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漢英合璧

# 孫中山先生革命潮譯註

瞿世鎮譯

劉湛恩校



SUN YAT SEN'S  
The True Solution Of The  
Chinese Question  
Translated and Explained



上海三民公司印行

BC

98.0

13

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中國國民黨  
中央執行委員會宣傳部  
籌設圖書室



分類從數.....

登錄從數 2983.....

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序 言

I

## 敘 言

革命潮一書，爲孫中山先生於一九〇四年僑居美國時在美報上發表之論文。原文命名爲中國革命問題之眞解決；今從日本斷水樓主人池君原譯，名曰革命潮。書中詳述中國革命之由來，革命事業之進行，與喚起先進國之援助。讀之可知中山先生對於中國革命致力之勤，以有今日也。此書原文，海內流傳絕少，歷覽近時各家編集孫公遺著中，均未之見，以視先生所作英文文稿中之倫敦被難記等書，尤爲難能可貴也。予既獲讀是書於友人吳君處，亟爲逡譯，並附註

釋，以公諸世，以便讀者，凡吾國人當無不先覩爲快矣。惟率爾下筆，紙繆滋多，明達君子，幸匡正之。

民國十八年一月瞿世鎮敘

漢英合璧

孫中山先生革命潮譯註

寶山瞿世鎮譯註

Sun Yat Sen's

The True Solution Of The

Chinese Question

Translated and Explained

By S. C. Seward Ihon.

大道之行也，天下爲公。——禮運

在中國革命目的達到之後，那時不單是吾們燦爛的國家開一新紀元，就是全人類也得到一個光明的局面。——孫文

## 孫總理遺囑

余致力國民革命凡四十年其目的在求中國之自由平等積四十年之經驗深知欲達到此目的必須喚起民眾及聯合世界上以平等待我之民族共同奮鬥

現在革命尚未成功凡我同志務須依照余所著建國方略建國大綱三民主義及第一次全國代表大會宣言繼續努力以求貫徹最近主張開國民會議及廢除不平等條約尤須於最短期間促其實現是所至囑

中華民國十四年二月二十四日

## DR. SUN YAT-SEN'S WILL

For forty years I have devoted myself for the cause of the people's revolution with the object of securing freedom and equality for China. For the experiences, during these forty years, I have been convinced that in order to attain this goal it is necessary to bring about a thorough awakening of the masses and join hands in a common struggle with those races of the world who treat us on the basis of equality.

When the work of the revolution is not yet alone presently, My compatriots must continue to strive along the lines indicated in my works entitled "Plans for National Reconstruction," "Fundamental Principles of National Reconstruction," and "The Three Principles of the People," and the manifesto issued by the first National Representative Convention, until our policies have been completely carried out. The recently advocated convocation of a People's Congress and the abrogation of unequal treaties especially should be hastened to their realization in the least possible time. This is my heartfelt charge to you.

*—Dated 24th of February in the fourteenth year of the Republic.*



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總理手跡

革命潮英文原稿

### The True Solution of the Chinese Question:

#### An Appeal to the People of the United States.

The attention of the whole world is now directed towards the Far East—not only because of the war which is now going on between Russia and Japan, but also because of the fact that China will ultimately be the main field of struggle between those countries striving for the mastery in Asia. European possessions in Africa which had hitherto been the scene of contention between the European powers having now been pretty well defined, a new field for territorial aggrandizement and colonial expansion must therefore be sought; for China, long known as the "back door of the Far East" affords naturally such a field for the satisfaction of European ambitions. America, notwithstanding her traditional seclusion policy in international politics is, however, by no means disinterested in it, though in a way somewhat different from that of the other countries. In the first place, the passing of the Philippine Islands under American control makes the United States one of the nearest neighbors of China, and it is therefore impossible for her to shut her eyes to the state of things in

that country. In the second place, China is a great market for American goods, and if America intends to extend her commercial and industrial activity to other parts of the world, China is the first country that she must look to. Hence the so-called "Far Eastern Question" is of peculiar importance to this country.

The problem is as important as it is difficult of solution, owing to the many conflicting interests involved therein. The ultimate outcome of <sup>the</sup> present war between Russia and Japan has been considered by many as the probable solution of the question. But, from a Chinese stand point, the war raises more difficulties than it solves; if it decides anything at all, it would decide, at the most, the question of supremacy between these two countries only. What about the interests of Great Britain? of France? of Germany? of the United States? As to those questions, the war is far from being

a solution

In order to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the whole question, we must find out the root of all these difficulties. The most superficial knowledge of Asiatic affairs will convince anyone that this lies in the weakness and corruptness of the Manchu government which threatens, by the very fact of its weakness, to disturb the existing political equilibrium of the world. Paradoxical as it is, it is not without foundation. As a proof of this, we would only mention the present Russo-Japanese war. Had it not been for the utter inability of the Manchu government to maintain her power and sovereignty over Manchuria the war might have been avoided. And it is but the beginning of a long series of conflicts which are likely to arise between the different powers interested in the Chinese Question.

We say the Manchu government, and not the Chinese government, with intention. The Chinese, <sup>have</sup> at

present government of their own, and the term "Chinese government" if applied to the present government of China, is a misnomer. This seems to be startling to one who is not well acquainted with Chinese affairs, but it is a fact - a historical fact. In order to convince you of this let us give you a short account of the establishment of the Manchu dynasty. Before they came in contact with the Chinese, the Manchus were a savage nomadic tribe roaming in the wilds of the Amur region. They often raided and plundered the peaceful Chinese inhabitants along the frontier. Towards the close of the Ming dynasty there was a great civil war in China, and taking advantage of this golden opportunity they suddenly came down and captured Peking in much the same way as the barbarians overran the Roman Empire. This was in the year 1644. The Chinese were unwilling to submit to this foreign yoke and offered to the invaders the most stubborn resistance. In order to force them to yield the barbarians Manchus

religiously massacred millions of people, combatants and non-combatants, young and old, women and children; set fire to their dwellings; ransacked their houses and forced them to adopt their customs. It has been estimated that for disobeying the order of keeping the queue, tens of thousands of persons were slaughtered! It was not until after much bloodshed and barbarity that the Chinese finally submitted to the Manchu rule.

The next measure the Manchus adopted was to keep the conquered people in ignorance as much as possible by burning and destroying all the Chinese books and literature concerning their dealings with and their invasion of China. They also prohibited the people to form associations or to hold meetings for the discussion of public affairs. Their object was to stamp out the patriotic spirit of the Chinese so that in course of time they might forget that they were subject to a foreign rule. The Manchus number at ~~present~~ present not more than five millions

while the Chinese have a population of not less than four hundred millions. It is therefore, their constant fear that the Chinese might rise up some day and regain their country. To safeguard against ~~this~~ this, many precautionary measures have been and are still being adopted. Such has been the policy of the Manchus towards the Chinese.

There is a general misapprehension among western peoples that the Chinese are by nature a seclusive people, unwilling to have any intercourse with outsiders and that it was only at the point of the bayonet that a few ports along the coast were opened to foreign trade. This misapprehension is due more to the ignorance of Chinese history than to anything else. History furnishes us abundant proof that from very earliest times up to the establishment of the present dynasty the Chinese entertained close relations with the neighboring countries and did not appear to have the least ill-disposition towards



foreign traders and missionaries. The Nestorian Tablet at Se-an Fu gives us an excellent record of the evangelistic works of foreign missionaries among ~~the~~ the people there as early as the seventh century after Christ. Again, the Buddhist religion was introduced into China by the Emperor in the Han Dynasty, and the people welcomed the new religion with great enthusiasm. It has since continued to flourish until now it is one of the three leading religions of China. Not only missionaries but traders also were allowed to travel freely throughout the length and ~~breadth~~ breadth of the Empire. Even as late as the Ming Dynasty there was no sign of anti-foreign spirit among the Chinese. The then Prime Minister Shen Kung also himself embraced the Catholic faith, and his intimate friend Matthew Ricci, a Jesuit missionary in Peking, was held in great esteem by the people.

