui (ed.) Op. cit., pp. 65-66.
66. Li Shuhua, "Li Shiceng xiansheng jiashi ji shaonian shiqi," in Zhisang weiyuanhui, (ed.), Li Shiceng xiansheng jinianji, pp. 204-205. and Amicale des anciens élèves du Chesnoy, Lycée agricole du Chesnoy, Montargis, (ed.) Annuaire, 1973, p. 5.
67. Huafa jiaoyuhui, (ed.), Op. Cit., pp. 66-67.
68. WZH, "yu moujun shu - chuangban nongxuexiao yi," CW.2.123-124.
69. Li Huang, "liuxue faguo de shenghuo," in Zhuanji wenxue, Vol. 16, No. 5, p. 16.
70. Huafa jiaoyuhui, (ed.), Op. Cit., p. 67.
71. Ibid., p. 67.
72. He Changgong, Op. Cit., p. 6.
73. WZH, "tanhua," CW.2.357.
74. Ibid., CW.2.357.
75. Shu Xincheng, jindai zhongguo liuxue shi, p. 88.
76. Programme of lfufa qingong jianxuehui, in Jiaoyu gongbao, 4th year, No. 13, October 1917, in Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao p. 878.
77. Shu Xincheng, jindai zhongguo liuxue shi, pp. 86-88.
78. Ibid., p. 88.
79. "faguo zhaozhi huagong," Dongfang zazhi, Vol. 14, No. 2. Quoted in Shu Xincheng, jindai zhongguo liuxue shi, p. 89.
80. WZH, "tanhua," CW.2.362.
81. Ibid., CW.2.362.
82. He Changgong, Op. Cit., p. 6.
83. Huafa jiaoyuhui, (ed.), Op. Cit., p. 93.
84. WZH, "tanhua," CW.2.362-363, and Huafa jiaoyuhui, (ed.), Op. Cit., p. 93.
85. Lhou zazhi, No. 2.

86. Ibid., No. 3.
87. Huafa jiaoyuhui, (ed.), Op. Cit., p. 81.
88. Lou zazhi, No. 3.
89. "faguo zhaozhi huagong," Dongfang zazhi, Vol. 14, No. 1, in Shu Xincheng, jindai zhongguo liuxueshi, p. 89.
90. WZH, "tanhua," CW.2.363.
91. Huafa jiaoyuhui, (ed.), Op. Cit., pp. 109-110.
92. Ibid., p. 116.
93. He Changgong, Op. Cit., p. 7.
94. Lou zazhi, No. 1.
95. Huafa jiaoyuhui (ed.), Op. Cit., pp. 88-91.
96. Anhui jiaoyu yuekan, No. 24, in Shu Xincheng, jindai zhongguo liuxue shi, p. 93.
97. Li Huang, "liufa qingong jianxue de lilun yu shiji," Zhuanji wenxue, Vol. 16, No. 6, p. 27.
98. Anhui jiaoyu yuekan, No. 24, cited in Shu Xincheng, jindai zhongguo liuxue shi, p. 90.
99. Shu Xincheng, jindai zhongguo liuxue shi, p. 91.
100. Li Huang, "liufa.....de lilun yu shiji," Zhuanji wenxue, Vol. 16, No. 6, p. 28.
101. He Changgong, Op. Cit., p. 46.
102. Shu Xincheng, jindai zhongguo liuxue shi, p. 93.
103. Li Huang, "liufa.....de lilun yu shiji," Zhuanji wenxue, Vol. 16, No. 6, p. 28.
104. Ibid., p. 28.
105. Anhui jiaoyu yuekan, No. 37. Cited in Shu Xincheng, jindai zhongguo liuxueshi, p. 96.
106. He Changgong, Op. Cit., p. 60.
107. Ibid., pp. 60-61.

108. Winston Hsieh, "The Ideas and Ideals of a Warlord; Ch'en Chiung-ming," Harvard Papers on China, Vol. 16, p. 214.
109. Li Shuhua, "Wu Zhihui xiansheng yi Li-ao zhongfa daxue," in Wu Zhihui xiansheng jinianji (xuji), p. 17.
110. He Changgong, Op. Cit., pp. 63-71.
111. Li Shuhua, "Wu Zhihui xiansheng yu Li-ao zhongfa daxue," p. 18.
112. WZH, "qingong jianxue zhuanhu hou," CW.4.423.
113. WZH, "tanhua," CW.2.365.
114. Ibid., CW.2.366.
115. Ibid., CW.2.365.
116. Ibid., CW.2.328.
117. He Changgong, Op. Cit., p. 18.
118. Li Huang, "liufa.....de lilun yu shiji," Zhuanji wenxue, Vol. 16, No. 6, p. 29.
119. Ibid., pp. 21 and 29.
120. Conrad Brandt, The French Returned Elite in the Chinese Communist Party, p. 1.
121. He Changgong, Op. Cit., p. 18.
122. Brandt, Op. Cit., p. 4.
123. Ibid., p. 5 and Wang, Chinese Intellectuals and the West, p. 160.
124. Li Huang, "liufa de lilun yu shiji," Zhuanji wenxue, Vol. 16, No. 6, p. 26.
125. He Changgong, Op. Cit., pp. 72-74.

