

A Survey of the Studies on the Revolution of 1911 in China and Abroad

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The year of 2011 marks the one hundredth anniversary of the Revolution of 1911 (also known as the Xinhai Revolution, the 1911 Revolution, the Chinese Revolution, and the Chinese Democratic Revolution of 1911, etc.). During the past hundred years, especially in the last 50 years, historians in both China and foreign countries have carried out countless, profound and extensive researches on that historical event, the most significant one in the history of modern China. On the Xinhai Revolution, there is truly a tremendous amount of papers and monographs, which come one after another to the reader's attention. Their contents, though all inclusive, are rich in variety. Disputes and contentions over the interpretations of the event arise one after another too, reflecting people's increasing understanding of the event. In fact, the process of human understanding of history itself is a kind of history, and a best reward for history as well. Therefore, on the occasion of the centennial anniversary of the Chinese Democratic Revolution, let us look back and see what changes and developments have taken place over the past one hundred years in the academic studies on the Xinhai Revolution carried out by the scholars, with the aim of making it into an optimal strategy for commemorating and learning about the Revolution. With this purpose in mind, this paper plans to conduct a simple survey over the developments and changes in the studies on the Revolution of 1911 carried out in the past years by the scholars both in China and abroad, so as to help the readers get a basic understanding of the developments and achievements of the study on the Revolution, although due to limited space and author's ability, it is very likely that the author's view is partial and that this study is far from complete.

I. The Early and Middle Phases of the Study on the Xinhai Revolution under the Deep Political and Ideological Influences: from 1912 to 1976

As far as the works on the Xinhai Revolution in China are concerned, the earliest writings can be traced to the *Stories of the Chinese Revolution* (《中國革命紀事本末》, zhongguo gemin jishi benmo) compiled by Guo Xiaocheng and published by the Commercial Press in 1912. But before the Kuomintang unified the country, most of the writings in China on the Revolution of 1911 cannot be regarded as true researches. They are rather simple and crude, mostly limited to the listing of historical materials and people involved in the event. Before 1949, the study of the Xinhai Revolution is basically put into the category of the party history of the Kuomintang. Therefore, the writings on the Xinhai Revolution in this period, except for a few works published by senior KMT members after the 1940s such as the *Draft History of the Chinese Kuomintang* (《中國國民黨史稿》, zhongguo guomindang shigao) by Zou Lu (1885-1954) and *The Anecdotes of Chinese Revolution* by Feng Ziyu (1881-1958) that have some academic and historical values, are mostly superficial. Their comments on and appraisals of the Xinhai Revolution are more or less influenced by the orthodox KMT view of history. Centered on Dr. Sun Yat-sen's ideas and the Chinese Revolutionary Alliance (also known as the Chinese United League; the United Allegiance Society, and the Chinese Revolutionary League), they are emotional in color and very politically oriented, with many flattering compliments and attempts to cover up Sun Yat-sen's mistakes. Tso Shun-sheng (1893-1969) and Guo Zhen even included the Xinhai Revolution into their compilation and study of the history of the Young China Party, and they doctored historical facts into the bargain."¹ And this is not a unique

phenomenon. When Hu Sheng (1918-2000), a Communist theoretician, used the perspectives of Marxist historical materialism to analyze the gains and losses of the Xinhai Revolution and the complex relations among the political forces during the period of the 1911 Revolution in his *Imperialism and Chinese Politics*, he also displayed his clear-cut political orientation.² Therefore, in the early phase of research (1912-1949), as the Xinhai Revolution was yet to become real history, researches on the Revolution of 1911 carried out by the mainland scholars are rather superficial, distinctive with the brand of the era, and deeply influenced and intervened by the political thought and ideology prevailing at the time.

After the Communists took over the mainland China, most of the Xinhai Revolution scholars, already few and far between, fled to Hong Kong and Taiwan. No one was interested in the study of the Xinhai Revolution on the mainland. However, on the 90th anniversary of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's birthday in 1956, Mao Tsetung (1893-1976) published his "In Memory of Dr. Sun Yat-sen", in which he displayed his high opinion of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and the 1911 Revolution. The publication of this article prompted for some time the publication of the academic studies and historical materials on Dr. Sun Yat-sen and the Xinhai Revolution before it cooled down due to the start of the "Anti-rightist" Movement. The grand celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Revolution of 1911 all over China in 1961 promoted the study of the 1911 Revolution once more. On the 10th of October that year, more than 100 scholars attended an academic conference in Wuchang, discussing in an enthusiastic manner issues such as the class nature of the New Army, secret societies, anti-Qing activists and Chang Chien (1853-1926) and the major social conflicts on the eve of the Xinhai Revolution. After the conference, *Proceedings in Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the Xinhai Revolution* (《辛亥革命 50 周年紀念論文集》, xinhai gemin wushi zhounian jinian lunwenji), totaling in 500,000 characters, was published. *The Memoirs of the Revolution of 1911* (《辛亥革命回憶錄》, xinhai gemin huiyilu, in six volumes) and the *Selected Collections of the Comments on Current Issues during the Decade Prior to the Revolution of 1911* (《辛亥革命前十年時論選輯》, xinhai gemin qian shinian shilu xuanji) edited by the Commission for the Study of Literary and Historical Materials under the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) were published too.³ Generally speaking, during that phase, the mainland scholars, under the influence of the political milieu at that time, mainly employed the theory of class struggle and the dogmatic Marxist ideology in their analysis of the socio-economic foundations, the limitations and outcomes of the achievements of the 1911 Revolution, and treated it as a revolution against imperialism and feudalism. Both *The Revolution of 1911* (《辛亥革命》, xinhai gemin) by Chen Xulu (1918-1988) and *On the Formation of Bourgeois Democrats in China* (《論中國資產階級民主派的形成》, lun zhongguo zichan jieji minzhupai de xingcheng) by Hu Shengwu put the Revolution of 1911 under the general framework of revolutionary history and viewed it as one of the three democratic revolutionary high tides in modern China. This model of historical appraisal later became the orthodox pattern among the mainland historians that has continued to this day. This perspective does not treat the Revolution of 1911 together with the revolutions in Great Britain and France, believing that Chinese bourgeoisie is not the same as that in those two European countries. Chinese bourgeoisie, being too weak in politics and economy, was not able to completely accomplish their anti-imperialistic and anti-feudal missions because, as a class, they were complicatedly related with and even relied on the feudal rulers and imperialistic foreign powers. Although this view clearly bears the brand of the impact of the then political milieu, it does not prevent the mainland scholars from making some gratifying achievements in some research areas and topics, such as the role of the New Army in the provinces outside Hubei during the Revolution of 1911, the ideological transformation among the

