

Lesson 5

Question for the Lesson/What you need to know in this lesson:

What were the Hundred Days Reforms of 1898 about?

How successful were the reforms? What were the reasons for the failures of the reforms?

IB Questions

1. Why, and with what consequences for China, did the 100 Days reform of 1898 fail? (N05, Q8)
 2. Discuss the reasons for, and the consequences of, the Hundred Days Reform (1898) in China. (M13)
 3. "The 'Hundred Days Reforms' (1898) had no chance of success." How far do you agree with this statement? (N06, Q8)
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1. Overview of Hundred Days Reforms of 1898

The Hundred Day Reforms, which proposed for institutional reforms that was not given much focus during the Self-strengthening movement, indeed lasted only for that Hundred Days. During this period, one sees the power struggle between the emperor and the dowager, the conflict between the moderate reformers and the radicals, and the racial antipathy between the Manchus and the Chinese.

Traditional historiography blames Empress Dowager and her conservative supporters as the reactionary villains who caused the failure of the institutional reforms proposed and attempted during the Hundred Days Reforms

Revisionist historians like Sue Fawn Chung considered the condemnation of Empress Cixi as being excessive. Instead such historians considered Kang Yuwei, the radical reformer/proposer of the Hundred Day reforms, as being impractical and that the conservative elites did eventually implemented the reforms during the Late Qing reforms. **And historian Luke Kwong argued that it was not Kang, but the Emperor Kung-hsu that played a major role in the Hundred Day Reform.**

2. Reasons for Hundred Days Reforms, 1898

The frightful prospect of dismemberment of China in the post Sino-Japanese War of 1895-98 precipitated a reform movement in 1898.

The movement had actually been gathering momentum for 10 years, ever since China's defeat in the Sino-French War in 1884-85, which had made the inadequacy of limited modernization during the Self-strengthening Movement obvious.

The need for a more extensive reform was recognized by scholars, officers and even the emperor and the Empress Dowager, **although they differed in the nature, scope and leadership.**

a. Role of Missionaries

The partial awakening to the need for reform was partially a result of the missionary influence.

Ever since the 1870s, a number of the more enlightened British and American Protestant missionaries had adopted the view that they should “secularize” their work and extend it beyond religious propagation to include an introduction to Western knowledge and culture.

They established schools, gave public lectures, opened libraries and museums, and published newspaper and magazines. With the establishment in Shanghai in 1887 of Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese, the missionaries reached out more effectively into the Chinese reading public and the upper class. Among the manifold activities that the society was engaged itself were an introduction of Western civilization through translations, promotion of the cause of reform, editorials on current topics, public addresses, and discussions conducted with scholars and officials.

In particular, Timothy Richard, a British, secretary of the society since 1891 and its Peking representative in 1895, was dedicated to institutional reforms. He wrote on the works of Peter the Great and Emperor Meiji, among others.

Through the missionary efforts, the mental horizons of Chinese intellectuals became broadened and they developed a new respect for the foreigners. Timothy Richard was much sought after not only by prominent statesmen such as Prince Kung, Weng T'ung-ho and Li Hung-chang, but also by such radical reformers as Kang Yuwei and Li Liang Chi-chao. Many of Kang's ideas on reform, in fact came from the missionaries.

b. Role of Conservatives in the Hundred Day Reforms

Conservatives	Achievements	Limitations
Empress Dowager	Refer to later part of notes	Refer to later part of notes
Weng T'ung-Ho	<p>-emerged as an advocate of conservative reforms</p> <p>-as appointed tutor of the boy Emperor Kuanh-hsu since 1876, he developed intimate relationship with the emperor over 20 years and this was in position of influencing the emperor and to maintain good connection with Empress Dowager, Cixi.</p> <p>-deeply concerned with the decline of the dynasty and with the ever-deepening foreign encroachment which threatened the partition of China, he came to a reluctant conclusion that China could not survive without a reform – he knew that the support of the Emperor and Empress Dowager was needed for both the reforms as well as to secure for himself the</p>	<p>Chang, who was a moderate reformer and with a power base at Wuhan was seen as a challenge by Weng Tung-ho for the leadership of a moderate reform. Weng actually blocked the move of Chang to Peking to lead the moderate reform.</p>

