Mobilizing a Social Movement in China: Propaganda of the 1905 Boycott Campaign

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Abstract

Previous studies of the 1905 anti-American boycott have considered the protest to be an anti-foreign movement or a nationalism-inspired political movement. They have failed to take account of its social aspects. Unlike the history of protest movements in later years, no existing account has systematically analyzed the propaganda techniques and mobilization strategies of the boycott. I intend to explore this neglected aspect of the boycott campaign in this article. In fact, throughout the struggle, different groups of boycotters used different varieties of language when speaking to different audiences, and sometimes the same boycotters employed different varieties of language in different situations. When boycott promoters, mostly from the cultural and commercial elite, spoke to one another, they used newspapers and other written publications as the means of dialogue. When they spoke to the illiterate they used pictorial illustrations, songs, street-corner lectures, theatrical performances, and material object exhibitions. When they spoke to a semiliterate audience they employed devices with few written characters, such as hand-

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bills, leaflets, and placards written in the plain language of popular literature. Finally, when they spoke to a crowd of people from various social groups, during mass meetings and memorial services, they spoke through a combination of different levels of languages, and they used key terms that would be meaningful to all classes of people. The significance of the study of propaganda and mobilization strategies lies in the finding that many techniques used by activists of popular protests in later decades were similar to that of 1905.

**Keywords:** 1905 Boycott Campaign, propaganda, mobilization, social history, Chinese Exclusion Act

1. Introduction

Social and political movements in China before 1905 were distinguished by the location of their participants at the extremes of society. Some of the movements drew people from the lowest levels of society, such as members of secret societies, peasants, and the illiterate masses who carried forward the White Lotus Rebellions (1796-1804), the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864) and the Boxer Uprising of 1900; others were led by people from elite groups, such as the literati and students who instigated the 1898 Reform and the Anti-Russian Movement of 1901-05. Unlike these previous events, the 1905 boycott campaign was a joint venture by people from different social classes, including merchants, officials, students, intellectuals, journalists, women, shopkeepers, coolies, boatmen as well as illiterate villagers.

Existing literature on the boycott agitation has emphasized the political significance of the event, particularly the relationship between nationalism and the protest, or has focused on the economic effectiveness or ineffectiveness of the boycott.\(^1\) In this article I argue that propaganda techniques and mobiliza-

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1 Edward Rhoads and Zhang Cunwu 張存武 are concerned with the influence of rising nationalism on the boycott, while C.F. Remer emphasizes the economic aspects of the agitation. See Rhoads, “Nationalism and Xenophobia in Kwangtung;” Zhang 張, Guangxu sayinian ZhongMei
tion strategies played significant roles in shaping the multi-class boycott agitation. To give this event the attention it deserves in the social history of modern China, this article examines how mobilization propaganda worked, how different groups of boycotters varied their language depending on their audiences, and why the same boycotters sometimes employed a variety of language strategies in different situations.2

2. The Elites in Action

Periodicals, including newspapers, began to flourish in China in the late nineteenth century. As Lin Yutang 林語堂 has labelled it, the period between 1895 and 1911 was the “Golden Period” of the Chinese press.3 According to a survey conducted by the Dagongbao 大公報 in September 1905, there were 269 Chinese newspapers in publication.4 In the cities of Shanghai, Beijing,
Guangzhou, Hong Kong and Tianjin, the number of newspapers and volume of their circulation were the greatest. Except for some commercial newspapers, most newspapers in the late Qing were designed to serve the public interest, to enlighten readers, rather than to make a profit for their publishers. They were concerned with contemporary political and social affairs, and each had a distinctive political message that it promoted openly. Joan Judge, in her study of the Shibao 時報 has pointed out that the birth of Shibao in 1904 witnessed a transition from dynastic to public politics. Journalists and political writers created, and sometimes manipulated, collective popular opinion. They purposely made use of rhetoric in the service of politics. Periodicals were the most important device for the exchange of opinion among elites and for the dissemination of information. The new power of the native press laid a foundation for the nationwide boycott.

But the idea of boycotting American goods was first raised in a Honolulu-based newspaper, Xin Zhongguo bao 新中國報 (New China daily), which suggested a boycott in an editorial in February 1903. A lengthy editorial, “Proposing the Tactic of Boycotting Exclusion Laws,” condemned the discriminatory practices of American immigration policy and proposed a boycott. It was also in this article that the term dizhi 抵制 (boycott) was first used with regard to Americans.

It is of little surprise that the Chinese in Honolulu first proposed a boycott measure. For decades Chinese had emigrated to Hawaii to work on sugar plantations. During the Spanish-American War of 1898, the United States took over

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5 Ge Gongzhen 戈公振, Zhongguo baoxue shi 中國報學史, p. 177; Newspapers published by missionaries or foreign journalists, however, stressed commercial news and avoided political advocacy or controversy. See Lee and Nathan, “The Beginnings of Mass Culture,” pp. 362-3.

6 Joan Judge, “Public Opinion and the New Politics of Contestation in the Late Qing, 1904-1911,” pp. 84-86.

7 The terms “periodical” and “newspaper” are used loosely in this article, and sometimes are interchangeable. They refer to daily and weekly newspapers, periodicals, and magazines.

8 I have not been able to locate the original of the editorial, but it was reprinted in many places, including Xinmin congbao 新民叢報, Oct. 4, 1903.
the archipelago and, in 1902, imposed the Chinese exclusion laws. From the Chinese perspective, American officials in Hawaii were as discriminatory as the Americans on the Pacific coast of North America. There were many cases of maltreatment. The most notorious was the burning of Honolulu’s “Chinatown” to ashes in 1903 by Hawaiian authorities, who acted on a rumor that the Chinese there were carrying contagious diseases.9

Sensitivity to the maltreatment of Chinese increased when Honolulu became a political base of many Qing dissenters both from the reformist group, led by Kang Youwei 康有為 and Liang Qichao 梁啟超, and the revolutionary group, led by Sun Yat-sen 孫逸仙. To gain support from Chinese residents on the islands, Chinese political activists in exile worked with the Hawaiian Chinese for better treatment. In fact, the Xin Zhongguo bao was an agent of the reformist group.