most important members in the gentry scholar class, and the autonomous movements in various provinces, etc.⁴

It is a pity that this rising momentum of the study on the Revolution of 1911 was soon disrupted by the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution on the mainland, during which “historical study”, characterized by the prevalence of class struggle and with the workers and peasants as the leading force, dominated the realm of historical research in mainland China. The Chinese Democratic Revolution of 1911, previously designated as one of the “three revolutionary high tides”, was harshly repudiated, because in the eyes of the extreme leftists, as a bourgeois revolution, the Revolution of 1911 was gravely marked by its mistakes of compromise. As a result, representative figures of the bourgeoisie, including some revolutionaries, were one after another demonized and dwarfed; even Sun Yat-sen was not spared. Anyone who attempted to make any affirmative remarks on the positive roles played by the Revolution of 1911 or revolutionaries would be labeled a “propagandist who advocates the superiority of the bourgeoisie” or “who tries to beautify the bourgeoisie and defend the exploiting class”. Consequently he would be harshly repudiated... Since then, the study of the Xinhai Revolution has become so “dangerous” that no historians dare to touch.⁵ So, during the mid phase from 1949 to 1976, the study of the Revolution of 1911 on the mainland did not grow much as it was similarly and even more constrained and shackled by the dominant political thought and ideology.

II. The Phase of Great Development for the Study of the Xinhai Revolution after its Gradual Breakaway from the Fetters of Political Thought and Ideology: from 1976 to 2010

Since China initiated its reform and opening up policy in 1976, the study of the Xinhai Revolution on the mainland has not only experienced rapid restoration and growth, but also witnessed a good situation in which there are active exchange programs, new ideas, engagements in heated arguments, deep researches in a wide range of topics, bountiful achievements and the emergence of famous experts. Firstly, various activities and relevant academic conferences to commemorate the Democratic Revolution of 1911 held frequently in both China and foreign countries have created a favorable atmosphere and situation for the study and academic exchanges of the Xinhai Revolution scholars. For instance, two large scale international symposiums, namely, “the Revolution of 1911 and the Bourgeoisie” and “Dr. Sun Yat-sen and His Era”, were held in 1981 and 1986 respectively to mark the 70th anniversary of the Chinese Democratic Revolution and the 120th birthday of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. In 1982, the academic circles on both sides of the Taiwan Strait dispatched strong teams of scholars headed by Hu Sheng from the mainland and Chin Hsiao-yi (1921-2007) from Taiwan respectively to attend the International Symposium on the Revolution of 1911 held in Chicago, United States. Since that event, it has become a common practice for commemorative events to be held every five and ten years to promote the academic studies of the Chinese Revolution. From 1990 to 1999, as many as 20 academic symposiums are held in different places on the mainland.⁶ Such academic events have not only shown to the world the swift growth of the study on the Xinhai Revolution and research findings made after the institution of the reform and opening up policies on the mainland, but also encouraged and stimulated in turn the research interest and enthusiasm in the Revolution of 1911 in China. According to incomplete statistics, during the decade from 1979 to 1989, as many as 5,000 papers on the Revolution of 1911 are published on the mainland, 10 times more in amount than that from 1949 to 1978.⁷ From 1990 to 1999, papers published in the *Journal of the 1911 Revolution* (《辛亥革命研究動態》, xinhai gemin yanjiu dongtai) alone amount to 4,400.⁸

