PART TWO

THE WILL AND THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY

I. The Will, February 24, 1925
II. The Autobiography
I

THE WILL OF DR. SUN YAT-SEN

I have served the cause of the People's Revolution for forty years, during which time my object has consistently been to secure liberty and equality for our country. From the experience of these forty years, I have come to realize that, in order to reach this object, it is necessary to awaken the masses of our people, and to join hands with those countries which are prepared to treat us as equals in our fight for the common cause of humanity.

At present, we have not yet completed the work of the Revolution, and it is my sincere hope that our comrades will continue to fight for the ultimate realization of our goal, in accordance with the Principles of National Reconstruction, the Program of National Reconstruction, the San Min Doctrine, and the Declaration of the First National Convention, all of which have been drawn up by myself. Recently I have proposed the convening of a national people's conference and the abolition of unequal treaties; you should especially work toward the realization of these aims within the shortest possible period of time.

The above is my will. SUN WEN

Signed on March u

Taken down by Wang Ching-wei, February 24

Fourteenth Year of the Republic of China

WITNESSES:

T. V. Soong
Sun Fo
Shao Yuan-ch'ung
Tai En-shai

Wu Ching-heng
Ho Hsiang-ying
Tai Chi-tao
Tsui Lu
II

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF DR. SUN YAT-SEN

This account of his own revolutionary career by Dr. Sun teas included in Chapter VIII of Dr. Sun's PHILOSOPHICAL ESSAYS, published in iQip. The title in Chinese is called SUN WEN HSUEH SHE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

THE GREAT MEN in our history have succeeded in accomplishing great work because it was in conformity with the laws of nature, with the sentiments of men, and with the trend of world progress, and because it fulfilled the real needs of their time. This principle has proved true time after time in the course of our history, especially in the work of political reconstruction. With reference to the Republican Revolution in China, we are fortunate to have finished the period of destruction. Although the reconstructional work has not yet begun, the hope for the future is nevertheless great, and I am sure that ultimately success will be secured.

It is hoped that the following account of the origin and development of the Revolution will be a source of inspiration for further activities of my co-workers, as well as to myself. Since the Republic was first created, scholars and writers all over the world have produced a large amount of literature concerning the Chinese Revolution. But most of these accounts are based on either wayside observation or newspaper stories. There are, indeed, very few writers who really know the inside facts of the Revolution.
The stories concerning the origin of the Revolution are largely drawn from the first chapter of my book, *Kidnapped in London* but that chapter was by no means an adequate account of the origin of the Chinese Revolution. Furthermore, no one could foretell twenty years ago whether or not the Revolution would be successful. So, at the time the book was written, even though I was in the Capital of Great Britain, I could not say many things which I can say now. For instance, I dared not confess in that book that I was the founder of the Hsing Chung Hui (Raising China Society, or the Society for the Restoration of the Chinese Nation) nor could I disclose the real purpose of that society, namely, to overthrow the Manchu dynasty. I hereby affirm these facts as corrections to that book.

The following account covers what I am able to remember of the last thirty years of revolutionary activities. From the day that I decided to become a revolutionist to the day when the Tung Ming Hui (the Revolutionary Alliance) was founded, the Revolution was practically limited to my own personal activity. The beginning was so small that I can remember the names of everyone of my associates. After the Tung Ming Hui was founded, the work of the Revolution became more and more complicated; and the number of people who participated in the revolutionary activities became larger and larger. There were patriots and public-spirited citizens, who sacrificed their lives in the work. There were so many that I cannot name them all in this brief account. I hope when the official history of the Revolution is written, a fuller description of those who helped in the Revolution will be given.


[45 I]
My decision to overthrow the Manchu regime and to establish a republic was made in the year 1885 when the Sino-French War took place. The school I was attending was the headquarters of my revolutionary propaganda, and I utilized my medical profession to establish contacts. Propaganda was kept up without cessation for ten years.

During my school days in the P'u Chi Medical School in Canton, a schoolmate of mine, by the name of Cheng Shih-liang, alias P* Chen, was my most active associate in revolutionary activities. He was full of initiative and ambition, and was very popular among our schoolmates. He was the center of a group of able, energetic young men, and his friends all admired his personality and his leadership. I talked to him on the matter of revolution. He at once gave it his full-hearted support. He told me that he was already a member of a secret organization, and he promised that he would enlist his fraternal associates in my service in connection with the Revolution.

After a year in the medical school in Canton, I was transferred to the British Medical College in Hongkong, because it had a better curriculum, and because Hongkong was a better place from which to carry on revolutionary propaganda. In Hongkong, I kept up my propaganda work for a number of years. During my spare hours, I traveled a great deal between Hongkong and Macao, and lectured on the Revolution without any thought of danger.

Among those who were influenced by my speeches, I may mention the names of Chen Shao-po, Yu Shao-wan, Yang Ho-ling of Hongkong, and Lu Hao-tung of Shang-
Other friends of mine thought that I was insane, and would avoid meeting me. But Chen, Yu, Yang, and myself, were often together. Our conversation, our thoughts, and our studies were concentrated on the problem of the Revolution. As a matter of fact, we were not happy unless we were talking about revolution. This went on for several years, and our friends in Hongkong and Macao called us the "Four Big Rebels." Such was the first period of revolutionary propaganda.

REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZING WORK IN CANTON, 1892-1895 AND THE INCIDENT OF SEPTEMBER 9, 1895

After graduation, I practiced medicine in Macao and Canton, where I engaged secretly in revolutionary activities. At the same time, Cheng Shih-liang was active in securing new revolutionary co-workers, in making connections with army officers, and in preparing for a revolution. Then, accompanied by Lu Hao-tung, I went to Peking and Tientsin in order to find out how strong was the Manchu government. We also went down to Wuhan to observe the conditions in the Yangtze Valley.

When the Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1894, we set out for Honolulu and North America, and established a Hsing Chung Hui in Manila, hoping to make connections with overseas Chinese and to get their support. Unfortunately, most of them were conservative; so several months of activities in the Hawaiian Islands resulted in very little. We did interest, however, Cheng Yin-nan and his elder brother, Cheng Teh-chang, and a few of their relatives. The Cheng brothers contributed their fortune to the cause of the Revolution, and it was a great help.
Meanwhile, the Manchu soldiers were defeated by the Japanese. Korea was lost to Japan; Port Arthur and Weihaiwei were besieged. The capture of Peking and Tientsin was imminent. As this war revealed the corruption and weakness of the Manchu government, a spirit of unrest prevailed throughout the country. Sung Yueh-ju, a revolutionary comrade in Shanghai, wrote to me, and urged me to return to China at once, to start a revolution. So, instead of going to America, I returned to China, accompanied by Cheng Yin-nan and a few others, to direct revolutionary activities.