With the establishment of the Manchu Dynasty came a gradual change of policy. The whole country

was closed to foreign trade; missionaries were driven  
out; native Christians were massacred; and no  
Chinese was allowed to emigrate outside the Chinese  
border under pain of death. Why is this? Simply  
because the Manchus wanted to exclude foreigners  
from their jurisdiction and to instigate the people  
to hate them lest the Chinese might be enlightened  
and ~~realize~~ realize their own nationality through  
coming in contact with them. The anti-foreign  
spirit fostered by the Manchus finally culminated  
in the Boxer Trouble of 1900. It is now well known  
that the leaders of the movement were nobody else  
than the members of the reigning family. Hence  
it may be ~~seen~~ seen that the exclusive policy of  
China is the outcome of selfishness ~~of~~ the part  
of the Manchus and does not represent the will of  
the majority of the Chinese people. Foreigners travell-  
ing in China have often noticed the fact that those  
people who are farther away from official influence  
are always more friendly to them than those  
nearer.

Since  
After the Boxer war many have been led to believe that the Tartar government is beginning to see the sign of time and to reform itself for the betterment of the country, just from the occasional imperial edicts for reform, not knowing that they ~~are~~ <sup>are</sup> mere dead letters made for the express purpose of pacifying popular agitations. It is absolutely impossible for the Manchus to reform the country because reformation means detriment to them. By reformation they would be absorbed ~~to~~ by the Chinese people and would lose the special rights and privileges which they are enjoying. The still darker side of the government can be seen when the ignorance and ~~corruptness~~ corruptness of the official class are brought to light. These fossilized, rotten, food-for-rotting officials know only how to flatter and <sup>to</sup> bribe the Manchus, whereby their position may be strengthened to carry on the trade of squeezing. A very striking evidence can be seen from <sup>the</sup> proclamation issued recently by the Chinese Ministers at Washington prohibiting the Chinese in this country from having anything to do with the Patriotic Society under the severe penalty

Let their families and distant relatives will be arrested and beheaded in China. Such a barbarous act as coming from such an educated man as Sir Liang Ching, the Chinese Minister, cannot be accounted for except upon the probable assumption that he wishes to flatter the government so that his position as a minister, may be secured. What is the hope for reform by the government and its officials?

During the two hundred and sixty years of Tartar rule we have suffered ~~immense~~ innumerable wrongs, chief of which are the following:

(1) The Tartars run the government for their own benefit and not for the benefit of the ~~government~~ governed.

(2) They check our intellectual and material development.

(3) They treat us as a subjected race, and deny us equal rights and privileges.

(4) They violate our inalienable rights of life.

## Liberty and property

- (5) They practice or connive at official corruption and bribery.
- (6) They suppress the liberty of speech.
- (7) They suppress the liberty of association.
- (8) They impose heavy and irregular taxes on us without our consent.
- (9) They ~~practice~~ practice the most barbarous tactics in the trial of an alleged offender for the purpose of compelling him to give evidence to incriminate himself.
- (10) They deprive us of our rights without due process of law.
- (11) They fail in their duty to protect the lives and property of all persons residing within their jurisdiction.

Notwithstanding all these grievances we have tried every possible means to reconcile with them but to no purpose. In view of this fact we,

the Chinese people in order to ~~rectify~~ redress our wrongs, and to establish peace in the Far East and in the world generally, have therefore determined to adopt adequate measures for the attainment of those objects "peaceably if we may, forcibly if we must."

The whole nation is ripe for revolution. Look at the Weichow uprising of 1900, the attempted coup de main at Canton in 1902, and the Kwang Si movement which is now still going <sup>on</sup> with ever increasing force and encouragement. The newspapers and the recent publications in Chinese are also full of democratic ideas. Furthermore there is the Hwei Kung Tong (Chinese Patriotic Society) commonly known in this country as the Chinese Freemason, which has for its object "the overthrow of the Ching (Manchu) and the restoration of the Ching (Chinese) Dynasty." This political

organization has lasted for over two hundred years and it has now a membership of tens of millions of people, spreading all over Southern China. About eighty per cent of the Chinese in this country belong to this league. Those Chinese who favor revolutionary ideas may be roughly divided into three classes. The first class, the most numerous of the three, comprises those persons who cannot even obtain a bare livelihood because of the extortions and exactions of the officials. To the second class belong all those who are provoked by the racial prejudice against the Manchus, while to the third class belong those who are inspired by noble thoughts and high ideals. ~~These~~ These three ~~forces~~ factors, co-operating together in different directions, with increasing force and ~~of~~ velocity will ultimately produce the desired result. It is evident therefore that the downfall of the Manchu government is but a question of time.

The theory has sometimes been advanced with some show of plausibility that China, with her immense population and her vast resources, would be a menace to the whole world, if she would wake up and adopt western methods and ideas; that if the foreign countries should do anything towards the up-lifting and enlightenment of the Chinese people, they would thereby create a sort of Franken stein, and that the wisest policy for the other countries to pursue is to keep the Chinese down as much as possible. This is, in short, the substance of what is known as the "Yellow Peril." The theory sounds very well but it will be found upon examination to be untenable from whatever standpoint you may view ~~it~~ it. Apart from the moral side of the question as to whether it is right for one country to hope for the downfall of another, there is the political side to it. The Chinese are



by nature an industrious, peaceful, law-abiding people. They are by no means an aggressive race. If ever they go ~~to~~ to war at all, it is only for self defence. The Chinese would be a menace to the peace of the world, only if they were properly drilled by some foreign country and made use of as an instrument for the gratification of its own ambition. If left to themselves they would prove to be the most peaceful people in the world. Again from an economic standpoint, the awakening of China and the establishment of an enlightened government is beneficial not only to the Chinese but also to the world at large. The whole country would be opened to foreign trade; railroads would be built; natural resources would be developed; the ~~the~~ people would be richer and their standard of living would be higher. The demand for foreign goods would be greater and international commerce would be

<sup>a</sup> increased ~~hundred fold~~ <sup>above its present rate.</sup> ~~as over the amount found from~~  
the present rate. Is this a Peril? Nations are to  
each other as individuals. Is it economically better  
for a man to have a poor, ignorant neighbor  
than it is for him to have a wealthy, intelligent  
one? Viewed at from this light the theory falls  
at once to the ground and we may safely assert  
that the yellow peril may after all be changed  
into the yellow blessing.

These are two conflicting policies <sup>pursued</sup> ~~followed~~ by  
the foreign powers in regard to China. The one  
favors the penetration and colonizing, the other  
advocates the integrity and independence of  
China. To those maintaining the former policy  
it is needless to remind <sup>you</sup> that it is <sup>fostered</sup> <sup>(1)</sup> with  
danger and disaster, as the case of colonizing of  
Manchuria by Russia ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup>; while to those  
maintaining the latter policy we venture to  
predict that it is impossible for them to realize  
their object <sup>so</sup> long as the present government

exists. The Manchu dynasty may be likened to a collapsing house, the whole structure is thoroughly rotten, ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> ~~rested~~ <sup>rested</sup> to ~~the very foundation~~ <sup>the very foundation</sup>. Is it possible for anyone to prevent the house from falling just by supporting the walls collaterally outside with a few beams? We fear this very act of supporting it might hasten ~~quarantening~~ <sup>quarantening</sup> its crumbling. The dynastic life in China, as shown from history, is much the same as an individual it has its birth, growth, maturity, declining and dying. The present Tartar rule has begun to decline since the beginning of the last century and is dying fast now. Therefore we say that even this benevolent and chivalric act of maintaining the integrity and independence of China, if such meant, as we understood, to support the present tottering Tartar house, is doomed to failure.