CONCLUSION

Wu Zhihui's long life spanned a period of intense and rapid intellectual ferment and change in China. In the space of two generations, modes of thought rooted in the incrustation of traditions accumulated over thousands of years were questioned, attacked and in many cases demolished. Wu played no small part in this cultural revolution. But what is striking about the development of his thought is his tardy arrival at the vanguard of intellectual change, and then, after a relatively brief phase of leftist radicalism, his gradual but steady drift back to ultra-conservatism.

It is unremarkable that Wu received an education in the Classics; of greater significance is the fact that he had absorbed the most conservative elements of this tradition: the Tongzhi Restoration ideology of Zeng Guofan, with its stress on the immutability of the Confucian hierarchy of social relationships, left Wu with a strong resistance to democratic institutional change. Though after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-5 he became keenly aware of the need for certain reforms beyond the industrial and military development promoted by the Self Strengtheners, he belonged to the right wing of the Reform Movement, with men like Zhang Zhidong. Wu's vigorous attempts in 1898 to stem the influence of concepts such as "people's rights" amongst his students in Tientsin and his scornful attacks on Kang Youwei demonstrate the extent of his conservatism.

But soon evolutionist philosophy began to undermine his resistance to political change. While in Tientsin he came into contact

with Yan Fu who was busy translating Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics* and it was evolutionism, initially that of Spencer and Huxley and later Kropotkin's reinterpretation, that became the basis of his scientific thought. In the period before dialectical materialism was popularised, there is no doubt that Darwinist evolutionary science was the most important body of Western theory to enter China. By postulating a linear concept of human progress, or by stating, as Yan Fu put it, that "the past was not as good as the present, the world advances all the time,"⁽¹⁾ it proved a powerful weapon in the hands of those who sought to refute the Confucian cyclical view of history and theory of a golden age in the past and thus to promote social change.

While in Shanghai (1898-1901) and in Japan, Wu underwent a rapid radicalisation as the political implications of Darwinist concepts such as "the struggle for survival" for a weak country such as China under the yoke of Imperialism became coupled with the democratic ideals of Western liberalism. He moved through a phase of radical reformism to a revolutionary anti-dynastic position by 1903.

Although in Europe Wu came to reject the Social Darwinist theory of struggle being inevitable and necessary within the human race, the theory of mutual aid departed neither from the mechanical materialism nor from the crude biological analogy with regard to mankind, basic to Social Darwinism. Initially, Wu accepted Huxley's agnostic position, which postulated that there existed in the universe "the unknowable", areas beyond man's comprehension. Later in the 1920's, he attempted to remedy this flaw in his materialism and created, in his monumental work, A New Belief, a detailed if

eccentric view of the universe, which sought to explain the total process of creation in scientific terms and to leave no room for the intervention of metaphysicians. Of course in 1924, when A New Belief was written, Wu felt the need to provide an alternative to Marxist dialectical materialism which had captured the Left. But his main target was still the Chinese tradition, the metaphysics of Neo-Confucianism and the cultural conservatives, who under such banners as "protect the national essence" were fighting a rearguard action against modern materialist philosophy. Wu's materialism was derivative and unoriginal. Rather his contribution to the intellectual revolution in China should be seen as that of a polemicist and popularizer. As Hu Shi has written, ⁽²⁾ he stood at the front line in the battle against the old culture, instilling into his readers an almost religious faith in science. The optimism of his scientism, as embodied in the term "the omnipotence of science", (kexue wanneng), though in retrospect naive and one-sided, was extremely important in implanting scientific notions in the Chinese intellectual world. That Wu's philosophical statements were often simplistic and propagandist reflects his conscious role of repulsing assaults of a similar nature from those who wished to resurrect the "metaphysical ghost", and to stem the tide of New Thought. Anarchism was extremely attractive to Chinese intellectuals as a "scientific" doctrine which they could use to systematize and articulate their struggle against the "superstition" which chained the minds of Chinese and so reinforced the authoritarian social order. Anarchists in Europe have been attacked in modern times for their preoccupation with the question of religion. It has been

argued that the fight against the Church and superstition was part of the largely completed bourgeois struggle against feudalism and medievalism in Europe and should now be subordinated to the new struggle of labour against capital.⁽³⁾ But the enthusiasm of

Chinese intellectuals for anarchism reflected the fact that in China the struggle was in part still strongly anti-feudal and to that extent anarchism played a valuable role in "thought liberation" in China.

