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MUNSEY'S MAGAZINE

Yuan Shih-kai, who had witnessed the downfall of his country's influence in a rich empire, was not a Manchu, he returned unmolested to Peking, where he was made much of at the court of the dowager empress.

The explanation of his immunity from punishment may be given in two widely different ways.

The "historical" version is that the young man had displayed such marked ability as a diplomat, administrator, organizer, and soldier that his failure at Seoul was not held against him. The great Li Hung Chang thought well of him, and was influential enough to protect him.

The other is one of those "behind the scenes" stories that level-headed, earnest Anglo-Saxons bring back after a score of years in the ancient empire. It is rather complicated but very interesting tale, especially as the chief figure has lately accepted the reversion of the imperial crown of the Manchus.

According to this romantic story—which was given with much detail to the writer by a man who has been for many years a close student of Chinese affairs—the rise of Yu Shih-kai dates back to the fact that the late dowager empress was rather a disgraceful old lady. Graft, intrigue, and even worse things were rampant at her court. It is said, for instance, that one of the



YUAN SHIH-KAI, THE STRONG MAN OF CHINA
WHO HAS RISEN FROM OBSCURITY TO
THE THRONE OF A GREAT EMPIRE
*From a copyrighted photograph by Underwood
& Underwood, New York*

principal reasons for the complete defeat of the Chinese navy at the hands of the Japanese was the diverting of the navy funds by the chief of her household to the rebuilding of the Summer Palace. Men who had no official standing, and whom you would not care to invite to dinner, were the real rulers of China by virtue of the old dowager's favor. First among these was one Jung Lu, a Manchou, who had been her lover before she married the Emperor Hien-feng. Jung Lu had also gone through the ceremony of becoming a blood-brother to Yuan Shih-kai, the powerful and enterprising young Chinese from Honan. This is quite a ceremony in China, and is binding above all

other was. Just why Jung Lu should have picked out Yuan as a blood-brother is not clear. Yuan is of the full-blooded Chinese, a people for whom the ruling Manchus professed no small contempt. He was the son of a district governor in the province of Szechwan in 1850. From his early youth he had had his eye of ambition on the official service of the empire; but for a time it seemed as if the doors were shut against him. In the first place, he was not a Manchu; and again, his education was deficient. At the age of 20 he entered the civil service examination in China is a peculiar one. What a man knows about bud-



辛亥革命起る

暗雲に低くおわれた。冬の時代は、外国の侵略と結びついた清朝専制政府の打倒を目的する革命の火の手が全国に燃え拡ちうとしていた。既に中国には長老会・三合会・興中会・光復会・華興会等の民族主義的革命団体が活躍してい

それは文の三民主義（民族主義・民権主義・民生主義）を綱として、民主主義革命の組であつた。同會成立以來、革命の風潮は、日干文となつて、わずかに七年にして一九一一年十月の武昌蜂起が点火された。その直後の契機となつたのは、鐵道国有問題と

＊鐵道国有は、鐵道の一切の權利を外國に提供する一切の利もであつたので、反国有運動はブダダ、アジ、労働者、商人の湖北から、特に廣東、湖南、湖北、四川で熱烈に展開され、清朝廷政打倒のための反袁革命はここに組織された。新軍のなかに組織

萨苏 雪珥 著

金城出版社

清末政改与革命中的矛盾



CHINA'S NEW CONSTITUTION ITS MEANING

The Tranquillity
Marking Change
of Rulers Shows
Strength of "Re-
form Movement"
---Part Played by
Foreign Powers.

By THOMAS F. MILLARD.

THE world has a habit, of which it apparently cannot be cured by experience, of attempting to prejudge its historical climaxes. For many years—this was an old and established hypothesis when I first saw the East, ten years ago—it has been confidently asserted by many students of the situation of China that a political cataclysm would follow the death of Sun Yat-sen. There was

Well, this remarkable woman is dead, and almost simultaneously the medium through which she is popularly supposed to have ruled the Emperor—also expired: a coincidence not usually included in estimating the effects of such an event, and which reasonably might be presumed to augment its disturbing phases. Yet China, in so far as we may now judge by information to hand, is taking her crisis quite calmly, and betrays no inclination to indulge in hysterics, thereby confirming the opinion of those, of whom I am one, who believe in the fundamental stability of her institutions, and have had confidence in the ability of her statesmen to cope with a situation so absolutely and definitely foreseen.