Secondly, “as scholars no longer engaged in the study of the 1911 Revolution single-handedly, there emerged a batch of research institutes and groups that concentrated their efforts on the study of the Xinhai Revolution.” Mainland scholars, adopting the strategy similar to the army group’s coordinated operation, have founded such extensively influential journals as the *History of the 1911 Revolution Series* (辛亥革命史叢刊, xinhai geminshi congkan) and *Journal of the 1911 Revolution* (edited and published by the Historical Research Society for the Revolution of 1911), *Sun Yat-sen Studies Series* (《孫中山研究論叢》, [sun zhongshan yanjiu luncong] edited and published by the Sun Yat-sen Research Institute, Sun Yat-sen University), that have caught the attention of scholars both inside and outside China.⁹ Other collections of papers that embody the collective academic strength and wisdom include the *Collected Papers on Dr. Sun Yat-sen and the Revolution of 1911* (《孫中山與辛亥革命論集》, sun zhongshan yu xinhai gemin lunji), *Collected Papers on the Historical Events around 1911* (《辛亥前後史事論叢》, xinhai qianhou shishi luncong) and its sequence, *The Bourgeoisie and the Chinese Democratic Revolution of 1911* (《資產階級與辛亥革命》, zichan jieji yu xinhai gemin), *Dr. Sun Yat-sen and the Revolution of 1911* (《孫中山和辛亥革命》, sun zhongshan he xinhai gemin), *The Late Qing Society at the Turn of the Century* (《世紀之交的晚清社會》, shiji zhijiao de wanqing shehui), *Dr Sun Yat-sen: A Great Forerunner Who Fought Persistently for Democracy Even Though He Had Been Repeatedly Frustrated* (《孫中山：愈挫愈奮的偉大先行者》, sun zhongshan: yusuoyuyong de weida xianxingzhe), *The Revolution of 1911 and Modern China* (《辛亥革命与近代中国》, xinhai gemin yu jindai zhongguo), *New Perspectives on the Revolution of 1911* (《辛亥革命新論》, xinhai gemin xinlun) and *Dr. Sun Yat-sen and the Modernization of China* (《孫中山與中國近代化》, sun zhongshan yu zhongguo jindaihua).

Last but not the least, great progress and bumper harvest have been achieved in this phase as far as the compilation and publication of the historical materials regarding the Revolution of 1911 are concerned. Published one after another in this period are many important source and reference books such as *A Compilation of Archival Materials in the Republic of China* (《中華民國檔案資料彙編》, zhonghua minguo dangan ziliao huibian), *A Selected Collection of the Archival Materials Related to the Wuchang Uprising* (《武昌起義檔案資料選編》, wuchang qiyi dangan ziliao xuanbian), *A Series of Archival Materials in the Late Qing Period* (《清末檔案資料叢編》, qingmo dangan ziliao congbian), *Historical Materials of the Late-Qing Navy* (《清末海軍史料》, qingmo haijun shiliao), *A Compilation of Literature and Materials on the Hubei Provincial Assembly* (《湖北咨議局文獻資料彙編》, hubei ziyiju wenxian ziliao huibian), *Black Blood·Golden Drums: A Corpus of Newspaper Articles and Historical Accounts in Hubei Province around the Revolution of 1911* (《黑血·金鼓—辛亥革命前後湖北報刊史事長編》, heixue·jingu: xinhai gemin qianhou hubei baokan shishi changbian), *A History of the Southern Society* (《南社史長編》, nanshe shi changbian), *Wen Pei’s Letters to Senator Liu Yanjun* (《文裴致參議院劉彥君書》, wen pei zhi canyiyuan liu yanjun shu), *A True Record of the Quell of the Laiyang Civil Insurrection* (《萊陽亂事征實錄》, laiyang luanshi zheng shilu), *A Dictionary of the Revolution of 1911* (《辛亥革命詞典》, xinhai gemin cidian), *A Dictionary of Dr. Sun Yat-sen* (《孫中山辭典》, sun zhongshan cidian), *A Chronicle of Dr. Sun Yat-sen’s Life* (《孫中山年譜長編》, sun zhongshan nianpu changbian), *A Dictionary of the History of the Revolution of 1911* (《辛亥革命歷史辭典》, xinhai gemin lishi cidian), *The Revolution of 1911, A Comprehensive Handbook of the Studies*

on the History of the Revolution of 1911 in China and Abroad (《國內外辛亥革命史研究總攬》, guoneiwai xinhai gemin yanjiu zonglan), and *A Collection of Resources for the Study of the Revolution of 1911* (《辛亥革命研究備要》, xinhai gemin beiyao). The study of historical events cannot be done without source materials. After the publication of the literature and source materials related to the 1911 Revolution, the study on the Revolution gained more momentum as a result.