Now it is evident, in order to solve this burning question, and to remove the source of disturbance

to the peace of the world, that a new, enlightened and progressive government must be substituted in place of the old one; in such a case China would not only be able to support herself but would also relieve the other countries of the trouble of maintaining her independence and integrity.

There are many highly educated and able men among the peoples who would be competent to <sup>take up</sup> the task of forming a new government, and carefully thought-out plans <sup>have</sup> long been drawn up for the transformation of this out-of-date Tartar Monarchy into a Republic of China. The general masses of the people are also ready <sup>to</sup> accept the new order of things and are long for a change for better to uplift them from their present deplorable condition of life. <sup>China</sup> It is now on the eve of a great national movement <sup>in</sup> China, just <sup>as</sup> a spark of light would set the whole political forest on fire to drive out the Tartar from our land. Our task <sup>is</sup> indeed great but it will not be a <sup>an</sup> <sup>impossible</sup> difficult <sup>one</sup>. It needs only <sup>less</sup> <sup>than</sup> twenty thousand <sup>of</sup>

~~troops~~  
 of the ally <sup>army</sup> in the Boxer war, 1900's march into  
 Peking, to break <sup>down</sup> the Tatar resistance and <sup>capture</sup> ~~take~~  
 that city. ~~It~~ <sup>There is</sup> no doubt we could do the  
 same with ~~a~~ <sup>double or triple</sup> that number of  
 men. ~~But~~ <sup>we</sup> could easily raise <sup>a</sup> hundred or a  
 thousand times more <sup>men</sup> from our patriots. And it  
 is evident, <sup>from</sup> recent <sup>experience</sup>, that the Tatar soldiers  
 are not our match in every field. The present  
 uprising of patriots in the province of Kwang Si  
~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> a striking proof. They are far away from  
 the coast and cannot get supplies of arms and ammuni-  
 tions from anywhere, <sup>except</sup> the only <sup>means</sup> of getting  
 such materials ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> dependent exclusively upon ~~the~~  
 capturing ~~from~~ <sup>from</sup> those of the enemy, even <sup>then</sup> they could  
 continue the fight for ~~at~~ <sup>at</sup> least ~~the~~ <sup>best</sup> seven years and a repeatedly  
 defeated expedition after expedition of imperial troops  
 sent against them from various parts of the Em-  
 pire. By possessing such <sup>fighting</sup> wonderful capacity, who  
 could say that they could not ~~have~~ <sup>vanquish</sup> the  
 Tatar power from China if sufficient supplies could  
 be <sup>obtained</sup> ~~forthcoming~~? When our great <sup>object</sup> of revolutionizing  
 China <sup>is</sup> accomplished <sup>and</sup> ~~then~~ <sup>only</sup> a new era would

~~the dawn~~ <sup>beauty</sup> on our country but a brighter prospect  
also would be shared by whole human race. Universal  
peace will ~~be~~ <sup>certainly</sup> follow the step of this re-  
generation of China, and a grand field hitherto  
never dreamt of will be opened to the social  
and economical activities of the civilized  
world.

Though to work out the salvation of China is ex-  
clusively a duty of our own, but as the problem has  
recently been involved a world wide interest, we  
in order to make sure of our success, to facilitate  
our movement, to avoid unnecessary sacrifice  
and to prevent misunderstanding and interpretation  
of foreign powers, ~~cannot~~ <sup>cannot</sup> appeal to <sup>the people of the</sup> civilized world  
in general and the people of the United States <sup>in particular</sup>  
for your sympathy and support either moral or  
material, because you are the pioneers of western  
civilization in Japan; because you are a Christian  
nation; because we intend to model our new government  
after yours; and above all because you are the  
champion of liberty and democracy. We hope we may  
find many Lafayettes among you

## THE TRUE SOLUTION OF THE CHINESE QUESTION.

The attention of the whole world is at present directed towards the Far East, not only because of the war which is now going on between Russia and Japan, but also because of the fact that China will ultimately be the main field of struggle between those countries striving for the mastery in Asia. European possessions in Africa which had hitherto been the bone of contention between the European Powers having now been pretty well defined, a new field for territorial aggrandizement and colonial expansion must therefore be sought. China, long known as the "Sick Man of the Far East," affords naturally such a field for the satisfaction of European ambitions. America, notwithstanding her traditional seclusive policy in international politics, is, however, by no means disinterested in it, although in a way somewhat different from that of the other countries. In the first place, the passing of the Philippine Islands under American control makes the United States one of the nearest neighbors of China, and it is therefore impossible for her to shut her eyes to the state of things in that country. In the second place, China is a great market for American goods, and if America intends to extend her commercial and industrial activity to other parts of the world, China is the first country that she must look to. Hence the so-called "Far Eastern question" is of peculiar importance to this country.

The problem is as important as it is difficult of solution, owing to the many conflicting interests involved therein. The ultimate outcome of the present war between Russia and Japan has been considered by many as the probable solution of the question. But, from a Chinese standpoint, the war raises more difficulties than it solves; if it decides anything at all, it would decide, at the most, the question of supremacy between those two countries only. What about the interests of Great Britain? of France? of Germany? of the United States? As to these questions, the war is far from being a solution.

In order to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the whole question, we must find out the root of all these difficulties. The most superficial knowledge of Asiatic affairs will convince any one that this lies in the weakness and corruptness of the Manchu government which threatens, by the very fact of its weakness, to disturb the existing political equilibrium of the world. Paradoxical as it is, it is not without foundation. As a proof of this, we would only mention the present Russo-Japanese war. Had it not been for the utter inability of the Manchu government, over Manchuria, the war might have been avoided. And it is but the beginning of a long series of conflicts which are likely to arise between the different powers interested in the Chinese question.

We say the *Manchu* government, and not the *Chinese* government, with intention. The Chinese have at present



no government of their own, and the term "Chinese Government," if applied to the present government of China, is a misnomer. This seems to be startling to one who is not well acquainted with Chinese affairs, but it is a fact—a historical fact. In order to convince you of this, let us give you a short account of the establishment of the Manchu dynasty.

Before they came in contact with the Chinese, the Manchus were a savage, nomadic tribe roaming in the wilds of the Amoor region. They often raided and plundered the peaceful Chinese inhabitants along the frontier. Towards the close of the Ming Dynasty there was a great civil war in China, and taking advantage of this golden opportunity they suddenly came down and captured Peking in much the same way as the barbarians overran the Roman Empire. This was in the year 1644. The Chinese were unwilling to submit to this foreign yoke and offered to the invaders the most stubborn resistance. In order to force them to yield, the barbarous Manchus ruthlessly massacred millions of people, combatants and non-combatants, young and old, women and children; set fire to their dwellings; ransacked their houses and forced them to adopt their costume. It has been estimated that for disobeying the order of keeping the queue tens of thousands of persons were slaughtered. It was not until after much bloodshed and barbarity that the Chinese finally submitted to the Manchu rule.