It should not be assumed, however, that because China thus holds herself in leash in these critical circumstances the events of the last week lack importance. On the contrary, they are of tremendous significance to the entire world. The relation of these events to the future of the empire has not been overestimated; it is only in their consequent manifestations that pessimistic predictions have failed of verification.



PRINCE CYRUS

identified. The the Ka-ming-r proportion of predominating and draws its ing those who While it adve-inea advanced amplish reform

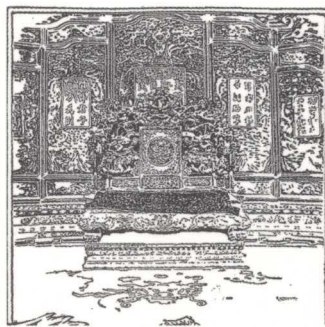
From then is the Kuo-hsi-huei, or, more fully, the Kuomintang party, the party of the advocates of the revolution, the disposition of the Manchu dynasty, and complete overthrow of the present régime. Its leaders are principally Chinese who were associated with the unsuccessful revolution at Peking in 1911. It was founded at Peking in the month of August of 1906, and who since then have been living in exile. They contend that genuine reform is impossible except by uprooting the old tree and planting another in its stead. They have been the backbone of the armed, restless and unruly elements among the people, remnants of the Taiping rebellion, anarchists and nihilists. It also includes, no doubt, some

serious and dangerous revolution, but its activity keeps the Government uneasy and indirectly helps the more temperate reformers by exciting the fears of the Court.

A powerful factor in China's present situation is provided by the external influences which bear upon it, and which have already been casually referred to in the preceding paragraphs. The conditions that are focused upon the fate of the great empire, the designs which some nations have upon her vast territory and resources, and the interests which other nations have in her, are preserving her integrity. These are perhaps sufficiently well understood, in a general way, to be dismissed without further elucidation. The essential fact is that China has been spared, thus far, in her present comparative helplessness, that she must strive to create a balance of power among these external elements, through emphasizing their interests. China has been spared from the hostile ones from swooping down upon her; and while she is in this situation, which it will require years to correct, she must take care not to per-

would not survive him. Such rumors coupled with his own knowledge of the death, appear to be the only tangible foundation for reports that the Empress Dowager was assassinated. Later reports tend to discredit the early reports of foul play, and in the absence of any other evidence, the nature of the crime is not obtainable from the official statements of the Government.

However the manner of her demise it may be conceded that fate chose an appropriate moment to cut Ts'ai-tai from the scene of her life's work, and for the best interests of the empire over whose destiny she exerted such an unusual influence. Her past is now history, and the future of China that the world is chiefly concerned, it is, then, most satisfactory to find that the Empress Dowager is improved by the events of the last week. A new and a different Ts'ai-tai is now peacefully inaugurated. It is not possible to doubt that the progressive element—the "practical" reform party—becomes more firm



For the first time in the history of the empire the supreme authority is exercised by a man who has seen the world, whose mental vision is not limited by the walls of the Forbidden City. Prince Chun is a young man, born and reared in the West, who has seen the world and has gained foothold in the East, and he has seen the West with his own eyes. He, therefore, can do what no other ruler of China has been able to do. His personality is in accord with other great nations, in the perspective of modern conditions. This fact alone justifies a reassuring view of his attitude toward the problems which confront China.

