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REVOLUTION IN TREATY PORTS:
FUJIAN'S REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT
IN THE LATE QING PERIOD
1895-1911

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Doctor of Philosophy of
The Australian National University

December, 1992.

This thesis is based
completely on my own research.

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a stylized 'J' followed by a series of loops and a final horizontal stroke.

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ABSTRACT

Fujian, a coastal province in the southern part of China, has historically been famous for the overseas emigration of its people and maritime trade with the subsequent emergence of well known ports including Fuzhou, Quanzhou, Zhangzhou and Xiamen. Among these ports, Fuzhou and Xiamen were particularly significant in that their being opened as treaty ports after the Opium Wars had resulted in the penetration of Western culture which was followed by the gradual modernization of the province.

Between the late 19th and early 20th Centuries, the Qing government made great reform efforts in search of wealth and power. Under this circumstance, the local officials and gentry of Fujian also co-operated to carry out various reforms. Fujian became the first province in China to establish a modern navy and shipbuilding industry. The following decade of reforms (1901-1911) saw a comprehensive transplant of Western educational, military, economic and political systems in Fujian. As a result, there were great social and cultural changes in the province, especially in Fuzhou and Xiamen. New trends of thought and new social groups began to emerge in the urban areas.

Unfortunately, the Qing Court's attempts at modernization failed to save the country from foreign aggression. Fujian, due to its location in the coastal region, became a target of invasion and partitioning by foreign powers, with Japan being the most ambitious. Frustrated by the incompetence of the Manchu government, the new Fujianese intellectuals, filled with ideas of nationalism, began in 1902 to organize

revolutionary groups and enlist the support of new social groups in the urban areas including students, merchants, industrial workers and the new army to carry out anti-Manchu activities. The new intelligentsia of Fuzhou and the Fujianese Overseas Chinese were the principal advocates and promoters of the revolutionary movement in the province. They set up revolutionary groups and promoted revolutionary activities in the various Fujianese cities as well as in Shanghai, Tokyo and Southeast Asia. They also developed a close relationship with leaders of the Tongmenghui such as Sun Yat Sen, Huang Xing, Zhao Sheng and Tao Chengzhang. In 1906, the Fujian Branch of the Tongmenghui was founded and it became the commanding centre of the revolutionary movement in the province. The Fujianese revolutionaries evidently played an active role in the revolutionary movement of the late Qing period. Despite its importance, the province of Fujian has not been given the attention it deserves by historians of the 1911 Revolution. This thesis therefore focuses on the Fujianese revolutionary leaders, groups and activities in an attempt to affirm the historical position and significance of Fujian in the Late Qing Revolution.

After the Wuchang Uprising of 1911, the Fujianese revolutionaries joined in alliance with the new army in the province to stage the Battle of Yu Shan in Fuzhou. With the full support of the masses, they finally succeeded in defeating the Banner Forces and overthrowing the Manchu rule in the province. A new revolutionary-military regime was ushered in which led to the independence of the entire province. Fujian entered a new phase in history.

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CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

The Manchu-Qing Dynasty, through the painstaking and industrious empire-building endeavours of its rulers Kangxi (1662-1722), Yongzheng (1723-1735), and Qianlong (1735-1795), boasted an empire with the second largest territory after that of the Mongol-Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368) in the history of China. During the reign of these three great emperors, China enjoyed great material and cultural wealth; the country was prosperous and powerful and neighbouring states, except Russia and Japan, were content to conduct trade and foreign relations on the basis of a tribute system. Ho Ping-ti called this High Qing Period "Pax Sinica".¹ However, with the Qianlong reign coming to an end, the Qing empire began showing signs of decline and decay. As a result of the limitations of autocracy; the declining quality of rulers, the corruption of bureaucracy, the incompetence of the regular military forces, and the demographic pressure upon the land due to population growth, local rebellions broke out one after another. The White Lotus Rebellion of Sichuan and Hunan from 1796 to 1804 was an omen of the weakening and collapse of the empire. China seemed to have entered the declining phase of its dynastic cycle. Since the Opium War, the Western powers, with their military and technological superiority brought about by the Industrial Revolution, were able to force the Manchu monarchy to negotiate unwelcome treaties. China was forced to open its doors to outsiders which laid the basis for the expansion of foreign encroachment. However, to the disappointment and frustration of the people, the Qing Court was too weak and incompetent, after the Opium War (1839-1842), to safeguard China's sovereignty and territorial integrity as fully as they would have wished. Moreover, after the outbreak of the Taiping Rebellion in the 1850's, parts of Central and Southern China were ravaged by the flames of fierce fighting. From then onwards, a long train of regional and local rebellions occurred and the foundation of the Manchu regime became seriously shaken. In spite of two decades of peace (1875-94) following the Tongzhi Restoration from the middle 1860's to the middle 1870's, the Qing monarchy, with its state-building ideology

and institutions founded on Confucianism, gradually found itself strategically at a loss to cope with the crisis of internal unrest and external aggression.²

Treaty Ports and the Emergence of a New Society

Following the signing of the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842, the Qing government was made to open five ports for trade. Later, treaty ports emerged one after another in the coastal and Yangtze River regions. Then after China's defeat in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-95), the foreign powers began to get concessions in China to create their "spheres of influence". To safeguard its sovereignty, the Qing Court started voluntarily to open up its ports for foreign trade.³ These treaty ports, as well as ports voluntarily opened by China, gradually became meeting points of Sino-Western culture and economy. Through merchants and missionaries, the Chinese came into contact with Western technology and learning. Western culture and institutions gradually penetrated the cities of some of the coastal and Yangtze provinces including Guangdong, Fujian, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Shandong, Hunan, Hubei and Sichuan. Consequently, a measure of modernization took place⁴ and this gradually resulted in remarkable cultural and geographical contrasts between the coastal and interior regions.⁵ At the same time, signs of a new urban society began to emerge. Finally, in the last decade of the Qing Dynasty, with the promotion of educational, military, economic and political reforms by the government, this new urban society partially took shape.⁶ It was made up of what may be called the "new" gentry as well as other new social groups including the new intelligentsia, entrepreneurs, Overseas Chinese, New Army, industrial workers, and women's groups, all of them mainly concentrated in the urban areas.⁷ These groups, the new gentry and new intelligentsia in particular,⁸ became a new socio-political force in many coastal urban areas and exerted great influence on political developments in the late Qing period.

Under the influence of the series of internal and external crises in late Qing, the patriotism of the gentry and the new social groups was so aroused that they began to

become involved in political activities and tried, as they saw it, to save the country either by reform or revolution. Finally, disappointed with the reform programme of the Qing Court, and impatient for more rapid changes in the political structure, they led the country to the 1911 Revolution which put an end to the Manchu regime.

The Nature of the 1911 Revolution

The 1911 Revolution is a popular topic in modern Chinese history and a major debate among historians focuses on the nature of the Revolution. One question that has long been burning in historians' hearts is whether it should be called a "revolution" at all and whether, or in what sense, it was significant.

Some historians hold that the 1911 Revolution should not be called a revolution. The argument may be opened by H.B. Morse's observation that ".....The movement..... [had] the character rather of a general strike than of a rebellion."⁹ This opinion has also been shared by several Japanese scholars: Miyazaki Ichisada, who wrote a general history of East Asia, suggested that the 1911 Revolution was a drama of the exchange of political power and a pretended revolution;¹⁰ Ichiko Chuzo, who wrote a paper on the role of the gentry, supposed that the 1911 Revolution was no more than a "dynastic cycle";¹¹ Yokoyama Suguru, an expert on the theory of the 1911 Revolution as a "bourgeois" revolution, pointed out that the 1911 Revolution was not really a revolution but an end to the absolutism of the imperial regime.¹²

There are many scholars who are in disagreement with the points of view mentioned above and who have made an effort to re-evaluate these hypotheses. The definition of a "revolution", as social scientists put it, is "a violent and total change in a political system which not only vastly alters the distribution of power in the society, but results in major changes in the whole social structure."¹³ Many historians of the 1911 Revolution share this opinion and their examination of the 1911 Revolution shows that it also fits the social scientists' definition. They argue that the 1911 Revolution was

undoubtedly a revolution.¹⁴ Moreover, the tremendous changes which took place in China after the 1911 Revolution revealed even more clearly the nature of the Revolution and its historical significance. It is generally agreed by the historians that the 1911 Revolution did make or act as the stimulus for many significant changes in the political, social (classes) and cultural aspects of Chinese life thus indicating a major break in the continuity of historical trends.

Firstly, historians agree that the 1911 Revolution did put an end to several millennia of formal monarchical rule and resulted in the establishment of a republic in China. Secondly, as Michael Gasster has pointed out, "the abolition of the throne was a blow against the principles of hierarchy and inherited privilege." The traditional dominance of the classically educated over the uneducated (and nonclassically educated) was undermined (this occurred as early as 1905 when imperial examinations were abolished), and to some extent that of men over women, and age over youth.¹⁵ Thirdly, Zhang Yufa is of the opinion that the 1911 Revolution was a revolution of all classes. His investigation of the social background of the revolutionaries has revealed that they came from all social sectors including the intelligentsia, workers or artisans, merchants, peasants, overseas Chinese, and women. Leaders of the revolution were, however, mostly from the new intelligentsia.¹⁶ This was a sign that the new intelligentsia was beginning to replace the old Confucian-educated elite.¹⁷ Fourthly, Edward Rhoads emphasizes that the 1911 Revolution was not one but two revolutions. Apart from being a political revolution, it was also a cultural revolution which destroyed the Confucian system of values.¹⁸ The 1911 Revolution therefore "irrevocably committed China to a search for new values, systems and institutions."¹⁹ Lastly, looking at the geographical spread of the 1911 Revolution, Mark Elvin suggests that almost all of the key centres of the 1911 uprisings were cities separated by great distances and the 1911 Revolution was a product of modern means of communication. The pattern of the 1911 Revolution is something new in Chinese history.²⁰

From the point of view of the above historians on the nature of the 1911 Revolution, we can conclude that the 1911 Revolution was not only a revolution but also one that carried great significance in modern Chinese history. The 1911 Revolution was a mosaic of a number of revolutions - nationalistic, democratic, social, cultural and urban. It was also a revolution of all classes and one led by the new intelligentsia. This understanding of the nature of the 1911 Revolution on the one hand increases the interest and confidence of students of the Revolution and on the other sheds light on 1911 studies. Following the same trend of thought, this thesis focuses on the urban aspects of the 1911 Revolution, with special attention paid to the leadership of the new intelligentsia and the fact that the revolutionaries came from all walks of life.²¹