The next measure the Manchus adopted was to keep the conquered people in ignorance as much as possible by

burning and destroying all the Chinese books and literature concerning their dealings with and their invasion of China. They also prohibited the people to form associations or to hold meetings for the discussion of public affairs. Their object was to stamp out the patriotic spirit of the Chinese, so that in course of time they might forget that they were subject to a foreign rule. The Manchus number at present not more than five millions, while the Chinese have a population of not less than four hundred millions. It is therefore their constant fear that the Chinese might rise up some day and regain their country. To safeguard against this, many precautions measures have been and are still being adopted. Such has been the policy of the Manchus towards the Chinese.

There is a general misapprehension among western peoples that the Chinese are by nature a seclusive people, unwilling to have any intercourse with outsiders, and that it was only at the point of the bayonet that a few ports along the coast were opened to foreign trade. This misapprehension is due more to the ignorance of Chinese history than to anything else. History furnishes us abundant proof that from the very earliest times up to the establishment of the present dynasty the Chinese entertained close relations with the neighboring countries and did not appear to have the least ill-disposition towards foreign traders and missionaries. The Nestorian Tablet at Si-an Fu gives us an excellent record

of the evangelistic works of foreign missionaries among the people there as early as the seventh century after Christ. Again, the Buddhist religion was introduced into China by the Emperor in the Han Dynasty, and the people welcomed the new religion with great enthusiasm. It has since continued to flourish until now it is one of the three leading religions in China. Not only missionaries but traders also were allowed to travel freely throughout the length and breadth of the Empire. Even as late as the Ming Dynasty there was no sign of anti-foreign spirit among the Chinese. The then Prime Minister, Hsu Kwang Che, himself embraced the Catholic faith, and his intimate friend, Mathew Ricci, a Jesuit missionary in Peking, was held in great esteem by the people.

With the establishment of the Manchu Dynasty came a gradual change of policy. The whole country was closed to foreign trade; missionaries were driven out; native Christians were massacred; and no Chinese was allowed to emigrate outside the Chinese border under pain of death. Why was this? Simply because the Manchus wanted to exclude foreigners from their jurisdiction and to instigate the people to hate them, lest the Chinese might be enlightened and realize their own nationality through coming in contact with them. The anti-foreign spirit fostered by the Manchus finally culminated in the Boxer trouble of 1900. It is now well known that the leaders of the movement were nobody

else than the members of the reigning family. Hence it may be seen that the seclusive policy of China is the outcome of selfishness on the part of the Manchus and does not represent the will of the majority of the Chinese people. Foreigners traveling in China have often noticed the fact that those people who are farther away from official influence are always more friendly to them than those nearer.

Since the Boxer war many have been led to believe that the Tartar government is beginning to see the sign of time and to reform itself for the betterment of the country, just from the occasional imperial edicts for reform, not knowing that they are mere dead letters made for the express purpose of pacifying popular agitations. It is absolutely impossible for the Manchus to reform the country, because reformation means detriment to them. By reformation they would be absorbed by the Chinese people and would lose the special rights and privileges which they are enjoying. The still darker side of the government can be seen when the ignorance and corruption of the official class is brought to light. These fossilized, rotten, good-for-nothing officials know only how to flatter and bribe the Manchus, whereby their position may be strengthened to carry on the trade of squeezing. A very striking evidence can be seen from the proclamation issued recently by the Chinese Minister at Washington prohibiting the Chinese in this country from having anything to do with the Patriotic Society under the

severe penalty that their families and distant relatives will be arrested and beheaded in China. Such a barbarous act coming from such an educated man as Sir Liang Ching, the Chinese Minister, cannot be accounted for except upon the probable assumption that he wishes to flatter the government so that his position as a minister may be secured. Where is the hope for reform by the government and its officials?

During the two hundred and sixty years of Tartar rule we have suffered innumerable wrongs, chief of which are following

- (1) The Tartars run the government for their own benefit and not for the benefit of the governed.
- (2) They check our intellectual and material development.
- (3) They treat us as a subjected race and deny us equal rights and privileges.
- (4) They violate our inalienable rights of life, liberty and property.
- (5) They practice or connive at official corruption and bribery.
- (6) They suppress the liberty of speech.
- (7) They impose heavy and irregular taxes on us without our consent.
- (8) They practice the most barbarous tortures in the trial of an alleged offender for the purpose of compelling him to give evidence to incriminate himself.

(9) They deprive us of our rights without due process of law.

(10) They fail in their duty to protect the lives and property of all persons residing within their jurisdiction.

Notwithstanding all these grievances, we have tried every possible means to become reconciled with them, but to no purpose. In view of this fact, we, the Chinese people, in order to redress our wrongs, and to establish peace in the Far East and in the world generally, have therefore determined to adopt adequate measures for the attainment of those objects, "peaceably if we may, forcibly if we must."

The whole nation is ripe for revolution. Look at the Weichow uprising of 1900, the attempted *coup de main* at Canton in 1902, and the Kwang Si movement which is now still going on with ever-increasing force and encouragement. The newspapers and the recent publications in China are also full of democratic ideas. Furthermore, there is the Chee Kung Tong (Chinese Patriotic Society) Commonly known in this country as the Chinese Freemason, which has for its object "the overthrow of the Ching (Manchu) and the restoration of the Ming (Chinese) Dynasty," This political organization has lasted for over two hundred years and it has now a membership of tens of millions of people, spreading all over Southern China. About 80 percent, of the Chinese in this country belong to this league. Those Chinese who favor revolutionary ideas may be roughly divided into

rébte classes. The first class, the most numerous of the three, comprises those persons who cannot even obtain a bare livelihood because of the extortions and exactions of the officials. To the second belong all those who are provoked by racial prejudice against the Manchus, while to the third class belong those who are inspired by noble thoughts and high ideas. These three factors, co-operating together in different directions, with increasing force and velocity, will ultimately produce the desired result. It is evident, therefore, that the downfall of the Manchu government is but a question of time.

The theory has sometimes been advanced with some show of plausibility that China, with her immense population and her vast resources, would be a menace to the whole world, if she would wake up and adopt western methods and ideas; that if the foreign countries should do anything towards the uplifting and enlightening of the Chinese people, they would thereby create a sort of *Frankenstein*; and that the wisest policy for other countries to pursue is to keep the Chinese down as much as possible. This is, in short, the substance of what is known as the "Yellow peril." The theory sounds very well, but it will be found upon examination to be untenable from whatever standpoint you may view it. Apart from the moral side of the question as to whether it is right for one country to hope for the downfall of another, there is the political side of it. The Chinese are

by nature an industrious, peaceful, law-abiding people. They are by no means an aggressive race. If ever they go to war at all, it is only for self-defense. The Chinese would be a menace to the peace of the world only if they were properly drilled by some foreign country and made use of as an instrument for the gratification of its own ambition. If left to themselves they would prove to be the most peaceful people in the world. Again from an economic standpoint, the awakening of China and the establishment of an enlightened government is beneficial not only to the Chinese but also to the world at large. The whole country would be open to foreign trade; railroads would be built; natural resources would be developed; the people would be richer and their standard of living would be higher; the demand for foreign goods would be greater, and international commerce would be increased a hundred fold above its present rate. Is this a peril? Nations are to each other as individuals. Is it economically better for a man to have a poor, ignorant neighbor than to have a wealthy, intelligent one? Viewed from this light, theory falls at once to the ground and we may safely assert that the yellow peril may after all be changed into the yellow blessing.