Our plan was to capture Canton as our revolutionary base and so we established a *Nung Hsueh Hut* (the Association for the Promotion of Agricultural Science) in Canton as our headquarters. Among those who took charge of that office were Lu Hao-tung, Cheng Shih-liang, and a number of Western technicians and army officers. We also opened the Chien Heng Company in Hongkong as our suboffice, and Cheng Yin-nan, Yang Chu-yiin, Huang Yun-hsiang, and Chen Shao-po took charge of the work. I myself ran back and forth between Canton and Hongkong to organize revolutionary activities.

After half a year's hard work, things were well organized and we were ready to start the revolution. Unfortunately, due to our carelessness in transporting ammunition, the Maritime Customs discovered six hundred pistols in our ships, and many arrests followed. In this connection, Lu Hao-tung was executed; he was in fact the first person in China to give his life to the Republican Revolution. After Lu's death, two more, Chiu Su, and Chu Kwei-

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\[1\] The Sino-Japanese War took place in 1894-1895.
Autobiography

chuan were executed. This time more than seventy were arrested, including Admiral Chen Kwei-kuang of the Canton Navy, who subsequently died in prison; those who were considered not so guilty were either sentenced to prison or released. The raid took place on September 9, 1895; this was my first failure in the course of the revolution.

FROM JAPAN TO THE UNITED STATES
BY WAY OF HONOLULU IN 1895

For three days after the raid, I hid myself in the city of Canton. About ten days later, I managed to get to Hongkong; there I took the boat to Japan, and Cheng Shih-Hang and Chen Shao-po were with me. We stopped at Yokohama.

Having realized that there was no hope of immediate return to China, I cut off my queue, changed to foreign clothing, and prepared for another trip to Honolulu. Chen Shih-liang, however, decided to return to China in order to prepare for another revolution. Chen Shao-po decided to remain in Japan for study of the political conditions of that country. I introduced him to my Japanese friend, Sugawara Den, whom I had met in Honolulu during my last trip. Later on, he introduced Chen Shao-po to Sone Hikotora, who in turn introduced Chen to Miyazaki Yazo, the elder brother of Miyazaki Torazo. This was the beginning of contacts between our revolutionists and the Japanese statesmen.

When I arrived at Honolulu, I gathered the old comrades to strengthen the Hsing Chung Hui. Most of them were discouraged because of our failure, but others joined our cause. Due to the general reactionary atmosphere
that prevailed among the Chinese in Honolulu, I could not do much there, and so I decided to proceed to America. I hoped to do better work in America because there were many times more Chinese in the United States than in Honolulu. I was ready to depart.

One day while I was taking a walk on the street, I saw my old teacher, Sir James Cantlie, and his wife, in a car. To the surprise of the old couple, I jumped on the car. At first, they took me for a robber; because I was in foreign clothing they did not recognize me. I exclaimed that I was Sun Yat-sen. We shook hands and exchanged greetings. I inquired how they came to be in Honolulu; they replied that they were going back to England by way of Honolulu and the United States. I then acted as their guide for sight-seeing, and showed them around the town. When I sent them back to the boat, I told them that I was making a trip around the world, and that I should see them again in England.

I found the Chinese in America even more conservative than the Chinese in Honolulu. I traveled from San Francisco to New York, and stopped at a good many places, sometimes for a few days, sometimes for a couple of weeks. Everywhere I preached to the Chinese about the crisis in the mother country, the corruption of the Manchu government, and the necessity of a fundamental national reconstruction in order to bring about national salvation. I also pointed out that it was everyone's duty to participate in the reconstruction. Though I worked hard, there were very few who paid any attention to me. There were only a few individuals, at most a dozen or two in each city, who were favorable to my ideas of revolution.
The Chinese in various American cities, however, had established the so-called Hung Men Guilds. The Hung Men Fraternity had been organized during the reign of K'ang Hsi by men who were still loyal to the Ming dynasty and wanted to restore it to power. Before the time of K'ang Hsi, the pro-Ming patriots refused to submit themselves to the authority of the Manchu; and revolted many times against the new government. But they never succeeded.

By the time of K'ang Hsi, the power of the Manchus was well established, and most of these pro-Ming patriots were dead. Those who survived, seeing that nothing could be done to restore the Ming dynasty in the immediate future, decided to organize secret societies for the propagation of nationalist principles to future generations.

The program of these secret organizations was to overthrow the Manchu regime and to restore the Ming dynasty. Such organizations must necessarily remain secret, so as to avoid discovery by the government. Since officials were the tools of government and the local gentry were the tools of the officials, these secret organizations excluded officials and local gentry from membership. Only under such conditions could the society survive under the autocratic government of a foreign race.

In order to propagate nationalism, it was necessary to invent methods adapted to the minds of common people. So the initiation ceremony of the Hung Men Fraternity was cast in the form of a play, because drama was the most

3 K'ang Hsi (1655-1723) was the second ralcr of the Manchu dynasty (1644-1912).

•Ming dynasty (1368-1644).
popular form of amusement in China. By means of a play, nationalist ideas could be easily propagated, deeds of injustice could be portrayed and a sense of revenge could be aroused. The secret signals of the Fraternity consisted of slang words and bad language, so that refined gentlemen would try to get away from the people who used these terms, and consequently would not detect their signals. As mutual aid was very helpful to travelers and the homeless, the Fraternity emphasized mutual aid. The ultimate purpose of all these activities was of course to propagate the Doctrine of Nationalism and to hasten the restoration of the Ming regime.

But as time went on, the spirit of the organization changed. The fraternal groups in China, because of their constant conflict with the mandarin class, still considered the Manchu government as their enemy and still comprehended the significance of the fraternal signals.

On the other hand, the fraternal groups abroad had almost completely forgotten the original purpose of the organization in their enjoyment of their free life under the democratic governments of foreign countries. The groups became merely social fraternities; and lost their political flavor. Many of them did not understand even the significance of the restoration.

When I preached revolution in America, members of the Hung Men Fraternity were indifferent toward me. When I asked them the meaning of restoration, a great majority could not answer my question. Only after my comrades in America had spent many years in revolutionary propaganda did the Hung Men brothers begin to realize that they were the original revolutionists.
Although what I did in America was not much, it caught the attention of the Manchu government. As soon as I arrived in London, I was kidnapped and imprisoned in the Chinese Legation. If Sir James Cantlie had not secured the help of the British government and people to get me released, I would have lost my life. It was indeed providential that I had met Sir James in Honolulu. Otherwise, I would not have known that he had returned to England, and he would not have known that I had come to London.