Wu's scientism was optimistic because it postulated that through the development of science and thus the forces of production, Man would inevitably improve his social environment and with it human behaviour to an infinite degree. Science was the tool which would permit man to create an economic abundance, thus making the communist principle of "from each according to his ability to each according to his needs" realisable in practice. The ideal world or datong envisaged by Wu was one which would only be achieved through industrialisation, through the application of science as technology to the task of transforming society. Though today, we are acutely aware of the "limits of growth", following the second technological revolution, for Wu, living in the shadow of the great leap in man's productive capacity brought about by the world's first technological revolution, progress did indeed seem to be infinite.

But though Wu stressed in his industrialism the almost mystical force of science and technology, at times to the point of implying that it was an irreversible force which pushed society forward independent of human action, this was again a case of his overstating his position for propagandist reasons. In fact, he laid equal stress

on the role of education, of conscious knowledge in social progress and revolution. For him true knowledge was science, which in turn represented a correct understanding of the workings of evolution, of the mechanics of human development. Thus he detached concepts of good and bad from their traditional moralistic setting and equated them quite simply with that which helped or hindered evolution.

In the degree to which Wu stressed education, not just as the preparation, but as actually synonymous with revolution, he departed from the classic tenets of European anarchism. Even before 1911, while in Paris, he described revolution, in its most general sense, as the evolution of knowledge, truth and thus justice. This revolution leading to the utopia was to be a continuing or permanent one but - and this is crucial - one which, through the cultivation of man's tendency towards co-operation rather than towards struggle, would be peaceful and gradual, in contrast to "political revolution", which fought to capture state power from another class or grouping and thus was based on self-interest. Though it professed to belong to the European anarcho-syndicalist tradition, Wu's magazine *Labour*, published in 1918, in fact distorted it by stressing almost exclusively the importance of educating the Chinese working class, while neglecting the role of militant action against capital in the raising of class consciousness amongst the workers. More than this, though Wu clearly looked towards workers control of the means of production, he persisted in the romantic view that somehow, faced with workers organised into unions, the capitalists would accede to their demands without a fight. The preoccupation of Wu and the *Labour* magazine

was not to exacerbate class struggle but on the contrary to mediate it and avoid the "catastrophe of the splitting of skins."

Although in 1918 Wu applied his theory of revolution through education, gradual conversion and persuasion to the immediate concrete problems of relations between capital and labour to produce an utterly reformist policy, in the years before 1911 this theory stood merely as a statement of the long term future of mankind. In confounding the words revolution and evolution, Wu was expressing his generalised view of revolution as the incremental steps of human improvement which go to make the totality of progress, and in this early period should be clearly distinguished from his other definition of revolution as the removal, by force if necessary, of obstacles to evolution.

This brings us to the problem of support by Wu and the Paris anarchists for the revolutionary movement before 1911, and what is most significant, their membership of and role within the Tongmenghui. The role of the New Century anarchists certainly had its negative aspects. Their desire, based on their anarchist principles, for a weakening of central control over revolutionary activities within China was damaging to the Tongmenghui which desperately needed better planning from its headquarters in Tokyo and stronger discipline amongst its several constituent groups. Moreover, the anarchists' emphasis on political assassination distracted energies from the main tasks of the struggle and served to isolate the elitist revolutionary movement still further from the ordinary people.

But it would be entirely wrong to take these negative aspects

as the heart of a critique of the Paris anarchists. Contemporary Peking historians have tended to do this, to neglect to look, as the Chinese put it, beyond the phenomenon and to see whether in practice they acted in accordance with the anarchist principles to which they claimed allegiance. The evidence simply does not support the argument that with his growth of interest in anarchism, Wu Zhihui "became cool towards the republican revolution."⁽⁴⁾

Support for an anti-monarchical struggle was clearly compatible with an anarchist position. However, the Tongmenghui sought not only to overthrow the dynasty but also included in its programme the establishment of a republic. Certain groups affiliated to the Tongmenghui did not support its whole programme. This is true of Zhang Binglin and the Guangfuhui which supported only the first Principle of the Tongmenghui's objectives, that of Nationalism, purely the anti-Manchu struggle. The New Century group did not give unequivocal support to the Tongmenghui, it is true. From its anarchist standpoint, it constantly attacked concepts such as "rights" and "duties" associated with bourgeois state theory and exposed the repression which continued even in the most enlightened political order such as France. But this was part of the Paris anarchists' complex and indeed contradictory revolutionary position. It is incorrect to argue, as has Gasster, that "Wu and other New Century writers concerned themselves almost exclusively with promoting the doctrines of science and anarchism" and that "though they found some immediate common interests with elements in the movement, such as the desire to overthrow the Manchus..... these were not interests that were central to them."⁽⁵⁾ I would not go so far as to claim the