There are two conflicting policies pursued by the foreign powers in regard to China. The one favors the partitioning and colonizing; the other advocates the integrity and colonizing; the other advocates the integrity and independence of



China. To those maintaining the former policy it is needless to remind them that it is fomented with danger and disaster, as the case of colonizing Manchuria by Russia exhibits; while to those maintaining the latter policy we venture to predict that it is impossible for them to realize their object so long as the present government exists. The Manchu Dynasty may be likened to a collapsing house; the whole structure is thoroughly rotten to its very foundation. Is it possible for any one to prevent the house from falling just by supporting the walls collaterally outside with a few beams? We fear this very act of supporting it might hasten its tumbling. The dynastic life in China, as shown from history, is much the same as an individual; it has its birth, growth, declining and dying. The present Tartar rule has begun to decline since the beginning of the last century and is dying fast now. Therefore we say that even this benevolent and chivalric act of maintaining the integrity and independence of China, if such is meant, as we understand, to support the present tottering Tartar house, is doomed to failure.

Now it is evident, in order to solve this burning question, and to remove the source of disturbance to the peace of the world, that a new, enlightened and progressive government must be substituted in place of the old one. In such a case China would not only be able to support herself, but would also relieve the other countries of the trouble of

maintaining her independence and integrity. There are many highly educated and able men among the people who would be competent to take up the task of forming a new government, and carefully thought-out plans have long been drawn up for the transformation of this out-of-date Tartar Monarchy into a "Republic of China." The general masses of the people are also ready to accept the new order of things and are longing for a change for better, to uplift them from their present deplorable condition of life. China is now on the eve of a great national movement, for just a spark of light would set the whole political forest on fire to drive out the Tartar from our land. Our task is indeed great, but it will not be an impossible one. It needed fewer than twenty thousand troops of the allied army in the Boxer war in 1900 to break down the Tartar resistance, to march into Peking and capture that city. There is no doubt we could do the same with double or triple that number of men; furthermore, we could easily raise a hundred or a thousand times more men from our patriots. And it is evident from recent experiences that the Tartar soldiers are not our match in every field. The present uprising of patriots in the province of Kwang Si is a striking proof. They are far away from the coast and cannot get supplies of arms and ammunition from any source. The only means of getting such materials depends exclusively upon capturing those of the enemy. Even thus they have continued the fight for the

last three years and repeatedly defeated expedition after expedition of imperial troops sent against them various parts of the Empire. By possessing capacity, who could say that they could not vanquish the Tartar power from China if sufficient supplies could be forthcoming? When our great object of revolutionizing China shall have been accomplished not only a new era would dawn on our beautiful country, but a brighter prospect also would be shared by the whole human race. Universal peace will surely follow the step of the regeneration of China, and a grand field hitherto never dreamed of will be opened to the social and economic activities of the civilized world.

To work out the salvation of China is exclusively a duty of our own, but as the problem has recently involved a world-wide interest, we, in order to make sure of our success, to facilitate our movement, to avoid unnecessary sacrifice and to prevent misunderstanding and intervention of foreign powers, must appeal to the people of the civilized world in general and the people of the United States in particular for your sympathy and support, either moral or material, because you are the pioneers western civilization in Japan; because you are a Christian nation; because we intend to model our new government after yours; and above all because you are the champion of liberty and democracy. We hope we may find many Lafayettes among you.

SUN YAT SEN.

NOTES TO  
Sun Yat Sen's  
The True Solution of the Chinese Question

革 命 潮 註 釋

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P. 1. The True Solution of the Chinese question, 題意是中國問題的真解決,

今從日本斷水樓主人原譯爲革命潮。

Far East, 遠東, 指亞洲東部。

Russia and Japan, 俄羅斯和日本; 日俄。

Ultimately 到底; 畢竟。

The main field of struggle 主要角逐地。

European Possessions in Africa, 歐人在非洲的權利。

The bone of Contention 爭奪的焦點,

European Powers, 歐洲列強。

Territorial expansion, 殖民地的擴張。

Sick man of the Far East. 遠東病夫。

Traditional seclusive policy, 傳統的政策。

International politics, 國際政治。

Philippine, islands 菲律賓群島。

Under american control, 美人管轄之下。

To shut her eyes, 專心用力; 注目。

Far Eastern question, 遠東問題。

P. 2. Ultimate out-come, 結果; 最後的成績。

At the most, 至多。

The question of Supremacy 特權問題。

Great Britain, 大不列顛; 即英國。

In order to, 所以要; 因欲.

Asiatic affairs 亞洲事件.

Corruptness, 無用.

Manchu government, 滿洲政府.

Equilibrium, 均勢; 利益均霑.

Paradoxical, 怪異; 含似非實是的意思.

Without foundation, 無根據; 鑿空.

Utter inability, 絕對的病弱無能.

Russo-Japanese war (The war between Russia and Japan), 日俄戰爭  
Manchuria, 滿洲.

With intention, 很有意思的; 有所用意.

**P. 3. Misnomer, 不相當的名稱; 誤用的名號.**

Well acquainted. 熟悉.

A historical fact, 一種歷史上的事實.

Nomadic tribe, 游牧蠻族.

Amoor (or amur), 亞莫爾; 卽黑龍江.

Frontier, 邊境.

Close, 末年; 終局.

Ming Dynasty, 明朝; 明代.

Taking advantage of this golden opportunity, 趁着這大好機會.

In much the same way, 同一行徑.

Barbarians 蠻人

Roman Empire, 羅馬帝國.

Yoke 羈勒.

Invaders, 侵略的人們.

Most stubborn resistance, 極堅決的反抗.

Yield, 屈服.

Ruthlessly, 慘酷.

Massacred, 屠戮.

Combatants, 戰士 (non——非戰士)

Set fire, 放火燒去.

Ransacked 搜索.

To adopt, 遵照。  
Costume 風俗習慣。  
Estimated 估計。  
Disobeying the order, 不聽從; 違背命令。  
Slaughtered 殺戮。  
Bloodshed 流血的事。  
Barbarity, 虐待的事。  
Manchu rule 滿洲統治。

**P. 4. Burning and destroying 燒毀。**

To stamp out 消滅。  
Patriotic spirit, 愛國精神。  
Subject 人民。  
To safeguard against this, 防患在先; 欲對此保全。  
Precautions Measures 戒備方法。  
Misapprehension, 誤解。  
By nature 在天性上。  
A seclusive people, 一個閉關思想的民族。  
Intercourse 交接。  
At the point of the bayonet 爲了槍頭的強制。  
Due to 都是。  
History furnishes us abundant proof 史冊所載, 可以證明。  
Ill-disposition 劣根性。  
The Nestorian Tablet, 景教徒匾額。  
Si-an Fu 西安府, 即今陝西長安縣。  
An excellent record 有價值的考證。

**P. 5. The evangelistic works 宣傳福音的工作。**

Buddhist religion 佛教。  
Han Dynasty 漢朝。  
With great enthusiasm 很歡迎; 大爲熱心。  
Anti-foreign spirit 排外的精神。  
Hsu Kwang Che, 徐光啟, 明上海人, 字子先, 號玄扈, 崇禎時官吏部尚書  
精究中西的曆法, 信奉天主教, 曾經行洗禮, 加名叫做保祿。