It is apparent, also, to one familiar with the personnel of the Imperial family and the major officials who direct the metropolitan and provincial administrations that this turn of the mind of Prince Chun is the result of the work of Yung Shih-Kai and the group

の時代の明末、清の中
世で、外国の侵略と戦つ
た清の皇帝の打撃を目
撃する革命の人の手が金
と戦つたといふ。清の中
世には新文化、三合会、民衆
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主義の革命団体が活躍して

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大國作手

清末政改与
革命中の中国人

一雪珊著

出版社

辛亥

暗黒に長くおわれ
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大國作手

清末政改与
革命中的商人

清末政改与 革命中的台人

雪珥／著

出版社

辛亥

序

大变革时代，故事都是最为生动的。

风起云涌，鱼龙混杂，泥沙俱下。清末民初，就是这样的大变革时代。

人，一直是我們关心历史的焦点。资深图书策划人么志龙兄，希望我们从这场大变革中，选出40个人，重新考察。那时正是2011年，辛亥革命的百年。

其时，雪珥正在广东料理国内生意，萨苏则在北京与家人团聚，平时我们都常住澳洲或日本，难得聚首。么兄倡议，干脆在广州会面，一边凭吊共和革命遗迹，一边对谈历史人物。我们甚至还给自己的这次对谈，取了一个别号：“萨雪为盟”。

百年来，西方和日本都有大量的文献，关注着变化中的中国，而我们两人，也分别在地球的两端，浸淫于这类文献之中。这些文献的不同视角，对我们了解百年前的中国，有着相当的启发。

对谈，一种是交锋，另一种就是——嗯，如同大学时代宿舍里的卧谈，海阔天空，甚至不惜离题千里。

对谈，自然是口语化的，不那么严谨地字斟句酌，无论从哪个角度看都比较粗糙，但对谈时的彼此激荡，灵光闪现，却真是独自伏案时所无法体会的。

么兄说，就要保留这种卧谈式的风格，请我们的读者朋友们一起躺下来，聊聊、听听。避开了辛亥百年扎堆的“赶场子”风潮后，中国进入改革深水区，这本书虽姗姗出世，却恰逢其时。出版方把书名确定为《大国作手》，这实在很符合当初我们“卧谈”的立意：不光要关注时代变迁，更关心个人命运的转折，以及个人性格在历史演进中的作用。

而且，“作”其实在江南话语中，还有发嗲、撒娇、折腾的意思，大变革时代中，这的确是一种不断翻新的时代特征。

萨苏 雪珥

2013年5月30日

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第一幕 沉船上的舵手

此时的大清国政改就像一艘陷入深水区，即将沉没的大船。船上文武百官，有力挽狂澜，努力驾船幻想驶离危险区域者；有投机取巧，趁乱谋私者。他们都不想让大清国这艘大船沉没，但终究逃不脱时代进步这个滔天巨浪的拍打。

载沣 纠结于王朝政改与自保



摄政王载沣

载沣(1883—1951)，光绪皇帝之弟，末代皇帝溥仪生父，摄政王。在晚清政坛中，载沣是一个比较有政治头脑的人。在摄政之初，外国政府和国内立宪派都曾对他寄予厚望。他18岁时代表清廷出使德国，坚决拒绝了德皇的无理要求，赢得一片赞誉；后来溥仪在伪满洲称帝，他不以为然，没有卷入其中，可谓大节未亏。但因为清朝葬送在他手上，所以屡遭后人非议。在风雨飘摇的晚清，碰到这样一个烂摊子，如果换做他人，结果就真的会有不同吗？

雪珥：载沣家兄弟四人，其实各位福晋生下来的实际上不止这些，只是最后存活下来的是四人。存活下来的兄弟中，光绪皇帝是老大，载沣是老二。载沣与载洵、载涛两兄弟同父同母，与光绪皇帝同父异母。辛亥革命爆发时，载沣与载洵、载涛都不到30岁，三兄弟中载沣最大，也只有28岁。载沣作为一个末代摄政王，和多尔袞倒是形成了一个呼应。多尔袞是清朝入关以后的第一个摄政王。所以，有人说大清以摄政王始，以摄政王终，而且大清也只有这两个摄政王。讲循环报应的人就说，这是一个很封闭的循环，就如爱新觉罗部落灭了叶赫部落，最终却亡于叶赫那拉氏手里一样。