After I escaped from the trouble in London, I remained temporarily in the continental countries to study their political conditions and to get acquainted with their statesmen. I learned a great deal during my two years on the Continent. I found out that although the European countries were powerful and wealthy, and had secured democratic governments, the people were not happy. For that reason, many progressive Europeans wanted to establish a new social order; and they were engaged in social revolutionary activities.

In the light of these findings, I sought for a more permanent solution of China's political and social problems by combining social revolution with political revolution. I conceived of the Min Skeng Doctrine (the Doctrine of Livelihood) along with the Min Ts'iu Doctrine (the Doctrine of Nationalism) and the Min Ck'nan Doctrine (the Doctrine of Democracy) as the three doctrines of the people capable of solving the problems of China,
At that time, there were no Chinese students studying in Europe, and the number of Chinese merchants and workers in Europe was very small. Because I had no opportunity to do revolutionary propaganda in Europe, I went back to Japan. Because Japan was China's next neighbor, it was easier for me to direct revolutionary activities in the Chinese provinces from Japan than from Europe.

On arriving in Japan, Mr. Inukai Takeshi, the leader of the Japanese Liberal Party, sent Messrs. Miyazaki Yazo and Hirayama Shin to meet me in Yokohama, and these gentlemen took me to Tokyo to meet the great democratic leader. We talked about our affairs as if we were old intimate friends. At that time, the Liberal Party in Japan had just come into power, and Okuma Shigenobu was Premier, with Inukai Takeshi assisting him. Later on, I was introduced by Inukai to Okuma, Oishi Nasami, Ozaki Yukio, and others. This was the beginning of my contact with Japanese political leaders. Afterward, I got acquainted with Soejima Taneomi and others. These people have helped the Chinese revolutionary work tremendously, particularly Hisawara and Inutsuka. The Yamada brothers, the Miyazaki brothers, Kikuchi, Kayano, Soejima, and Terao, have also been most earnest in assisting the Chinese revolutionary work.

These are the names of only a few of those who helped me directly and worked with me intimately in promoting the Chinese Revolution. There were besides a large number of people who helped indirectly. We must wait for the official history of the Chinese Revolution to record in greater detail the invaluable work of our Japanese friends.

There were more than ten thousand Chinese in Japan.
Autobiography

These Chinese were just as conservative as the overseas Chinese in other places. After several years of propaganda work among the Chinese immigrants between Yokohama and Kobe, we secured the support of only a little more than one hundred Chinese, or about one per cent of the total Chinese population in Japan. But the work of spreading revolutionary propaganda in China itself was even more difficult than among the overseas Chinese. Outside of the members of the secret fraternities, no one in China would listen to anti-Manchu or revolutionary speeches. The fraternity people were mostly ignorant and lacked strong organization. They would be able to help when once the revolution was well organized; but we could not depend upon them for organization work.

The five years between 1895 and 1900 constituted the most difficult period of my entire revolutionary career. In the first place, the failure of 1895 had destroyed practically all that I had been able to build up in ten years; and incidentally, I could not stay in China to direct revolutionary propaganda work.

In the second place, my propaganda work among the Chinese abroad was not effective. What was worse, the Pao Huang Party or the royalists, who themselves were Chinese, were bitterly opposed to revolution and to the idea of a republican government. They were even more bitter toward us than the Manchus.

For a while it seemed as though our entire task were hopeless. Yet my comrades, with their youthful enthusiasm, went forward. I then asked Chen Shao-po to return to Hongkong to establish a newspaper, the Chung Kuo

0 Their leaders were K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao.
Pao for spreading revolutionary propaganda. I also sent Shih Chien-ju to the Yangtze Provinces to establish connections with secret revolutionary fraternities there; and Cheng Shih-liang to Hongkong to open a kind of reception headquarters for these fraternity men. The direct consequence of these efforts was the merger of secret fraternities in the Yangtze Valley, in two Kwang Provinces and in Fu-kien into the Hsing Chung Hui.

Meanwhile, the Manchu Court became intensely anti-foreign. The Manchu officials thought that they could rely upon the Boxers for their own protection, so they instigated the latter in the wanton massacres of foreigners and in the burning of legations at Peking. This, we all knew, led to the military intervention of China by eight Powers. Hoping to seize this chance to start a revolution, I ordered at once Cheng Shih-liang to Huichow and Shih Chien-ju to Yangch'en to get our comrades ready for military mobilization. I headed for Hongkong with a group of foreign military officers, hoping to get into the interior from that port, and to lead a well organized revolutionary army northward for saving the nation from the fatal crisis. Unfortunately my plan was discovered by some treacherous spies. When my boat reached Hongkong, I was refused landing; and the plan was thus frustrated. All I could do was, on one hand, to authorize Cheng Shih-liang to take entire charge of the situation at Huichow and, on the other hand, to instruct Yang Chu-yun, Li Chi-t'ang and Chen Shao-po to send plenty of supplies to Cheng from Hongkong. I went to Formosa by way of Japan, still hoping to get into the interior through Formosa. At that time, the Japanese governor in Formosa, Kodama, was sympathetic toward the Chinese Revolution, especially in view of the
Autobiography

fact that North China was already reduced to a state of anarchism. He sent one of his chief civil officials to see me, and promised me help as soon as the revolution took place.

I then modified my original plan. I stayed in Formosa, and there I employed many Japanese military experts. Since very few revolutionists had technical training in modern military science, foreign help was very necessary. At the same time, I asked Cheng Shih-liang to start the Revolution at once, and to capture the coast cities in Kwangtung and Fuklen instead of capturing the capital city of Kwangtung, Canton, as originally planned.

After receiving my order, Cheng Shih-liang immediately went to the interior and led a big crowd to attack the Manchu soldiers in the Sin-on and Sinchuan districts of Kwangtung. After seizing large quantities of ammunition, the revolutionary soldiers proceeded to Lun-kong, Tan-sui, Yung-hu, Liang-hua, Po-man-hua, and Sandochiu.

Wherever they went, they were victorious, and the Manchu soldiers could not resist them. Finally, they occupied Sin-on, Ta-peng, Wai-chow, Ping-hai, and other cities, then waited for me and other members from headquarters to supply them with more ammunition.

Less than two weeks after the Revolution of Wai-chow broke forth, there was suddenly a change of cabinet in Japan. Ito, the new Prime Minister, had a totally different policy toward China from that of his predecessor. He instructed the governor of Formosa not to be intimate with Chinese revolutionist parties, and not to supply ammunition to them. He forbade military officers to join the revolutionary armies. I was also prevented from going to the interior through Formosa. I then sent Yamada Yoshi-
masa and other intimate workers to Cheng's headquarters to report to Cheng the changed circumstances. I asked Cheng to act according to his best judgment. It took more than thirty days for Yamada's party to get to Cheng Shih-liang's headquarters. Meanwhile Cheng and his men had fought more than a month, and had used up all their supplies and ammunition. They were hoping anxiously for re-enforcements and more supplies. After hearing Yamada's report, Cheng immediately disbanded his army which amounted to ten thousand and led a few hundred of his personal followers to Hongkong under disguise. Later on, Yamada was caught by Manchu soldiers and was shot. He was the first foreigner who sacrificed his life for the Republican cause in China.