	<p>leadership in the reform movement</p> <p>-with his steep Confucian background and his eagerness to avoid irritating the conservative-minded Dowager, Weng promoted a moderate reform, which would entail an adoption of western science and technical knowledge and limited administrative reorganization</p> <p>-made it clear that the Chinese moral principles and ethical teachings must remain as the foundation of the state, which needed to be supplemented, but no means replaced by Western learning (i.e. no alterations to Chinese institutions and moral teachings)</p> <p>-to carry out reforms but to maintain his leadership in the reform movement, Weng sought out promising young scholars and officials far junior in status and age to assist him, men who would not threaten his leadership. Among them were Kang Yuwei, whom he brought to the attention of the emperor with the intention of making him his chief-assistant in the moderate reform, but Kang was a radical reformer with a program of his own.</p>	
Chang Chi-tung (governor-general at Wuhan)	<p>-governor-general of Wuhan (1889-1894, 1896-1907)</p> <p>-a moderate reformer too, a thoroughbred Confucianist and a superb scholar; immersed in Chinese cultural and ethical tradition</p> <p>-he initiated many projects of modernization in his jurisdiction</p> <p>-Chang wanted to save China by renaissance of Confucianism, by education and industry and by adoption of Western Science and technical know-how – his efforts were based on reaffirming the</p>	<p>But he never advocated the alteration of basic Chinese institutions and moral teachings –in fact his modernization efforts, including adoption of foreign devices and implements that he believed that made the Western countries strong and wealthy, were primarily to</p>

	<p>superiority of China's moral tradition and of supplementing, not replacing, it with Western science and technology (i.e. Chinese learning for the foundation and Western learning for applications)</p> <p>-With this position established, Chang advocated for change</p> <p>-such nature of the reforms/changes was an effective shield against conservative attack of him being disloyal to Confucianism and Chinese heritage</p> <p>-With this philosophy, reinforced by his powerful base at Wuhan, Chang challenged Weng Tung-ho's leadership in a moderate reform.</p>	<p>perpetuate the established institutions and way of life, rather than introduce progress (Hsu)</p> <p>Weng actually blocked the move of Chang to Peking to lead the moderate reform.</p>
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With the exception of ultraconservatives, reform seemed to be the consensus of officials and scholars after 1895.

c. Role of Radical Reformer in the Hundred Day Reforms

Conservatives	Achievements	Limitations
Kang Yuwei	<p>-a child-prodigy and a scholar; had solid foundation in Neo-Confucianism</p> <p>-his intellectual till 1882 was entirely traditional and free from Western influence</p> <p>-He visited Shanghai in 1882 and before that Hong Kong – he was impressed by the orderliness and efficiency of the municipal governments in these British dominated cities. If western colonial administration could produce such good results, he wondered, how much more progressive must be the mother countries themselves</p> <p>-Kang's interest in the West was aroused; read available translations of work put out by the missionary organizations and by the Kiangnan Arsenal</p> <p>-He realized the backwardness of China and her dangerous position in the age of</p>	<p>-his experience in Hong Kong and Shanghai was criticized as his only basis of the West and their institutions</p>