Historiography of the 1911 Revolution

In respect to studies on China's 1911 Revolution, a new trend of research emerged in the Western academic circle during the 1960's and 1970's - the Revisionist School headed mainly by the United States scholars which criticizes the views held by the Guomindang historians, the so-called "Orthodox School". The Revisionist scholars oppose the Orthodox historians' theory that Sun Yatsen and the Tongmenghui were the leaders and main stream of the 1911 Revolution.²² In his book, *Huang Hsing and the Chinese Revolution*, one of the early proponents of the Revisionist School, Hsueh Chun-tu, challenges the concept of the leadership of Sun Yatsen and advocates the dual leadership of Sun and Huang Xing.²³ In the same direction, K.S. Liew, author of *Sung Chiao-jen and the 1911 Chinese Revolution*, also got away from the orthodox Sun-centred view of the revolution.²⁴ Perhaps the central figure in this new historiography was Mary C. Wright who contributed to and edited *China in Revolution: The First Phase 1900-1913*, a book commended by Stuart R. Schram as "a landmark for future explorers of early twentieth century Chinese history".²⁵ In her well-known introduction, Wright pointed out that the cause of China's Revolution was the rise of nationalism and

the emergence of a new society in some parts of the country between 1900 and 1911. In this way, she played down the leadership of Sun Yatsen and the Tongmenghui in the Revolution. Wright's work and that of her collaborators challenged the entire orthodoxy in 1911 studies.²⁶ As a result, there was a new direction in Western scholarship on the 1911 Revolution with emphasis on the study of historical events in relation to their social context. Beginning with Mark Elvin, who paid attention to the role of gentry in the Revolution of 1911 in Shanghai,²⁷ there was an increase in provincial- centred studies on the 1911 Revolution. Furthermore, with the publication of Mary Backus Rankin's work on Shanghai and Zhejiang, Edward Rhoad's book on Guangdong and Joseph Escherick's work on Hunan and Hubei,²⁸ the theories of the Revisionist School became more fully developed. Their major viewpoints include the following:

i) In terms of its organization, the 1911 Revolution was basically made in China, not overseas. It was the result of the formation of a revolutionary situation within China itself

ii) Special attention should be paid to the social situation in studying the Revolution. Emphasis is therefore to be placed on the social changes caused by reforms in the last decade of the Qing Dynasty.

iii) The Revolution was brought about, or at least made possible, by elite estrangement from the uppermost levels of the political hierarchy, rather than by an insurgent conspiracy. Research on the relationship between the gentry, or, more particularly, the reform elite within the gentry, and the outbreak of the 1911 Revolution is therefore important.

iv) The Tongmenghui should not be regarded as the main stream of the Revolution nor should Sun Yatsen be seen as having played a key role.²⁹

On the other hand, Ernest P. Young pointed out in 1976, in response to Joseph Esherick's "1911: A Review", that the contribution of the revolutionaries to the 1911 Revolution should not be denied.³⁰ Edmund S.K. Fung, author of *The New Army and its Role in the Revolution of 1911*, is of the same opinion.³¹ Furthermore, on completion of his research on the Overseas Chinese and the 1911 Revolution, Yen Ching-hwang questioned the Revisionist viewpoint. According to Yen, except for the Tongmenghui, no other revolutionary party could have guided the Revolution in China. At the same time, Yen asked the question of who could be regarded as the leader of the 1911 Revolution if not Sun Yatsen. Also, if Sun Yatsen had not played a leading role in the 1911 Revolution, he could not have been accepted as the leader of the revolutionary camp after the Wuchang Uprising. Another point raised by Yen was that the Overseas Chinese did play an important part in overthrowing the Manchus. He also reminded us once more of the importance of "overseas factors" in the 1911 Revolution.³²

While the research of the Revisionist historians focuses on factors within China, Yen Ching-hwang's emphasis is on overseas factors. However, although they are looking at the same issue from different angles, both have shown insight into the 1911 Revolution. From my own case-study of Fuzhou in the 1911 Revolution, I have found that the revolution in the coastal provinces had two distinct features. Firstly, there was an interaction between those from the provinces and those from "overseas" in carrying out revolutionary activities. In particular, the role played by Chinese overseas (both students and migrants) could not be overlooked. Secondly, while certain members of the local gentry engaged in reforms had a revolutionary background, there were also instances of revolutionaries taking part in local reform programmes and rights recovery movements promoted by the gentry.³³ In recent years, some Revisionist historians have also agreed that more credit should be given to revolutionaries and revolutionary groups although their previous research on the 1911 Revolution has placed great emphasis on the reform

elites.³⁴ Obviously, the dedication and endeavours of the revolutionaries and revolutionary groups should not be taken lightly in the study of the 1911 Revolution.

Research on the 1911 Revolution in Fujian

In respect to provincial studies of the 1911 Revolution in China, not enough attention had been paid to the province of Fujian. In his research report in 1966, Shelly H. Cheng, a well-known expert on the Tongmenghui, indicated that he had just commenced his study on Fujian in the 1911 Revolution. Unfortunately, Cheng passed away in his prime before completing his research on the topic.³⁵ Moreover, due to limited historical materials on Fujian in relation to the 1911 Revolution, there were many questions left unanswered.³⁶ This situation continued until the early 1960's when the Guomindang Historical Archives (Dangshihui) in Taipei began to publish a series of documents on the founding of the Republic of China (*Kaiguo wushinian wenxian*) in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the 1911 Revolution. Later in 1981, the various Chinese provinces published their own materials on literature and history (*wenshi ziliao*) in commemoration of the seventieth anniversary of the 1911 Revolution. A lot of *wenshi ziliao*, mainly memoirs and oral history, was also published in Fujian and shed new light on the topic.³⁷ My research on the province and the 1911 Revolution has been conducted on the basis of the new trends in 1911 studies mentioned above. Apart from the *kaiguo wenxian* and *wenshi ziliao*, other materials used include documentary sources stored by Fujian's Provincial Library in Fuzhou and the Guomindang Historical Archives in Taipei, official documents, and newspapers, as well as secondary materials.

This case study of Fujian's revolutionary movement focuses on four aspects. First of all, as dedicated revolutionaries played an important part in the revolutionary movement of Fujian, special attention has been paid to the activities of the Fujianese revolutionaries and revolutionary groups. Secondly, Revisionist historians of 1911 studies have pointed out that the last decade of late Qing reforms tended to create

conditions conducive to revolution. Following their observations, this case-study examines the results of late Qing reforms in Fujian as well as the relationship between the reforms and the formation of the revolutionary forces. Thirdly, the 1911 Revolution occurred mostly in cities and the revolutionary movement of Fujian originated mainly from its treaty ports. The present study therefore concentrates on revolutionary activities in Fuzhou and Xiamen. Lastly, the focus is on the years from 1895 to 1911. This period has been chosen because the beginning of Fujian's revolutionary movement was stimulated by the cession of Taiwan after the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) and it was in the year 1911 that the Fujianese revolutionaries achieved their aim of overthrowing the Manchus and set up a provisional military government. Moreover, in 1912, immediately after the success of the Revolution, there was serious internal strife among the revolutionaries. The influence of Yuan Shikai began penetrating the province and Fujian entered a period of convulsions. The revolutionaries gradually faded out. However, this is another - complicated - story and will not be dealt with here.

This thesis is divided into seven chapters beginning with an examination of the social changes in the late Qing period, and the nature and historiography of the 1911 Revolution as well as studies on the revolutionary movement in Fujian. The second chapter brings out the particular characteristics of Fujian in the context of its geographical and historical setting. It also explains the rise of nationalism in the province as a result of the Western and Japanese impact. Chapter III studies the decade of reforms promoted by local officials and gentry in Fujian in the early twentieth century which led to social changes and the subsequent emergence of political dissidents. Chapter IV examines the revolutionary leaders and their followers in the context of their social background. Chapter V takes the establishment and the activities of the Fuzhou and Xiamen revolutionary groups as case studies to illustrate the development and characteristics of the revolutionary movement in Fujian. Chapter VI gives an account of, and evaluates, the participation of Fujianese in uprisings and "recovery" movements both

inside and outside the province of Fujian. The final chapter discusses the post-revolution situation in Fujian and offers a comparison between Fujian and other provinces in the 1911 Revolution.

The ultimate contribution of the materials and analyses presented in these pages is to a slightly but still, I hope, significantly sharpened perception of early-modern non-European revolution at two levels. The first level is that of the Chinese revolution of 1911 considered in its totality. It is shown here that the Fujian complex of revolutions was driven by the activities of dedicated revolutionaries without major primary participation from social groups commonly influential or decisive in other regions, and that while much revolutionary activity had to be through the medium of the new armed forces, these latter did not provide the initiative of their own accord in the way that they did in, for example, Yunnanfu (Kunming).³⁸ The second level is that of early modern revolutions, or analogous movements, in independent non-European countries that, like China, were subjected to European military, economic, and cultural pressures, and which sought in some sense to "modernize" and, indeed, "westernize", their institutions, at least in part, in order to resist more effectively. Meiji Japan and Kemalist Turkey are the two most obvious examples besides China, but Persia is another.³⁹ What is crucial, in comparative context, is why at this time Chinese revolutionaries were able to forge a coalition of forces strong enough to destroy the old political order but too weak to govern a new one. There is no simple answer to this question - which was of course the one with which Dr. Sun later wrestled in the early 1920's - but part of it may be that, at this particular historical moment, characterized by an extreme geographical and social unevenness of developments, coherence of revolutionary action depended on an over simple political and social diagnosis, and programme, on which almost everyone could agree. But only, unfortunately, until victory had been won.