It can thus be said that in the above phase, the study of the Xinhai Revolution has turned from the previous compilation of pamphlets to the era of writing voluminous scholarly works. The topics of research, originally narrow and repetitive, have become greatly diversified and multi-faceted. In this period, not only quite a few masterpieces that are comprehensive in content, rich in historical data, and detailed in discussion such as *The History of the Chinese Democratic Revolution of 1911* (in three volumes) edited by Zhang Kaiyuan (or Chang Kai-yuan) and Lin Zengping, *The History of the Republic of China* edited by Li Xin, and *The History of the Revolution of 1911* coauthored by Hu Shengwu and Jin Chongji were published successively, but also, after a period of accumulation and efforts, a variety of pioneering monographs written by individual authors that are original in topics came into being, for instance, *Studies on the New-style Businessmen's Associations* (《辛亥革命時期新式商人社團研究》, xinhai gemin shiqi xinshi shangren shetuan yanjiu), *A Study on Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Decision Making in the Early Period of the Republic of China* (《孫中山在民國初期的決策研究》, sun zhongshan zai minguo chuqi de juece yanjiu), *The Revolution of 1911 and the Ethnic Issues* (《辛亥革命與民族問題》, xinhai gemin yu minzu wenti), *Sun Yat-sen and the Revolution of 1911* (《孫中山與辛亥革命》, sun zhongshan yu xinhai gemin), *The Tide of the Political Reform in the Early 20th Century China: A History of the Constitutional Movement in the Late Qing Period* (《二十世紀初中國政治改革風潮—清末立憲運動史》, ershi shiji chu zhongguo zhengzhi gaige fengchao: qingmo lixian yundong shi), *The Nationalist Ideology in the Late Qing Period* (《晚清民族主義思潮》, wanqing minzu zhuyi sichao), *The Legislative History of the Early Republic of China* (《中華民國開國法制史》, zhonghua minguo kaiguo fazhishi), *Huang Hsing's Military Theories and Practices* (《黃興的軍事理論與實踐》, huangxing de junshi lilun yu shijian), *Between Government Officials and Gentry: Modern Gentry Merchants in the Period of Radical Social Transformation* (《官紳之間：社會巨變中的近代紳商》, guanshen zhijian: shehui jubian zhong de jindai shenshang), *Society and Nation in the Era of Transition: China Chamber of Commerce in Historical Perspective* (《轉型時期的社會與國家—以中國商會為主体的歷史透視》, zhangxing shiqi de shehui yu guojia: yi zhongguo shanghui wei zhuti de lishi toushi), *Chamber of Commerce and Modernization in the Early Period* (《商會與早期現代化》, shanghui yu zaoqi xiandaihua), *Western-style School Students and Social Transformations in the Late Qing Period* (《晚清學堂學生與社會變遷》, wanqing xuetao xuesheng yu shehui bianqian), *The Xinhai Revolution and the Ronins on the Mainland* (《辛亥革命與大陸浪人》, xinhai gemin yu dalu langren), *The Revolutionary Movements led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen and Canton in the Late Qing and Early Republic Era* (《孫中山領導的革命運動與清末民初的廣東》, sun zhongshan lingdao de gemin yundong yu qingmo minchu de guangdong). What is worth mentioning is that during this period, there appeared a plethora of studies on historical figures, for instance, *The Complete Works of Dr. Sun Yatsen* (《孫中山全集》, sun zhongshan quanji), *A Chronicle of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Life, Collected Works of Huang Hsing* (《黃興集》, huangxing ji), *Collected Works of Tai Chi-tao* (《戴季陶集》, dai jitao ji), *Collected Works of Zhang Taiyan* (《章太炎集》, zhang taiyan ji),

Collected Works of Ning Diaoyuan (《寧調元集》, ning diaoyuan ji), *Collected Works of Ju Zheng* (《居正集》, ju zheng ji), *Collected Works of Jing Yuanshan* (《經元善集》, jing yuanshan ji), *Collected Works of Liu Kuiyi* (《劉揆一集》, liu kuiyi ji), *Genealogy of the Liu Clan* (12th revision) (《劉氏十二修族譜》, liushi shierxiu zupu), *Collected Works of Master Zongyang* (《宗仰上人集》, zongyang shangren ji), *A Collection of Epitaphs of Eminent Figures Related to the Revolution of 1911* (《辛亥人物碑傳集》, xinhai renwu beizhuan ji), *A Collection of Epitaphs of Eminent Figures Related to the Republic of China* (《民國人物碑傳集》, minguo renwu beizhuan ji) and *A Concordance to Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Inscriptions and Calligraphies* (《孫中山題詞遺墨彙編》, sun zhongshan tici yimo huibian), which form a new characteristic of the study on the Xinhai Revolution.¹⁰

III. Hot Spots in the Study on the Xinhai Revolution

Since the 60's in the last century, especially since the implementation of the reform and opening up policies, the study on the Revolution of 1911 both in China and abroad, like the torrents of water rushing out of the sluice gates, has surged with great momentum. The research achievements of the Chinese Democratic Revolution attained in the past half century are dazzling. However, roughly speaking, they are focused on the following hot topics:

1. The causes, nature and historical place of the successes and failures of the Chinese Democratic Revolution of 1911. These are some of the most fundamental, most significant and most disputed issues regarding the study on the Chinese Democratic Revolution.
2. The guiding ideology and theory for the 1911 Revolution and the impact of the Three Principles of the People (Nationalism, Democracy and People's Livelihood). The Three Principles of the People, the main guiding ideology and theory for the 1911 Revolution, is not only the core belief of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and his revolutionary camp, but also a powerful ideological weapon and guide that were used to encourage the revolutionaries to devote themselves to the Revolution of 1911. It is only natural, therefore, that the relationship between the Three Principles of the People and the Revolution of 1911 became the subject of discussion among the enthusiastic scholars. Firstly, they examined in depth various types of nationalism that had emerged during the Revolution of 1911, such as the origin and development of nationalism in modern China, the formation and characteristics of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's nationalistic ideas, the anti-Manchu trends in the era of the Chinese Democratic Revolution of 1911, the significance and limitation of the slogan "Overthrow the Manchu empire and restore China to the Chinese", the disputes over the ethnic issues, and the relationship between Dr. Sun Yat-sen and foreign powers, especially the United States and Japan, and his personal mediations. Secondly, scholars explored the pattern of development of democraticism during the Revolution of 1911 such as the prematurity of the 1911 Revolution reflected in the Enlightenment Movement and democratic propaganda in the Late Qing period, the relationship between the Chinese democracy and populism, Dr. Sun Yat-sen's view of state politics and democratic practice, the struggle to defend democracy within the rank of revolutionaries and internal democratic operation and split, the transformation of political outlook of the populace, the influence of anarchism, the formation of the new democratic revolutionary theories and the

extent of influence of the democratic republic on China. And finally, scholars focused their pursuits and analyses of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's ideas and practice of the people's livelihood and the transformation of national characters. They conducted investigations in the practice and impact of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's ideal of the people's livelihood during the Revolution of 1911, Dr. Sun's land policies and railway construction plan, the relationship between the growth of national capitalism and the Democratic Revolution in China, the "identity crisis" around the Xinhai Revolution, the awakening of people's subject consciousness and the social issues like the transformation of national characters.