史学界对载沣的评价是比较低的，普遍认为他无能、窝囊。实际上，他是一个非常有能力的人。载沣二十多岁上台，在宣统帝之前，就一直在执政了。慈禧太后很早就有意识地在培养他。

萨苏：诚如斯言，作为一个老北京，我在北京有一些旗人、满族的朋友。他们对载沣的评价也不是特别高，也有这样的误解。

雪珥：哪怕是旗人，他们对于载沣的认识，也是从后来公开的信息中了解到的，和事实有一定的差距。清朝被推翻之后，载沣等清朝皇族都过着非常低调的生活，而且都在公开场合不断自贬。孙中山去看望过载沣，载沣就表现得很低调。其实，不仅对孙中山，面对后来任何一任统治者，载沣都表现得非常低调，对他们非常尊重。载沣的弟弟载涛在被毛泽东接见的时候，就说他哥哥很窝囊。其实不然，我以前就说过，这是载沣给人一种假象，这是他最高明的地方。

古今中外几乎没有一个皇室到最后是平安“下岗”的，爱新觉罗家族却是个例外。他们下来之后，没有被砍头，没有被枪毙，实现了“软着陆”。从1911年到20世纪50年代，那么个动荡的时期，他们的家族不仅平安地过来了，而且在任何一种环境下都过得相当好。如果对比一下俄罗斯的罗曼诺夫家族，这个差别就太大了，罗曼诺夫全家最后都被枪毙了，连9岁的孩子都未能幸免。所以说，载沣的低调不是窝囊，而正是他的高明之处。

载沣摄政的时候，中国的改革不仅没有停下来，反而是加快了。这是我与其他人对晚清改革看法的一个最大的不同之处。很多人认为晚清的覆灭是因为它不改革，或者改革进行得太慢，所以才导致革命。但我认为恰恰是它改革进行得太快，失去了控制，才导致革命。失控的原因就是因为载沣太年轻。平心而论，他当时能把这个烂摊子维持下来已经很难了。大清全国上下都在改革，大多数人都在高喊改革，他特别想取悦大多数人。实际上，他是无法取悦大多数人的，只能取悦其中一部分人。即便这样，最终还是导致清政府失去了对资源的掌控，最后这辆车没能刹住。

当年《纽约时报》上的载沣，报道的题目是《中国的新议会和它的意义》。

CHINA'S NEW COURSE AND ITS MEANING



**The Tranquillity
Marking Change
of Rulers Shows
Strength of "Re-
form Movement"
—Part Played by
Foreign Powers.**



groups which are so identified. The latter is the dominant group in the ruling. It includes a major proportion of orthodox Chinese, the professional and administrative staffs, and even a number of the young, who are not even educated abroad. While it advocates that law is China without law, it is not a lawless society, but is by powerful means and without too openly violating the old ideas.

There are in the "leftward," or revolutionary group, a number of individuals against restriction, the dominance of the Manchu dynasty, and even the existence of the present government. The Manchu government in China was then associated with the unenforced attempts at reform which were the result of the foreign influence and which have been going on since. They regard that genuine reform is impossible except by sweeping away the old and building a new state. This party has drawn to it dissatisfied students and young officials from the army, government and education. It also includes, as before, some

attest and denigrate revolution, but the Party's policy is to let the market soar and indirectly tame the market's insatiable voracity by exciting the greed of the Great Leap Forward. In China's agriculture is provided by the national government which buys grain at and sells it at fixed prices, thereby reaping the benefits of the market. These desires that have been the lifeblood of the Party since the 1950s are the same desires that are fastened upon the face of the great peasant, the peasant who is the source of the Party's power. The Party's very act of repressing, and the farmer's wish to eat and survive have in previous years been the Party's only means of control sufficiently well understood, in a general way, to be directed without further explanation. The essential difference between the Party's policy and the farmer's desire is that the Party has tried to force peasant compliance; the farmer seeks to create a market, to create a market economy, through understanding the diversity of interests, which will prevent the farmer from creating false desires, which will drive him to the market, which in turn requires rules to govern, so that each side may be protected.