At home, the Shanghai-based Shibao in August 1904 published a series of articles entitled “Speaking of Boycotting Exclusion Laws.” In these articles the newspaper called for boycotting American goods as a way of retaliating against the harsh treatment of Chinese. Newspapers in Hong Kong, the Zhongguo ribao 中國日報 (China daily) and the Shijie gongyibao 世界公益報 (Commonwealth), published articles simultaneously to echo the boycott message.10

Newspapers and periodicals had indeed sowed the seeds of social unrest. When Shanghai merchants issued a boycott resolution in May 1905, the Shibao was actively producing full reports on the progress of boycott activities and serving as a mouthpiece for boycott promoters. Other daily newspapers in wide circulation, the Shenbao 申報 (Shanghai news) and the Xinwenbao 新聞報 (The news), covered boycott activities extensively. In the south, the Yousuowei bao 有所謂報 (Something-to-say news), the Guangdong ribao 廣東日報 (Guangdong daily) and the Huazi ribao 華字日報 (Chinese daily), all widely-

9 Jinyueji 禁約記 (Shanghai: n.p., 1905).
circulated newspapers in Guangzhou and Hong Kong, eagerly advocated the boycott movement.\(^{11}\) The newspapers in Shanghai and Guangzhou either treated the boycott as headline news, or carried a “boycott column” to give space to reports of boycott activities, commentaries, cartoons and pictures.\(^{12}\)

One trimonthly magazine that deserves special attention is the *Juyuebao* (Treaty resistance news), founded for the explicit purpose of promoting the boycott movement.\(^{13}\) It appealed both to the elite and common people, with editorials, brief commentaries, boycott news, special reports, investigations, letters to the editor and supplemental sections for vernacular articles, novels, songs and ballads and other popular literature. Teachers and students of the Nanwu and Jinqu schools in Guangzhou ran the periodical, which was published every ten days. The birth of the *Juyuebao* was a major event of the time. Zheng Guangong, a noted journalist and publisher of two revolutionary newspapers, the *Guangdong ribao* and the *Yousuowei bao*, wrote an article to praise the trimonthly.\(^{14}\) Zheng hoped the magazine would cease publication shortly, not because he did not like it, but because the purpose of the trimonthly was to deal with the treaty issue and boycott. Zheng explained that if the treaty issue were solved, with the United States agreeing to improve treatment of Chinese and end all immigration restrictions, the periodical could be stopped.\(^{15}\) The paper did halt publication three months later, after nine issues, but for a less desirable reason. The popularity of the *Juyuebao* worried the American consul-general in Guangzhou, Julius G. Lay, who pressed Governor-General Cen Chunxuan 岑春煊 to order the county magistrates to immediately forbid the...

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11 Ibid., p. 334.
12 Another daily newspaper that carried a boycott column was the *Dagongbao*.
13 The editorial office of the magazine was located in Haichuang Temple 海幢寺, Nanhai county 南海縣, Guangdong province. Its first issue appeared on August 21, 1905. It was banned after nine issues were published. The only available issue is the eighth issue. A photocopy of the only surviving issue can be found in the Shanghai Library and the Zhongshan Library 中山圖書館 in Guangzhou.
15 *Yousuowei bao*, Aug. 21, 1905.
circulation of the magazine. Although Cen agreed to ban the *Juyuebao*, he did not forbid other daily newspapers that also promoted the boycott. Cen believed that these newspapers “are like ordinary talk, when things come to notice they are sure to be talked about. That is only freedom of speech. The most enlightened countries, whether east or west, do not forbid that.”

As a medium of communication for the elite, the periodical served several functions. First of all, periodicals legitimized the boycott movement. Newspapers publicized maltreatment of Chinese who sought to enter the United States and gave lengthy accounts of grievances. In one case, the *Shibao* printed the diary of a student, surnamed King .borderColor and the son of a rich family, who had graduated from Oxford. After he completed his study, he returned to China via the United States with his brother and sister, together with an American friend. When they arrived in Boston, the Kings were not allowed to go ashore because they were suspected of being laborers. For unclear reasons, customs officials considered their documents invalid and rejected the testimony of King’s American friend. The Kings were taken into custody until their identity was cleared, thanks to the help of Chinese consuls and influential American politicians. The diary stunned Chinese readers because it showed that even a student from a well-off family was subject to unjust treatment. They could only imagine the life of Chinese laborers and residents in the United States. The American consul in Shanghai believed that the King incident in particular excited the Chinese and prompted the Chamber of Commerce to take action.

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16 Cen to Lay, Dec. 4, 1904, Consular Dispatches, Guangzhou; *Huazi ribao*, Nov. 25, 1905; *Yousuowei bao*, Nov. 28, 1905.
17 Encl., Lay to the State Department, Dec. 4, 1905; For how the daily newspapers carried out the mission of the *Juyuebao*, see Han Dian, “*Juyuebao* qiguo tingban hu?” [Does the *Juyuebao* really cease to exist?], *Yousuowei bao*, Nov. 28, 1905.
18 *Shibao*, July 11, 1905; and Zhang, *Guangxu sayinian ZhongMei gongyue fengchao*, pp. 85-86.
19 For an American perspective of this incident, see *House Documents*, no. 847, pp. 134-5.
20 Rodgers to Loomis, July 27, 1905, Consular Dispatches, Shanghai.
In another case, the Dagongbao published a letter from a student representative of a college in Fuzhou to the American consul there. The letter questioned why the American government targeted only Chinese laborers but not workers from other countries. To document the mistreatment, the letter illustrated the harsh treatment three graduates of the college had suffered during their study trip in the United States.\(^{21}\)

To justify Chinese actions, native newspapers printed translations of supporting opinion from America, and special attention was given to all public remarks on the question by prominent Americans.\(^{22}\) An article appearing in Yousuowei bao predicted the eventual success of the boycott because of the dependency of the American economy on the Chinese market and possible help from European powers that competed with the United States for commerce in China.\(^{23}\) Not all of the arguments in this article were convincing, but they represented public opinion of the time and were well received.

Some newspaper articles predicted that the boycott movement would not affect Sino-American relations or cause any diplomatic complication. The author of an editorial, “The Resistance to the Exclusion Treaty and Its Effects on Sino-American Relations,” believed that the anti-Chinese movement in the United States was supported only by a portion of Americans, especially the American working-class in the west.\(^{24}\) The editorial speculated that the majority of American people and officials sympathized with the Chinese, and that Chinese retaliatory measures were understandable and would not damage Sino-American diplomatic relations.\(^{25}\)

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\(^{21}\) *Dagongbao*, June 13, 1905.

\(^{22}\) Rodgers to Loomis, July 27, 1905, Consular Dispatches, Guangzhou.