3. Social trends and cultural transformations around the 1911 Revolution. It should be noted that the birth of the Three Principles of the People and the emergence of the revolutionaries headed by Dr. Sun Yat-sen and the Chinese Revolutionary Alliance are not isolated matters. Closely connected with the development of the social trends and cultural currents in China around the Democratic Revolution, they complement each other. So the relationship between the ideological and cultural dynamics around the Xinhai Revolution in the Chinese society and the Revolution of 1911 became an interesting research topic for the academic circle. Starting from tracing the ideological enlightenment in 1898 and examining the impact of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's (1873-1929) view of the republic on the Revolution of 1911, scholars made extensive studies in such topics as the ideological enlightenment and emancipation around the Xinhai Revolution, transformation of the national mindset, the influence of the Chinese tradition, repudiation of the feudal culture, fate of the Confucian culture, restoration of the Chinese culture, clashes between the new and old values of morality, learning of the Western political institutions, Europeanized trend of thought, growth of rational criticism, promotion for the establishment of the parliamentary system, theory of imported civilization, theory of evolution, history education, abolishment of the Imperial civil service examinations, changes in the social, academic and cultural fields, changes of social concepts, advocacy for the pragmatic learning that could be applied to the governance of China, new cultural activities, evolution of the ideological terms, spirit of patriotism, saving the nation through science, and cultural construction.
4. Eminent figures involved in the Chinese Democratic Revolution of 1911. As mentioned above, the Xinhai Revolution is a huge tornado that sucks in all types of people. Consequently, the study of prominent figures naturally became one of the bright spots in the research of the 1911 Revolution. Firstly, Dr. Sun Yat-sen inevitably became the center of all figures studied. The studies on Dr. Sun Yat-sen include those on his ideological values, values of humanity, democratic concepts, ideas to transform the Chinese national characters, notion of the "Republic of the Five Nationalities", leadership role, idea and practice of the party system, relationship with the National Assembly, compromises with the Qing court and Yuan Shik-k'ai (1859-1916), diplomatic activities, relationship with the overseas Chinese, and influence in the world. Secondly, the studies on the prominent figures involved in the Xinhai Revolution also include those important Chinese political figures, noted scholars and celebrities who had been influenced by the Xinhai Revolution or who had expressed their attitude and position toward the Chinese Democratic Revolution as well as foreigners who had taken part in, or supported or opposed the Xinhai Revolution, such as Charles Soong (1863-1918), Soong Ching Ling (1893-1981), Sun Mei (1854-1915), Chang Chih-tung (1837-1909), Zhao Erxun (1844-1927), Zhao Erfeng (1845-1911), K'ang Yu-wei (1858-1927), Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Yen Fuh (1854-1921), Chang Chien, Cen Chunxuan (1861-1933), T'ang Shao-i (1862-1938), Sheng Xuanhuai (1844-1916), Chang Ping-lin (also

known as Chang Taiyan, 1869-1936), T'ao Ch'eng-chang (1878-1912), Sun Hongyi, Tan Renfeng (1860-1920), Wu T'ing-fang (1842-1922), Wu Luzhen (1880-1911), Wu Yuzhang (1878-1966), Yu Youren (1879-1964), Liao Zhongkai (1877-1925), Qiu Jin (1875-1907), Xu Xilin (1873-1907), Li Yüan-hung (1864-1928), Yuan Shik-k'ai, Tuan Ch'i-jui (1865-1936), T'an Yen-k'ai (1880-1930), Chang Tso-lin (1875-1928), Liu Kuyi (1878-1950), Lin Sen (1868-1943), Li Lieh-chun (1882-1946), Chiang Kai-shek (1887-1975), Wang Ching-wei (1883-1944), Kung Hsiang-his (also known as H. H. Kung, 1880-1967), Yen Hsi-shan (1883-1960), Chen Tu-hsiu (1879-1942), Li Ta-chao (1889-1927), Xu Teli (1877-1968), Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai (1898-1976), Chu Te (1886-1976), Lu Hsün (1881-1936), Wu Chih-hui (1865-1953), Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei (1868-1940), Liu Ya-tzu (1887-1958), Chang Shih-chao (1881-1973), Liu Shih-p'ei (1884-1919), Jeme Tien Yow (1861-1919), Yu Ta-fu (1896-1945), Yeh Sheng-t'ao (1894-1988), Ma Hsiang-po (1840-1939), Liang Sou-ming (1893-1988), Liang Shiyi (1869-1933), Chu Chih-hsin (1885-1920), Cheng Dequan (1860-1930), Xiong Bingkun (1885-1969), Chen Yuan (1880-1971), Ch'en Pu-lei (1890-1948), Liu Jing-an (1875-1911), Yao Yijia (1881-1947), Xu Xue-er (1891-1915), Xu Jingxin (1874-1914), Yao Hongye (1881-1906), Zhang Gui, Jiao Tongqin, Wang Xianzhang (1888-1914), Chou Smie Kwei (1894-1984), Chen Chiung-Ming (1878-1933), Tan Chor Nam (1884-1971), Chen Huan (1860-1943), Chen Qimei (1878-1916), Li Xie, Pu Dianjun (1875-1934), Wang Jinfa (1883-1915), Feng Yü-hsiang (1882-1948), Rev. Huang Jiting (1868-1954), Rev. Hu Lanting (1865-1936), Zheng Xiaoxu (1860-1938), Gongsennorbo (1872-1931), the 13th Dalai Lama (1876-1933), Sin Kyu-sik (1880-1922) from Korea, Gilbert Reid (1857-1927), an American missionary, Kayano Nagatomo (1873-1947) from Japan, Ryohei Uchida (1874-1937) from Japan, Kotaro Munakata (1864-1923) from Japan and Nguyen Thuong Hien (1865-1925) from Vietnam.