While Cheng Shih-liang was fighting in Wai-chow, Shih Chien-ju tried many times to capture the city of Canton, but he failed. Finally, he decided to use explosives to attack the Viceroy's Yamen. He failed again and was caught. He was the second strong character who sacrificed his life for the Republican cause. Chien-ju was no less industrious, honest, devoted, and capable than Lu Hao-tung. Both were poets and prolific writers in addition to being active revolutionary workers. If they had not died, they would have accomplished many things for the country. Indeed, their death was a great loss to the Revolution and to the country. But their moral leadership and their patriotic deeds are still sources of inspiration to us. The Wai-chow Revolution was the second failure in the history of the Chinese Revolution, and it took place in the year of 1900.
After this failure, I felt, however, a marked change of public opinion in China. After my first failure, the entire country regarded me either as a bandit or as a rebel. I was cursed by the entire country and was treated as a dangerous serpent or as a wild beast. Few people in the country dared to make my acquaintance.

After the failure in 1900, not only the people stopped cursing me, but the progressive elements expressed sympathy with me in my misfortunes. When I noticed this difference, I was supremely happy, because the people of this country were gradually awakening. Moreover, the capture of Peking by the Allies, the escape of the Empress Dowager and the Emperor, and the exaction of an indemnity of 900,000,000 taels had intensified the political unrest in the country. The prestige of the Manchu government was altogether lost, and the poverty of the country had increased. As the sense of patriotism was gradually aroused throughout the country, the revolutionary movement in China became more and more popular.

At that time, the various provinces sent students to Japan for study. As these students were young and progressive, they were easily influenced by revolutionary ideas. Before long, the central topic of discussion among the Chinese students in Tokyo was the problem of revolution. Liu Chen-yu was expelled from school at the request of the Chinese Minister in Tokyo because he gave a fiery speech on revolution and anti-Manchuism. At the same time, Chi Yuen-cheng, Shen Hung-chai, and Chang P'u-ch'uan
Sun Yat-sen, His Political and Social Ideals

edited the *Kuo Min Pao* (the Citizens' Tribune) to promote revolution.

The students in China soon followed the lead of the Chinese students in Japan. In Shanghai, Chang T'ai-yen, Wu Chih-hui, and Tsou Yung edited the *Su Pao* (the Kiangsu Tribune). Since it was too radical and revolutionary, the editors were sued before the Shanghai court by the Manchu government. Chang T'ai-yen and Tsou Yung were put in jail in the settlement, and Wu Chih-hui escaped to Europe. This case involved the person of the Manchu emperor, and it was the first time in the history of the Manchu dynasty that the government and the people became opposite parties in a law suit.

Although the Manchu government won the suit, Chang and Tsou stayed in jail only two years. As a result, Chang and Tsou were popularly recognized as the leaders of democracy. Tsou Yung wrote a book on the *Revolutionary Army* which was very radical, and was very popular among the overseas Chinese. It did more than anything else to emancipate the thought of the overseas Chinese. By this time the revolution had become a popular and nation-wide movement.

THE BEGINNING OF THE TUNG MING HUI, 1905

Between the years of 1902 and 1903, the French Minister in Tokyo presented to me an invitation from the Governor of Annam, asking me to pay a visit to Annam. But, unfortunately, due to some other business, I could not accept his invitation. Later on, in connection with the exhibition in Hanoi, I made a visit to Annam. The gover-

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6 Here the French name is omitted.

* Hanoi is the capital city of French Indo-China.
Autobiography

nor, had already left Annam, but asked his chief secretary to entertain me. In Hanoi, I got acquainted with some rich Chinese merchants, including Huang Lung-sheng, Chen Chi-t'ing, Chen Pi, Yang Shou, and Peng Tseng-chi- They became members of our Party, and helped much in Ch'in-lien and Ho-kou battles.

After the exhibition, I made another tour around the world by way of Japan, Honolulu, and the United States. On passing through Japan, I met Mr. and Mrs. Liao Chung-k'ai, Mr. Ma Chiin-wu, Mr. Hu I-sheng, and Mr. Lu Chung-shih, who were very enthusiastic about the revolutionary work. I asked them to look around for more like-minded people, and get them organized. This was the beginning of the idea of a revolutionary party which was established later on and was known as Tung Ming Hui.

Several attempts at revolution took place during the period between the defeat of Wai-chow and the founding of the Tung Ming Hui, including the attempts at capturing Canton by Li Chi-t'ang, Hung Ch'uan-fu and the attempts in Hunan by Huang Ke-ch'iang and Ma Fu-i. Although they all failed, the general public began to take notice of the bravery and influence of these revolutionists.

Simultaneously, the Chinese immigrants in foreign countries became more and more liberal through the educational propaganda of the Chinese students in Tokyo and through the revolution ary movements in China. So, at this time, wherever I went, the overseas Chinese gave me a hearty reception, and their attitude toward me was totally changed.

8 The French name is again omitted on account of lack of authentic information,
I arrived in Europe in the spring of 1905. Most of the Chinese students in Europe were favorable toward revolution. What was more significant, due to the influence of the Japanese returned students and the revolutionary movements in China, these students in Europe were not only interested in revolutionary discussion, but also in revolutionary action. I took this opportunity to propagate among them my San Min Doctrine and the Five-Power Constitution, and organized them into revolutionary societies.

The first society was organized in Brussels, and thirty members were initiated. The second society was organized in Berlin, and twenty members were initiated. The third society was organized in Paris, and more than ten members were initiated. The most popular revolutionary society was that in Tokyo, in which several hundred members were initiated, and in which seventeen provinces were represented. Kansu province alone, which had no students in Japan at that time, was not represented. This was the beginning of Ke-ming Tung Ming Hui (the Revolutionary Alliance). Since most people dared not use the term Ke-ming (revolution), the society was commonly called Tung Ming Hui (the Alliance).

The founding of the Revolutionary Alliance marked a new epoch in the history of the Chinese Revolution. Indeed, in view of the fact that I had suffered previously so many defeats and that I had been ridiculed and criticized almost universally, I even ceased to expect that the Manchu government could be overthrown during my lifetime. The only reason that I struggled on was to restore the dy-

9 For the sake of precision, the Tung Ming Hui is translated as "The Revolutionary Alliance" throughout this volume.
Autobiography

ing nationalism through "propaganda by deed" and to in­spire other people who would follow my example.