total opposite, that before 1911 the nationalist, republican goal was central to Wu's political outlook, (though later it certainly did become so), but would argue that his commitment to that goal was at least equal to that he made to anarchism. Not only did the Paris anarchists play a significant part in the propaganda battle against both the monarchy and those, such as the Constitutionalists, who sought to reform and not to abolish it, but they also provided, theoretically as well as in practice, support for the establishment of a Chinese republic. They pledged support for "political revolution", as represented by the French Revolution, or the Tongmenghui programme, as a step, a "transitional period," leading towards the more complete anarchist "social revolution." Using their evolutionist relativism, they claimed that nationalism and republicanism were not diametrically opposed to, but as ideologies simply less advanced, than anarchism. Through this intellectual contortion, they could argue, as did Wu Zhihui, that a gradual process of education-centred reform following the establishment of a republic, the coercive aspects of government would be replaced by its free, federative aspects, for government was, Wu insisted, not just "an organ for the strong to control the weak," but also "an organ for co-operation amongst the people." As I shall argue in more detail below, it was inconceivable for a Chinese progressive of that period not to have been moved to fight for nationalist goals, which included the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of a republic, as a first step to creating a political order capable of halting China's drift towards a colonial status. But the New Century anarchists went further than that and openly and systematically distorted the

anarchism they found in Europe in their application of it to the Chinese situation. It was not that they had one level of commitment to anarchist social revolution and another, quite separate, to the republican one. They in fact combined the two goals, creating a theory of distinct stages in the progress towards the ultimate goals and moreover envisaged a role for anarchist ideas during the republican revolution and immediately after. They hoped to spread anarchism (as they interpreted it) throughout the revolutionary movement, so as to inject into the struggle vistas of revolutionary development beyond the limited goals of the Tongmenghui. Thus, on completion of the republican revolution, which amounted to the "first year of the new century anarchist revolution," they hoped to ensure that there would be no loss of revolutionary momentum and that progress in the social revolution would continue.

The role of the Paris anarchists as an ultra-left ginger group within the revolutionary ranks should, I believe, be assessed as a historically useful one. One of the main reasons for what is often called the failure of the 1911 Revolution, was the failure of the revolutionary movement in general to match its programme of demolishing the old political institutions with parallel work to undermine the old intellectual and social order. The anarchists, however, were acutely aware of the need for a cultural revolution to complement progress in governmental reform. They began a critique of authoritarian social institutions, such as the family, and the forms of feudal thought-control which back them up, and in so doing anticipated the iconoclasm of the later New Culture Movement. The influence of the New Century

was considerable. As a result of his connections with it, Wu Zhihui gained a reputation even among Chinese revolutionaries on the West coast of the United States.⁽⁶⁾ One can gauge the importance of the journal from the repeated attempts by the Qing government to have it closed down. Its influence on the next generation radicals should not be underestimated. The Cantonese anarchist Liu Shiwei wrote of how important the writings of Wu and others in the New Century were on his intellectual formation.⁽⁷⁾ The issues which Liu and other implacable enemies of the old culture such as Lu Xun and Chen Duxiu campaigned over, had been broached and debated ten years before by the Paris anarchists.

After 1911, Wu and his circle of comrades found it increasingly difficult to relate their anarchism in a coherent way to their desire for a strong republican China. The solution to this dilemma was to progressively demote the importance of anarchism in their political and social programme, while their nationalism became steadily more militant and more central to their ideas. Their Movement for Social Reform in the early Republic, as was often stressed, was designed basically to create cultural and attitudinal change which would ensure the proper functioning and consolidation of the Republic. Though Wu went in for political abstentionism, for instance through the Society for the Promotion of Virtue, the intention was never to undermine government by depriving it of the service of useful people. Indeed, the Society, with its several levels of commitment, left it possible for certain members to freely engage in politics. Moreover, the reason Wu and others chose abstention from politics was simply so that they could act as neutral watchdogs over the bureaucracy.

It was all for the purpose of oiling the republican state machine.

That Wu's attitude towards republican politics was becoming increasingly incompatible with his anarchism can be seen from attacks on him and other veterans by younger, more principled anarchists. His support for the proposal in 1913 that the Chinese Socialist Party should become a political party, isolated him still further from the anarchist movement and Wu admitted as much. "Having pity on the young China, I fear she will die young if we do not pass through a stage of Roman politics. So I go against my conscience."

The Work Study Movement, promoted by Wu, Li Shiceng and other anarchist of the older generation, was probably the last burst of their anarchist ideals. But these ideals foundered on the movement's poor management and also contradictions in its basic conception. The shipping of Chinese coolies to Europe during the First World War and the factory work programme for Chinese students in France after the war, were arranged in conjunction with, and in no small measure benefitted the French state and French capitalists. Though Chinese Marxist historians naturally have an axe to grind when they discuss Wu Zhihui and his comrades, both in relation to a general critique of the negative aspects of anarchism and to their subsequent reactionary political roles, they do make the valid point that whatever progressive education Chinese workers and students may have received in France, it cannot justify the exploitation they suffered.⁽⁸⁾

The failure of the Work Study Movement coincided with, and to a certain extent was the result of, the influence of Marxism around the world, following the Bolshevik Revolution. Marxism gave coherence

to the revolt of the Chinese students in France against the anarchist leaders of the movement. Chinese Nationalist historians today accuse the Third International of subverting the movement and reproach Wu Zhihui and Li Shiceng for unconsciously providing the conditions for the birth of an important section of the Chinese Communist Party. Ironically, this unforeseen and unplanned result of the Work Study programme remains one of the most positive and enduring results of the Chinese anarchist movement. Not only did Work Study bring many young Chinese into contact with Marxism in Europe, but it also left its mark on Chinese educational practice.