5. The relationships between the Xinhai Revolution and the political parties, secret societies, and various social strata and groups. In every revolutionary and social upheaval, party organizations and social groups of various types will emerge and play different kinds of roles without exception. The same is true with the Revolution of 1911. Therefore, the relationships between political parties and social groups and organizations have become a rich mine and topic of study for the Xinhai Revolution scholars. From different perspectives, scholars have probed into the Chinese United League, the Society for the Daily Increase of Knowledge (also known as the Daily News Society), the Chinese Revolutionary Party, the Royalists, the Constitutional Monarchists, elite groups, intellectuals, scholar gentry class, merchant class, landlord class, anti-Manchu elements, the National Assembly of the Republic of China, worker class, citizens, women's groups, ethnic minorities, populace, tramps, the United Front, newspaper industry, the worlds of journalism and finance, Christian personages, the Qing Imperial Families, the Eight-Banner system, modern warlords, the Beiyang Clique, army, secret societies, their political views, activities, strategies, roles, characteristics, functions, evolution in the Chinese Democratic Revolution and the relationships among each other. They have also made detailed investigations into the formation and development of the Kuomintang, the Communist Party of China and other democratic parties born in the Xinhai Revolution and the impact caused by their interrelationships. What is worth mentioning is that the roles played and functions made by women in the Xinhai Revolution, and the influences brought by the Democratic Revolution on the social roles and status of Chinese women in families, economy, education, politics, views and ideas, have caught the special attention of the scholars. Of all the research works on the Revolution of 1911, considerable numbers are on women and the Democratic Revolution.

6. The relationship between the Xinhai Revolution and Chinese modernization. “The earliest attempt at modernization in China is widely believed to have started during the Self-strengthening Movement.” However, some scholars think that “The Chinese Democratic Revolution of 1911 serves as a real beginning of China’s modernization.”¹¹ In order to verify the relation between the Revolution of 1911 and the historical process of modernization in China, scholars have not only examined the Xinhai Revolution under the framework of Chinese modernization, but also discussed the platform of the 1911 Revolution, institutional innovation, reformation of the legal and legislative systems, reasons for the failure of the early modernization efforts and democratic republic, political modernization and transition, political mentality and its genesis, social progress and social transition, modernization of foreign affairs agencies, industrialization, modernization of science, technology and education, ideological and cultural modernization, the changes of social psyche, ethical values and social customs, and perceptions of marriage and family. They have also studied the modernization of people and concrete things that embody the influence of Chinese modernization, for instance, the first bank established after the founding of the Republic of China, Customs Houses, foreign debts, currencies, fund-raising stocks, military currency, prices, mining industry, silk reeling industry in rural towns, businesses and investments, plays and dramas, vernacular movement, poetry, translated literature, aphorisms and epigrams, fashion and decorations, newspapers and magazines, change of calendar, phases of modern Chinese history, schools, libraries, clerks and secretaries, opium trade, and the ban on the opium trade.
7. The relationship between the Xinhai Revolution and local provinces. The Xinhai Revolution broke out in Wuchang before it spread to the south and other provinces. As different localities had different reactions to the Xinhai Revolution, the progress of the revolution differed in different provinces too. So, one of the important paths and strategies to the investigation into the comprehensive nature of the Revolution of 1911 and its gains and losses is by tracing the growth of the revolution in different places. Just like scientists who intend to see the inter-connections of the organs by vivisectioning a sparrow, researchers have used this method in their attempt to decipher how the Wuchang Uprising grew into a nation-wide revolution. Scholars have not only treated some key provinces and cities such as Hubei and Wuchang, Guangdong and Guangzhou, Hunan and Changsha, and Shanghai as important places in their research, but also expanded their vision and included Sichuan, Gansu, the Sichuan-Yunnan-Gansu-Qinghai-Tibetan region, Shaanxi, Shanxi, Shandong, Heilongjiang, Liaoning, Anhui, Huizhou, Yunnan, Hebei, Henan, Hunan, Jiangxi, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Fujian, Hainan, the Southeast region, the Pearl River Delta, the three Northeastern provinces, Xinjiang, the Mongolian area, the Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan area, and rural areas in their studies. Topics of study concerned include the Local Autonomous Movement, Constitutional Monarchism, provincial assemblies, autonomous clubs for merchants, autonomous learned societies, local governments, local bourgeoisie, local intellectuals and elites, local scholars who had studied abroad, local economy, finance and education, social organizations, process of modernization, concept of provinces, localism, and local battles fought during the Xinhai Revolution.
8. The relationship between the Xinhai Revolution and overseas influences. As the Xinhai Revolution is not an isolated case in China, it has not only been deeply influenced by the history, politics, and policies of foreign countries toward China as well as the world situation, but also is closely linked with various kinds of political and social forces overseas. Therefore, scholars have first delved, from various