As soon as the Revolutionary Alliance was formed, in which the best of the younger generation of China was re­presented, I realized that the success of the great revolution­ary work might come in my lifetime. I settled upon the term Chung Hua Min Kuo, or the Chinese Republic, and asked the members of the Revolutionary Alliance to prop­agate revolutionary doctrines and republican ideals among the people of their own provinces when they returned.

In less than a year after the Revolutionary Alliance was formed, its membership had increased to over ten thousand and its branches were established in all provinces. Hence­forth, the progress of the revolutionary movement was so rapid that it was beyond anyone's expectation.

THE MOVEMENT ATTRACTS WORLDWIDE ATTENTION

Meanwhile, foreign governments became more and more favorable toward the Chinese revolutionists. One day, on my way to Japan from the Straits Settlements, my boat stopped at Woosung. A French officer, by the name of Bugarbe, came to call on me. He represented the French Minister of War, and was instructed to say that the French government would be happy to render any assistance to the Chinese revolutionary movement. He asked about the strength of the revolutionists, and I told him the facts. He asked whether or not the revolutionists had secret un­derstandings with provincial armies; and he said that if they had, the French government would be glad to give external assistance. I replied that we had no secret under-

10 Translated.

[ 63 ]
standings with the provincial armies, and I asked him to help us in that matter. He then sent me eight military aides to assist me in making military plans.

At this time I asked Liao Chung-k'ai to establish a revolutionary organ in Tientsin; and sent Mr. Li Chung-shih, accompanied by a French officer, to Kwangtung and Kwangsi to investigate military conditions there. Mr. Hu I-sheng, accompanied also by a French officer, went to Szechuan and Yunnan to investigate military conditions there; and Mr. Chiao I-chai, accompanied by a French officer also, to Nanking and Wuhan. The new armies in Nanking and Wuchang were very favorable toward the revolution. In Nanking Mr. Chao Po-hsien had understandings with all military officers above the rank of captain, and had secret conferences with them to make military plans.

In Wuchang, Mr. Liu Chia-yun also had secret connections with army officers, and planned a secret mass meeting in the Anglican Church. A large crowd attended that meeting. I understand that General Chang Piao, commander of the new army in Wuchang, came to the meeting in disguise. A number of pro-revolutionary speeches were given at this meeting, including one from a French officer. As a result, the secret activities of the Wuchang revolutionists were reported to the government authorities.

Chang Chih-tung, the viceroy of Hu Kuang provinces, employed a foreign spy to follow the French officer. This spy finally became acquainted with the French officer and pretended to be favorable toward the Chinese Revolution. Being a foreigner, the French officer told this spy unsuspectingly his plans. Finally, Viceroy Chang Chih-tung reported the revolutionary plans to the Manchu emperor.
Autobiography

The Manchu government immediately sent a protest to the French minister in Peking, who in turn reported to the French government the activities of Bugarbe and others, and asked that the French government punish them. But the French government took no action in this affair, and the Manchu government could do nothing either.

After this took place, there was a change of Cabinet in France, and the new Cabinet did not approve of French interference with the Chinese Revolution, and recalled Bugarbe and his associates to France. As a consequence, Liu Chia-yun and others were arrested and were executed. This was a really important international case caused by the Nationalist movement.

THE ATTEMPTS IN P'ING HSIAng AND CHAO CHOW
1906-1907

Shortly after the founding of the Revolutionary Alliance, we issued the Min Pao for propagating the San Min Doctrine and other revolutionary ideas. It was the most popular magazine that had ever appeared in China. As a result, many individuals such as Hsu Hsi-lin, Hsiung Cheng-chi, and Ch'iu Ch'in started revolutionary work quite independently of our movement.

In 1906, some of our Alliance members declared independence in P*ing Hsiang and Li-ling. When these revolutionists were fighting with the Manchu soldiers in P'ing Hsiang and Li-ling, the members in Tokyo were most eager to go to the interior and join the military forces. A large number of our members came to Headquarters every day asking for permission to join the forces in China. The spirit was so good that when Headquarters hesitated to let them go, they made all kinds of patriotic appeals.
Unfortunately, the P'ing Hsiang Revolution broke forth without the knowledge of Headquarters, and the authorities at Headquarters were not prepared to give substantial help to it. Consequently, the revolutionists were defeated by the Manchu soldiers. Yii Chi-mou, Liu Tao-i, Ning T'iao-yuen, Hu Yin, and others were arrested. They were either executed or imprisoned. At that time, a large number of our members were already on the way to Li-ling to participate in the Revolution. This was the first shedding of blood on the part of the members of the Revolutionary Alliance.

Henceforth, a revolutionary atmosphere prevailed in the country. The Revolutionary Alliance became more and more conspicuous, and its movements were closely watched by the reactionaries. Simultaneously, the Manchu government tried many times to negotiate with the Japanese government for my deportation from Japan; so that I was more or less forced to leave Japan. Accompanied by Hu Han-min and Wang Ching-wei, I went to French Indo-China.

In Hanoi, Annam, we established our Revolutionary Headquarters to direct the operations in China. At one time we instigated a revolution in Ch'ao-chow and Huang-Kang; but it was not successful. This marked the third unsuccessful attempt at revolution. Then I ordered Teng Tzu-yu to start another revolution at Wai-chow and again I failed; this marked the fourth unsuccessful attempt.

THE RIOTS IN CH'IN AND LIEN DISTRICTS, KWANGTUNG 1907

Then riots protesting against the increase of taxation took place in the Ch'in and Lien districts. The Manchu
government ordered Generals Kuo Jen-chang and Chao Po-hsien, each commanding three to four thousand modern troops, to suppress the riots. I asked Mr. Huang Ke-ch'iang to follow General Kuo, and Hu I-sheng to follow General Chao, to see if these generals could be converted to the side of the revolution. Both General Kuo and General Chao consented to come to our side as soon as a regular revolution took place. I then sent representatives to the Ch'in and Lien districts, asking the local gentry and farmers to co-operate with us in case of a revolution.

At the same time, I sent Kayano Nagatomo to Japan to purchase ammunition. I also employed a number of retired French army officers to train our armies in French Indo-China. As soon as the ammunition came from Japan, we would occupy Fang Cheng, Tung Hsing, and other coast cities.

As Tung Hsing is separated from the French Mongkai only by a river, though I had to be in French territory, I could conveniently direct operations in Chinese territory. I calculated that we could form two thousand troops without any difficulty as soon as the ammunition arrived from Japan. Should we consolidate the volunteers in the Ch'in district, we could get another six thousand troops. When our troops combined with the modern armies under Kuo and Chao, we would have a very powerful army; and with additional training, we could easily occupy Kwangtung and Kwangsi. From there we could proceed to the Yangtze Valley and join with the modern armies in Nanking and Wuchang. It would not be difficult at all to occupy the entire country.