Embraced 信奉。

Catholic faith. 天主教。

Mathew Ricci 利瑪竇，意大利人，精天文算法和火器等學。

To emigrate 搬住，私逃。

Jurisdiction 司法權。

To instigate 煽動。

Nationality, 民族性。

Culminated 極點。

Boxer trouble 拳匪之亂。

**P. 6. Reigning family 皇族**

Seclusive policy 閉關政策。

Outcome 結果。

Selfishness 自私自利。

Majority 大部份。

Farther away from official influence, 和官場習氣，大不相同。

Imperial edicts for reform, 改良文告。

Dead letters 具文。

Agitations 激烈運動。

Detriment 有害。

Absorbed 併吞。

Corruption 貪污。

Brought to light, 信任。

fossilized 頑固。

Rotten 陳腐。

Good-for-nothing 無事可爲，不中用。

Flatter 取悅。

Bribe 賄賂。

To carry on the trade of squeezing, 在貿易上壓得大槓。

Evidence, 證據。

Proclamations, 命令。

Chinese Minister 中國公使。

Washington 華盛頓，美國的國都。

**Patriotic Society** 愛國學會。

Under the severe penalty 加以死刑。

**P. 7. Arrested and beheaded.** 格殺；捕捉和斬殺。

**Liang Ching, 梁靖,** 駐美中國公使。

Cannot be accounted for except upon the probable assumption 那無非是；不能辨其除去這種假想。

**Wrongs** 虐待。

**Governed** 被治的人。

**Intellectual and material development** 知識和物質上的發展。

**Subjected race,** 下等的民族。

**Deny** 不許。

**Violate** 剝奪。

**Inalienable** 天然得到的；天賦的。

**Connive** 縱容。

**Suppress** 禁止；壓迫。

**Impose,** 捐稅。

**Consent,** 許可。

**Tortures** 暴刑。

**Trial** 審訊。

**An alleged offender,** 一個可以申辯的罪犯。

**Compelling** 強迫。

**To incriminate** 確是犯罪；露罪。

**P. 8. Deprive** 剝奪。

**Without due process of law,** 不經法律的手續。

**Fail in their duty** 失職

**Jurisdiction** 法律的懲戒。

**Grievances,** 虐待。

**Reconciled,** 改革。

**In view of this fact,** 從此看來。

**Redress** 革除。

**Adequate measures,** 適當的方略。



Peaceably if we may, forcibly if we must, 可以和平的吾們就以和平對  
他, 否則吾們須把武力相待了; 吾人能期和和之, 須鬪則鬪之。

Weichow uprising of 1900, 一千九百年惠州的起義; 按惠州在今廣東省。  
The attempted coup de main at Canton in 1902, 一九〇二年廣州的攻  
戰; 按 Coup de main 是法蘭西語, 猝然發出的事情。

Kwang Si 廣西省。

Going on with ever-increasing force and encouragement, 還在那裏發  
展着。

Recent publications 最近出版物。

Democratic ideas 民治思想。

Furthermore 此外。

Chee Kung Tong, 乾坤黨。

Freemason 秘密結社。

Overthrow 推翻。

Ching 濟朝 (滿洲人建國的名號)

Restoration 重新建設。

Political organization 政治團體。

Membership 黨員。

Southern China 中國的南方。

80 per cent 百分之八十 (80%) 即十分之八。

League 同盟會。

Revolutionary ideas 革命思想。

Roughly 粗; 大略。

P. 9. A bare livelihood 一個滿意的生活; 一種放曠生活。

Extortions and exaction 壓迫; 勒索和強迫。

Provoked 激進。

Racial 種族的。

Prejudice 中傷。

Inspired 鼓吹。

Factors 重要份子。

Co-operating together in different direction 分頭合作。

Velocity 爽快。

The desired result 所希望的结果。

A question of time 時間上的問題。

Plausibility 相信。

Immense population 極多的人口。

Vast resources 無窮的富源。

Menace 威脅。

Uplifting 提高。

Enlightening 啓發。

Create 創設。

Frankenstein 復仇的國家。

To pursue 採取。

Yellow peril 黃禍。

Sounds very well 很可以聳動觀聽。

To be untenable from whatever standpoint 荒誕不經；無把握可言；無從定其論點。

**P, 10. Industrious 勤懇。**

Peaceful 和平。

Law-abiding 遵守法律。

By no means 決不是。

An aggressive race 好鬪的民族。

Self-defense 保衛自己；自衛。

A menace to the peace of the world 世界和平的主宰。

Gratification 滿足。

Ambition 願望；野心。

Left 不加干涉。

Economic standpoint 以經濟為論點。

Standard of living 生活程度

International commerce 國際貿易。

Hundredfold 一百倍。

Individuals 個人。

Viewed from this light 明察遺一覽。

Yellow blessing 黃惠；黃種的幸福和黃禍對待可貴。

Conflicting policies 矛盾政策。

In regard to 對於。

Partitioning 分割。

Colonizing 開拓殖民地。

Integrity 領土完全。

Independence 獨立。

**P. 11. Fomented 合着。**

As the case of 同一情形。

To predict 證實。

Exists 保存。

Collapsing 傾倒。

Whole structure 全部份的構造。

Foundation 基礎。

Supporting 支撐。

Beams 木材。

Hasten 使快些；催促。

Tumbling 傾倒。

Benevolent and Chivalric 仁義；仁惠和義俠。

Tottering 搖蕩將傾。

Doomed to failure, 認為不應該。

Burning 火急。

The source of disturbance 亂源

In place of, 替代。

**P. 12. Out-of-date 不合時宜；不合時代潮流。**

Tartar Monarchy 韃靼帝國。

Republic of China 中華民國。

Longing 把望。

A change for better 改良。

To uplift 解除。

Depiorable condition of live 困苦生活。

Even 晚上。

National movement 國民運動。

Allied army 聯軍。

Resistance 抵抗。

Triple 三倍。

Patriots 愛國志士。

Match in every field 勁敵；所向無敵。

Uprising 起事。

A striking proof 一個顯著的證據。

Coast 障地。

Ammunition 彈藥；軍火。

Only means 唯一的方法。

Exclusively 完全。

P. 13. Repeatedly 連續。

Expedition after expedition 一隊一隊的。

Capacity 實力。

Vanquish 打倒。

Be forthcoming 源源不絕。

A new era, 一個新紀元。

Dawn 開；曙光發現。

Whole human race 全人類。

Universal peace 全世界和平。

Follow the step of 跟著；接踵而至。

Regeneration 革命；革新。

A grand field 腳環環地。

The social and economic activities 社會和經濟的活動。

Civilized world 光明世界；文明世界。

Salvation 解放。

Involved 包含。

World-wide interest 全世界的利害關係。

To facilitate 使便利；利用。

Unnecessary sacrifice 無意識的犧牲。

Misunderstanding 誤會。

Intervention 干涉。

Appeal 告訴。

In general 略舉大要。

United States 合衆國；美國。

In particular 特別。

Sympathy 同情。

Support 援助。

Moral 道義。

Material 物質。

Above all 總而言之。

The champion of liberty and democracy 自由和民治的雄傑。

Lafayette or La Fayette 萊斐德；爲法蘭西的義將；曾經助美國革命戰爭，生於 1757 年，歿於 1834 年；此言中國倘使革命，美國當有像 Lafayette 其人，來相援助。

## 中山先生革命潮譯文

### ——中國問題的真解決——

今日全世界的眼光，都注目於遠東，此中原因，不但因目前日俄戰爭的關係，或者因為將來中國到底要做列強在亞洲爭雄的主要角逐地，那非洲地方能夠得到的權利，做歐洲列強相爭奪的焦點的地方，現今完全解決了，所以必須另行覓到一塊新的地方，以達到他領土的增加，與殖民地的擴張，吾們中國早