Notes

1. Ho Ping-ti, "The Significance of the Ching Period in Chinese History", *Journal of Asian Studies*, (hereafter cited as JAS), XXVI: 2(1967), P. 194.
2. Luo Ergang, "The Issue of Demographic Pressure Before the Taiping Rebellion" (Taiping Tianguo Geming Qian Di Renkou Yapó Wenti), in *Articles on Modern Chinese History* (Zhongguo Jindaishi Luncong), (Taipei: Zhengzhong, 1958), Series 2, Book 2, PP. 73-81; Wang Ermin, "Looking at the Delay in Chinese Modernization from the Angle of Political Limitations" (Cong Zhengzhi Juxian Kan Zhongguo Jindaihua Di Yanwu) in *Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Sinology, Academia Sinica* (Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Dierjie Guoji Hanxue Huiyi Lunwenji), (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1989), PP. 681-704; Liu Kwang-ching, "Nineteenth-Century China: The Disintegration of the Old Order and the Impact of the West" in Ho Ping-ti and Tsou Tang ed., *China in Crisis*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), PP. 93-178; Susan Mann Jones and Philip A. Kuhn, "Dynastic Decline and the Roots of Rebellion" in the *Cambridge History of China*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), Vol. 10, Part 1, PP. 107-162.
3. In the seventy years after the Opium War, ninety- eight ports in China were opened for trade. Among these ports, fifty-two were opened in the twelve years after 1898 and forty in the six years after 1904. Moreover, most of the ports were opened voluntarily by the Qing government and not treaty ports. See Zhang Yufa, *Modernization in China, 1860-1916: A Regional Study of Social, Political and Economic Change in Shandong Province* (Zhongguo Xiandaihua Di Quyu Yanjiu: Shandongsheng, 1860-1916), (Taipei: IMH, Academia Sinica, 1982), P. 171; also see Zhang Jianqiu, "Study on Voluntary Opening of Trading Ports in Late Qing, 1898-1911" (Qingmo Zikai Shangbu Zhi Yanjiu, 1898-1911) (M.A. Thesis, National Taiwan Normal University, 1991), according to Zhang, since 1898, the Qing government had voluntarily opened up thirty-seven ports for trade.
4. Mark Elvin's research on the Shanghai City Council and Louis T. Sigel's study of young Chinese diplomats recruited from treaty ports were both good case studies of influence of Western culture and institutions in traditional Chinese society, see Mark Elvin, "The Administration of Shanghai 1905-1914" in Mark Elvin and G. William Skinner, *The Chinese City Between Two Worlds*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974, PP.246-262. Also see Louis T. Sigel, "The Treaty Port Commercial Community and the Diplomacy of Chinese Nationalism 1900-1911" in David Pong and Edmund S.K. Fung eds., *Ideal and Reality: Social and Political Change in Modern China 1860-1949*, (Lanham: University Press of America, 1985), PP.223-249. Zhang Pengyuan, "Modernization in China: Framework and Discovery" (Zhongguo Xiandaihua Di Quyu Yanjiu: Jiagou Yu Faxian), in *Proceedings of the Conference on Regional Studies of Modern China* (Jindai Zhongguo Quyu Shi Yantaohui Lunwenji), (Taipei: IMH, Academia Sinica, 1986), Vol. 2, PP. 849-867, Zhang pointed out that modernization in the coastal and Yangtze areas was just a beginning.
5. Paul A. Cohen, *Discovering History in China: American Historical Writing on the Recent Chinese Past*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), PP. 162-163.
6. Mary C. Wright, *China in Revolution: The First Phase 1900-1913*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), PP. 30-44.

7. In respect to the new social groups which constituted a new social force in urban areas, Chinese Marxist historians have labelled them "bourgeoisie", and the 1911 Revolution has thus been regarded as a bourgeoisie revolution, Jerome Chen, "Introduction, the Role of the Chinese Bourgeoisie in 1911", in *Chinese Studies in History*, XVII: 3(1984), PP.6-10.
8. Under Western impact, the Chinese intelligentsia underwent drastic changes in the late Qing period. Su Yunfeng pointed out that the intelligentsia had split into three groups - the old gentry, the new gentry and the new intelligentsia. The old gentry, holders of imperial examination degrees, were government office bearers and usually became landlords after retirement. The new gentry were originally part of the old gentry. Through self-study, in-service training, attending modern schools and overseas studies, they had undergone "re-education" and acquired new knowledge and skills and gradually become "professionals" in the agricultural, industrial, commercial, military and educational fields. This new gentry group, who played an important role in the late Qing reforms and 1911 Revolution, has been paid much attention by historians and labelled variously as "merchant-gentry", "urban reformist elite" or "notables modernes (modern gentry)". The new intelligentsia were mainly students of modern schools or who had studied overseas. As they were equipped with modern knowledge and technology, they gradually replaced the old and new gentry and became leaders of society. See Su Yunfeng, "On Changes in Social Strata in Late Qing" (Lun Qingji Zhongguo Shehui Jiecheng Zhi Bianqian), *Zhongguo Lishi Xuehui Shixue Jikan*, 16(1984), PP.134-136; also see Joseph W. Esherick, *Reform and Revolution in China: The 1911 Revolution in Hunan and Hubei*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), PP. 68-69.
9. H.B. Morse, *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, (Taipei, Reprint, 1966), Vol.III, P.444.
10. Miyazaki Ichisada, *A General History of East Asia*, quoted from Liu Danian, *Records of Historical Lectures in Akamon* (Chimen Tanshilu), (Beijing: Renmin, 1981), Note 2, P.25.
11. Ichiko Chuzo, "The Role of the Gentry" in Mary C. Wright ed., op.cit., P. 309.
12. Yokoyama Suguru, Lin Qiyan trans., "The So-called 1911 Revolution" (Suowei Xinhai Geming), *Tou Sou*, No.31 (1979), P.16.
13. David Robertson, *The Penguin Dictionary of Politics*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985), PP.290-291. The definition of revolution changes according to the emergence of different types of revolution, see Lawrence Stone, "Theory of Revolution", *World Politics*, Vol. XVIII:2(1966), PP.159-164. Scholars have different observations on the definition of revolution at different periods of time, see Peter Calvert, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1990), PP.1-2. However, the elements of revolution are always related to violence as well as changes in political and social systems.
14. Zhang Yufa, "The Nature and Significance of the Revolution of 1911", in *A Collection of Articles of the Symposium on the 1911 Revolution* (Xinhai Geming Yantaohui Lunwenjie), (hereafter cited as CASR), (Taipei: IMH, Academia Sinica, 1983), P.379.

15. Michael Gasster, "Comments to 1911 Review", *Modern China*, 2:2(1978), P.206.
16. Zhang Yufa, *Revolutionary Groups in Late Qing* (Qingji Di Geming Tuanti), (Taibei: IMH, Academia Sinica, 1975), *passim*.
17. Michael Gasster, *op.cit.*, P.208.
18. Edward Rhoads, *China's Republican Revolution: The Case of Kwangtung, 1895-1913*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), P.277.
19. Mary B. Rankin, *Early Chinese Revolutionaries: Radical Intellectuals in Shanghai and Chekiang 1902-1911*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), Preface.
20. Mark Elvin, "Comments to 1911 Review", *Modern China*, 2:2 (1978), P.195.
21. Under the influence of Marxist historiography, historians have always paid much attention to the issue of popular movements and historians of 1911 studies are no exception. John Lust, in particular, examined the relationship between "movements from below" and the 1911 Revolution, see John Lust, "Secret Societies, Popular Movements, and the 1911 Revolution" in J. Chesneau ed., *Popular Movements and Secret Societies in China 1840-1950*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972), PP.165-200. This thesis will discuss the role of secret societies in Fujian's revolutionary movement in a later chapter.
22. For theories of the Orthodox School, see Winston Hsieh, *Chinese Historiography of the Revolution of 1911: A Critical Survey and a Selected Bibliography*, (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1975), PP.5-8.
23. Hsueh Chun-tu, "Review of Revolutionaries of the Late Ching Period: An Analysis of Groups in the Revolutionary Movement, 1894-1911, by Chang Yu-fa", *Journal of Oriental Studies*, 16:1 and 2(1978), P.123
24. K.S. Liew, *Struggle for Democracy: Sung Chiao-jen and the 1911 Chinese Revolution*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971).
25. Stuart R. Schram, "Some Recent Studies of Revolutionary Movements in China in the Early Twentieth Century", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 35:3(1972), P. 605.
26. In the same book, articles of Zhang Pengyuan, Ichiko Chuzo and John Fincher have explicitly aligned themselves with Mary C. Wright, see Mary C. Wright ed., *op.cit.*, PP.143-226 and 297-307.
27. Mark Elvin, "The Gentry Democracy in Shanghai 1905-1914", (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1967); also see his article, "The Revolution of 1911 in Shanghai", *Papers on Far Eastern History*, 29(1984), PP.119-161, here Elvin pointed out that as the revolutionaries, the local gentry (Li Zhongjue and others) also played an important part in the Revolution of 1911 in Shanghai.
28. On the relationship between provincial studies of the 1911 Revolution and Western research on local history, see Guy Alitto, "On Recent Trend in the Study of Chinese Local History in the West" (Lun Muqian Zai Xifang Di Zhongguo Difangshi Di Quxiang), *BIMH*, 12(1983), PP. 439-447.

29. Edward J.M. Rhoads, op.cit., P. 4 and Note 2 on P. 281; Joseph W. Esherick, *Reform and Revolution in China: The 1911 Revolution in Hunan and Hubei*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), PP. 143- 145; Yen Ching-hwang, "Nanyang Chinese and the 1911 Revolution" in Lee Lai To ed., *The 1911 Revolution - the Chinese in British and Dutch Southeast Asia*, (Singapore: Heinemann Asia, 1987), P. 22.
30. Ernest P. Young, "A Summing Up: Leadership and Constituencies in the 1911 Revolution", *Modern China*, 2:2(1976), P. 222;
31. Edmund S.K. Fung, *The Military Dimension of the Chinese Revolution: The New Army and Its Role in the Revolution of 1911*, (Canberra: Australian National University, 1980), PP. 3-4.
32. Yen Ching-hwang (1987), op.cit., PP. 23-27 and 31-34. So far, there has been no response from the Revisionists who would probably respond to Yen's points by arguing that the 1911 Revolution was not under any unified or coherent guidance, and there was no single overall leader, only a multiplicity of interacting local ones. See K.S. Liew (1971), op.cit., PP. 68-69.
33. Lee Kam-keung, "Preliminary Study on the Rise of Revolutionary Movement and Development of Revolutionary Groups in Fuzhou in Late Qing" (Qingji Fuzhou Geming Yundong Xingqi Ji Qi Geming Tuantu Yanjiu Chutan), in CASR, PP. 88-111; Lu Fangshang, "Review of China's Republican Revolution: The Case of Kwangtung, 1895-1913, by Edward J.M. Rhoads" (Ping Lu Kangle "Zhongguo Zhi Gonghe Geming - 1895 Zhi 1913 Nian Zhi Guangdong"), HRTNU, 5(1977), P. 609. Lu criticized Rhoads' work for lacking in-depth research on the relationship between Overseas Chinese and the revolution in Guangdong. There is very little discussion on Overseas Chinese in Esherick's book since there was hardly any Overseas Chinese from Hunan and Hubei at that time.
34. See John Fincher's studies on the Guominjun, in "Elite Militarism, Populist Tax Protest and China's National Revolution", *Papers on Far Eastern History*, 19(1979), PP. 227-235. Joseph W. Esherick, "Preface" to the translated version of his own *Reform and Revolution in China: The 1911 Revolution in Hunan and Hubei*, trans. by Yang Shenzhi, (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1982); also see Rankin's *Elite Activism and Political Transformation in China: Zhejiang Province 1865-1911*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), P. 31.
35. Early works on the 1911 Revolution in Fujian include Chen Kongli et.al., "The 1911 Revolution in Fujian" (Xinhai Geming Zai Fujian), *Selected Articles on the History of the 1911 Revolution* (Xinhai Geming Shi Lunwenxuan) (hereafter cited as AHR), (Beijing: Sanlian, 1981), Book 2, PP. 758-780; Shelly H. Cheng, "The Revolutionary Activities of Fukien Republicans 1901-1912", (Unpublished paper, the George Washington University, 1966).
36. For the major work containing historical materials on Fujian published before 1981, see Fuzhou Sili Guangfu Zhongxue Bianji Weiyuanhui ed., *Historical Materials on the 1911 Recovery of Fujian* (Fujian Xinhai Guangfu Shiliao), (hereafter cited as HMRF), (Liancheng: Jianguo, 1940).
37. Lee Kam-keung, "Studies on the 1911 Revolution" (Xinhai Geming Di Yanjiu) in *Studies on Modern Chinese History in the Past Sixty Years* (Liushinian Lai Di Zhongguo Jindaishi Yanjiu), (Taipei: IMH, Academia Sinica, 1989), P.770. The

wenshi ziliao and literature on the revolution are largely memoirs or oral history and exaggerations are found. Special attention has therefore been paid to comparison of materials on similar issues.