\(^{23}\) Zhongfeng muzi 象繖牧子, “Lun dizhi Meiyue zhiyi lixing 論抵制美約宜力行 [On necessary actions to boycott the American Treaty], *Yousuowei bao*, Sept. 2, 3, 5, 1905; the article also mentioned that the boycott would prevent Chinese immigrants from being expelled from the United States. An editorial with the same title and similar argument appeared in the *Shibao*, July 11, 1905.

\(^{24}\) *Dagongbao*, July 18, 1905.

\(^{25}\) Ibid.
The second function of periodicals was their service in counter-attacking American accusations and actions. When American diplomats in China tried to label the boycott movement another Boxer Uprising, Chinese newspapers responded with articles comparing the nonviolent boycott and the violent Boxer uprising.  

Another editorial in the *Shibao* questioned the legitimacy of the American diplomats’ action and argued that Americans had to remove their discriminatory laws and change their attitude toward Chinese immigrants before the boycott would be withdrawn. 

Newspapers also refused to accept advertisements for American goods. The *Shibao*, for example, announced that, if the United States did not yield in the labor treaty negotiation by the deadline of July 20, 1905, the newspaper would reject all advertisements related to American goods in its newspaper. 

The *Dagongbao* acted even without warning and banned American advertisement effective June 11, 1905.

Boycotters drew analogies between Chinese protests and comparable American events, as a means to win Western support. They related the boycott of British tea during the American struggle for independence in the eighteenth century to what they were doing in China. They believed that the boycott was an expression of anti-imperialism similar to American anti-colonialism a century-and-a-half earlier. This device was so useful that protesters in later decades adopted it. In his analysis of the student protests during the May Fourth Movement of 1919, Jeffrey Wasserstrom mentioned that activists drew explicit comparisons between the Chinese protest against Japan and the Allies who fought against Germany in the First World War.

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27 *Shibao*, July 14, 1905.

28 *Huazi ribao*, July 1, 1905.

29 *Dagongbao*, June 11, 1905; Rockhill to Waiwubu 外務部, received by Waiwubu on June 17, 1905, Waiwubu Archives, 02-29.


31 Ibid.
To draw analogies between China and the United States requires familiarity with the historical, political, cultural, and social characteristics of the United States. Liang Cheng, a Chinese minister in Washington, was a qualified man in this regard. He used the strategy of analogy handily. Knowing the importance of freedom of speech to American values, he once said to the Secretary of State, “I hardly believe you would ask me to have my government do more in the direction of abridging the freedom of speech of the press, or urge the interference by public authority with private rights.” Moreover, boycotters believed that the method of boycott used by people in other parts of the world was legitimate, and no law could rightly hinder them.

The third function of periodicals was to publicize boycott activities and promote boycott-related events. Journalists covered extensively the programs of boycott meetings, resolutions, and measures for carrying them out. Announcements of boycott meetings were printed on the front pages of newspapers. In addition to editorials, separate columns covered news of the boycott movement. In the Dagongbao, a special column, “News about Boycotting the American Treaty,” included schedules of activities and summarized reports of meetings, proclamations of boycott societies, and accounts of the progress of treaty negotiations.

Newspapers also sponsored boycott essay contests. One of the two assigned topics of the Dagongbao was, “How should we reach the goal of improving the Sino-American labor treaty?” Similarly, the Man and Mirror Literary Society of Shanghai sponsored an essay competition “On Boycotting American goods.” The purpose of these contests was not so much to find solutions as to encourage people to get involved in boycott activi-

32 Liang to Secretary of State, Nov. 28, 1905, “Notes from Chinese Legation in U.S.”
33 Lay to State Department, July 24, 1905, Consular Dispatches, Guangzhou.
34 This column ran from June 15 through Aug. 21, 1905, and it was taken out because of pressure from Qing authorities.
35 Dagongbao, July 9, 1905.
36 Tsai, China and the Overseas Chinese in the United States, p. 109.
ties. Moreover, the best essays eventually became sources for boycott articles and transcripts for street lectures.

The significance of newspapers lay not only in what they recorded but also in the extent of their distribution. A missionary, H.O.T. Burkwall, reported that newspapers from Guangzhou were prevalent in Pingnam, 100 miles up the West River, and that merchants and others were well informed about the boycott. The same was true for Konghan and Liuzhou, 150 miles further inland. Other reports from the interior confirmed this and also indicated that papers from Guangzhou were frequently supplied at no cost. In such circumstances, it was not surprising that the American consul in Guangzhou once commented that the Chinese presses kept boycott agitations alive.

Like newspapers, other publications, such as books, novels, and literary accounts of immigration, the labor treaty and the boycott movement offered some factual histories, albeit always exaggerated, and served as a catalyst for social discontent. A book circulated in Kashing told of 20,000 Chinese who were burned to death by Americans in the Sandwich Islands. Tongbao shounüeji 同胞受虐記 (Stories of mistreatment inflicted upon our countrymen) compiled stories of harsh treatments. Its appendixes included a list of terms in English for readers to recognize. Readers were asked to identify and refuse goods with markings of U.S.A., United States, New York, Made in America, San Francisco, United States of America, and United States of North America. Another appendix listed all the trademarks of American goods to be found in China. The Guangji Hospital 廣濟醫院 of Guangzhou published a

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38 Ibid.
39 Lay to Loomis, Aug. 1, 1905, Consular Dispatches, Guangzhou.
40 North China Herald, Oct. 6, 1905.
41 Tongbao shounüeji, p. 23; The American consul in Shanghai reported that some American firms were identified and listed on placards, including Fearon Daniels and Company, American Trading Company, China and Japan Trading Company, and Mustard and Company. See encl., Rodgers to Loomis, Aug. 17, 1905, Consular Dispatches, Shanghai.
collection of American trademarks and the names of American companies in the city. To increase circulation, the publisher welcomed people to duplicate the book. It turned out that at least one other publisher provided free newsprint and labor to reprint the book.

Another boycott publication, *Meiguo Huagong jinyue jishi chubian* 美國華工禁約記事初編 (Preliminary edition of chronological events of American exclusion of Chinese laborers), not only recorded boycott events but provided methods of implementation for readers to learn and practice. The volume contained six sections, including commentary, an investigative report and explanations of key words and terms of the boycott. In the preface, the author encouraged readers to tell stories to those who could not read during informal meetings with illiterates in tea houses or other public places. Statements in this account were sensational to Chinese readers. For example, the preface called for unity among all Chinese and equality among all peoples with such statements as, “They are men, we are men, why should our countrymen have to suffer their mistreatment of us.” The first two thousand copies sold out quickly, and the publisher welcomed people to duplicate and distribute additional copies of the book. Whether it was influenced by the booklet or not is unclear, but a tea house in Beijing invited speakers to give boycott lectures every day, beginning August 20, 1905, and the proprietor posted a picture of a Chinese being mistreated in the United States.