	<p>imperialism. He accepted the view of the missionary that progress as demonstrated by the Western nations was necessary and desirable</p> <p>-in 1888 he tried to present a memorial to the throne, in which he praised Japan's modernization along the lines of the Western powers, urged that China does likewise and warned the increasing threat of foreign encroachment – but memorial was not forwarded to the throne (Kang thus realised the importance of winning the support of intellectual leadership and the emperor for his reform program – believed that reform through the Qing dynasty was possible)</p> <p>-Kang returned to Kwangtung to teach and write and his unorthodox ideas attracted young scholars and among whom was Liang Chi-chao, who became Kang's student.</p> <p>-Kang opened a school at Canton in 1891, in which he promoted the idea of reforms and Kang continued to read books on representative government and constitutional monarchy – Kang was fired with the zeal of Western-style political reforms</p> <p>-Through the many books he wrote and his idea like Confucius himself favoured institutional reforms and changes he captured the imagination and attention of Ching intellectual world</p> <p>-While Kang had built up resounding reputation for himself though his books and ideas, he lacked higher degree to qualify him for official appointment.</p> <p>-Kang led a protest over 1000 scholars in Beijing against the Treaty of Shimonoseki</p> <p>When Kang was eventually appointed only an official at Board of Works, he decided to concentrate on capturing the imperial attention through barrage of memorials. Eventually, his memorial was read by Emperor on June 1895. In it Kang had suggested method of enriching</p>	<p>But he was unconcerned that his controversial views would stiffen conservative resolve and his radical views and ideas only served to set up serious resistance to his reform efforts</p> <p>Kang's daring mobilization of the provincial graduates and his advocacy of reforms were highly irritating to the</p>
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	<p>the country, cultivating the people, educating the students and training the army. Impressed with the views expressed, the emperor ordered the copies be made for Empress Dowager, the Grand Council and the various provincial authorities. This marked the beginning of imperial awareness of Kang.</p> <p>-Kang and Liang turned their attention to forming and participating in a news of study societies and newspapers. They joined the Society of the Study of National Strengthening. The conservative reformers Weng and Chang showed interest in the study society and Chang even made a contribution of 5000 taels.</p> <p>-Kang met up with Timothy Richard while Liang offered to be his secretary and there developed a mutual support between the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge and the reformers' society</p> <p>-Kang travelled. Lectured and promoted the cause of reform in several provinces and within 3 years he had influenced the creation of many societies, schools and newspapers, most of which were in Hunnan, Kiangsu, Kwangtung and Peking.</p> <p>Rise of Kang: The celebrated interview with high officials at Tsungli Yamen, the first official airing of Kang's views, took place on Jan 24, 1898.</p> <p>Weng had supported the idea of granting Kang an imperial audience by remarking to the Emperor that Kang's ability was a hundred times superior to his own and that it behoved the emperor to hear him on matters of reforms – but this move was blocked by Prince Kung</p> <p>When the report of the interview between Kang and Li Hung-chang reached the emperor, he was eager to meet Kang but was again blocked by Prince Kung but the emperor ordered that Kang be allowed to present memorials any time without delay or</p>	<p>conservatives.</p>
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	<p>obstruction by court officials – Kang's access to the emperor was thus assured</p> <p>In his 7th memorial in Feb 1898, he repeated the suggestion that the emperor followed the examples of Peter the Great and Emperor Meiji. To acquaint the ruler with the reforms of these foreign countries, he presented his works on Meiji Restoration and Peter the Great and other works on the reforms of the various countries and reading these manuals, the emperor was more than ever determined to effect an institutional change.</p> <p>On 11 June 1898, Emperor Kuang-hsu acceded to the request of Kang and issued the first reform decree, urging the princes, the officials, and the commoners alike to strive to learn the useful foreign knowledge without sacrificing the Chinese moral teaching. – Empress Cixi did not object</p> <p>On 16 June, Kang was granted 5 hours audience with the Emperor.</p> <p>During this meeting Kang put forth the point that earlier reforms were only a slight reform, not a complete one, and that it incurred failure and so the prerequisite of reform are that all the laws and the political and social systems be changed and decided anew. The emperor consented to Kang's suggestion that a bureau be established to study the various systems.</p> <p>Kang was appointed a secretary of Tsungli Yamen and later presented another memorial through the Yamen requesting the adoption of a national policy on reform and the establishment of a bureau for governmental institutions. Kang-Hsu was won over by Kang, requested other work of Kang such as reform in France, Germany and Britain and was convinced of the urgency of the institutional change.</p> <p>Kang at the age of 40 had captivated the Emperor and became the leader of</p>	
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	a radical reform.	
Liang Chi-chao	<p>Was Kang's closest follower and helped Kang</p> <p>Was a prodigy but struggled to pass the final civil service examination</p> <p>Was exposed to the West through Shanghai</p> <p>Developed his strength as a journalist where he helped popularize ideas</p>	

3. Hundred Day Reforms

a. Kang's Political Ideas

The existing political institutions and administrative procedures of China, he believed, were designed at a time when China was a world in itself, free from involvement with Western powers. The primary consideration of the ruling dynasty was to prevent domestic rebellion and uprising and hence the cumbersome system of checks and balances in central and local administration and the impractical nature of the civil service examinations.

Now internal security was no longer the sole concern of state and old imperial system had become totally outdated. The government need to consider new problems of foreign relations and industrialization and modernize its structure accordingly.

But to effect this the emperor had to wrest power from the Empress Dowager, who in Kang's view was the major obstacle to progress.