已有遠東病夫的名號，當然是歐洲人野心垂涎的地方。雖然，像美國在國際政治中，他的傳統的政策，比較在後，和其他各國不同，但是也不見得公正無偏的：第一，他把菲律賓羣島併吞起來，而隸屬於美國人管轄之下，使合衆國和中國變做最近的鄰國，那末他們可以專心用力於中國的事件，第二，因為中國是銷售美國貨的一個大市場，倘使美國要伸張他的商業和工業到全世界各地，那末中國必定被他們做第一個注目的國家，因此所謂遠東問題關於美國是特別重要的。

這個問題既然這樣重要，他的解決方法也很不容易，因為有許多彼此衝突的利害關係在裏面，雖然好像有許多問題，在最近日俄戰爭的結果中間，可望解決了，但是我們中國人看起來，這回日俄戰爭所引起的糾紛，委實比較所解決的事件，要生出好多。這是甚麼話呢？因為這回戰爭，就說他能夠把一切問題解決了，但是他們所解決的，至多也不過這兩國中間的特權問題罷了，那末對於大不列顛的利益怎樣呢？

對於法蘭西的利益怎樣呢？對於德意志的利益怎樣呢？對於合衆國的利益怎樣呢？看到這幾種問題，可知這戰事的離開解決，還是很遠。

所以要把這全部分的問題得到一個滿意的解決，那末吾們必須要尋出那許多困難事件的根源，關於亞洲事件最顯明的知識，而為各人所知曉的，就是這滿洲政府弄到貧弱無用的地步，並且牽動全世界現存政治的均勢，這句話好像有些怪異，但倒也不是全無根據的。他明白的證據，吾們只要看最近的日俄戰爭便夠了，倘使滿洲政府不是絕對的貧弱無能，這戰事或可免去，因為這次戰爭，不過為着許多能引起在中國問題裏面，使兩國權力間互相發生衝突的起點罷了。

吾們叫滿洲政府，而不叫他為中國政府，是很有意思的，因為這個時候，中國人還沒有自己建設的政府。倘把中國政府的名號，用在現時中國的政府身上，那是一個極不相當的名稱，這件事情，對於不熟悉中國情形的人，不免要奇怪起來了，但實在是一種



事實——一種歷史上的事實。因為要使這般人明白此事的緣故，吾們現在須把滿清初代的成立，做一個簡短的報告。

在滿洲人沒有同中國人接觸以前，他們簡直是一個遊牧蠻族，散布在亞莫爾河的四野，他們好幾次來劫掠沿居邊境上和平的中國人。在明朝末年，中國有極大的內亂，他們就趁着這大好機會，急來侵佔北京，這樣恐怕和蠻人的侵掠羅馬帝國，同一行徑，此事是在一千六百四十四年，中國人都不願服從這外人的羈勒，所以對於他侵佔的人們，曾經明白表示這種堅決的反抗，那野蠻的滿洲人，因為要使這種中國人屈服的緣故，曾經慘酷的屠殺了數百萬平民，不問他是戰士和不是戰士，老的和少的，婦女和孩童，一概放火燒去他們的房屋，并且強迫人家遵照他們的風俗習尚，爲着不聽從他們留髮辮而被殺戮的，估計已有數萬人，後來又經過了幾次流血和虐待的事，中國人便到底屈服在滿洲統治之下。

漸次，滿人又取一種手段，使被征服的人民都變

做無知無識，把關於他們對待中國的事實，和侵掠的書籍與文學，盡量燒滅，他們又嚴禁人民的結社集會。細察他的用意，是要消滅中國人的愛國精神，使他們漸漸地忘掉他們自己是在外人統治下的一個卑賤的人民。查滿洲人的人口數，現在不過五百萬人，而中國人差不多有四萬萬，因此他們很覺驚駭，恐怕將來中國人或者有奮發而恢復他祖國的一天，所以現在他們仍舊做那從前的戒備方法，防患在先，這就是滿人所施於中國人的政策。

西方的人，有一個很普通的誤解，他們看中國人在天性上是抱閉關思想的一個民族：不願和外界有什麼交接的，後來爲了鎗砲的強制，剛才開放沿海少數的口岸，和外人通商，這種誤解，都是不明瞭中國歷史的緣故，照史冊所載，可以證明從最古的時候，直到現代，中國人和他鄰近的各國，常常往來，不見得對於外國商人和傳教的教士有稍微劣根性發現，就是遠在紀元後十七世紀的時候，已經有外國傳教的教士，在民間宣傳他福音的工作，這件事詳載在西

安府的景教徒匾額上，很可以給吾們做一個有價值的考證。再有佛教，也是被漢朝的帝王引導到中國來的，而人民也很歡迎這種新的宗教，從此以後，對於宗教，沒有不是這樣，所以現今在中國有三種主要的宗教。這不單是對於傳教士是這樣的，就是商人也可通行全國各地，像最近的明朝時候，中國人中，依舊沒有排外的精神。當那個時候，總督徐光啓——他自己信奉天主教，和他的至友利瑪竇——基督教傳教士，并且還大受一般人民的尊崇。

到了滿清成立，就忽然變更他的政策，禁止全國對外通商，驅逐教士，殺死本國的基督教徒，不許中國人搬住在中國領土的外邊，不然就要處死，然而這是什麼緣故呢，他的主要原因，就是滿人恐怕外人來干涉他們的司法，防止外人煽動人民來仇恨他們，這種情狀，使得中國人好多時候屈服在他們底下的民族性，到此又將發覺了。滿人所養成的排外精神，到了極點，便發生一千九百年的拳匪之亂，這運動中的主要人物，都是一班皇族中人，現在對於這件事，人

家都已明白了，那末可以知道中國的閉關政策，不過是一部分滿人自私自利的結果，實在不可以代表全中國人民的天性的。中國人民和官場習氣，大不相同，他們對着外人，沒有不友愛的，這是在中國旅行的外人，所常常看見的實在情形。

在拳匪戰爭的後來，有的相信滿清政府，也許在這個時候，把他的國家改良一下，起初和他們偶然發出的改良文告一般地相信，但此不過他們拿來做緩和民衆激烈運動的具文罷了，實在改良國家一件事，在他們滿人手裏，是絕對不可能的。爲甚麼呢？因爲改良是和他們有害的。倘使改良了後，他們便將要被中國人民併吞起來，而失去現在所享的許多權利和特殊的利益，所以不但沒有改良，而且政府的黑暗，更加厲害。那愚笨貪污的官僚，至今還很信任。這班頑固的陳腐的無事可爲的官僚，只曉得怎樣把賄賂取悅滿人，來堅固他們的位置，並且在貿易上握得大權，近來駐在華盛頓的中國公使，發出一道禁令，要禁止在美國的中國人民參加愛國集會，否則要把他

們在國內的親屬，加以格殺之刑。吾們把這件事，便可作一個很顯明的證據，講到這樣一個野蠻的命令，而竟然從一個受過教育的中國公使梁靖所發出，那無非是要獻媚於滿洲政府，希望保存他公使的位置罷了。從此看來，吾們要使滿洲政府和他屬下的改良，還有甚麼希望呢。

吾們人民，在他們蠻族統治下的二百六十年裏面，曾經受了許多的虐待，現在把重大的記在下面。

- 一，那韃靼人的政府，一切舉動，只顧他們自己的利益，而不顧被治的人的利益；
- 二，他們阻礙吾們在智識和物質上的發展；
- 三，他們看待吾們，是一個下等的民族，不許吾們享同等的權利和特典；
- 四，他們剝奪吾們天然得到的人生權利，自由和財產；
- 五，他們常常施行官場的賄賂行爲，和從容受賄的人；
- 六，他們禁止言論自由；