Advertisements promoting boycott literature often appeared in newspapers. When the Wenming Publisher 文明出版社 released a translation of Harriet Beecher Stowe’s classic *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (1852), the *Heinu yutianlu* 黑奴籲天錄 (Black slaves plead to Heaven), an advertisement urged people to

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43 *Meiguo Huagong jinyue jishi chubian*, p. 4. An advertisement was placed in newspapers to promote the sale and circulation of the account. For an example see *Shibao*, July 19, 1905.
44 *Meiguo Huagong jinyue jishi chubian*, p. 3.
45 *Shibao*, July 25, 1905.
46 *Xinwenbao*, Aug. 28, 1905.
read the book while considering the maltreatment of Chinese in the United States. In his preface, translator Lin Shu 林纾 pointed out that the treatment that blacks had received in America, or even worse, had been transferred to yellow people.\textsuperscript{47} The advertisement also warned that the tragedy of slavery in the United States soon could happen to the Chinese.\textsuperscript{48}

\textbf{3. Speaking to the Masses}

Because most Chinese at the turn of the century were illiterate, boycott activists recognized the need to get boycott messages to those people who could not read.\textsuperscript{49} They turned to oral communication through public lectures, songs, and drama performances. They also used visual representations. At the outset of the movement, every boycott society or ad hoc committee organized volunteer speakers for street-corner presentations. Usually school teachers, students and journalists, most of whom were also members of boycott societies, served as speakers. In the event that boycott committees, especially those organized by gentry and merchants, failed to find appropriate lecturers from their membership, they paid professional speakers and students to do the job.\textsuperscript{50}

At public meetings lecturers began their speeches after the meeting organizers formally declared the meetings’ objectives. Each speaker had a specific theme. Usually one would describe the historical background of Chinese

\textsuperscript{47} For brief introduction of the translation, see R. David Arkush and Leo O. Lee, trans. and eds., \textit{Land without Ghosts: Chinese Impressions of America from the Mid-Nineteenth Century to the Present}, pp. 77-79.

\textsuperscript{48} \textit{Xinwenbao}, July 5, 1905.

\textsuperscript{49} Leo Ou-fan Lee and Andrew F. Nathan have pointed out that the number of newspapers’ readers was two to four million, or about one percent of China’s population, in the last decade of the Qing. See Lee and Nathan, “The Beginnings of Mass Culture,” p. 373; Don D. Patterson estimated that only one out of 400 Chinese could read newspapers or magazines intelligently in that time. See Patterson, \textit{The Journalism of China}, p. 57.

\textsuperscript{50} A gentry-merchant who organized a boycott committee in Guangzhou hired four people to take the job. These lecturers were especially dedicated because they were paid. \textit{Huazi ribao}, July 6, 1905.
immigration to the United States and how Americans “betrayed” and “deserted” Chinese laborers after they helped to complete the transcontinental railroad in 1869. To stir emotions, speakers disclosed how Chinese were the victims of discrimination and maltreatment, how Americans killed Chinese in anti-Chinese riots, and how Americans enacted exclusion laws to prohibit Chinese from entering American territories. The speakers opposed renewal of any Sino-American treaty that prohibited Chinese laborers. Lecture presentations concluded with suggestions of measures by which the boycotting of American goods could be achieved. Following the core speakers, guest speakers and audience members who had suffered misfortune in the United States were invited to talk. Personal experiences and grievances always raised emotions to a higher level of intensity.

Certain speakers belonged to a lecture corps whose duty was to hold street lectures and ask pedestrians to stop and listen.51 Sometimes they were like anti-Chinese campaigners in California in the late 1870s, using sandlots as platforms. One newspaper correspondent described how “sandlot meetings are being held each evening on the Henan side of the river [in Guangzhou], somewhat similar to those organized by [Denis] Kearny in San Francisco in 1879. At those meetings the motto was, ‘The Chinese Must Go,’ while at the gatherings being held here the people are unanimous in declaring that ‘no American goods shall be used.” 52 Whether the orators purposely mirrored the technique of anti-Chinese radicals in California is not clear, but Chinese protesters generally learned techniques from their predecessors. In the 1940s, for example, anti-Russian protesters tried to link themselves with the 1919 demonstrators. A magazine published a photograph of a group of senior professors taking part in a Nanjing rally against Russian imperialism beside a caption identifying the intellectuals as former May Fourth student activists.53

51 Ibid., Aug. 8, 1905.
52 Hong Kong Telegraph, Aug. 3, 1905.
53 Wasserstrom, Student Protests in Twentieth-Century China, p. 248.
Boycott promoters found the front courts of temples a good location for public lectures because those places were usually crowded with residents who came to visit and worship.\(^{54}\) But lectures in front of temples were not always planned; they often were extemporaneous. A correspondent of a Hong Kong-based English newspaper reported that in almost every big temple and monastery and at places where people congregated “someone is ready to come forward and talk to the crowds, and the enthusiasm will be conducted in a determined manner.”\(^{55}\)

Lecture presentations took place in the countryside as well. Sometimes lecturers were invited to participate in mass meetings in rural areas, especially when no local person could deliver a good speech. More often, boycott societies in cities sent their lecturers to the countryside, without invitation, for educating people. A boycott lecturer in Hong Kong, Xiao Jingzhong 蕭警鐘, was sent to Xinning 新寧, a rural community in Guangdong, as a visiting speaker. He spoke to a local charitable society every night and told his hundreds of listeners stories of Chinese who were mistreated in America and of the necessity of a boycott. Xiao was effective in moving audiences, and it was said that students from a local college, Guanghai shuyuan 廣海書院, attended his meetings every day after classes and lined up to cheer him while he was making his speeches.\(^{56}\)

In addition to lectures organized by boycott committees, a campaign of mass communication was launched by associations known as yanshuo hui 演說會 or speech clubs. Such clubs flourished at the beginning of the twentieth century, when cultural elite, mostly students and literati, began to organize various types of non-profit associations that could allow members to exchange opinions on current political and social affairs. More important, speech clubs

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54 In addition to temples, other favorite spots where public lecturers went daily included wharves and centers of marketplaces. Xinwenbao, Aug. 23, 1905.
55 Ibid., Aug. 3, 1905.
56 Huazi ribao, Oct. 4, 1905.
held regular public meetings, usually once a week, to deliver speeches for the purpose of enlightening people. Some of these clubs had existed before 1905, but they paid special attention to the boycott issue after the movement started in May 1905.