Despite criticism of the exploitation of Chinese workers and students who worked in France, there has also been in China since Liberation considerable praise for the movement's ideal of integrated education. In 1957, the People's Daily spelt out the significance of the movement;

"A number of leading figures of our Party and State, forty years ago went to France under the auspices of the Society for Diligent Work and Frugal Study. Diligent work and frugal study is an excellent tradition of our intellectuals. It is most necessary to continue and expand this excellent tradition." (9)

The capture of the Left in China by Marxism and the splits caused by Marxists in anarchist grouping within China along the lines of the conflict in the Work Study Movement, was matched by the development of Wu's fierce anti-communism. This stemmed from three sources; his early anarchist leanings, his nationalism and his opposition to social revolution. Wu was well aware of the historical conflict between anarchists and Marxists, between Bakunin and Marx.

The resistance he felt to "state socialism", as opposed to libertarian anarchism, was reinforced by the nature of Soviet Russia and the way Lenin treated Kropotkin. The splitting of the Work Study Movement by Marxist students provided Wu with his own personal experience of ideological and organisational struggle with Marxism and the bitterness he felt as a result of this experience was undoubtedly a major factor in the development of his anti-communism. The Left in China having been captured by Leninism, Wu found himself increasingly isolated from progressive circles and he moved naturally into the company of right wing nationalists.

By 1919 his nationalism had re-emerged to become as central to his thought as it had been in 1903, before he left for Europe. However it was part of the mainstream of progressive nationalism shared by Marxists and non-Marxists alike. Wu felt the national indignation of the May Fourth Movement and his membership of the Nationalist Party in 1924 could be viewed as the natural action of a patriot. But soon, especially after Sun Yat-sen's death, it became clear that his nationalism was of the narrowest kind and it became a strong element in his anti-communism. While not wishing in any way to play down the reactionary role of Wu and other members of the Guomindang right wing, we should consider as a factor in the growth of their anti-communism, their sense of affront and outrage at what they perceived as the arrogant interference of Soviet advisors in Chinese affairs. The undeniably close control exercised by the Comintern over the CCP, led Wu to complain that the CCP was a foreign implant, the Trojan horse of Russian domination of China. This extreme nationalism

was however closely bound up with his attitude to class struggle.

In opposing the alliance with the CCP and with Soviet Russia, Wu was opposing the social revolution which was growing within the national revolution.

Wu Zhihui is not remembered today primarily as an anarchist or a socialist. He is celebrated in Taipei with a statue and denounced in Peking for one reason: the reactionary role he played in the politics of the Chinese Republic. Wu in all sincerity justified his support for the republican movement before 1911 by arguing that through spreading anarchism amongst the revolutionaries continued progress towards socialism would be ensured after the establishment of the republic. It is eloquent testimony to the failure of anarchism as a philosophy and a plan for social change, that virtually all the intellectuals associated with the New Century in Paris ended up on the side of counter-revolution. Wu and Zhang Ji were members of the Western Hills Faction of the GMD. Wu, Zhang Jingjiang and Li Shiceng were among those who attended the special meeting of the GMD Supervisory Committee in April 1927, which set in motion the chain of events leading to the massacre of workers in Shanghai. Chu Minyi was executed in August 1946 as a "national traitor," having served as Foreign Minister in the Japanese puppet government in Nanking headed by Wang Jingwei.⁽¹⁰⁾ Wang himself was an ex-anarchist, who had worked with Wu Zhihui in 1912 to found the Society for the Promotion of Virtue.

This analysis of Wu Zhihui's life until 1927 has laid bare the basic elements of his thought and their interrelationship. By 1927,

he had articulated unequivocally the keynote of his later political ideas, a vehement anti-communism; thus his passage from the extreme left to the extreme right of Chinese politics was complete. One can dismiss Wu's claim, to his dying day, that he was still an anarchist, and say with confidence that by the mid-twenties his anarchism had been permanently shelved in favour of a commitment to nationalism, and very conservative nationalism at that. What is more, it can also be argued that at no time in his life did he totally accept the Kropotkinite anarchism he claimed to adhere to. Nationalism existed in his thought throughout, only varying in its degree of centrality to his outlook. This brings us to the question of the transmission of Western ideas to China.