38. Donald S. Sutton pointed out that the New Army's uprising in Yunnanfu was inspired by subaltern agitators, see Donald S. Sutton, *Provincial Militarism and the Chinese Republic: The Yunnan Army 1905-25*, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 1980), PP. 83-96.
39. Political changes in China, Japan and Turkey were brought about by foreign encroachments, thus for them, modernization and nation-building were essential to national security, see Robert E. Ward and Dankwart A. Rustow eds., *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), PP. 435-456. For Persia, see Amin Saikal, *The Rise and Fall of the Shah*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), PP. 11-22.

CHAPTER II SETTING

Fujian - Location, Topography and Characteristics of Maritime Trade

The province of Fujian, situated in the south-eastern part of China, is bounded by Zhejiang on the north, Jiangxi on the west and Guangdong on the south. It is accessible by land in the north and west from Zhejiang and Jiangxi, joined to Guangdong in the south by the Han River and separated from Taiwan in the east by the Strait of Taiwan. Situated on an arc of the Chinese coastline, Fujian has been, for centuries, an important sea link between Northeast and Southeast Asia. There is thus prosperity in maritime trade and the emergence of many famous sea ports, amongst them Quanzhou, the most well-known from the Tang to Yuan Dynasties.¹

Fujian has a sub-tropical monsoon climate influenced by the ocean and its topography. In the inland areas, there are greater differences between summer and winter and there is plenty of rainfall. In the coastal areas, the climate is warmer with little rain. The temperature for most parts of the province averages between 17 °C and 22 °C. The lowest average temperature for winter rarely drops below 0 °C and the average temperature for summer is rarely above 36 °C. Rainfall is abundant, with an average from 1100 to 2000 mm per year concentrated mainly in the north-western area, and higher in the interior than along the coast. The warm and humid condition is suitable for crop cultivation, the agricultural products of Fujian are therefore plentiful.²

Fujian is mountainous with little flat land. Its topography is a staircase descending from the northwest to the southeast coastline. Hills and mountains make up 95% of the entire surface of the province with plains forming the remaining 5%. Fujian is therefore called the "Mountain Country of the Southeast". Fujian's mountainous landscape is the result of two mountain chains, Wuyi and Daiyun, running almost parallel from the southwest to northeast. Wuyi Chain, the principal chain, comprises Mt. Wuyi (Mt. Bohea), Mt. Bin and Mt. Xianxia. Mt. Xianxia in turn branches out into the

southeast to Funing and forms Mt. Tailao. Daiyun Chain, stretching from north to south across the central part of Fujian, is formed by Mt. Jiufeng, Mt. Daiyun (also known as Mt. Foling) and Mt. Boping (also known as Mt. Longyan). As its rock formations include sandstones, shales and limestones of the Paleozoic and Mesozoic eras, Fujian is therefore rich in iron, tungsten, coal and lime. The mountain chains become lower in height towards the sea and small plains and peninsulas are found near the coast. With its irregular coastline giving rise to the formation of good sheltered harbours, Fujian is destined to be a sea faring province.³

There are five main rivers in Fujian including the Min River, Mulan River, Jin River, Jiulong River and Ting River. Most of the rivers originate from Mt. Xianxia and Mt. Wuyi, running eastwards to the sea. The upper and middle courses of the rivers run perpendicular to the middle parts of the mountain chains thus forming numerous gorges and river valleys on the way, for example, the Ting River Valley. At the same time, alluvial plains are formed at the lower courses of the rivers. The plains, namely, Fuzhou Plain (490 sq. kilometres), Xinghua Plain (460 sq. kilometres), Quanzhou Plain (345 sq. kilometres) and Zhangzhou Plain (566 sq. kilometres), constitute the essential regions of the province.⁴(see Map 1)

The mountains and rivers of Fujian have divided the province into two distinct geographical regions - the interior mountain area and the coastal plain area. Some scholars have used the isotherm for "lichee" (a kind of fruit) cultivation, which stretches from the southern part of Fuan District to Shuikou in the Fuzhou Prefecture and from there to the southern part of Yongding District, as a dividing line - the interior mountain area lies north of the isotherm while the coastal plain area lies south of it. Simply speaking, the interior area encompasses the north-western and south-western regions of Fujian while the coastal area is found in the south-eastern part of the province.⁵ In terms of administrative divisions during Ming times, the interior area was the so-called "Four Upper Prefectures" (Shang Sifu 上四府) which included Jianning, Yanping, Shaowu

and Tingzhou. The coastal area, on the other hand, was the "Four Lower Prefectures" (Xia Sifu 下四府) which comprised Fuzhou, Xinghua, Quanzhou and Zhangzhou. Then in Early Qing, the new Prefecture of Taiwan was established after the pacification of the Zheng family on the island. In the year 1734, the status of the independent department of Funing was raised to that of a prefecture while Yongchun and Longyan, which were originally districts of the Quanzhou and Zhangzhou Prefectures, became independent departments.(see Table 1) Fujian was therefore made up of ten prefectures and two independent departments.⁶ (see Map 2) From the socio-economic point of view, the interior area was more sparsely populated. The people were mainly involved in agriculture and handicraft with their activities and market centred around the adjacent provinces of Zhejiang, Jiangxi and Guangdong. The coastal area was a more densely populated region where signs of urbanization were evident. The inhabitants here practised labour intensive agriculture and commerce and trade also prospered. With activities and trade targeted overseas, the economy bloomed. People of the coastal area were customarily more materialistic, individualistic and adventurous. Inhabitants of the interior area, who had traditionally placed greater emphasis on origin and consanguinity, usually lived in clans to the exclusion of outsiders. They were also by nature more belicose. The Hakka living in the north-western part of Fujian was a typical example.⁷

Though different in various aspects as mentioned above, the interior and coastal areas are not entirely isolated from each other in that they are linked by the many rivers and streams in the province.

While the rivers run from west to east, their tributaries flow both south and north thus draining a large area of the province. Where the water flow is adequate, navigation is possible, e.g. on the Min River and Ting River. Because of the presence of its many rivers and streams, Fujian has traditionally depended on water as its major means of transport. Even where the rivers are unnavigable, their valleys usually provide good overland routes. Fujian therefore has an efficient transportation network of both land and water covering

its entire area. According to the *Gazetteer of the Yuanhe Period* (813 A.D.), the transportation network in Fujian can be traced back to the Yuanhe Period in the Tang Dynasty (806-820 A.D.). During the Qing Dynasty, the network was where post stations on land and water were set up. This post station system had originated in the Song-Yuan Period. Then in the Republican Period, the road system was constructed based also on the traditional transportation network. Before the Yingxia Railway was completed in 1956 and stream boats were commonly used, Fujian's land and water transportation network was significant in the development of the province.⁸

Furthermore, the distribution of major cities and towns of Fujian was centred around the nodes of the transportation network, e.g. Fuzhou and Yanping on the Min River; Changting on the Ting River; Quanzhou on the Jin River; Zhangzhou on the Jiulong River and Xiamen (Amoy) on the mouth of the Jiulong River. Fujian was a typical example of the close relationship between cities and rivers in traditional China.⁹

Though linked by rivers, inland development from the coast was difficult because of the great height of the mountain ranges in the middle and the west as well as the short and rapid flow of the rivers. Fortunately, the existence of good natural harbours and vast areas of forest providing timber for shipbuilding in the coastal area had made it possible for people to make a living overseas.¹⁰ Furthermore, as Fujian was mountainous and lacking in arable land, the influx of migrants from North China had culminated in population pressure and shortage of rice since the Song Dynasty (960-1127 A.D.)¹¹ The Fujianese not only made great efforts in cultivation of wasteland, reclamation, agricultural reforms and cultivation of cash crops, but also left their homes for maritime trade.¹² The people of Minnan (Southern Fujian) were outstanding in this respect. As He Qiaoyuan (1558-1632) said, "Fujian is lacking in flat arable land the only means of livelihood is maritime trade."¹³ With people engaged largely in trading overseas, trading ports such as Fuzhou, Quanzhou, Zhangzhou and Xiamen emerged one after another.¹⁴ Consequently, sea merchants, pirates, the navy and Overseas Chinese became prominent social groups of

Fujian.¹⁵ There is no denying that the province of Fujian possesses the characteristics of both an agricultural and commercial society.

Fujian's Place in the Economic Cycle of the Southeast Coast Macro Region

Historically, Fujian had been fully explored by the Northern Chinese in the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.) and become an integral part of the Chinese empire. Since then, Fujian had maintained its place in Chinese history for boosting economic development of the southeast coastal region through the rise of its sea ports and prosperity of maritime trade.¹⁶

G. William Skinner, an eminent scholar in the study of Chinese marketing towns and urbanization using the theory of central places and regional system, divided China into nine macroregions. Of the nine, one is the Southeast Coast Macroregion within which Fujian is situated. In his A.A.S. Presidential Address "The Structure of Chinese History" delivered in 1984, Skinner cited the Southeast Coast Macroregion of China as an example of unsynchronized development between an economic macrocycle and the hierarchy of local and regional systems.¹⁷ He furthermore pointed out that after the rise of Fuzhou, the capital of Fujian¹⁸, a new economic macrocycle emerged in the Southeast Macroregion as a result of the prosperous overseas trade in Quanzhou and Zhangzhou since the 11th Century.

The Quanzhou Cycle (11th - 14th Centuries) - During the Tang-Song period, the core of China's economy moved to the south. After the An Lushan Rebellion (755-763 A.D.), the people of North China began a mass migration to the southeast coast which then saw a dramatic increase in population. During the latter half of the 10th Century, Fujian had a total of 467,815 households which was more than six times the population in 806-820 A.D. Hence, Fujian had enough manpower to develop terrace fields in its interior mountain area as well as carry out reclamation in the coastal area. The total area of new fields thus opened up in Fujian during the Song Dynasty was 1.8 times that of the

developed farmland in the Min Kingdom of the Five Dynasties (897-945 A.D.). Besides, much effort was put in irrigation work and Fujian led the country in this aspect during the Song Period with the implementation of 402 irrigation projects. By improving farming techniques and engaging in labour intensive agriculture, production was greatly increased thus bringing about economic development.¹⁹ Such was the economic setting for the rise of Quanzhou as an urban centre.