The Gongzhong Speech Club 公忠演說會 was the most active club in Shanghai. The leader of the club was Ge Yunpeng 戈雲朋, who not only lectured for his club but served as guest speaker at boycott meetings organized by other societies in Shanghai. Speakers discussed two topics at each meeting: one was proposed by the club and usually dealt with the labor treaty and the boycott issue, and the public could decide the other. After the boycott started, many speech clubs changed schedules from weekly meetings to assembling every other day or even every day. The Rensheng Speech Club 仁聲演說會 of Guangzhou held meetings every other day starting July 25, 1905. As expected, lectures at the club were always on the boycott issue. One guest speaker of the speech club was only thirteen years of age, who was a student of a local school. This teenager became one of the most impressive speakers with his vivid and energetic speeches that moved audiences deeply. Another speech club in Guangzhou, Kaiduashe 開化社 (Enlightenment Society), held lectures every evening in front of a local temple. Meetings here were made especially attractive by the inclusion of a new feature, singing. One newspaper reported that the mass meetings of the club attracted women, in particular, because they could listen to the speeches and hear the longzhouge 龍舟歌 (dragon boat songs), a form of popular song prevalent in the Pearl River Delta.

Singing boycott messages proved another effective strategy for promoting the boycott movement. As in many other cultures, the Chinese love songs. Every province or region in China had its folksongs. People in the Guangdong

57 Editorial, Huazi ribao, July 6, 1905; for details of the activities of speech clubs, see Li Xiaoti 李孝悌, Qingmo de xiaceng sheshi qimeng yundong, 1901-1911 清末的下層社會啟蒙運動 1901-1911, pp. 84-147.
58 Shibao, July 5, 1905.
59 Huazi ribao, Aug. 18, 1905.
and Guangxi provinces liked to sing, particularly the longzhouge, muyu 木魚 (wooden fish songs, a kind of vernacular ballad), Yueou 粵謷 (a kind of Cantonese love song) and nanyin 南音 (a form of theatrical song).\textsuperscript{60} The Macao Boycott Society realized the importance of singing and hired singers to go along with lecturers touring the countryside.\textsuperscript{61} They sang all types of folk-songs in local dialects to appeal to the masses. Song writers composed songs about the boycott so that illiterates could understand the messages made available in this form of entertainment.\textsuperscript{62}

Because most people tend to respond more immediately to visual stimuli, boycott activists used drama performance to communicate with illiterate crowds. Drama was perhaps the most common mode of entertainment for people, especially illiterates. Activists thus sought cooperation from stage artists when the movement began. Boycott leaders visited the drama guild in Foshan, a town near Guangzhou, and persuaded performers to use their talent and mass appeal to generate support for the movement.

Actors’ guilds disseminated boycott messages wherever they visited.\textsuperscript{63} Most drama troupes in Guangdong were not stationed in one place. The Cantonese drama troupes moved about in their “red boats,” floating hostels that served also as transportation.\textsuperscript{64} They performed around the province and nearby provinces as they traveled along the rivers and waterways in their houseboats. The wide sailing circuits enabled these artists to play a highly significant role in spreading the boycott message.

Aside from distributing boycott flyers, the actors dealt with the boycott

\textsuperscript{60} For song origins, characteristics and their influences on the populace, see Cai Yanfen 蔡衍棻, “Muyu, Longzhou, Nanyin, Yueou shihua” 木魚、長舟、南音、粵謷史話, pp. 164-80.

\textsuperscript{61} Huazi ribao, Dec. 5, 1905.

\textsuperscript{62} Most newspapers published in Guangzhou and Hong Kong areas had special columns for popular songs.

\textsuperscript{63} Yousuowei bao, Aug. 10, 1905.

\textsuperscript{64} For the descriptions of the origins, structure, organization, and functions of the red boats and the role of drama in society, see Barbara E. Ward, “The Red Boats of the Guangzhou Delta: A Historical Chapter in the Sociology of Chinese Regional Drama,” pp. 233-52.
theme in their dramas. Tragic stories of suffering in America heightened the message of the boycott, winning support for the movement. One of the popular plays, “Kulüxing” 毛苦旅程 (Bitter journey), was performed frequently. It dramatized the painful experience of the Polish people following the occupation of Poland in the eighteenth century by foreign armies, as a result of betrayal by their own countrymen and by the politics in Europe. The play conveyed the warning that, if the people did not unite to help themselves, China would become another Poland and the Chinese would suffer. Drama was thus not only one of the most important means of entertainment for common people, it also played the role of an informal agent of education and political socialization.

Boycott leaders spoke to the illiterate through pictorial presentations as well. The Shishi huabao 時事畫報 (Pictorial magazine on current affairs), which first appeared in September 1905, was one of the leading pictorial magazines of the time. Published every ten days, it contained many depictions of boycott-related scenes. The best-known picture satirized those who provided

65 Shanghai jindai fandì fengjian douzheng gushi 上海近代反帝封建鬥爭故事, p. 104; Su 蘇, Shanzhongji 山鐘集, 1 : 192-3.
67 Fang Hanqi reported that pictures related to the boycott included “Huaren shounüe yuanyiintu” 華人受虐原因圖 [Picture on reasons for mistreatment that Chinese suffered], “Muwu tu” 木屋圖 [Picture on wooden shelter], “Xiguan dizhitu” 西關抵制圖 [Picture on the boycott in Xiguan], “Guangdong juyue gongsuotu” 廣東拒約公所圖 [Picture on the boycott society of Guangdong], “Huanying Ma Pan Xia chuyutu” 歡迎滿華出獄圖 [Picture on welcoming the release of Ma, Pan, and Xia], and “Guitai Meirentu” 姜怡美人圖 [Picture on turtles carrying an American beauty]. See Fang, Zhongguo jindai baokanshi 中國近代報刊史, I : 335. I have also seen other pictures related to the boycott from the incomplete set of the magazine (from March 1906 to April 1907) housed in the Zhongshen Library in Guangzhou, including those with captions “Bingwunian Guangdong juyue tielu fengchao zhi dajinian 聖周年廣東拒約鐵路風潮之大紀念 [The grand commemoration of the boycott and railroad issues in 1906], “Dizhi yubo” 抵制餘波 [The consequences of the boycott], “Liangxue jiaoxi” 涼血教習 [Cold-blooded teacher], “Qingming ji Feng Xiawei wen” 清明祭馮夏威文 [Commemorating essay to Feng Xiawei on the Qingming
services to Alice Roosevelt. Local authorities eventually arrested three boycott activists who were suspected of drawing and distributing the cartoon. The same cartoon caused a more serious reaction in Hong Kong, where the editor and two staff members of the Hong Kong-based newspaper *Shijie gongyibao* (Commonwealth) were expelled by British authorities for printing the cartoon. A few turtle-type cartoons found in Shanghai included one showing turtles smoking American “pinhead” cigarettes. Such cartoons were predecessors of similar illustrations that appeared in the May Thirtieth Incident of 1925.