Nationalism was the major force for the remaking of modern China and the motor of Wu Zhihui's political activism. The manifest inability of the Chinese intellectual tradition and old political order to provide the national strength to combat Imperialism, led Wu to seek foreign solutions to China's problems. Though initially he received his foreign ideas through translations and interpretations obtained in China, his periods of study abroad radically transformed his thought. In particular his stay in France produced in him a spectacular shift in intellectual perspective. Mannheim has written that "vertical mobility is the decisive factor in making persons uncertain and sceptical of their traditional view of the world."⁽¹¹⁾ I would like to adapt this statement and to argue that in its effect, Wu's period in Europe was similar to vertical mobility, what we could call tangential mobility, out of Chinese society and into

a radically different one. This process led to the striking intellectual transformation of Wu, who quickly adapted to the host society and took on the ideas of the social stratum he became associated with. But why did the anarchism which he assimilated so rapidly and with such enthusiasm prove to be so ephemeral and skin-deep? We must look to the nature of nationalism, and different nationalisms, for an answer.

The growth of anarchism in Europe during the last century was in direct response to the consolidation of the industrial nation-states. It was a revolt against the unprecedented concentration of power in the hands of government and against the militaristic ideology these developments spawned. Nationalism was harnessed to oppression and enslavement. But at the height of Imperialism at the beginning of this century, when Wu Zhihui first came to anarchism, modern nationalism was only just emerging in China, and as a progressive force. Coming from a society that was a victim rather than an agent of Imperialism, Wu retained a strong nationalist drive which insisted that, before any anarchist utopia or socialist revolution could be entertained, a strong nation-state had to be constructed which would permit the Chinese to achieve a certain equivalence with and independence from the Great Powers.

The experience of modern China has been that during the assimilation of foreign ideas, there inevitably occurred a process of either distortion or adaptation. In the case of Marxism we see the latter; a long but ultimately extremely successful transformation of political practice to suit objective local conditions. In particular,

Lenin's theories on the National Question permitted in China a convenient harmonisation of socialist and nationalist goals. This was, however, not possible in the case of anarchism. Even in Europe, anarchism offered few practical guides to political action. In many cases it led to pessimism and desperate individual acts of violence or to hybrid movements such as anarcho-syndicalism. Finally during the First World War, the anarchist movement in Europe split over the very question being discussed in this study, nationalism and the relationship of anarchists to nation-states, and was eclipsed by Marxism. When introduced to the Chinese context, it was, I believe, inevitable that anarchism became distorted and finally submerged by nationalism, with which it could co-exist only by qualifying, if not negating its major intellectual appeal, uncompromising opposition to all government. (12)

Footnotes

1. Yan Fu, "zhuke pingyi," quoted in Yang Rongguo, jianming zhongguo zhexueshi, p. 568.
2. Hu Shi, "kexue yu renshengguan xu," pp. 20-21, KXYRSG, vol. 1.
3. See V.I. Lenin, The Attitude of the Workers' Party to Religion," (extract) in Marx, Engels, Lenin, Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism, pp. 229-234.
4. Zhu Hezhong, "ouzhou Tongmenghui jishi," in xinhai geming huiyilu, (Peking), vol. 6, p. 18.
5. Gasster, Op. Cit., p. 186.
6. Sun Yat-sen, "zai Mei bu Jianada fan Niuyue shi zhi Wu Jingkeng gehan."(2). Guofu quanji, Vol. 5, p. 92.
The Chinese student journal in San Francisco, Shaonian Zhongguo, invited Wu to become its editor.
7. Liu Shiwei, "zaizhi Wu Zhihui shu," in Huiminglu, No. 2, p. 7.
8. He Changong, Op. Cit., p. 18.
9. "Yimian laodong, yimian dushu," Renmin ribao, June 5, 1957.
in Qingong jianxue xuexi ziliao, p. 1.
10. Boormann, Op. Cit., Vol. 1, p. 469., and J.H. Boyle, China and Japan at War, 1937-1945. The Politics of Collaboration, p. 225. Chu was Wang's brother-in-law and his appointment as Foreign Minister was a clear case of nepotism. (Boyle; pp. 279-280).
11. Mannheim, Op. Cit., p. 6.
12. P. Clifford, "La Revista "Nuevo Siglo" y la Revoluci3n de 1911. Algunos problemas para la Interpretaci3n del Anarquismo Chino," Estudios de Asia y Africa, No. 36, Jan-April, 1978, p. 60.

Appendix 1. Frontispiece done by Wu Zhihui in 1933 for a special issue of the journal Xinzhonghua, entitled "Save the Country with Motors." (Kwok, Op. Cit., p. 40.)