Since the 9th Century, Arabian merchants had come to China for sea trade. In the year 1087 A.D., a Shibosi (Inspectorate of Commerce) was established in Quanzhou for foreign trade and Quanzhou began trading with Arabian merchants. Quanzhou gradually surpassed Fuzhou and Guangzhou to become the largest trade port of China in Song-Yuan times. Consequently, the economic prosperity of the Southeast Coast reached its peak and the Quanzhou Cycle, which lasted for over 250 years, emerged. The continued development of Quanzhou's foreign trade led to great increase in agricultural and handicraft production, the commercialization of agriculture as well as the rapid expansion of markets.²⁰ The prosperity of Quanzhou stimulated economic growth in the entire province of Fujian and created an incentive for cultural development. Chen Bifu of the Southern Song Dynasty once said, "When talking about material and cultural richness, one must mention Fujian."²¹ Statistics showed that the number of Fujianese Jinshi (third degree in Imperial Examination) increased from 58 in the Tang Dynasty to 5985 in the Song Dynasty. Fujian also ranked third in the country by producing a total of 18 Prime Ministers in the Song Dynasty. Of the leaders of the reform group in the Northern Song period, many were Fujianese such as Cai Xiang and Zeng Gongliang. Furthermore, there was no shortage of academics, writers, scientists and businessmen from the province. The Song-Yuan period was undoubtedly the "Golden Age" in the history of Fujian.²²

As a result of the rebellion of Muslims in Quanzhou between 1357 and 1366, the city fell into ruins. When Japanese pirates attacked the coastal region in early Ming times, the government imposed the maritime restriction policy and this led to decline in maritime

trade. The situation was aggravated when the Quanzhou harbour was silted up. This marked the declining phase of the Quanzhou Cycle.²³

The Zhangzhou Cycle (16th - 17th Centuries) - Although the Quanzhou Cycle had come to an end and the decline of the Yuan Dynasty was followed by a period of chaos, agricultural and handicraft production picked up again in the 15th Century and the commodity economy continued to grow. Furthermore, despite the imposition of the maritime restriction policy in the late 14th Century which limited private trade, Fujian's legacy of maritime trade was not lost. There was a switch over to tributary trade controlled by the Ming government and Fuzhou was officially appointed a trade port to carry on trading between China and Liuqiu. This resulted in the continuation of sea trade in Fujian which later led to the rise of Yuegang in Zhangzhou as an important trade port.²⁴ In the early 16th Century, the Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch merchants began coming to China for trade. With internal economic growth and expansion of foreign trade, a new global trade system took shape which stimulated further overseas trade development in the coastal region of Fujian in the mid-16th Century and the province witnessed another phase of economic prosperity.²⁵

Yuegang, a haven for smugglers in Southern Fujian between 1436 and 1456 when illegal trade was flourishing, gained its reputation as Xiao Su-Hang (Little Suzhou and Hangzhou) in the years 1465 to 1505. In 1567, the Ming government abandoned the policy on maritime trade restriction and Yuegang was made a foreign trade market to do business with "Dong Xi Yang" (Southeast Asia). From then on, Yuegang became a legal trade port and entered a period of further overseas trade expansion.²⁶ The sea merchants of Zhangzhou and Quanzhou were very active in the Chinese coastal region, Japan and Southeast Asia. They were engaged in multilateral trade with merchants from Spain, Portugal, Holland and Japan etc. as well as Southeast Asian natives. The silk-silver trade between Fujianese and Spanish traders conducted in Fujian and the Spanish Philippines was particularly important.²⁷ Maritime trade of Yuegang from 1570 to 1620 dominated

China's overseas trade during the period.²⁸ The Zhangzhou Cycle thus emerged.

Research by Chinese and Western scholars showed that the expansion of foreign trade in Zhangzhou produced great impact in two aspects. Firstly, it facilitated economic growth in Fujian and the Southeast Coast Macroregion²⁹ as revealed by rapidly increasing numbers of periodic markets (e.g. the number of periodic markets in Zhangzhou grew from a total of eleven in 1491 to sixty-five in 1628); the introduction of new manufacturing techniques and products such as cuckoo clocks and luxury items; the cultivation of new food and cash crops such as peanuts, tobacco, sweet potatoes and maize as well as the emergence of new merchant groups in Fujian, Zhejiang and Jiangxi.³⁰ Secondly, foreign trade expansion also resulted in increasing numbers of Minnan merchants and emigrants and led to social and cultural changes in Southern Fujian.³¹ People here became increasingly extravagant and materialistic. The ideas of freedom and equality sprouted - the works of Li Zhi (1527-1602), a philosopher who was from a merchant family and had spent his youthful days in Quanzhou, were a typical example.³² Economic prosperity in the coastal region also brought about marked success in the academic field in Quanzhou and Zhangzhou. In Quanzhou, there was an increase in the number of Jinshi from 65 in the period 1513 - 1541 to 237 in the years 1549 - 1601, while also for the same periods, Zhangzhou's Jinsh increased from 11 to 137.³³

After 1602, due to Spanish and Portuguese incursion of the coastal area, Zheng Chenggong's anti-Qing movement in Minnan, the Qing government's adoption of the scorched-earth policy in the coastal region which once again forbade Chinese to go overseas as well as the silting up of the Yuegang harbour, the Zhangzhou Cycle suffered a sharp decline.³⁴ This was best summed up by Gu Yanwu's (1613 - 1682) words, "The two prefectures of Quanzhou and Zhangzhou With the marauding of foreign barbarians, the obstructed passage of foreign vessels and the increased restriction on maritime activities, the masses lived in dire poverty." ³⁵

With the rise of Fuzhou, Quanzhou and Zhangzhou, Fujian surpassed all the other

provinces in the history of maritime trade and became an outstanding model of Maritime China.

Since the pacification of Taiwan in 1683, the Qing government again relaxed the restriction on maritime activities and another port, Xiamen, rose in importance. From being a "rebel base" for Zheng Zhilong and Zheng Chenggong's smuggling and anti-Qing activities in the Ming-Qing transition period, Xiamen turned into a centre of coastal trade with Taiwan and Southeast Asia and replaced Quanzhou and Zhangzhou to become the chief port in the Fujian province.³⁶

After the Opium War, Xiamen and Fuzhou were made treaty ports and foreign trade was increasingly prosperous. Like other treaty ports elsewhere in China, they became beachheads of Western civilization. The coming of Western merchants and missionaries brought with them Western firms, factories, banks, churches, schools, nurseries and much else set up alongside the traditional Chinese Yamen (civil and military office), examination halls, temples and shops.³⁷ With the interaction of Chinese and Western culture in the coastal treaty ports, there was a sharp contrast between the coast and the interior - the world of modernism and the world of tradition. Moreover, there were also occasional inevitable Sino-Western disputes.³⁸ It was against this background that Fuzhou and Xiamen underwent economic, social and political changes in the late Qing period.

Fujian's Treaty Ports - Fuzhou and Xiamen (Amoy)

Fuzhou, known as Minzhong Prefecture until 725 A.D.³⁹, has been a political, economic and cultural centre since the Han Dynasty.⁴⁰ In the Qing Dynasty, the city was the capital of the province of Fujian and was the seat of the Governor-General of Fujian and Zhejiang, the Governor of Fujian, the Treasurer, the Judicial, the Provincial Director of Education and Tartar General. By placing so many high-ranking officials all within the city of Fuzhou, the Central Government aimed at a balance of power and mutual

surveillance among the officials thus making it easier to control the province. But this had the adverse effect of restricting the power of the Governor-General and lowering administrative efficiency.⁴¹

Fuzhou is bounded by mountains on the east, west and north. Only its southern part, situated at the lower course and northern bank of the Min River, has access to the sea. The city is approximately thirty-four miles from the sea and nine miles above the Pagoda Anchorage where the Fuzhou Dockyard is located and ocean steamers can be anchored. Fuzhou faces the port of Danshui in northern Taiwan across the Strait of Taiwan and is the centre point between Hong Kong and Shanghai. It has an area of 300 sq. miles embracing Fuzhou City which has a circumference of about 6 miles and was enclosed by a wall approximately 30 feet high and 12 feet thick, Nantai Island and the Fuzhou peripheral area. The Min River separates Fuzhou City from Nantai Island, however with the presence of Zhongzhou in the middle, communication between the two places is made possible by the construction of two bridges, Wanshou Qiao (The Bridge of Ten Thousand Ages) and Jiangnan Qiao, linking up all three places.⁴² After the opening of treaty ports, with foreign consulates and settlements set up at Nantai Island, some three miles outside the walled city's south gate, Fuzhou became the distribution centre of products from the northern prefectures of Yanping, Jianning, Shaowu and Xinghua.⁴³ The total population of Fuzhou in the early twentieth century was 350,000 .(see Map 3)⁴⁴

Foreign missionaries and merchants from the West came to Fuzhou soon after it was declared a treaty port in November of 1844.⁴⁵ Since 1847, three missions were set up in the city, namely American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission; Methodist Episcopal Mission and Church Missionary Society, and they all saw Fuzhou and its surrounding district as the target for their evangelical work.⁴⁶ Apart from erecting churches, the missions were also involved in education and charity work.⁴⁷ Western merchants began to arrive in 1853 mainly because after the outbreak of the Taiping Rebellion, tea traders from Hunan and Jiangsu were unable to export their Bohea tea via

Shanghai and Guangzhou. The American Russel & Co. therefore recruited Chinese compradors who entered the Bohea Tea District for "upcountry tea purchasing".⁴⁸ From then onwards, Fuzhou prospered from being the chief tea trade port until 1883.⁴⁹ The city became also a centre of interchange of Sino- Western culture and thoughts.