Interesting boycott-related illustrations in the *Shishi huabao* included those captioned “Nü tong buwang juyue” 女童不忘拒約 (The girl who does not forget the boycott) and “Dizhi yubo” 抵制餘波 (The consequences of the boycott). The former showed a girl pointing to a Westerner on the street and yelling, “dizhi Meihuo” 抵制美貨 (boycott American goods). The artist’s comment read, “The boycott movement has been defunct for some time, but the girl still acts faithfully and we, adults, should be ashamed.” The other picture showed a shopkeeper trying to sell a shirt to a man who had just arrived in town from a village. After the man learns that the shirt was made in the United States he refuses to purchase it. These two pictures illustrated that even children and villagers had joined the boycott movement. Some pictures were not

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69 Report from Julien Arnold, Aug. 17, 1905, Consular Dispatches, Shanghai.

70 For the illustrations see Wasserstrom, *Student Protests in Twentieth-Century China*, following p. 124.

71 *Shishi huabao*, vol. 32 (Nov. 1906).

72 Ibid., vol. 7 (1907).

73 Another interesting illustration was published in the first issue of the thirty-three year of the Guangxu reign (1907). This picture summarized the major events of 1906. Surprisingly, the boycott movement was still listed as one of the two biggest events in Guangzhou in 1906, a year after the height of the boycott movement. The other major event was the Yue-Han Railway
only printed in the magazine but were appended to appeals sent to the Waiwubu 外務部. A picture received by the foreign ministry in late December, captioned “Meiren niedai Huarentu” 美人虐待華人圖 (Picture of Americans mistreating Chinese), illustrated a poor widow who sold the only property she had to send her son to the United States. He was rejected from entering because his eyes were contaminated during his voyage, and was forced to return to China. In despair, he drowned himself and his mother hanged herself.74

Artists also contributed to the boycott illustrations. Among them was a painter surnamed Liang 梁 who had once designed wall paintings for tea houses and other buildings. Traditional wall paintings depicted landscapes or showed historical figures and included captions from poems of the Tang dynasty 唐朝 (618-907). Commitment to the boycott led Liang to tell stories about American mistreatment of Chinese in his paintings, which carried captions in the form of a kind of popular poem. A local tobacco company supported Liang’s idea and had its door painted according to one of his designs.75

Boycott activists also painted pictures on such objects as fans and kites. Cantonese in Xinlin ordered fans from Japan and asked artists to draw pictures showing Chinese being ill-treated by Americans on one side and a buffalo being whipped by its owner on the other.76 To use the buffalo as a metaphor of Chinese and the buffalo owner as the American was to stress the crude treatment by Americans and thus arouse anti-American sentiment. Using fans as protest items became a practice of activists of the May Thirtieth Movement in 1925. According to Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, handpainted fans bearing patriotic inscriptions and drawings were given away in public places. The similarity of

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74 Received by the Waiwubu on Dec. 23, 1905, Waiwubu Archives, 02-29.
75 Huazi ribao, Dec. 21, 1905.
76 Ibid., July 3, 1905.
drawings on fans in 1905 and those of 1925 is even more striking. While the former portrayed Chinese and buffaloes, the latter "had 'an appeal for a continuance of the boycott on one side' and a 'picture showing Chinese being harassed by foreign wolves' on the other." Kites printed with the slogan *dizhi Meihuo* 抵制美貨 (boycott American goods) were sold and used by the masses.

Pictures proved to be a powerful medium for sending the boycott message to the people, especially to the illiterate, but some people worried about negative effects. Chen Tongshou 陳同壽, a Chinese studying in the United States, was concerned that visual messages would create general antiforeign sentiment because the illiterate might not distinguish Americans from other Westerners. Most people, however, appreciated pictures as an effective propaganda means. Boycott activists of the Gongzhong Speech Club contended that people in rural areas could not be moved without the help of pictorial illustrations. The society, located in the countryside, began to purchase pictures illustrating mistreatment of Chinese and to collect illustrations of American trademarks from boycott societies in cities.

Helping Chinese customers recognize trademarks of American goods was another step toward the success of the boycott movement. Establishment of exhibition rooms displaying samples of American goods in the markets was one effective tool. Students in Beijing had planned to set up such a place in July, but the boycott society of Foshan 佛山, Guangdong, established the first exhibition room in late July. Two American merchants who visited the exhibit recalled that the room was in the Museum of Arts and Industries, and 90 percent of the exhibits were American. About 10 percent of the exhibits were British goods. The visiting merchants believed that to display some

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79 Ibid., 124.
British goods in the exhibition was a boycott maneuver—an attempt to disguise the true character of the exhibition and avoid being closed by the authorities. The strategy was successful. When the American consul complained about the exhibit, the governor-general of Liangguang argued that it was not designed especially for the boycott because there were English goods in it. Governor-General Cen further explained that the intention of the exhibit was instead to stimulate commerce, as “in recent years the Department of Commerce has been authorized to instruct all the provinces to make exhibitions of the produce and manufactures of all countries at market towns and populous centers.”

Of course, not all Chinese could be simply classified as literate or illiterate. Many knew elementary reading and writing, especially those who had studied a few years but failed to pass examinations and those who needed basic Chinese and mathematics for their work as bookkeepers and cashiers. These so-called semi-literates did not have the time or ability to read and absorb sophisticated editorials or lengthy boycott articles. In their spare time they preferred to read popular literature, which appeared in the supplemental sections (fukan 副刊) of newspapers or in book form. Most popular literature in the early twentieth century was written in plain language (baihua 白话) or dialect, which made it more attractive to the semi-literate class.