吳稚暉先生題詞

自 蘇 之 機 裝 而 而 世 界 一
 變 自 油 今 機 裝 而 而 世 界
 再 變 十 九 世 紀 蘇 之 機 所
 第 一 領 土 時 作 二 十 世 紀 器
 油 今 機 第 一 領 土 時 作 其 福
 蘇 摩 託 聖 哉 摩 託 稚 暉



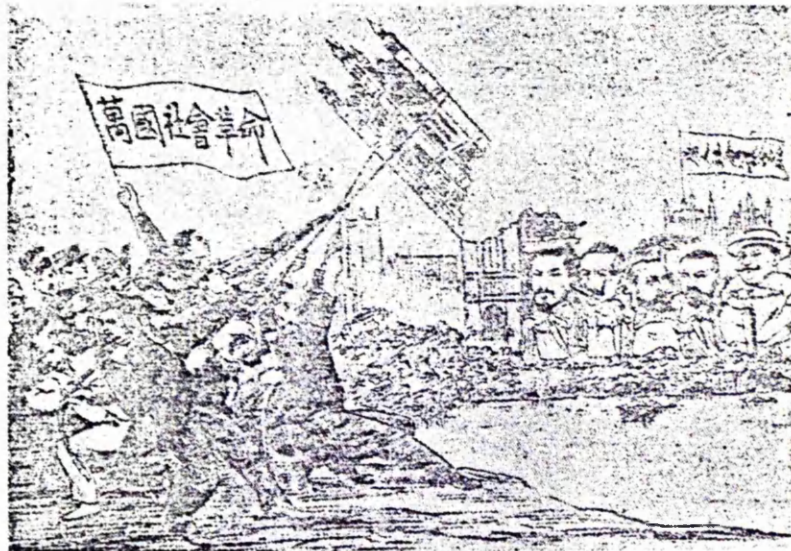
Appendix 2. Cartoons from the New Century.

(WZH, Yiyuan wei heru zhi yiwu hu. CW.10.1246-1247.)

A.



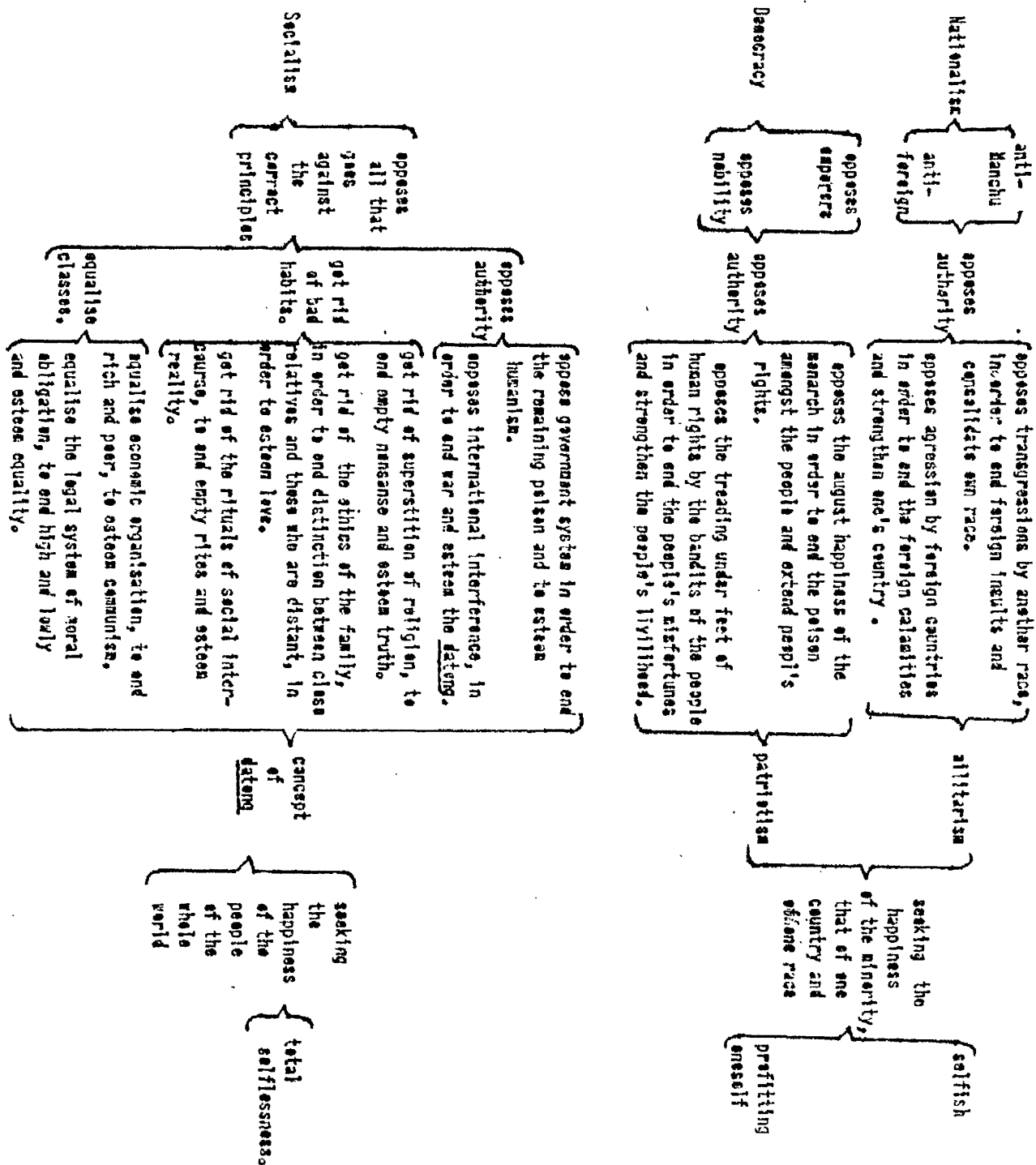
B.