As a result, Kang proposed

- (i) Revision of the examination system and the legal code
- (ii) Establishment of a governmental institution bureau and creation of 12 new bureaus to render useless the Grand Council, the Six Boards, and other existing offices
- (iii) Establishment of bureau of people's affairs in the circuits and branches in the districts as an embryonic form of local self-government
- (iv) Creation of Parliament in Peking
- (v) Establishment of a national assembly
- (vi) Adoption of constitutional monarchy to replace the age-old imperial Confucian system

Limitations: Such grandiose plans were far beyond the dream of the conservative reformers, such as Weng, who having lost the leadership of reform and also shocked by the radical reforms of Kang, turned to bloc Kang's work. However, the emperor, who had developed deep respect and fondness for Kang, with the approval of Empress Dowager, who felt that Weng had led the emperor astray by introducing Kang to him, dismissed Weng from all official duties.

The Emperor and Kang now forged ahead in their bold program. Not wanting to develop the wreath of the Empress, the Emperor did not place Kang in all-important position of Grand

Council and instead placed Kang's assistants in several positions such as secretaries in the Grand Council. They became the link between Kang and the Emperor and drafted all important decrees, read important memorials relating to institutional changes and became the de-facto executives of reforms.

For 103 days, from June 11 to Sept 20 some forty to fifty reform decrees were issued in various areas.

b. The Reforms

(i) Education

- Replacement of the eight-legged essay in the civil service examination by essays on current affairs (*not get rid of the classics or abolish the eight-legged essay)
- Opening of a special examination in political economy – examinations to focus on more practical issues
- Establishment of an Imperial University at Peking – modern western style university
- Establishment of modern schools in the provinces devoted to the pursuit of both Chinese and Western studies
- Publication of an official newspapers
- Encouraged the translation of Western and Japanese books

(i) Political Reforms

- **Political Administration**
 - **Abolition of sinecure and unnecessary offices** such as the governorships of Hupeh, Kwangtung and Yunnan
 - **(Emperor Kuang-hsu ordered those who were made redundant to remain in Peking as he expected them to be deployed as more reforms were introduced)**
 - **Appointment of the progressives in government** - the replacements of the Six Boards with 12 modern administrative agencies filled with trained specialist to be controlled by the Bureau of Government Institutions **(these changes were seen as a war against the traditional officials)**
 - **Encouragement of suggestions from private citizens** and to be forwarded by the government offices on the day they are received
 - **Kang wanted the adoption of a constitutional monarchy and a parliament but Emperor Kuang-Hsu refused to act on it**
 - Newspapers could write freely regarding political subjects
- **Access to Emperor**
 - Emperor Kuang-hsu ordered that all memorials from any citizen were to be transmitted to him (previously only high officials could do this)
 - Officials and censors **were warned not to obstruct** reform memorials
 - Senior officials from the Board of Rites were sacked for blocking a junior official from delivering a memorial

(iii) Economic Reforms

- A national cash currency was introduced
- Promoted the construction of railways and developments of agricultural, industrial and commercial sectors

- Encouragement of Invention – encouraged the introduction of patents and rewards for those who produced new skills, methods, books, technology and sciences

4. Reasons for Failure of Hundred Day Reforms

(i) Opposition from the Conservatives

Although Emperor Kang-hsu and Kang Yuwei vigorously pushed the reform program, it was boycotted by most of the high officials in the central and provincial administrations – **The Manchus claimed that the reforms were tampering with sacred institutions by the ancestors and the Chinese elites still strongly believed in the superiority of Chinese civilisation**

The abolition of the eight-legged essay met with strong opposition from the Board of Rites, which was in-charge of the examination (although in reality it was not abolished; only changes in what was being tested)

As to the **provincial authorities, all but the governor of Hunan, ignored or delayed the orders for reform**. These central and local officials **dared to challenge or disregard the Emperor's orders in full knowledge of the fact that the real power of state was not in his hands but in those of the Empress Dowager, who was ill-disposed towards the reform**

(ii) Cixi's Coup and Resumption of Power/Power Struggle in the Court

Though in retirement at the Summer place since 1889, the Empress Cixi still held the reins of government tightly. So conscious was she of her ultimate power that she could not tolerate any move – be it conservative or radical – to undermine her supreme status

Any political change in the political and social systems that affected the precepts of the Confucian ethical code, particularly the concept of filial piety, on which her position and authority rested, was a threat

Conservative reforms advocated by Weng and Chang, where Chinese learning is retained for foundation and Western learning for practical application, suited Empress Cixi better as such moderate reorganization did not upset the basic institutions or threaten the authority.

As the reform progressed, the Dowager became alarmed by the abolition of the eight-legged essays, the elimination of the sinecure officers and the 3 governorships, and a host of other radical changes that swept away the ancestral institutions and traditional procedures in administration. She came to regard the reform as a concealed scheme to wrest power from her, which was what Kang and the progressives intended it to be.