In 1866, Zuo Zongtang (1812-1885) established the Fuzhou Dockyard at Mawei, some eleven miles down the Min River, with the attachment of a naval school in two divisions for the pursuit of Western science and technology.⁵⁰ Fuzhou thus became prominent in China's embryonic industrialization efforts. New industries of Fujian were concentrated in Xiamen and Fuzhou. In Fuzhou alone there was a total of 87 national, private and foreign-owned factories, making up 70.7% of all factories in the province (see Table 2). The majority of the factories were engaged in tea production and cloth manufacturing. Tea production was the direct result of the development of tea trade in Fuzhou while cloth manufacture was encouraged by the Governor-General of Fujian and Zhejiang, Bian Baodi (?-1893), who in 1888 advocated the use of western yarn and machinery in the weaving of cloth.⁵¹ Fuzhou became an advanced city in Modern China and not surprisingly, many outstanding reformers in the late Qing Period such as Yan Fu (1853-1921), Lin Xu (1875-1898), Chen Yan (1856-1937), Chen Baochen (1848-1935), Shen Yuqing (1858-1918), Chen Bi (1852-1928) and Lin Shu (1852-1924), had come from there. Amongst these reformers, Yan Fu had the greatest influence on the intellectual circle in late Qing and the intellectuals of Fuzhou in the late Qing Period were described as "stars twinkling in the dark".⁵²

Under Western impact, new schools and newspapers mushroomed in Fuzhou.(see Table 3) Consequently, talents and intellectuals from all over Fujian gathered in the city. Through modern education and the influence of the burgeoning press, Fuzhou became the centre of political discussions and political criticism of the government. This provided a breeding ground for revolutionary activities in the Province of Fujian.⁵³

Xiamen, also known as Lu Yu (Island of Egrets), was obscure in Chinese history

until the Song Dynasty when it was called Jiahe Yu (Island of the Auspicious Grains). During the Yuan Dynasty, it became known as Qian Hu Suo (Chiliads) while at Ming times, its name was changed to Zhongzuo Suo (the middle-left station). In the year 1387, during the reign of Emperor Hongwu, the Marquis of Jiangxia, Zhou Dexing, was sent to Fujian where he built a wall for strengthening coastal defence in 1394. From then on, the town was called Xiamen Cheng (the walled town of the gate of Xia), or Amoy in the local dialect.⁵⁴ During the Qing Period, Xiamen became a "li" under the administrative jurisdiction of the Quanzhou Prefecture in the Tongan District and its position was relatively low within the local administration. However, with the growth of maritime trade as well as its strategic location at the coastal front with control over Taiwan, Xiamen's importance grew. In view of this, high officials were appointed to Xiamen by the Qing government. A Naval Commander-in-Chief and five battalions were stationed in the city to oversee maritime matters while civil administration was in the hands of the Circuit-Intendant of Xinghua, Quanzhou and Yongchun and the Maritime Sub-prefect of Quanzhou who were transferred to Xiamen.⁵⁵ Apart from military and commercial considerations, what the Qing government aimed to achieve by placing a number of important officials all in Xiamen, an area relatively low in the administrative hierarchy, was the balance of power and mutual supervision.⁵⁶ After the Opium War, the Circuit-Intendant's functions changed from being an administrative supervisor to an administrator of foreign and diplomatic affairs.⁵⁷

Xiamen is a port city in the southern part of Fujian situated between the two prefectures of Quanzhou and Zhangzhou and within easy reach of Hong Kong and Shanghai by boat. It is some one hundred miles from the nearest Taiwan port. The city is made up of the Xiamen Island and Gulang Yu (Drumwave Island, or Ku Lang Su in the local dialect). Xiamen Island, 11.5 kilometres from east to west and 13.5 kilometres from south to north and resembling a circle, has an area of 109 sq. kilometres. Gulang Yu has a much smaller area of 1.7 sq. kilometres. A waterway of approximately 700-800 metres separates the two islands from each other. Tides in the waterway vary in height from an

average of 16 to 18 feet up to 25 feet and the harbour provides anchorage for commercial vessels. The two islands are surrounded by numerous smaller outlying islands such as Jinmen, Lie Yu, Dadan, Xiaodan, Xing Yu and Wu Yu which together form a natural shelter and make Xiamen an ideal harbour for international trade.⁵⁸ It is in fact considered the best port between Hong Kong to the south and Qingdao in the north. The distribution centre of its hinterland, the three prefectures (Quanzhou, Zhangzhou and Tingzhou) and two independent departments (Yongchun and Longyan), Xiamen is also the port of departure and entry for migrants to South-east Asia and a centre of industry, trade and sea transportation. Steamers running daily between Xiamen, Anhai of Quanzhou and Shima of Zhangzhou since 1898 linked up the three places.⁵⁹ The great mobility of its people makes it difficult to estimate Xiamen's total population but according to research conducted recently, the population of Xiamen in the early 20th Century was approximately 200,000.⁶⁰ (See Map 4)

Xiamen was officially opened for foreign trade in November of 1843. South-west of Xiamen Island was a trading area known as Shisan Lutou (thirteen street entrances + 三路頭). Foreigners began moving from Shisan Lutou into Gulang Yu in 1860 and the island became in the year 1903, an international settlement⁶¹ where most Western missionaries and merchants resided. Missions based in Xiamen comprised the Reformed Church in America (1842), The London Missionary Society (1844) and The English Presbyterian Church (1850). The missions jointly established the Xiamen Church Union to carry out evangelistic work under one organization. Modern schools and hospitals were also built by the missions.⁶² Around the time of the First Sino- Japanese War (1894-95), Britain, America, Germany and Japan all set up trading companies in Xiamen with Britain taking the lead. In 1896, British companies were as many as thirty or more, principally involved in import and export business as well as finance.⁶³ For a time, Xiamen was famous for its tea and sugar export,⁶⁴ and the well-known coolie trade came into existence. As the Minnan region suffered from a lack of arable land for its large population, population pressure was a great problem, so even during Ming-Qing times,

the people of Quanzhou and Zhangzhou had begun their exodus in the direction of Taiwan in the east and Southeast Asia in the south for a better livelihood.⁶⁵ Upon the opening of Xiamen, a British merchant James Tait, in order to solve the problem of labour shortage in the British colonies of the West Indies, Cuba, Peru and Australia, made use of the "Merchant Consulship System" and shipped Chinese from Xiamen to the various colonies as labourers. Between 1847 and 1853, a total of 8,281 Chinese coolies were shipped overseas and Xiamen became a coolie trade centre.⁶⁶ From 1876 to 1898, an estimated 1,368,823 Chinese coolies were exported from Xiamen to Southeast Asia⁶⁷ while between 1900 and 1912, emigrants from Xiamen reached an average of 100,000 per year. During the period 1902 to 1911, there was an average annual outflow of 65,378 Fujianese labourers and emigrants to the Straits Settlements, Java etc. and passenger traffic between Xiamen and the Colonies flourished.⁶⁸ Hence Minnan became the greatest emigrant community in China with Xiamen being the main port of entry and exit for Overseas Chinese.

For the development of new industries, there were 20 factories in Xiamen, either private or foreign-owned. The number accounted for 16.3% of the total in the province. Capitalization for private factories came mainly from Overseas Chinese⁶⁹ (see Table 2). According to Lin Jinzhi, from 1871 to 1949 capital investments by Overseas Chinese in Xiamen made up 62.88% for the whole province.⁷⁰ In 1858, British merchants paved the way for modern industries in Xiamen by setting up the Amoy Dock Co.⁷¹ The canning industry and sugar production later became two prominent industries in Xiamen. Ruiji Zhan (Su Ki Chan 1893) and The Amoy Tinning Factory (1908, funded by Overseas Chinese) were representatives of the canning industries with products exported to Southeast Asian markets. Guo Zhenxiang and his brother, on the other hand, set up the Huaxiang Zhitang Chang (Hua Hsiang Firm, 1909) to manufacture sugar by machinery in an effort at "Rights Recovery" (shouhui liquan). Lin Erjia from Taiwan also established a sugar manufacturing factory in Tongan which was a subsidiary of the Guangfu Zhongzhi Gongsi (Guangfu Sugar Company). The two sugar manufactories exported a total of

\$200,000 worth of sugar from Xiamen.⁷²

With the influence of Western culture and its close relationship with Overseas Chinese, Xiamen became another modernized area in Fujian along with Fuzhou.

During the latter part of the 19th Century, the Qing government suffered one defeat after another by foreign powers and the position of China in the international arena declined drastically. With strong feelings for their homeland and an overwhelming desire for China to be strong once again, many Overseas Chinese such as Huang Naichang (1849-1924), Qiu Shuyuan (1874-1941), Lin Wenqing (1896- 1957), Chen Chunan (1884-1971) and Zhuang Yinan (1855-1938), began an earnest pursuit for reforms and later, revolution. Overseas Chinese from Minnan in Singapore, Malaysia and other Southeast Asian regions gradually turned radical and constituted a strong anti-Qing revolutionary force. After 1900, many returned to Xiamen and the Minnan region to advocate and engage in revolutionary activities.⁷³

The Minnan people are said to be by nature and habit aggressive and litigious⁷⁴ and the people of Quanzhou and Zhangzhou had always been known as rebels. In the transitional period between the Ming and Qing Dynasties, Zheng Chenggong and his son Zheng Jing initiated an anti-Qing movement based in Xiamen and the idea of anti-Qing nationalism infiltrated the minds of the Han people.⁷⁵ Later, an influential secret society, Tiandihui, formed by members in sworn brotherhood, was established in Minnan leading to mass anti-Qing activities. The 1786 Lin Shuangwen Uprising in Taiwan⁷⁶ and the 1853 Xiaodaohui Uprising in Xiamen organized by Chen Qingzhen, an Overseas Chinese from Singapore, were prominent examples.⁷⁷

Invasion of Foreign Powers

The arrival of foreigners at the two treaty ports, Fuzhou and Xiamen, aroused fear in their inhabitants that Fujian would soon fall into the hands of foreigners owing to the incompetent Qing rule, "The demise of Fujian is imminent, should we still indulge in

pleasures and think only of ourselves?"⁷⁸ The idea of preserving Fujian and China's territorial integrity began to occupy the minds of Fujianese, particularly the intellectuals. Many joined reform groups and participated in revolutionary activities.