In the top cartoon (A), behind the mace bearer (1), those practising or about to practise British style 'democracy' are:

2. British Labour Party member of parliament.
3. Russian Duma member.
4. Turkish assembly member.
5. Persian assembly member.
6. Future Indian assembly member.
7. Future Egyptian assembly member.
8. Future assembly member of the 'Great Tartar Country' (i.e. China).

Appendix 3. Table from the New Century comparing anarchist socialism with nationalism and democracy.
 (Chu Minyi, "Shenlun minzu.....", "XSJ.6.p.4)



Appendix 4. Cartoon from the New Century satirizing the Emperor and Empress Dowager.
 (WZH. Efu shansi. CW.7.132.)

(吊束)

帝 后 娼

養
漢
宣
淫
女
作
娼



殺
人
劫
貨
男
爲
盜

Appendix 5.

APPENDIX 5. Membership of the Jindehui. Source, Minlibao, Shanghai, Feb. 1912- Jan. 1913

Month	MEN					WOMEN				Totals men and women	
	Approv- ers	Common members	Special member group A	Ditto Group B	Ditto Group C	Total	Common members	Special member group A	Ditto group B	Total	
1912 February	-	45	21	20	7	93	-	-	-	-	93
March	-	456	139	141	28	764	56	9	8	73	837
April	1	163	52	42	7	264	29	10	-	39	303
May	-	104	37	17	3	161	16	-	-	16	177
June	-	44	15	14	1	74	7	1	-	8	82
July	1	98	52	31	4	185	3	6	-	9	194
August	-	36	28	34	7	105	-	2	1	3	108
Sept	2	50	27	6	-	83	-	2	1	3	86
Oct/Nov/Dec	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1913 January	1	12	5	10	4	31	-	1	-	1	32
Totals.	4	1008	376	315	61	1764	111	31	10	152	1916

Appendix 6. A Brief Chronology of Wu Zhihui, 1865-1953.

Wu, ming (given name) Tiao and later changed to Jingheng, zi (courtesy name) Zhihui, hao (literary name) Pei-an.

- 1865. March 28. Born, Yanghu County, Jiangsu Province.
- 1888. Passed Shengyuan examinations.
- 1891. Became Juren graduate.
- 1892.1894.1895. Three failed attempts to pass Jinshi examinations.
- 1897-1898. Taught at Beiyang xuetang, Tientsin.
- 1898-1901. Taught at Nanyang gongxue, Shanghai.
- 1901. Studied at the Higher Normal School, Tokyo, Japan.
Winter. Returned to China and worked as educational advisor in Canton.
- 1902. April. Returned to Japan. Resumed studies at Higher Normal School. After incident at Chinese Embassy in Tokyo, he is deported from Japan back to China.
- 1903. Worked on the Subao (Jiangsu Journal) and taught at the Aiguo xueshe (Patriotic School) in Shanghai.
June. Wu narrowly escaped arrest and fled into exile in Britain.
- 1906. Moved to Paris.
- 1907. With Li Shiceng and others, founded the anarchist journal Xinshiji (New Century).
- 1910. Xinshiji ceased publication after 121 issues.
- 1912. January. Returned to China from Britain where he had lived since 1909. With others, founded the Liufa jianxuehui, (Society for Frugal Study in France) and the Jindehui (Society for the Promotion of Virtue.)
- 1913. September. After failure of the 2nd Revolution, left China for exile in Britain.
- 1916. Yuan Shikai died. Wu returned to China.
- 1918. Founded Laodong (Labour) magazine in Shanghai.
- 1920. Established the Zhongfa daxue (Sino-French University) in Lyons, France.
- 1921-1923. President of Zhongfa daxue in Lyons.
- 1924. First Congress of the Guomindang. Wu elected to the party's Central Supervisory Committee.
- 1925. Wu acted as witness to the last testament of Sun Yat-sen. Attends the meeting of right wing members of the Guomindang in the Western Hills, Peking.
- 1926. In ceremony in Canton, Wu swore in Chiang K'ai-shek as Commander-in-Chief of the Northern Expeditionary Force.
- 1927. April. Wu presented evidence to the Guomindang Supervisory Committee of Communist Party treachery and set in motion the chain of events leading to the massacres of workers in Shanghai and elsewhere.
- 1937-1945. Lived at Chunking in semi-retirement.
- 1946. November. Elected to the Praesidium of the National Assembly.
- 1948. May. Representing National Assembly, administered presidential oath to Chiang K'ai-shek.
- 1948. Onwards. Senior presidential advisor of Chiang K'ai-shek.
- 1949. April. Left the mainland for Taiwan.
- 1953. October 30. Died. Taipei.

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