- 七，他們不徵求吾們的許可，而征收很煩重和不法的捐稅；
- 八，他們於審訊一個可以申辯的罪犯時候，常常施以各種很野蠻的暴刑，強迫地使他供出本身確是犯罪的證據；
- 九，他們往往不經過法律的手續，就來削奪吾們的權利；
- 十，他們在保護一切人民的生命財產失職的時候，能得不受法律的懲戒。

大概這許多虐待，吾們曾經好幾次求他們改革，到底沒有結果。從此看來吾們中國人要革除這種虐待，并且造成遠東和全世界的和平，必須決定採取適當的方略。達到上面所述的幾種目的，這種方略，就是話可以和平的吾們就以和平對他，否則吾們須把武力相待了。

現今全民族已達到革命的成熟期了，這是看了一千九百年惠州的起義，和一千九百零二年廣東的攻戰，就可知道的。又有廣西的運動，至今還在那裏

發展着，中國的新聞紙和最近出版物裏面，也已經充滿了民治的思想，此外，還有那乾坤黨是中國的一個愛國的秘密結社，國內的人，大概都知道的；這會的宗旨，是要把清朝——滿洲人——推翻，而重新建設一個明朝——中國人。這個政治團體，創立以來，已經二百多年，現今已有黨員幾千萬人，大約散布在中國南方中，國人中十分之八都屬於這同盟會。這種歡喜革命思想的中國人，可以粗分為三個階級：第一個階級，人數是在三個中最多，容着因官廳的壓迫而不能得到一個滿意的生活的；第二，就是一般用激進中傷的手段，而打倒滿人的；第三，那就是運用高尚的思想和超絕的理想，來從事鼓吹的人們。這三種重要份子，都以有力而爽快的方法，分頭合作，所以最後必定能達到所希望的結果。吾們現在敢下一斷語，傾覆滿清政府，不過是時間上的問題罷了，西方人中，對於中國大都相信這句話，他們以為中國人倘使擁有極多的人口，和無窮的富源，一朝警醒，採取西方的方法和理想，也許做全世界的雄霸了，倘使列強

各國時常把提高和啓發中國人爲思想，那末中國人不難創設一個復仇的國家，所以列強各國應當採取最穩妥的政策，就是竭力壓制中國人，這主要的意思，大約就是驚動西方人的黃禍了。但是這句話，雖然很可以聳動觀聽，而細察起來，可知爲荒誕不經的，講到一個國家指望他國家的鎮覆，他的是非問題，不在道德而完全關係政治方面的，中國人是天然生成一個勤懇和平，遵守法律的人民，他們決不是一個好鬥的民族，所以他們不得已而有時發生戰爭，也是完全出於保衛自己的緣故，他們只求列國給以相當的訓練，和滿足的願望，那末中國人將要做全世界和平的主宰，倘使列國和他們不加干涉，他們就可證明爲全世界最和平的人民。更以經濟爲論點，中國如果覺醒了，建設了文明政府以後，不但中國人得了利益，推而至於全世界，也能夠受到他的利益的，那時候全國開放，對外通商，建造鐵路，開發富源，人民便比從前富裕，而他們的生活程度，也從此提高，供給外人的貨物，必定增多，而國際貿易的數量，將要比



現在高出一百多倍，這難道還是禍害麼。大概民族的對於民族，本來和個人沒有不同。倘於經濟上說起來，吾們若是有個窮苦無知的鄰舍，不如有一富裕有知的鄰舍，較為好些。明察這一點，那黃禍一句話，便立刻倒地了，並且吾們也可安穩地把黃禍的話改做黃惠了。

列強各國對於中國，有兩種矛盾的政策，一種就是專心做那分割而開拓殖民地，還有代辯領土完全而開拓殖民地，又有一種是代辯中國的領土完全和獨立的。主張前一種政策的，吾們可一望而知是含着危險和禍害，恐怕和俄羅斯的開拓東三省做殖民地，是同一情形的，講到主張後一種的政策，吾們可以證實他們看這現存的昏庸政府，必定不能實現他的目的去永久地保存他，因為今日的滿清政府，差不多像一間傾倒的房子，他全部分的構造，都已腐爛，他的基礎，也已虛空，照這樣一個將要傾倒的房子，究竟有誰能夠把好多的木材，支撐在四壁的外面，而不使他坍倒麼，吾們恐怕反而使他快些傾倒罷了。中國

歷代的壽命，照歷史所載，差不多和個人沒有兩樣的，也有生存和滅亡的情形。現今韃靼人的統治權，在最近世紀的開場，早已發現破裂，到死亡的時期，恐怕不遠了。所以吾們以為假使列強各國主張中國領土的完全獨立，這個意思，是保護這搖蕩將傾的滿清帝國，那雖是一件仁義的事情，吾們也不得不認為不應該的。

現在倘使要解決這火急的問題，還要撤除全世界的亂源而轉入和平之境，必須另行組織一個新的文明政府，來替代這個老朽的，那是很明白的了。倘使這樣，那末中國不但可以解決他自己，或者能夠救濟這許多國家，和中國同樣受着列強各國主張他們獨立和領土完全的種種擾亂的。講到建造一個新政府的工作，現在有許多受過教育的能人在吾們國裏，足夠擔任這件事，並且也早已規劃出一個周密的計畫了。把這個不合時宜的韃靼帝國，要改造為中華民國。單看大多數的民衆，也很歡迎接受這個新的制度，還在把望着改良的一件事，早日實現，以解除他

們現在的困苦生活。現今的中國，彷彿是一個國民大運動的晚上，只要等火光一迸，便一溜烟似的驅逐這韃靼族到吾們的區域之外了。吾們這個工作，本來不是輕易的一回事，但是也不會是絕對不可能的。單看一千九百年的拳匪戰爭，他們聯軍不過以二萬人衆，就可攻破他蠻族的抵抗，而直取北京的城市，因之吾們無須懷疑的，只要把那二倍或三倍的人數，就可和聯軍得到一個同樣的效果。再進一步說，吾們還可在愛國志士的中間，要選出百倍或千倍以上的人數，那也不是難事。又據最近的經驗，吾們知道的韃靼的軍隊，決不是吾們的勁敵，這也不必避諱的。近來廣西省愛國志士的起事，就是一個顯著的證據，他們離開敵軍的障地，非常遠隔，而又沒有軍械和彈藥的供給，他唯一的方法，完全強奪敵軍所用的軍械和彈藥罷了。但志士們在最近的三年中間，連續地和他們決戰，到底把帝國所派出征服志士們的各處軍隊，一隊一隊的打破了，這樣看來，那末倘使稍有些實力和得到源源不絕的重要供給，那還有甚麼人敢說中國

人不能打倒滿清的權力的嗎。在中國革命目的達到之後，那時不單是吾們癱爛的國家開一新紀元，就是全人類也得到一個光明的局面，全世界的和平，必定將要跟着中國的革命實現出來，在這光明世界的社會和經濟活動上，也將開一個夢想不到的瓊環瓊地。

若要把中國解放，那完完全全是吾們自己的責任，但是這個問題，因為至今已包含着全世界的利害關係，所以吾們因為要把吾們的成功確定，因為要使吾們的運動利便，因為要免去無意識的犧牲，和防止列強各國的誤會和干涉起見，不得不略舉大要以告訴在我全世界的人們之前，而更特別地希望合衆國的人民，在道義和物質兩方面，給我以同情和援助，實在因為你們是西方文化的先鋒，並且吾們很願望跟隨着你們來建造一個嶄新的政府。總而言之，你們實在是自由和民治的雄傑了，吾更希望得到許多像萊斐德一般的義勇之士，在你們的中間。



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