For the first time in the history of the empire, the supreme authority is exercised by a man who has spent the world's worst mental prison in our century in the walls of the Peking City Prison. Chen is a young man, born and reared during the period when modern times have gifted mankind in the East, and he had seen the West with his own eyes. He understands, like an alien, the social order of China but has been able to do so easily in comparison with other great nations, in the perspective of modern conditions. This fact alone justifies a somewhat new set of attitudes toward the problems which confront China.

It is apparent, also, he can identify with the government of the imperial family and the major elements who

萨苏：这个人有点像后来的日本首相鸠山由纪夫，外号“八方美人”的鸠山由纪夫同样是这种士族子弟，他执政时也是非常想取悦于各个阶层，结果没在位多久就下台了。

雪珥：我们去看当时的西方史料，包括《纽约时报》等，可以发现现在谈到中国改革、大清改革的时候，他们对载沣的上台，是寄予很高期望的。这和之前，从戊戌变法以来，西方对光绪皇帝的期待是有关系的。在他们心目中，慈禧是保守的，光绪是进步的，事实上这是一种错觉。但无论怎么说，他们对光绪皇帝的弟弟载沣摄政寄予了很大期望，希望中国能够加紧改革。

载沅兄弟三人和光绪皇帝不是同一个母亲，光绪皇帝的母亲是慈禧的亲妹妹，载沅的母亲不是慈禧的妹妹，但载沅的母亲刘佳氏就是醇亲王的大福晋，也就是慈禧的亲妹妹提拔起来的。刘佳氏比叶赫那拉氏小了将近30岁，几乎差了一代人。因为光绪皇帝很小就被抱进宫了，所以载沅生下来后，是由醇亲王的大福晋叶赫那拉氏亲自抚养的。也就是说，载沅等于是醇亲王府里的长子。因为这个关系，慈禧太后基本上也

把载沣当成自己人，使他获得了比较好的机会，最终选择溥仪继位也是因为这个因素。

慈禧最早选光绪皇帝的时候，是因为他是自己亲妹妹的儿子；后来给光绪皇帝设立大阿哥溥隲，是因为溥隲的父亲是端郡王，而溥隲的母亲是慈禧太后的弟弟桂祥的女儿。再有，光绪皇帝的皇后隆裕，也就是后来的隆裕太后，也是桂祥的女儿，也就是说光绪皇帝和端郡王是连襟。从中不难看出，在皇族同等的距离之内，谁和慈禧太后靠得最近，谁就有机会胜出。这也是载沣得益的原因。

当然慈禧太后提拔载沣，不只是因为这个，她之前对他也着力进行了一番培养，包括在载沣18岁的时候派他到德国。在义和团动乱之后，因为德国公使克林德在北京被杀，慈禧太后派载沣去德国道歉谢罪。但载沣把这次谢罪之行转变成了自己的18岁成年礼：在王公不得轻易离京的清朝体制下，载沣在这次出国旅行中得以大开眼界。到达欧洲后，他考察了军校、军火企业、博物馆、电机厂、造船厂等，“举凡外洋风土人情，随时随地留心考察”。作为大清国第一个出访西洋的亲王，18岁的载沣展现了与其年龄不相符的成熟，“慎重外交，不辱君命”，令本想侮辱中国的德国皇帝对他称赞有加。德国皇帝甚至还亲自告诫他说：“你要做任何事情，军队必须抓在手里。”因为这个原因，还给人造成了宣统年间清朝的改革总是不放开的印象。我倒不这样认为，任何一个改革必须有权威资源，首先枪杆子要抓在手里。辛亥革命中之所以没有爆发全国性的大规模内战，就是因为当时真正的武装并没有掌握在造反派的手里。

实际上这个国家是在和平过渡，等于是大家谈成了一个条件，是新生政权对旧政权的赎买，条件是对皇室要优待。我们一直在说这是辛亥革命的不彻底之处，但我认为这恰恰也是它有价值的地方。辛亥革命叫革命，但不是我们现在所理解的暴力革命，这个革命只是改朝换代，