"Translated."
Unfortunately, some members in our Tokyo headquarters quarreled among themselves, and as a result of this quarreling, their secrets leaked out. Their ammunition was seized, and many men were arrested. At that time, the revolutionists had already occupied many cities, and were waiting for the ammunition. When the ammunition failed to arrive, I lost the confidence of the armies as well as of the local gentry in these districts.

Seeing that the ammunition could never come, the revolutionists attacked the Ch'in district, hoping that Kuo's army would help them out. But Kuo refused to move because our own army was not well organized, and because he was watched closely by other government armies. Our troops then attacked Ling-Shan in order to get General Chao to move. Chao, seeing that Kuo did not move, was also afraid to carry out his original promise. At last, our troops were forced to retreat to the Shih Wan Mountains. This was my fifth unsuccessful attempt at revolution.

THE ATTEMPTS IN YUNNAN
1907-1908

After our failure in the Ch'in and Lien districts, Huang Ke-ch'iang, Hu Han-min and I led more than one hundred revolutionists in French Indo-China, and with the help of some French officers, seized Cheng-Nan-Kuan, and occupied three strategic points. We took over the defeated troops and hoped to combine them with the revolutionary troops of Shih Wan Mountains. We also hoped to attack Lung-chow. Unfortunately, the troops in the Shih Wan Mountains could not come because of the great distance;

is Situated sixty miles northwest of the Ch'in Hsien, Kwantuoq, and on the borderline between Kwangtung and Kwangst.
and so a little over a hundred of our troops had to fight with several thousands of our enemy's troops under the command of Lung Chi-kuang and Lii Jung-ting. We kept on fighting for three days continuously, and finally we had to retreat to French Indo-China.

On passing Lang Son, Annam, a Manchu detective followed me and reported me to the Manchu officials, who in turn negotiated with the French government in French Indo-China to expel me. This was my sixth unsuccessful attempt at revolution.

While I left Hanoi, I asked Huang Ke-ch'iang to start another revolution in the Ch'in and Lien districts, and Huang Min-t'ang to capture Ho Kou, Yunnan, which I thought could be used as our revolutionary base. Later on, Huang Ke-ch'iang leading only a handful of two hundred men walked about the Ch'in and Lien districts as he pleased, capturing towns and taking cities. For several months, the Manchu soldiers did not dare to approach him. Although the exhaustion of ammunition forced Huang eventually to retreat to French Indo-China, he was already known throughout China as a gallant fighter. This was our seventh unsuccessful attempt.

Several months later, while I was at Singapore, Huang Min-t'ang, with only a hundred men, captured Ho Kou and killed the military commissioner there. He took over the control of the commissioner's troops, numbering over a thousand men, and waited for my orders and supplies before proceeding to occupy the entire province of Yunnan.

Being far away from the country, and being barred from French territory, I could not go back to direct Huang Min-t'ang's operations. I wired Huang Ke-ch'iang to go there and help. On the way, Huang Ke-ch'iang was suspected
as a Japanese by French officials and was prevented from going across the Chinese border. Later on, after having found that he was a Chinese revolutionist, the French government expelled him from French Indo-China at the request of the Manchu government. Consequently, the revolutionary troops in Ho Kou lost their leader and dared not go forward. Otherwise, Mengtsu would have been ours, and Yunnanfu would have fallen easily.

By reading over the telegrams to the central government for re-enforcement sent by the Viceroy of Yun Kuei provinces, one can easily see that the entire province of Yunnan could have been captured without the least difficulty. But Huang Min-t'ang failed to receive any help from outside. After a month of aimless fighting against enemy troops ten times as large as his own, he was forced to retreat to French Indo-China with his six hundred men. This was the eighth unsuccessful attempt of the revolution.

THE SINGAPORE INCIDENT AND ATTEMPTS TO ASSASSINATE THE EMPEROR, 1908-1910

Later on, the Chinese revolutionists in French Indo-China were deported by the French government, and sent to Singapore. But the British officials prevented them from landing. The French consul negotiated with the British governor in Singapore, saying that these six hundred people were defeated revolutionists and that they were coming voluntarily to Singapore. The governor of Singapore replied that they might be regarded not as political criminals but as rioters, because no third country had recognized them as belligerents against the Chinese government.
Autobiography

The French steamer which accommodated the six hundred revolutionists was anchored off Singapore for two days. Finally, the French governor expressed the opinion that during the fighting between the six hundred revolutionists and the Chinese government, the maintenance of neutrality on the part of the French government in French Indo-China constituted French recognition of the status of belligerency on the part of the six hundred men, and that the revolutionists now in Singapore could not be regarded merely as rioters. Thereupon, the government in Singapore permitted them to land. This was certainly an interesting international episode in connection with our Revolution.

From the battle of Huang-kang to the battle of Ho Kou, six times we failed to carry out a revolution; and each time the revolution was initiated in the name of the Revolutionary Alliance. After these six unsuccessful attempts, Wang Ching-wei was so discouraged that he decided to find a quicker way of overthrowing the emperor. He went up to Peking, and there he and Huang Fu-sheng attempted to assassinate the Manchu emperor. But they failed, and were arrested. They were released after the Wuchang Revolution.

FINANCIAL CAMPAIGNING AND ITS DIFFICULTIES
1910-1911

Before the formation of the Revolutionary Alliance, only a small group of my relatives were willing to contribute money for financing the revolutionary work. No one else either dared or was willing to help. After the formation of the Revolutionary Alliance, we were able to start regular financial campaigns. One who contributed most gener-
ously was Chang Chin-kiang, who gave all that he got from his business in Paris, amounting to between sixty and seventy thousand dollars. Huang Chin-Ian of French Indo-China also deserves special mention. He contributed his life savings of several thousands of dollars toward military expenses. Li Cho-feng, Tsung Hsi-chou, and Ma Posheng, all prominent merchants in French Indo-China, contributed tens of thousands of dollars each.

After many failures, I was expelled from French Indo-China, from Hongkong, and in fact from all places that were near China. I had no way of making connections with China. So I trusted all the work in China to Huang Ke-ch'iang and Hu Han-min. I myself decided to make another world tour to promote financial campaigns in the interest of the Revolution.

Later on, Huang Ke-ch'iang and Hu Han-min returned to Hongkong and established headquarters there. They and Chao Po-hsien, Yi Yang-tien, Chu Chi-hsing, Chen Chiung-ming, and Yao Yu-p'ing, having won over the modern army in Canton, planned to capture Canton on a certain day in the year 1910. Unfortunately, somebody in the new army was too enthusiastic, and started trouble one month ahead of the time planned. Yi Yang-tien had to lead a small body of troops to attack the city of Canton. He suffered a counter attack and finally was wounded. The enemy caught him and killed him. His men dispersed. This was the ninth time that our Party had failed.