The issue of reform became a power struggle between Emperor Kuang-hsu and Dowager.

On Sept 21, Dowager raided the Emperor's palace and intercepted all reform documents. She announced publicly that a serious illness had incapacitated the emperor, making it imperative that she takes over the administration. **Empress Cixi returned to administer state affairs behind a silk curtain, while the emperor was put under detention.**

The reforms came to an abrupt end after 103 days. Orders were quickly issued to arrest Kang and the reformers. But Kang and Liang managed to escape to Japan. 6 other

reformers such as Tan Sitong and Kang's brother were executed without trial. A total of 22 reformers were also arrested, imprisoned, dismissed, banished, and stripped of their properties. Kang's writings were banned.

Most of the reforms were reversed. The seven sinecure offices and three governorships abolished during the Hundred Day reforms as well as the eight-legged essays were reinstated. The government press was close, formation of societies were prohibited, newspaper publishers and editors in Shanghai, Hankow, Tientsin were ordered arrested and private citizens were forbidden to submit memorials on state affairs.

However, there were some degree a continuation of moderate reforms. The Imperial University at Peking and the colleges at provincial capitals were allowed to continue, while the high schools and elementary schools at prefectural and district levels could also operate if they suited local conditions. Provincial authorities were instructed to abolish or amalgamate superfluous offices and dismiss sinecure appointees.

(iii) Inexperienced Radical Reformers and Radical Nature of the Reforms

Both Kang and Liang did not have previous experience in government service and neither had been abroad and neither had more than a superficial understanding of the Western culture and institutions. Their knowledge of the West was limited to what they read in the missionary publications and what they observed in the colonial administration in Hong Kong and Shanghai.

Kang was an idealist and philosopher rather than a practical statesmen. He did not have adequate knowledge of the reality of power politics and had no power base from which to operate. He won the support of the Emperor as the legal source of power but ignored the obvious fact that real power of state rested with the Dowager.

Kang was oblivious to the fact the radical reform was in effect a war on the whole Confucian society, one which would arouse strong opposition from many quarters. The abolition of the eight-legged essay hurt the future of all students who, having spent their lives preparing for the civil examination, suddenly discovered that what they had learned was not what the government wanted now. The decree which called for the appointment of men of practical knowledge instead of the promotion of incumbent based on seniority basis created insecurity in officialdom. The reform to turn temples and shrines into schools irritated the priests and monks. The fact that all reformers except the Emperor were Chinese aroused fear among the Manchus. Hence, scholars, officials, monks, and the Manchus in general sought to undo the reform as Kang's reforms represented a sharp departure from the general trend of gradual change that had begun with the SSM of the 1860s – Hsu

5. Historiography on Reasons for Failure of the Hundred Day Reforms

Immanuel Hsu	Refer to the discussion above
Jack Gray	(i) The Reform Movement did not wholly depend upon the translation of Western works. Many Chinese writings on reforms were already current and influential. What distinguished the thought of their authors from that of the previous generation was their acceptance of the painful idea that it was not enough to adopt certain Western techniques and use them to