In appealing to the semi-literate, boycott promoters used popular literature as another communication device. The labor-treaty issue, mistreatment of overseas Chinese and legitimacy of the boycott were subjects of popular literature that appeared in the fukan of newspapers. Boycott news was turned into an entertaining literary form with such features as plain-speech comments and folksongs. Boycott news one day became popular literature the next. The purpose was to keep semi-literate readers informed about the progress of the boycott movement. News of the arrest of the three men who distributed the turtle cartoon became the theme of much popular literature. Popular songs entitled

81 Encl., Lay to State Department, Oct. 30, 1905, Consular Dispatches, Guangzhou.
82 Ibid., Dec. 4, 1905.
“Ma Dachen [one of the three arrested] Sighs in Jail at Night,” and “Seven Evils Conspired on the Jiangtian Boat to Jail the Three Sages” were published in Yousuowei bao soon after the incident.83

Another approach to semi-literate groups was to distribute pamphlets, placards, slogans, handbills, leaflets, and flyers. Messages in all these items were written in simple, brief, and forceful language. The Universal Gazette reported that a booksellers’ guild in Shanghai had held a meeting on May 3, 1905, and had resolved to publish pamphlets in native dialects to enable women, teenagers, and others with limited reading skills to understand the meaning of the movement and support it.84 Such materials, as they would in later popular movements, became a powerful force in the propaganda drive. Placards with the expressions “buyong Meihuo” 不用美貨 (Do not use American goods) and “buding Meihuo” 不訂美货行 (Do not order American goods) were posted in residences and stores.85 Students raised flags with the slogan “dizhi Meihuo” 抵制美貨 (Boycott American goods) in parades.86 In Foshan a boycott activist published ten thousand copies of a handbill encouraging people to stop using moon cakes made with American flour during the moon festival in mid-September.87 The handbill proclaimed that it would be offensive to use American flour in cakes for worship and for serving friends. Another boycott supporter compiled boycott handbills and leaflets that were circulating in Shanghai and Guangzhou, added pictures, and made tens of thousands of copies for distribution to ferry passengers on their way back to the interior.88 A flier of the Shanghai Zhengzheng Society recommended that ora-

83 Yousuowei bao, Sept. 10 and Nov. 26, 1905.
84 Universal Gazette, May 8, 1905. The original is stored in the Shanghai Municipal Archives, 2115/XXXIV.
85 Huazi ribao, July 31, 1905.
87 Huazi ribao, Sept. 2, 1905.
88 Ibid., June 23, 1905.
tors should make speeches in their native dialects to the audiences at theaters, tea-houses and smoker-houses and to people living in the countryside.\footnote{Dagongbao, June 5, 1905.}

4. Language for Mobilization

Boycott activists used different language forms to deliver messages to different social groups. They also invented a common language, with key terms, to communicate with people at various social levels. The key terms were usually short, forceful, and imaginative, such as liangxue dongwu 洪血動物 (cold-blooded animal), wenming dizhi 文明抵制 (civilized boycott or civilized resistance) and minqi 民氣 (popular spirit or people’s spirit). Leaders consciously emphasized these terms in newspaper editorials and articles. Lecturers repeatedly explained the terms to audiences and attempted to implant them in the minds of the masses.

Liangxue dongwu was one of the most compelling phrases used during the movement. Using animal epithets to discredit an enemy was not a new device created by the boycotters. Chinese had always used animal terms pejoratively in reference to surrounding “barbarians” and aborigines. This strategy was especially commonly used in the late nineteenth century.\footnote{See Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom and Sin-kiong Wong, “Taunting the Turtle and Damning the Dog: Animals Epithets and Political Conflict in Modern China.”}

Images of turtles and dogs were used to offend one’s opponents such as when Cantonese coolies who provided sedan-chair service to Alice Roosevelt were portrayed as turtles. A more common expression in the periodicals and propaganda materials was “cold-blooded animal.” “Cold” means indifferent or apathetic, in contrast to “hot,” which means sympathetic or enthusiastic. This epithet at first referred to merchants who betrayed their boycott commitment and continued to sell or order American goods. When, for example, boycott activists revealed that some tobacco traders in Suzhou imported forty-four boxes of cigarettes, they labeled those traders zhen liangxue 真凉血 (“the real cold-blooded,” meaning
animals of the lowest class).  

The term also referred to those who did not participate in or sympathize with the boycott movement. In one case, those gentry-merchants in Chaozhou 潮, Guangdong, who refused to join the boycott of American goods were disparaged cold-blooded animals. Of course, those who opposed the boycott were labeled liangxue. A picture in the Shishi huabao (Pictorial Magazine of Current Affairs) showed a liangxue jiaoxi 涼血教習 (cold-blooded teacher) being expelled from a middle school in Gaozhou 高州, Guangdong, because the teacher had opposed students joining the boycott. An interesting article in Yousuowei bao proposed that a zoo be built for cold-blooded animals. This symbolic extension of the exhibition room for American goods was to display a list of traitors and their shops’ names.

Those who supported the boycott of course were regarded as hot-blooded people. Members of a boycott society in Hankou named their society the Rexueshe 熱血社, or the Hot-blooded Society. This term evidently spread widely. A poster in front of a brothel, for example, read, “We [prostitutes] do not use American goods, hot-blooded gentlemen please forgive us.” Being successors of the 1905 boycotters, protesters in popular movements of the 1920s used the same blood imagery, as Vera Schwarz and Wasserstrom have shown.

91 Shanghai shehui kexueyuan jingji yanjiusuo 上海社會科學院經濟研究所, ed., YingMei yan gongsi zai Hua qiye ziliao huibian 英美煙公司在華業資料彙編, I: 1302-4; Yousuowei bao, Sept. 4, 1905.
92 Editorial, Juyuebao, Nov. 3, 1905.
93 Yousuowei bao, Sept. 3, 1905.
94 Shishi huabao, 4 (March 1906).
95 Yousuowei bao, Oct. 19, 1905.
96 Shibao, Oct. 26, 1905.
97 Yousuowei bao, Aug. 21, 1905.
Another key term was *wenming dizhi* (civilized boycott), which referred to the peaceful boycott of American goods. More specifically, it meant to boycott American goods but treat Americans in China well in order to show a new and civilized image of the Chinese. The term *wenming* was widely known after Zou Rong's *Gemingjun* (Revolutionary Army) was published in 1903. Zou was a radical revolutionary and his book received wide attention in Chinese society. He placed revolutions in two categories. One was “barbaric” revolution and the other was “civilized.” Influenced by Zou, boycott promoters—some of whom were also revolutionaries—advocated civilized boycott against barbaric violence. The term implied that peaceful means might be employed to stir emotions without leading the illiterate to cause trouble to foreigners.