perspectives, into the relations between foreign factors and the Xinhai Revolution, such as those between the French Revolution, the February 1917 Revolution in Russia, the National Socialism in Germany with the Revolution of 1911 and their comparisons, the influence of the Declaration of Independence on the Revolution of 1911 in China, the China policies adopted by the United States, Great Britain and Germany toward China during the Xinhai Revolution, the impact of the Xinhai Revolution on the relationship between China and Germany and on the oriental policies of the Soviet Russia, the attitudes and situation of the foreign concessions in China around the Xinhai Revolution, and the Xinhai Revolution and the national liberation movement in Viet Nam. Second, Japan has caught the special attention of the scholars. They have not only conducted extensive and detailed researches in the Sino-Japanese relations in the period of the Xinhai Revolution (the range of study is connected with Japan's China policy during the Revolution of 1911, including Japan's attitudes toward the Xinhai Revolution and the "South-North Negotiation", its policies toward the three Chinese Northeastern provinces of Heilongjiang, Jilin and Liaoning, the relationship between the Japanese financial circle and the Xinhai Revolution, the influence of Japanese newspapers on the Chinese journalism in the period of the 1911 Revolution, Japan's relations with the Republican revolutionists and Yüan Shih-k'ai, comparisons between the successes and failures of the Xinhai Revolution and those of the Meiji Restoration or Reform, and the study on the Xinhai Revolution by the Japanese academic circle after the war), but also covered the functions, roles and activities on the part of the Chinese students who had studied in Japan before the Xinhai Revolution took place. Third, as the role played by the overseas Chinese in the Xinhai Revolution is widely recognized, the contributions made by the overseas Chinese in America and Southeast Asia such as the United States, Indonesia, Viet Nam, Burma, Thailand and Singapore also became one of the important research topics for the scholars.¹² Finally, scholars did not forget to sort out the relationship between Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan with the Xinhai Revolution and the relationship between Dr. Sun Yat-sen and Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan.

IV. Studies on the Xinhai Revolution Abroad

The case of the development of research on the Xinhai Revolution after 1949 in Taiwan is, except for its scale, very similar to that on the Mainland. And many scholars from mainland China, Japan and the United States have published their research findings on the Revolution of 1911 in the academic journals in Taiwan. Apart from those hot areas of study on the Xinhai Revolution engaged by the mainland scholars mentioned above, Taiwan scholars have paid more attention to the local battles such as the battles of Hankou and Hanyang (also known as the Battle of Yangxia), the battles of Jingmen and Shashi, and the Railway Protection Movement, the Qing navy, the impact of the Xinhai Revolution on the relations on both sides of the Taiwan Strait, summaries and analyses of the researches on the Xinhai Revolution published by the mainland scholars, and criticism of the theoretical views of the 1911 Revolution held by the mainland scholars. The research works related to the Xinhai Revolution published in Taiwan are either supplements or additions to the subjects not or less studied by the mainland scholars, such as the addition of Taiwan, Wuzhou, Yantai, Kaifeng, Tengyue, Qingtian in Zhejiang, Guangxi, North Hunan, Hunan and Sichuan, and Taishan, especially Henan and Hong Kong as far as the study of the relationship between the Xinhai Revolution and different localities is concerned. In the study of prominent

figures related to the Xinhai Revolution, Taiwan scholars have added Jung Hung (also spelled as Yung Wing, 1828-1912), Yü Ch'ia-ch'ing (1867-1945), Wang Shih-chieh (1891-1981), Chu Shou-kuang (1886-1948), Chu Chia-hua (1893-1963), Chang Wen-kuang (1882-1914), Chang Chun-mai (also known as Carsun Chang, 1887-1969), Zhang Yaotang, Ch'en Ch'u-ping (1874-1933), Chen Jiading (1876-1928), Homer Lea (1876-1912), Adm. Sa Chen-ping (1859-1952), Hsu Shao-chen (1861-1936), Kao Hsü (1877-1925), Zhong Muxian (1846-1922), Yu Huaizhi (1853-1918), Yu Xihuang, Huang Zhongying (1869-1912), Li Hsieh-ho (1873-1927) and Li Da (1890-1966) in their researches. In the study of the political parties, social classes and groups, Taiwan scholars have added businesses, societies for business people, youth, representatives of the National Assembly, the Hakka, the Southern Society, the Fuzhou heroes, and the Lin Family of Wufeng. Topical studies have been conducted on sports, communication and postal service, internationalization, the queue-cutting commotion, etc. as far as the relationship between the Xinhai Revolution and modernization is concerned.