	<p>preserve Chinese values. Values must also change.</p> <p>(ii) The failure of reform in 1898 it seems be more readily explicable by the situation at the court and by the actions of individuals in positions of power. Empress Cixi had contrived to maintain her power by securing the succession of one boy emperor to another and had removed from the scene anyone with sufficient courage to oppose her, leaving in the great offices of state only such men as would bow to orders of her eunuch favourites. By 1898, although the Emperor officially ruled, the 63 year-old Dowager still pulled the strings from her retirement</p> <p>(iii) The reformers have frequently been accused by historians (revisionist) of bringing down opposition upon their heads by attempting to push through radical reforms in too short a time. This is too simple a judgement. Much of what they had sought to do was already done in Hunan by Chang Chi-tung. For instance, the establishment of schools and colleges to teach Western subjects went no further than the reformers at Hunan had already done and the study of the classic remained the basis of education. The issue in education which was most likely to arouse widespread and bitter opposition was the abolition of the traditional examination which was the centre of the system as those educated in Confucian moral norms were introduced into the government and there were probably a million young men in China who had already prepared themselves for the examination and whose hopes would be dashed. However, the reformers themselves almost all distinguished graduates knew this well enough and they made no attempt to destroy the system abruptly. Their only drastic measure was to abolish the notorious eight-legged essay and this essay had been target of many reformers in the past. The other parts of the examination like on the Four books and the Five Classics were maintained and only the questions on the classical texts were to be concerned with application to contemporary problems – questions to be supplemented by questions on western subjects.</p> <p>Also there was no evidence that a million student voices were immediately raised in protest. The country barely knew what the changes were.</p> <p>(iv) In the abolition of sinecures and redundant posts the reformers appreciated that a comprehensive policy of rationalization of the bureaucracy would take time. The posts actually abolished were all notorious examples of waste. At the same time, the Emperor ordered that those who had been made redundant should be maintained in Peking on the grounds that the development of China would require more officials. Hence, the abolition of sinecure was a major factor in opposition but it could not have been because large number of officials were suddenly deprived of their livelihood. No such thing happened. The real problem was also possibly that the sinecure posts were now more often occupied by Manchus than the Chinese.</p> <p>(v) The failure of the reforms, in the end, had little to do with the actual reforms which the emperor had decreed. In fact Empress Cixi was not against all change. She had supported the efforts of Li Hung-chang and Tseng Kuofan and maintained her confidence in Chang Chi-tung even though his reforms in Hunan and Hubei went</p>
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	<p>further than any previous attempts and had already brought to his areas many of the innovations that Emperor Kuang-hsu and his young advisers/reformers were now to attempt to apply to the whole country.</p> <p>The reforms represented only the alarm of a usurper at the threat to her power. It was actually the increasing right that the emperor seemed to have gained such as promoting and demoting officials as he has done in the case of high officials he sacked for not allowing a memorial a junior official had wrote to reach the throne and the appointments he made for the assistants of Kang Yuwei in the government which made Dowager realize that her power would melt away if the emperor succeeds in consolidating this right.</p>
Peter Zarrow	<p>(i) After Emperor Kuang-hsu had begun firing important officials and promoting his own men, fearing for her on positions and believing that the reformers were plotting to overthrow her, Cixi acted in removing the emperor and retuning to take over the administration. Kang's influence on the emperor and the imperial camp was crucial to giving the reforms their thoroughgoing edge, and that while the reforms were not well-planned, they were in historical fact defeated by the coup led by Cixi.</p> <p>(ii) Empress Cixi was not entirely opposed to reform, but her political career was based on balancing reformist and conservative impulses in the court and among the military. Reforms had been left largely to individual provinces, some of whom who built new schools and military arsenals, developed mines and railroads and streamlined administration – and some did not. But Emperor Kuang-hsu was willing to go beyond the piecemeal reforms of the past and though that also found an avenue for himself to advance his own power and when it came to the difficult part of implementing the reforms neither Kang nor the Emperor had much political experience and power and with the conservatives in court convincing Cixi that the actions of the Emperor was threatening the tradition and the dynasty, Cixi acted.</p> <p>(iii) Hundred Day Reform as a success – still remembered still today among the Chinese because Kang and Liang made it the opening chapter of an ongoing drama of change and redemption for the Chinese nation. The defeat of the reform led to Boxer Rebellion, the Boxers themselves tolerated by the Court. But with the defeat of Boxers as well as Qing forces, Cixi's humiliating escape from Peking and the general failure of the conservatives' response to the reformers resulted in a real reform program after 1901. The Qing's New Policy reforms differed little from the proposal of 1898, now no longer seen as radical. The bureaucracy was streamlined, new schools built, a modern infrastructure developed, within a few years, the old examination system was abolished and a constitution was put into place.</p>

6. Impact of the Failure of the Hundred Day Reforms

Firstly, under the Empress Cixi and die-hard conservatives who had returned to power, the court was totally incapable of leadership. It encouraged anti-foreignism and fostered the Boxer Rebellion, which led to the 8 power occupation of Peking in 1900. Its installation of more Manchus in the top level of the government and the adoption of anti-Chinese policy to punish the reformers also served to alienate the Chinese.

Secondly, **the failure of the Hundred Days reforms proved that progressive reforms from the top down was not possible.** Hence, it **stimulated the growth of revolutionary movements.** **An increasing number of the Chinese came to feel that their future lay in the complete overthrow of the Manchu dynasty** and that such an occurrence could not be achieved by peaceful change; only **a bloody revolution from below** could achieve this. **Dr Sun Yat-sen took the lead in promoting this approach.**

Thirdly, though the reforms were cancelled, they were revived in 1901 after the debacle with the Boxer Uprising; the Qing court reluctantly accepted the need for reforms.