It also meant a focus on such issues as exclusion laws and treaties and American mistreatment of Chinese, and it also suggested that the boycott should not provoke governmental involvement or diplomatic complications. Boycott leaders had been aware of the danger of violence from the beginning of the movement. They tried to prevent the Americans from finding a pretext to cause further complications, like the student leaders in 1919 who urged people to be calm and act responsibly, lest Japan find an excuse to cause further trouble. A proclamation to boycotters printed in the *Dagongbao* on June 18 called for a peaceful boycott. It asked readers not to hate American merchants, missionaries and their churches, and it argued that only working-class Americans were responsible for the exclusion movement in the United States. The proclamation drew attention to the fact that lower-class Chinese who had been involved in the boycott were relatively more radical and irra-

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99 For the translation of the *Gemingjun*, see John Lutz, *Revolutionary Army*.

100 Communist scholars such as Fang Hanqi, however, considered that promoting “civilized actions” was showing cowardice and weakness, leading to a cool-down of emotion of common people. See Fang, *Zhongguo*, I: 349; Sang Bing also criticized the alleged weakness of civilized boycott. See Sang, *Wanqing xuetang*, p. 265.


102 For the event of 1919, see Zhen, *May Fourth Movement in Shanghai*, p. 102.
tional than merchants and educated people. It recommended that boycott organizers and leaders be aware of the complexity of boycott activities and make sure that participants in mass meetings remain calm during the course of the movement.\textsuperscript{103}

In ensuring a civilized popular movement, activists adopted preventive measures to educate people through schooling, newspapers, public lectures, and popular literature.\textsuperscript{104} A popular Cantonese song, “Dizhi keyue” 抵制苛約 (Boycotting the cruel treaty), sent a message of nonviolence and contributed to the civilized nature of the boycott.\textsuperscript{105} Boycott leaders learned lessons from the Boxer Uprising and alerted their followers to the dangers of reading misleading historical fiction.\textsuperscript{106} As Joseph Esherick has pointed out, the violent acts of the Boxers were influenced by theatrical narratives and mythical fictions, which overstated the invulnerability and magical powers of folk heroes.\textsuperscript{107} The emphasis on nonviolence throughout this movement was a departure from the violence of the antiforeign disturbances of the nineteenth century, including the Sanyuanli Incident, the anti-Christian movements in the 1860s and 1870s and the Boxer Rebellion.\textsuperscript{108} It also differed from the violence of the 1903 anti-Russian movement, although activists then did not have the chance to assault Russian troops in Manchuria.

Minqi 民氣 (popular spirit) was another term heard frequently during the boycott era.\textsuperscript{109} Boycotters stressed minqi to raise the self-esteem of people

\textsuperscript{103} Dagongbao, June 18, 1905.
\textsuperscript{104} Lat Pau 呱報, Mar. 23–30, 1906.
\textsuperscript{105} Yousuowei bao, Oct. 16, 1905.
\textsuperscript{106} Lat Pau, Mar. 23, 27, 1906.
\textsuperscript{107} Esherick, Origins of the Boxer Uprising.
\textsuperscript{108} For the Sanyuanli Incident, see Wakeman, Strangers at the Gate; for the anti-Christian movements, see Paul Cohen, China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism, 1860–1870.
\textsuperscript{109} Literally min means people and qi means energy or energized substance. Neo-Confucianism and its formulator, Zhu Xi 朱熹, master of Neo-Confucianism, used qi 氣 (energy) and li 理 (principle) to make up a harmonious world.
who joined the boycott movement by emphasizing that they were helping society. An editorial underlined the importance of *minqi* not only for the success of the movement but also for the survival of China in the family of nations.\(^\text{110}\) Regarding negotiations for the return of Manchuria to China after the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05, an article argued that it was unrealistic to depend on help from the United States, which had been acting as an intermediary between Russia and Japan.\(^\text{111}\) The return of Manchuria, according to the article, depended on the willingness of Japan, the victor in the war. The article asserted that the boycott would help China regain Manchuria by making Japan recognize the rise of Chinese *minqi*. Indeed, a growing awareness of *minqi* by the Western powers did lead to recognition of the phenomenon as an “awakening of the Chinese people.”\(^\text{112}\)

### 5. Conclusion

Involvement of different social classes made the 1905 boycott movement a popular one. Boycott leaders realized that a successful boycott of American goods had to have support from consumers at all social levels. Activists adopted numerous propaganda techniques and mobilization strategies. Commercial and cultural elites first established boycott societies or ad hoc committees, held meetings, passed resolutions and mobilized the literati through newspapers and related literature. Although intellectuals and merchants served as organizers and leaders, students acted as educators and promoters. Students brought the message of the boycott to the masses through public lectures, handbills, placards and other simple but effective written materials, as well as through visual media such as exhibitions and pictorial presentations. Theater performers,

\(^\text{110}\) "Lun Zhongguo minqi zhi keyong" 論中國民氣之可用 [On the applicability of Chinese *minqi*], *Shibao*, July 15, 1905.

\(^\text{111}\) 1905 nian Guangdong fanMei aiguo yundong ziliao huibian 1905 年廣東反美愛國運動資料編, I: 150-3.

singers, painters, storytellers and cartoonists contributed to the movement in ways that both educated and entertained. Illiterate and semi-literate people joined the movement by refusing to purchase American goods and urging their family members to do the same.

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一個社會運動在中國的推行：
1905 年抵制美貨運動的宣傳

黃 賢 強

摘 要

不少研究 1905 年抵制美貨運動的學者認為這個抵制運動是中國的排外運動或是具有政治色彩的民族主義運動。他們往往忽略了這個運動的社會層面，尤其是其宣傳策略和動員力量，本文將針對這個被忽略的課題進行探索。文中指出，發起抵制運動的團體和個人採用各種各樣的方法來動員群眾，其中包括使用不同的宣傳方式來影響不同教育程度的群眾。抵制運動的發起人（主要是知識分子和商人階級）透過報紙的議論文章和其他出版品向有相當教育水平的同胞宣傳。對於目不識丁者，他們則採用漫畫、歌曲、街頭演講、戲劇和資料展覽會來達到宣導的效果。對於一些所謂的半文盲者，他們用簡單易懂的文字，如通俗的廣告標語來使這些民衆瞭解。在各種教育水平觀眾齊聚的群眾大會上，他們會運用一些大家都會明白的口號等宣傳術語來鼓動群眾的情緒。這種多樣化的宣傳方式也被往後的其他群眾運動所模仿和採用。

關鍵詞：抵制美貨運動、宣傳、動員、社會史、美國排華運動

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