Now let us take a look at the research on the Xinhai Revolution in the West. Although books on the Chinese Democratic Revolution were published as early as 1912,¹³ before 1949, however, there were few publications on the Xinhai Revolution in the West. Some Western scholars even thought that the 1911 Revolution was not a "revolution" at all.¹⁴ What is more, most of the Western scholars looked at the backward China, the Xinhai Revolution and Sun Yat-sen from the perspective of West-centeredness, criticizing and analyzing in an arrogant manner such issues as Dr. Sun's anti-imperialist goals, policy for uniting with the Russians, democratic practice, and attitudes towards the intellectuals and populace. But since the 1950s, especially since the 1960s, the Xinhai Revolution has become a hot topic for Western scholars who aim to earnestly trace the origin of modern China. Like the historians in the Republic of China, however, the Western research focus on the Xinhai Revolution had been placed on Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the revolutionaries, and their relations with foreigners or overseas Chinese. Apart from few articles, most of the research works in the West are centered on Dr. Sun Yat-sen and the Chinese Revolutionary League, including the revolutionary camp consisted of such individuals as Huang Hsing (1874-1916), Sung Chiao-jen (1882-1913), Wang Ching-wei (1883-1944), Hu Hanmin (1879-1936) and Chang Ping-lin (also known as Zhang Taiyan, 1869-1936) and their ideas. Heated arguments have been exchanged among Western scholars over Sun Yat-sen's relation with foreign powers, especially Japan, and whether he was a nationalist or a "running dog of Imperialism", whether he was a staunch republican or a political opportunist, whether the Chinese Revolutionary Alliance was a united organization based on individual members or a league composed of different forces in the provinces, whether it was the Revolutionary Alliance or other organizations that became the final core of leadership for the 1911 Revolution.¹⁵

From the late 1960s to the early 1970s, benefited from the horizontal and vertical developments of the study on the Xinhai Revolution carried out by the Western academic circle, the interest of Western historians in the Revolution of 1911 and research have grown considerably. The research topics and published works include the roles played by nationalism, anti-Manchu activities and ethnic sentiments on the Xinhai Revolution, the relationship of the foreign powers such as the United States, Russia and Japan, and Singapore, Malaysia and overseas Chinese with the Xinhai Revolution, the roles played by the traditional gentry, new merchant gentry, secret societies, New Army,

popular culture and movement in the Xinhai Revolution, the influence of the Revolution of 1911 on different provinces and the roles played by localism and provincial factors on the Xinhai Revolution, the relationship between Yuan Shik-k'ai and the gains and losses of the 1911 Revolution, the relationship between the Revolution of 1911 and socialist revolution, etc. Japanese scholars have displayed similar tendencies in their studies on the Xinhai Revolution. They have carried out investigations into such issues as the ideology and propaganda of the Xinhai Revolution, the relationship between the Revolution of 1911 and women, the relationship between the Xinhai Revolution and Korea, Viet Nam and Mongolia.¹⁶ What is worth mentioning is that in their studies on the Xinhai Revolution, Western scholars have shifted their attention from the historical figures, Chinese Revolutionary League and revolutionary camp that were in the center of the stage to other social groups. They have also directly or indirectly probed into and argued over the question of who was the main driving force behind the Chinese Democratic Revolution. Western scholars have also had some tit-for-tat debates over the real role played by the gentry in the Revolution of 1911.

In short, before the institution of the reform and opening up policies, apart from a good period prior to the founding of new China in which the study on the Revolution of 1911 saw some growth on mainland China, its overall development is relatively dull, slow and constrained. This is, of course, in line with the prevailing political, economic and social conditions on the then mainland. Since the reform and opening up, the study of the Xinhai Revolution has entered a phase of dynamic and rapid development, which coincides again with the emancipation of people's mind, swift development of society and economy, and the great enhancement of scientific research capabilities. The increasing interest in and devotion to the study of the Xinhai Revolution also reflect the spirited mind of the people and their expectation for the revival of the Chinese nation after the reform and opening up. Comparatively speaking, although the study of the Xinhai Revolution overseas cannot match that on mainland China in scale and range, there are many experiences we can borrow as far as the depth and perspectives of the research are concerned. This is why they can so greatly promote the development of the academic thoughts on the Revolution of 1911 on mainland China. For this reason, this author plans to, in a separate paper, introduce some of the most controversial issues related to the study on the Xinhai Revolution both in China and abroad in an attempt to help the readers understand further the latest growth of the academic research in that area.

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Notes:

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3 Chang Kai-Yuan, “A Retrospect and Prospect of the Studies on the Revolution of 1911”, in *Chinese Literature and History*, No. 9, 2001, pp. 4-5.

4 冯兆基,“1949年后中国关于辛亥革命的历史著述”,见《现代中国》第4卷,第2期(1978年4月),181-21页。Yang Tianshu, “Commenting on the Rights and Wrongs of the Xinhai Revolution from the Beginning While We Recollect It after a Century: The Remark on the Status of Xinhai Revolution”, in the *Journal of Ezhou University*, Vol. 13, No. 1, Jan., 2006, p. 26.

5 see Yang Tianshu, “Commenting on the Rights and Wrongs of the Xinhai Revolution from the Beginning While We Recollect It after a Century: The Remark on the Status of Xinhai Revolution”, in the *Journal of Ezhou University*, Vol. 13, No. 1, Jan., 2006, p. 26.

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7 Chang Kai-Yuan, “A Retrospect and Prospect of the Studies on the Revolution of 1911”, in *Chinese Literature and History*, No. 9, 2001, pp. 6-7.

8 Yan Changhong, “A Summary of the Researches on the Xinhai Revolution in the 1990s”, in *Theory Monthly*, No. 10, 2001, p. 12.

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10 Yan Changhong, “A Summary of the Researches on the Xinhai Revolution in the 1990s”, in *Theory Monthly*, No. 10, 2001, pp. 11-12; “New Progress in the Study of the Xinhai Revolution in the Past Decade”, in *Teaching and Research*, No. 10, 2001, p. 57; Chang Kai-Yuan, “A Retrospect and Prospect of the Studies on the Revolution of 1911”, in *Chinese Literature and History*, No. 9, 2001, pp. 6-8.

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