Foreign invasion of Fujian was perceived to have taken place in three ways. Firstly, the influx of missionaries after the signing of the Treaties of Tientsin (1858) and Peking (1860), though instrumental in bringing about reform, resulted in the process in many so-called "missionary cases". The deep-rooted superstitions of the Chinese made them unreceptive to the preaching of Christianity. Missionaries, with their extra-territorial rights, often ignored the leadership and authority of the local government officials and gentry. Supported by missionaries, Christian converts and priests formed a new social group and conflicts with the old gentry arose.⁷⁹ A recent survey estimated that a total of one hundred and forty-eight missionary cases took place in Fujian over a period of fifty-eight years from 1850 to 1907, the most chaotic periods being 1862-1881, 1884-1885 and 1900-1901 when foreign invasion was most intense. Missionary cases which occurred in the years 1862 to 1881 accounted for as much as 67.6% of the total number. Seen in area distribution, 59% of the total number of incidents happened in the coastal region of the province, 47% took place in Southern Fujian, 34.5% in Eastern Fujian and 18.5% in Northern Fujian, none in Western Fujian. In Eastern Fujian, 80% of the cases happened in Fuzhou alone,⁸⁰ the best known incident was the Wushi Shan Anti-Missionary Case of 1878.⁸¹ The anti-missionary activities of the gentry and the masses aroused the feeling of nationalism in Fujian.⁸²

Secondly, after the 1860's, foreign powers such as Japan, France and Russia accelerated their invasion of the frontier areas and tributary states of China. Conflicts were constant and China was in crisis.⁸³ Fujian was involved in three armed confrontations. In 1874, the Japanese sent an expedition to Taiwan after the killing of fifty-four shipwrecked Liuqiu (Ryukyu) sailors by Taiwan aborigines late in 1871. As Fujian's coastal defence was threatened, the Director of the Fuzhou Dockyard, Shen

Baozhen, was sent to defend Taiwan.⁸⁴ Then war broke out between China and France in 1884-1885 over Vietnam. The French fleet, under Admiral Combet, attacked Jilong of Taiwan and raided Mawei of Fuzhou, and destroyed practically the whole Fuzhou modern flotilla.⁸⁵ This aroused intense anti-foreign sentiments and activities in Fuzhou.⁸⁶ This was followed ten years later by the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) in which the well-known Bei-yang Fleet was wiped out in the Yalu Battle. Fujian had always been regarded as the cradle of the modern Chinese navy and the Bei-yang Fleet was largely made up of Fujianese, so the defeat was strongly felt by the people of the province.⁸⁷ The feelings of the Fujianese were intensified when Taiwan, the majority of whose inhabitants were migrants from the Minnan area, was ceded to Japan under the Treaty of Shimonoseki signed after China's defeat in 1895. This not only diminished Minnan's living space but also jeopardized the safety of Fujian.⁸⁸ There was thus panic among the Fujianese,⁸⁹ especially the intellectuals. Yan Fu, who received his naval training in Fuzhou and Britain, published a series of essays including "On the Speed of World Change", "On Strength", "On Our Salvation" and "In Refutation of Han Yu" in a newspaper expressing his views on China's national crisis and the need for reforms.⁹⁰ Lin Sen (1867-1943), who later became the President of the Nanjing Government, organized revolutionary activities.⁹¹ A reformer turned revolutionary, Huang Naichang, also said, "China is gradually weakened by foreign encroachment I wish I could serve my country."⁹²

The Sino-Japanese War heralded a new stage of imperialism and a "scramble for concessions" by foreign powers followed. It was only through Britain's advocacy to maintain China's integrity and independence that the country was saved from being partitioned. However, the people of China still felt the threat of invasion.⁹³ Japan was the most ambitious and saw Fujian as the target for its "Nanshinron" (Southern Expansion Doctrine). The Japanese claimed territorial rights to Xiamen and Fuzhou in 1897 and 1899 respectively and in the year 1899, Fujian became part of Japan's sphere of influence and served as Japan's economic and cultural spearheads.⁹⁴ The Taiwan Soto Kufu went on to promote a special policy towards Mainland China, "Taigan Seisaku". Japan

conspired to occupy Xiamen and sought to penetrate Fuzhou and Xiamen by means of finance, education and the press. The Xiamen Case of 1900 was an outcome of Japan's conspiracy to occupy the area. In 1900, making use of the "Hongan-ji jiken" when Chinese "hooligans" were falsely accused of setting fire to a Japanese temple, Japan sent troops to Xiamen but failed in its attempt to occupy the city due to opposition from the other foreign powers.⁹⁵ In 1905, when Fujian had plans to build its own railway system, Japan tried to induce the local gentry into accepting Japanese funding and recruiting Japanese personnel for the work under a Sino-Japanese co-operation programme.⁹⁶ Two years later in 1907, Japan and France signed the Franco-Japanese Agreement whereby the two nations agreed to insure peace and good order in each other's territories. In connection with this clause, a Secret Article was added stating that the Province of Fujian would be covered by the agreement because of its close proximity to Taiwan. Fujian was thus officially reaffirmed as part of Japan's sphere of influence.⁹⁷ As a Fujianese writer, Fu Jian Ren, wrote in his article "Min Jing" (Warning Fujian), "Japan sees Fujian as an easy target and thinks that the beams of Japan, reaching across Liuqiu, Taiwan and Xiamen, will eventually shine through the entire province of Fujian."⁹⁸

On the pretext of keeping Japan from taking Xiamen, the United States Consul in Xiamen, A. Burlingame Johnson, proposed in 1901 that Gulang Yu should be made an International Foreign Settlement.⁹⁹ Britain, America, France and Germany followed by demanding various rights including the opening of Sandu Ao; mining rights in Jianning, Shaowu, Tingzhou, Longyan and Anxi; the right of diplomatic personnel to put up notices; the right to arrest criminals in Chinese territories; the right to dismiss local officials and a say in the election of the provincial assembly.¹⁰⁰

These encroachments and interference heightened Fujian's sense of crisis and of being partitioned. This sentiment was most aptly expressed by a patriotic group, "Oh, what sorrow, what danger - and the Fujianese aren't aware that the demise of Fujian is at hand.....".¹⁰¹ The people began to rise in resistance against the foreigners and there

were confrontations such as the Sino-British Tianan Si Incident (1908),¹⁰² the Anti-Japanese Incident at Hutou Shan in Xiamen (1899);¹⁰³ Conflict in the Fujian Yihehui's Recovery of Taiwan (1900);¹⁰⁴ the Xiamen Race Course Incident - Protest Over Gulang Yu becoming an International Foreign Settlement (1904)¹⁰⁵ and the Chinese Boycott of American Goods in Xiamen and Fuzhou 1905.¹⁰⁶ The Fujianese also came to realize that the crisis of the province was a result of the incompetence and decadence of the Qing government. As one roared, "The most notorious crime of the Qing government is its incompetence, especially in diplomatic affairs Losing Taiwan to Japan in the Sino-Japanese War is like sharing one's bed with another. The increase in indemnity after the 1900 Boxer Uprising added extra burden on the Chinese Treaties signed with foreign powers were all beneficial to foreigners at the expense of the Chinese Why has the Qing government done this to us? Why toady to foreign powers with complete disregard for the welfare of its own people?"¹⁰⁷ The desire to overthrow the Qing regime thus spread among the young Fujianese intellectuals. This bears out Mary C. Wright's opinion that the moving force behind the revolution in Late Qing was nationalism.¹⁰⁸

Notes

1. Wang Yiya, *Geography of China* (Zhongguo Dili), (Taipei: Zhengzhong, 1957), Vol. 2, PP. 361-362; Li Donghua, *Quanzhou and Sea Transportation in Medieval China* (Quanzhou Yu Woguo Zhonggu Di Haishang Jiaotong), (Taipei: Xuesheng, 1986), PP. 12-31.

2. Chen Jilin, *Economic Geography of Fujian* (Fujian Jingji Dili) (Fuzhou: Fujian Kexue Jishu, 1984), PP. 15-18. Sheng Xugong, *A Glimpse of Fujian Province*, (Fujiansheng Yipie) (Shanghai: Shangwu, 1927), PP. 6-7. Also see Sun Ching-chih ed., *Economic Geography of South China*, (Beijing, 1959), PP.344-346.

3. Chen Kai, "Geological Features of Fujian and Taiwan" (Fujian Dizhi Yu Taiwan Dizhi), *Dalu Zazhi*, 1:3(1950), PP.12-13; Luo Qitang, *An Illustration of Modern Chinese Geography* (Zhongguo Jinshi Yudi Tushuo) (Guangdong Jiaozhong Xuetang, 1909), Vol. 6, Ch. 16, Fujian, PP. 2-3; Chen Jilin, op.cit., PP. 1-2; *Richard's Comprehensive Geography* (Shanghai: Tusewei Press, 1908), P. 219; George B. Cressey, *China's Geographic Foundations: A Survey of the Land and Its People* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1934), PP. 335-336.

4. Jiang Junzheng, *A Study on Fujian's Situation* (Fujian Qingshi Zhi Yanjiu) (Taipei: Zhongyang Wenwu Gongyingshe, 1957), P.7; Ono Kyohei: *South China* (Minami Shina) (Taipei: Nam Bo Sha, 1913), P. 214.

5. Hong Zhao and Zheng Xuemeng, "Agricultural Economic Development of Fujian's Coastal Area in the Song Dynasty" (Songdai Fujian Yanhai Diqu Nongye Jingji Di Fazhan), *Zhongguo Shehui Jingjishi Yanjiu* (hereafter cited as ZSJY), 4(1985), P. 35.

6. *Compilation of Ancient and Modern Books* (Gujin Tushu Jicheng), (1726) (Taipei: Wenxing, Reprint, 1964), Book 18, Vol. 1031, Fujian Tongbu, P. 393; *Draft of Qing History* (Qingshi Gao), (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1976), Book 9, Vol. 70, P. 2241.

7. Evelyn S. Rawski, *Agricultural Change and the Peasant Economy of South China*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), P. 67, PP. 146-147. For customs and characteristics of the the Fujianese, see Zheng Xuemeng and Yuan Bingling. "The Formation of Fujianese Culture and Its Conceptual Changes" (Fujian Wenhua Neihan Di Xingcheng Ji Qi Guannian Di Bianqian), *Fujian Luntan*, 5(1990), PP.70-75.

8. Li Jifu, *Gazetteer of the Yuanhe Period* (Yuanhe Junxian Zhi) (813 A.D.), (Beijing: Zhonghua, Reprint, 1983), Book 2, Vol. 29, PP.715-723; Chen Yande, "Economic Development of Fujian in the Tang Dynasty" (Tangdai Fujian Di Jingji Kaifa), *Fujian Luntan*, 5(1987), PP. 45-46; Anonymous, "Routes of Postal Stations" (Yizhan Lucheng) in Wang Xiqi ed., *Xiaofanghuzhai Geographical Collection, 2nd Supplement* (Xiaofanghuzhai Yudi Congchao, Zaibubian), (1897) (Taipei: Guangwen, Reprint, 1964), Book 4, Vol. 1, P.4; Lee Kam-keung, "An

Account of Fuzhou's Transportation System in the Qing Dynasty" (Qingdai Fujian Jiaotong Lueshugao), *The Academic Journal of Hong Kong Baptist College*, 9(1982), PP. 182-185; Jiang Junzhang, op.cit., P.8. Su Tongbing, *The Post Station System of the Ming Dynasty* (Mingdai Yidi Zhidu), (Taipei: Zhonghua Congshu, 1969), PP. 68-72.