I heard this news in San Francisco, while I was returning to the East by way of Honolulu and Japan. I landed at Japan in disguise. But I was discovered by the police, and was not permitted to stay in Japan. I then went to Penang from Yokohama, where I asked Huang Ke-ch'iang
and Hu Han-rnin to meet me to plan further revolutions. At that time, my co-workers were a little disappointed, because we had just suffered fresh defeats, and because our Headquarters had been completely destroyed and our military bases taken.

Moreover, our new army comrades in the South had lost their positions and could not even make their daily living. They felt a sense of despair. But I tried to comfort them by telling them I had faced greater discouragements in my earlier days and that the rapid growth of the revolutionary movement justified no pessimism. I told them also that hereafter the greatest trouble in the Chinese Revolution would be the lack of persistence and determination among ourselves, and not the lack of adequate financial help. I promised them that I would do all I could to relieve the immediate financial shortage.

Chao Po-hsien told me that if we planned to start another revolution in the near future, a few thousand dollars would be needed at once to keep the troops in a certain part of the country from disbanding, and to re-establish revolutionary headquarters in South China. He proposed also that he and others should return to Hongkong at once to establish connections in South China, and that five thousand dollars would be needed* for traveling expenses. If the revolution should break out on a large scale, he said, a huge sum amounting to several hundred thousand dollars would be absolutely necessary. That very evening, I gathered the Chinese immigrants in that town, and laid the proposition before them. In one evening, eight thousand dollars were contributed. I then asked my co-workers to start a campaign in different cities, and we got between fifty and sixty thousand dollars in a few days.
Having secured sufficient funds, we decided to proceed with our work at once. I myself decided to make another financial trip to the British and Dutch settlements in the South Pacific. But the Dutch government refused me admission, and the British government and the Siamese government expelled me many times from their territories. So I could not even find standing room for myself in the great continent of Asia and in the wide space of the South Pacific. The only alternative for me was to go back to Europe and America.

In America I traveled extensively, and the Chinese immigrants responded very generously to my financial appeal. As a result a revolution broke out in Canton on March 29, 1911. In this revolution, the best of our Party gathered in one place and decided to fight the last battle with the enemy. Although they failed, the death of seventy-two patriots now lying in the Huang Hua Kong cemetery startled the world into the realization that the Revolution in China had a far-reaching political significance. This was our tenth unsuccessful attempt.

THE SITUATION IN WU HAN, 1911

At first, Chen Ying-shih, Sung Teng-ch’u, Tan Shih-ping, and Chu Cho-sheng were asked by the Hongkong military office of the Party to send re-enforcements to Canton. After the collapse of the Revolution in Canton, they turned their attention to Wuhan. Ever since the French military officers made connections with the new armies in Wuhan, the revolutionary ideas had spread rapidly among them. Yet because they were closely watched by the Manchu government, these new armies dared not start trouble.
Autobiography

When a riot broke out in Szechuan, Tuan Fang, viceroy of Szechuan, asked Jui Chen, the viceroy of Hu Kuang provinces, to dispatch certain troops from Wuhan to Szechuan to suppress the riots. In response to this request, Jui Chen sent to Szechuan the most radical army just to avoid trouble in Wuhan.

The revolutionary atmosphere in the country was already so thick that the Manchu officials were constantly in a state of terror. Wild rumors in Wuchang were freely circulated. The situation was very tense. So Jui Chen entered into a secret understanding with a foreign consul whereby the latter would send battleships to Wuhan; and in case of a revolution, the city would be bombarded. At the same time, Sun Wu and Liu Kung were pushing the revolutionary work in Wuchang as fast as they could; and the new armies were all prepared for a move.

Suddenly the headquarters of the Revolution in Wuhan were raided, and thirty were arrested. At that time, Hu Yin was still in the Wuchang prison. He advised Chen Ying-shih and others not to come to Wuchang. But both the artillery and the engineering corps had already entered the revolutionary party. When they heard that the membership lists had been seized by the government and that a general arrest would take place the next day, they decided to take desperate action in order to save themselves. Hsiung Ping-kun fired the first shot; and Tsai Tsimin leading a large crowd attacked the city and bombarded the Viceroy's Yamen.

Jui Chen escaped to Hankow and asked the foreign consul referred to above to bombard the city of Wuchang according to the original agreement. But according to the Treaty of 1900, none of the treaty powers should act inde-
pendently in Chinese affairs. A consuls' meeting was called. At first, a majority of the consuls inclined toward bombarding the city of Wuchang. Others were undecided what to do.

The French consul, who was my old friend and who knew pretty well the inside of the revolutionary party, opposed bombardment. The Revolution was opened in my name. The French consul said before the meeting that Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary party was one for political reform, and not a mob such as the Boxers, and that he was opposed to intervention. The senior consul at that time was the Russian consul. He took the same attitude as the French consul, and a majority of the consuls agreed with the French consul's opinion. The meeting decided against intervention and favored a proclamation of strict neutrality. Seeing that foreign help could not be got, Jui Chen escaped to Shanghai. When the viceroy ran away, the military commander, Chang Piao, also ran away. So the Manchu armies fell into complete confusion.

On the side of the revolutionists, there was no one able to assume supreme control of the situation. Sun Wu was wounded from making explosives. Liu Kung was too modest to accept any high positions. The Shanghai associates could not come to Wuchang at once. So Tsai Tsi-min, Chang Chen-wu, and other members of the Revolutionary Alliance compelled Li Yuan-hung to become the military governor of Hupeh province; and order was restored in Wuhan at once. Later on, when Huang Ke-ch'iang and others arrived, a division of opinion had occurred between the Hunanese soldiers and the Hupeh soldiers, and there was already trouble in enforcing orders.
Autobiography

THE SUCCESS OF WUCHANG REVOLUTION
IS PROVIDENTIAL!

As a matter of fact, the success of Wuchang was sheer accident. The main cause of its success was the escape of Jui Chen. If Jui Chen had stayed, General Chang Piao would not have gone and he would have controlled the situation. Most of the pro-revolutionary new armies had already gone to Szechuan and those that remained were only small sections of artillery and the engineering corps. All other new armies in Wuchang were vacillating. These small sections fired the first bullets because they had to save their own lives, and at that time their success was by no means certain. It was, indeed, the work of Providence that the Manchu rule so easily ended and that the Chinese regained their political control.

The success of the Wuchang Revolution now depended upon the support of other provinces. Realizing this, the members of our Party in different provinces started revolutions simultaneously. In a few months, fifteen provinces had declared their independence and joined the side of the Revolution.