而这也正是“革命”一词最早的意思。辛亥革命能够和平地实现改朝换代，这在中国历史上是非常罕见的。这是所有当事人，尤其是以载沣为首的绵延了二百六十多年的清王朝的中央核心值得欣赏的地方。他们最终和平地、理性地退出了历史舞台，这点是非常值得肯定的。如果当时没有达成一个全面的妥协，那么中国就会爆发全面内战，无论是谁最终捡回了丢失的“鼎”，找到了跑掉的“鹿”，拿到手里时估计都是满目疮痍了。

在辛亥革命中，不是哪一方在单独起作用，它是各方力量的一种互动，所以辛亥革命更确切地讲，应该叫辛亥妥协。

萨苏：可以这么讲，由载沣担任摄政王，而不是由另外某一个人担任这个职务，客观上对于辛亥革命起到了推进作用。

载沣在退下来之后很低调，甚至看似很窝囊，你刚才说这是一种假象，是他放的烟幕弹。但在北京确实有很多流传的说法，讽刺他的窝囊。最典型的一个说法是，载沣退下来之后，有人问他，你对清朝的结局如何看？载沣说，如果你们不起来革命，我们也要把它推翻。人家就问为什么呢？载沣说，因为兄弟我起得比鸡早，睡得比狗晚，一天到晚干的都不是人干的活儿。

雪珥：他那时候也是没办法。用现在的话说，当时的改革已经进入了深水区。普通大众一般都认为中国原来都是独裁政治。实际上不是的，中国一直以来的政治传统是一种“共和体制”。什么共和呢？就是君权和相权的共和。皇帝实际上并不是一句顶一万句的，他做不到这个地步。实际上当时的政体是一个皇族作为所谓的领导核心，与士大夫阶层、知识分子阶层达成的妥协机制，或者说是一种对政权的分享，而绝不是像戏里面所演的，皇帝随便把谁都可以推出午门斩首。皇帝做事情

其实受到很多制约，他必须考虑到方方面面的因素。

正是在这种背景下，在1905年大规模政治体制改革开始的时候，载沣说，立宪制度利国利民利君不利官。当时载沣、端方在考察了西方以后，慈禧太后就开会问他们，咱们是不是要立宪？他们说立宪好。有什么好处呢？最大的好处就是保证皇帝可以世袭罔替，做铁帽子皇帝。正是这点深深打动了慈禧太后。因为皇帝不用再为任何行政上的失误承担责任，皇位不会因为任何行政上的失误出现风险，这是他们推进政治体制改革最大的动力。但是立宪这个东西到中国之后就变了味，并成为辛亥革命爆发的重要原因，那就是地方有分离主义倾向，地方和中央为了权力的归属展开了斗争。

萨苏：载沣做摄政王，如果他运气比较好的话，可能真的会给清朝带来一个中兴。这个中兴或许可以不从政治角度来看，而从……比如，他的生育能力来看吧。我发现一个诡异的规律，历朝历代，王朝比较兴盛的时候，或者君主想有所作为的时候，一般当家人的生育能力都会比较强一些。我们看清朝的皇帝，无论是康熙的时候，还是乾隆的时候，都生出了很多孩子，但再往后看，就会发现，一代不如一代，到咸丰的时候就只生出一个来，到同治的时候来不及生就驾崩了，到后面的光绪也是没有子嗣，宣统也是没有。

似乎，当一个王朝要走向衰亡的时候，皇室的生育繁衍能力都在下降。而载沣是一个非常能生的家伙，在清朝皇室里面是比较有朝气的。他总共有11个子女，一开始生的都是女儿，他很不高兴，就给其中一个女儿起名叫多，意思是女儿太多了。没想到之后又生了一个女儿，这时候就体现出了载沣的性格。他不但没有嫌弃这个女儿，反而给这个女儿起名叫笑。后来她的福晋不干了，说格格老笑也不像话，后来就给这位千金改了其他的名字。