The most important event was the capture of Shanghai, and Chen Ying-shih was largely responsible for this work. Indeed, when Hankow was retaken by the Manchu army, Chen offset the loss by capturing Shanghai. After capturing Shanghai, it was easy to take Nanking. So when Hangyang was recaptured by the Manchu army, the revolutionists captured Nanking to offset it. Keeping the balance in this way added great prestige to the revolutionists, and Chen Ying-shih was the one most influential in doing it.

While the Wuchang Revolution was taking place, I arrived at Denver, Colorado. About a fortnight before, I
had received a telegram from Huang Ke-ch'iang from Hankow. Because my secret code book was put in ray trunk which had already gone on to Denver, I had no way of translating the telegram. That night, on arriving at Denver, I got out the secret code and translated Huang's telegram, which read: "Chu Chen arrived at Hongkong from Wuchang, reporting new troops ready to move. Please remit funds at once."

I was in Denver, and I had no way to get funds. I was thinking of wiring an answer, "Do not move," but it was late at night, and I was extremely tired from the day's tedious traveling, and I was confused in my thoughts. I thought I would have a good night's rest first, and would solve the problems next day. I slept until eleven o'clock the next morning. When I got up, I was hungry. I went to a restaurant to get my breakfast. On passing a newsstand, I bought the morning newspaper which opened with the telegram, "Wuchang occupied by the revolutionists." All the difficulties involved in answering Huang's telegram were completely removed. I had only to send a telegram to Huang Ke-ch'iang, explaining how my reply was delayed and telling him my plan. I immediately left for the eastern part of the United States.

THE BEGINNING OF NATIONALIST DIPLOMACY

1911

At that time, I could have come home in disguise by way of the Pacific Ocean, and I could have reached Shanghai in twenty days. Then I could have directed the revolutionary war myself; that would have given me the greatest satisfaction of my life. But my second thought was that my contribution to the revolutionary work was not
in the battle field but in diplomatic circles. So I decided to devote myself to diplomatic work and not to return until the diplomatic questions were solved.

At that time, the American government stood for the open-door policy in China. It had no settled opinion about the Chinese Revolution. On the other hand, American public opinion was favorably inclined toward our side. In France, both the government and the people were favorable toward the Chinese Revolution. In England, the people were sympathetic toward us; but the China policy of the government largely followed the lead of Japan, Germany and Russia were more or less pro-Manchu, and our own Party had very little connection with either the people or the governments in Germany and in Russia. So we had no way of changing the policy of Russia and Germany.

Japan was very intimate with China. The Japanese people were not only sympathetic toward us, but many of them had even sacrificed their lives to assist the Chinese Revolution. On the other hand, the policy of the Japanese government was not favorable. It had expelled me once from Japan, and had once refused me landing in Japan. These actions plainly indicated the attitude of the government towards the Chinese Revolution. By virtue of the Treaty of 1900, however, Japan could not act independently.

In brief, of the six foreign Powers that have most intimate relations with China, America and France were sympathetic with the Chinese Revolution. Germany and Russia were opposed to us. The people in England were sympathetic toward us, but the government policy was not definite. So the key of our diplomacy would be the attitude of the British government because it would determine in a
large measure the success or the failure of our Revolution. If the British government was for the revolution, the Japanese government would not need to be feared.

So I went direct to New York, where I took a boat to England. In passing through St. Louis, I bought a newspaper which reported that the Wuchang Revolution had broken out by the order of Sun Yat-sen, that the revolutionists were going to establish a republican form of government, and that the first presidency would go to Sun Yat-sen. Having read this item of news, I kept particularly secret about myself on the way, and carefully avoided newspaper reporters in order to keep clear of unnecessary complications.

On passing through Chicago, I asked comrade Chu Chwuowen to go with me to England. On arriving at New York, I heard that our comrades in Canton were attacking the city of Canton, and that the fall of the city was imminent. In order to avoid bloodshed, I telegraphed Chang Min-chi, the viceroy of Kwangtung and Kwangsi provinces, asking him to surrender the city to the revolutionists and to join the Party. At the same time, I telegraphed to my comrades in Canton to save the life of Chang. Both these advices were successfully carried out.

When I arrived in England, I was introduced by an American friend to the President of the Consortium, and conferred with him about stopping further loans to the Manchu government. The Manchu government had previously entered into negotiations with the Consortium for a Szechuan-Pukow Railway loan of one hundred million dollars, and a currency loan of one hundred million dollars. The negotiation for the first loan was practically corn-

is The name is omitted here.
Autobiography

pleted, its bonds were issued, and the cash was ready to be paid. The contract for the second loan was also signed, but the bonds had not yet been issued. My idea was to stop the payment of cash for the first, and to stop the issuing of the bonds for the second. The President of the Consortium replied that loan negotiations with China were in the hands of the Foreign Secretary. So I asked the President of the Vicar Arsenal to represent me in negotiating with the Foreign Secretary concerning the matter.

I put three demands before the British government: first, to stop all loan negotiations with the Manchu government; second, to prevent Japan giving assistance to the Manchu government; and third, to revoke all orders excluding me from British territory, in order that I could travel freely and get back to China. I received favorable answers to all three from the British government.

I also had a preliminary conference with the President of the Consortium concerning the negotiation of loans with the revolutionary government. The chairman said that inasmuch as the British government approved my request to stop further loan negotiations with the Manchu government, the Consortium would be glad to open negotiations with the new government, provided a regular government was organized in China and was recognized by foreign Powers. The Consortium also sent a delegate, who was a bank president, to China with me as their representative in dealing with the new government. I thought then that I could do no more in England, so I started home by way of France.

M Translated
On passing through Paris, both the people in the government and outside it showed sympathy with me, especially Clemenceau. Thirty days after leaving France, I arrived at Shanghai, and, at that time, the parley between South and North was already opened, but the form of government was not yet decided.

Before I reached Shanghai, Chinese and foreign papers circulated the story that I would bring home a huge sum of money to assist the revolutionary army. As soon as I arrived at Shanghai, my own comrades asked me about it, and all newspaper reporters also asked me about it. I replied: "I have not brought a penny, but what I have brought home is the revolutionary spirit. Unless the purpose of the revolution is achieved, there is no use to talk about a peace conference."

Then the delegates from the different provinces opened an election conference in Nanking, and I was elected the Provisional President. On January first, A.D. one thousand nine hundred and twelve, I went through the inauguration ceremony. On that day, I proclaimed the Republic of China, and adopted the solar calendar for the first year of the Chinese Republic. On that day, I saw the successful accomplishment of the great ambition for which I had struggled during thirty years, the restoration of China and the establishment of a Republic.