9. *Imperial Maritime Customs, Decennial Report, Foochow 1882-91*, P. 413, pointed out "Foochow Stands at the heart of the most important waterway....."
10. Narita Setsuo, "The Prosperity of Quanzhou and Decline of Guangdong during the Song-Yuan Period" (So-Gen jidai no Senshu no hattatsu to Kanton no suibi), *Rikishigaku Kenkyu*, 6:7(1936), PP. 4-9; Li Donghua, "Sea Transportation and the Development of Ancient Fujian" (Haishang Jiaotong Yu Gudai Fujian Diqu Di Fazhan), in *A Collection of Articles on the History of Chinese Maritime Development* (Zhongguo Haiyang Fazhanshi Lunwenji) (hereafter cited as HCMD), (Taipei: Institute of the Three Principles of the People, Academia Sinica, 1986), Vol. 2, PP. 59-74; Xin Tucheng, "A Preliminary Examination of the Economy of the Minyue Tribes During the Western Han Period" (Xihan Shiqi Minyue Shehui Jingji Di Tansuo) *ZSJY*, 2(1985), PP. 3-4. The King of Minyue, pioneer of Fujian's "Maritime Legacy", started lumbering in Mt. Wuyi for shipbuilding since the Western Han Dynasty. Zheng Xuemeng and Wei Hongzhao, "Economic Development in Fujian's Mountain Area in the Song Dynasty" (Lun Songdai Fujian Shanqu Jingji Di Fazhan), *Nongye Kaogu*, 1(1986), PP. 62-72, stated that Fujian's mountain area was rich in timber thus providing shipbuilding materials; George B. Cressey, op.cit., P. 337.
11. Shortage of rice in Fujian in the Southern Song Dynasty, see Quan Hansheng, "Production and Marketing of Rice in the Southern Song Dynasty" (Nansong Daomi Di Shengchan Yu Yunxiao), *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica*, 10(1948), PP. 414-415, 430-431. Shortage of rice in the Ming Dynasty, see Lin Liyue, "A Study on the Shortage of Rice in Fujian during the Late Ming Period" (Wanming Fujian Di Shimi Buzu Wenti), *Bulletin of Historical Research, National Taiwan Normal University* (hereafter cited as HRTNU), 15(1987), PP. 161-190. Shortage of rice in the Qing Dynasty, see Wang Yeh-chien, "Food Supply in Eighteenth Century Fukien", *Late Imperial China*, 7:2 (1986), PP. 80-108. In the Republican period, rice shortage was 1.5 million piculs per year, see Zheng Runchang, "Food Control Plan in Fujian during the Critical Period" (Feichang Shiqi Fujian Liangshi Tongzhi Fangan) in *Research on Fujian's Economy* (Fujian Jingji Yanjiu), (Fujiansheng Zhengfu Mishuchu Tongjishi, 1940), Vol. 1, P. 210.
12. Mark Elvin trans., Shiba Yoshinobu's *Commerce and Society in Song China*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1970), PP.181-189; Fu Zhongwen, "Analysis on the Grand Occasion of Fujian's Imperial Examination" (Songdai Fujian Keju Shengkuang Shixi), *Fujian Luntan*, 3(1988), PP. 47-52, to make a living during difficult times, the Fujianese turned to maritime trading, art and services, government posts and religion since the Song Dynasty; Lin Liyue, "South Fujian Gentry and the Maritime Smuggling Trade during the Jiajing Period (1522-1566)" (Minnan Shishen Yu Jiajing Nianjian Di Haishang Zousi Maoyi), *HRTNU*, 8(1980), PP. 93-95; Li Guoqi (Lee Kuo-chi), "An Important Way to Deal With Overpopulation in Fujian and Zhejiang in the Qing Period: The Cultivation of Cash Crops"(You Minzhe Quyu Yanjiu Kan Qingdai Jiejue Renkou Yali Di Zhongyao Fangfa - Zaipei Jingji Zuowu), *Shihuo Yuekan*, 4:10(1975), PP. 421-441.
13. He Qiaoyuan, "Advocation For Maritime Trade" (Kaiyanghai Yi) (1630), in "Historical Materials of Economic and Social History in Fujian During the Ming

and Qing Period" (Mingqing Fujian Shehui Jingji Shiliao), ZSJY, 2(1989), P. 111. Also see Ng Chin-Keong, *Trade and Society: The Amoy Network on the China Coast 1683-1735* (Singapore University Press, 1983), PP. 4-5; 13-41; Ng accounted for maritime trade in Minnan by way of the "push-pull" factor.

14. Hu Jixin "Study of Fujian's Trade Ports in the Ming Dynasty" (Mingdai Fujian Duiwai Maoyigang Yanjiu), in Sa Mengwu et al., *Studies on the History of Fujian's Foreign Trade* (Fujian Duiwai Maoyishi Yanjiu) (Fujiansheng Yanjiuyuan Shehuikexue Yanjiusuo, 1948), PP. 21-60. The article accounted for the rise and fall of the coastal ports in Fujian.
15. Fujian's sea merchants, see Wang Gungwu, "Merchants without Empire: The Hokkien Sojourning Communities" in James D. Tracy, *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long Distance Trade in the Early Modern World 1350-1750* (Cambridge University Press, 1990), PP. 400-421; Yoshinobu Shiba, "Activities of Merchants from Fujian in the Period of Song and their Social and Economic Background" (Sodai ni okeru Fukken shonin to sono shakai keizai teki haikai), in *Oriental Studies Presented to Dr. Wada, In Celebration of his Seventieth Birthday, 15 November 1960 by His Friends and Pupils* (Wada hakase koki kinen Toyoshi ronso) (Tokyo: Kodansha 1960), PP. 494-498; Fu Yiling, "Sea Merchants of Fujian in the Ming Period" (Mingdai Fujian Haishang), in *Merchants and Mercantile Capital in Ming and Qing Times* (Mingqing Shidai Shangren Ji Shangye Ziben) (Beijing: Renmin, 1956), PP. 107-160; Pirates, see Zhang Zhongxun, "A Study on the Organization of Pirates in Fujian and Zhejiang in the Jiajing Period" (Jiajing Nianjian Minzhe Haidao Zuzhi Yanjiu) in HCMD, Vol. 2, PP. 161-198. The navy, see Gao Rong, "History of the Formation, Development and Decline of the Fujian Clique in the Chinese Navy" (Minxi Haijun Di Xingcheng Fazhan Shuailuo Shihua), *Fuzhou Wenshi Ziliao Xuanji*, (hereafter cited as FWZX) Vol. 7, (1987), PP. 113-158. Overseas Chinese, see Wen Guangyi, "History and Causes of Emigration of Fujianese" (Fujian Huaqiao Chuguo Di Lishi He Yuanyin Tanxi), ZSJY, 2(1984) PP. 75-89.
16. Hans Bielenstein, "The Chinese Colonization of Fukien until the End of Tang" in *Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren Dedicata* (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1959), PP. 98-111. Also see Billy Kee-long So, "Economic Developments in South Fukien 946-1276" (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Australian National University, 1982), Ch. 1, PP. 1-26.
17. G. William Skinner, "The Structure of Chinese History", JAS, XLIV: 2(1985), PP. 275-279.
18. *Compilation of Ancient and Modern Books* (Gujin Tushu Jicheng), op.cit., Fuzhou Zalu, Vol. 1044, P. 495. Lee Kam-keung, "A Study on the Historical Development of Fuzhou" (Fuzhou Yangde Lueshu), *Zhongshan Quarterly*, 2(1983), PP. 50-52. The rise of Fuzhou could be traced back to Wang Shenzhi of Late Tang, see Lin Guangheng, "An Analysis of Port Gantan (Fuzhou)" (Gangtanggang Bianxi), *Fujian Luntan*, 3(1985), PP. 59-62.
19. There was much research conducted on Fujian's economic growth during the Tang-Song Period, e.g. Chen Yande, "Economic Development of Fujian during the Tang Dynasty" (Tangdai Fujian Di Jingji Kaifa), op.cit., PP. 42- 47; Wang Zengyu, "Economic and Cultural Development of the Fujian Circuit during the Song Dynasty" (Songchao Fujianlu Jingji Wenhua Di Fazhan), *Zhongguo Gudaishi Luncong*, 9(1985), PP. 151-163; Hong Zhao and Zheng Xuemeng, op.cit., PP. 34-44; Zheng Xuemeng and Wei Hongzhao, op.cit., PP. 27-37; Lin Tingshui, "Irrigation Works in Fujian since the Tang Dynasty" (Tang Yilai Fujian

- Shuili Jianshe Gaikuang), ZSJY, 2(1989), PP. 73-79; Hibino Takeo, "Fujian's Development in Tang and Song Times" (T0-So Jidai ni okeru Fukken no kaihatsu), *Toyoshi Kenkyu*, 4:3 (1939) PP. 187-213; Kitayama Yasuo, "A Look at the Development of Fujian in Tang and Song Times", (To-So Jidai ni okeru Fukken-sho no kaihatsu ni Kansuru ichi Kosatu), *Shirin* 24:3(1939), PP. 581-590, gave an account of Fujian's irrigation and reclamation works in the Tang-Song period.
20. The rise and development of Quanzhou, see Wang Gungwu, "The Nanhai Trade: A Study of the Early History of Chinese Trade in the South Sea", *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XXXI:182(1958), PP. 88, according to Wang, it was under Liu Congxiao, the nominal military Governor of Nan Tang, that Quanzhou began to gain importance; Quanzhou surpassed Fuzhou, Guangzhou and Mingzhou during the Song-Yuan Dynasties, see Narita Setsuo, op.cit., Zhou Zhongjian "Three Changes in Quanzhou's Importance and Its Prosperity in the Song Dynasty" (Songdai Quanzhougang Diwei Di Sanci Yanbian Ji Qi Fanrong), *Quanzhou Wenshi*, 6.7(1982), PP. 119-124. Economic development, see Billy Kee-long So, op.cit., Ch. 4 and Ch. 5, PP. 129-220; Hugh Clark, "Quanzhou's Influence on Local Agricultural Commercialization during the Tang-Song Period" (Tangsong Shiqi Quanzhougang Duiyu Dangdi Nongye Zhuanwei Shangyehua Di Yingxiang), *Quanzhou Wenshi*, 9(1986), PP. 159-166. The rise of Quanzhou in the Song and Yuan Dynasties was due to the presence of many harbours including Nanguangang, Shijinggang and Houzhugang etc., see Fu Zhongwen, "The Rise and Harbour Distribution of Quanzhou in the Song Dynasty" (Songdai Quanzhougang Di Jueqi Yu Gangkou Fenbu), *Xiamen Daxue Xuebao (Philosophy and Social Science)*, Supplement (1985), PP. 82- 96.
 21. Quoted from Fu Zhongwen (1988), op.cit., P. 47.
 22. Xu Zaiquan, "The Emergence of Talents in Fujian in the Song Dynasty" (Shilun Songdai Fujian Rencai Di Jueqi), *Fujian Shifan Daxue Xuebao (Philosophy and Social Science)*, 3(1981), PP. 98-103.
 23. As a matter of fact, Quanzhou had faced decline during the Song-Yuan transition period (12-13th Centuries) because of pirates, heavy taxation, oppression from royal clansmen and crisis in the local economy, see Li- Donghua (1986), op.cit., PP. 174-188; Billy Kee-long So, op.cit., PP. 200- 220. The port of Quanzhou fell completely in the 14th Century. For a synthetical study of the reasons for the decline of Quanzhou, see Shen Yubin, "A Preliminary Study of the Reasons for the Decline of Quanzhou's Overseas Trade in the Ming-Qing Period" (Mingqing Quanzhougang Haiwai Jiaotong Maoyi Shuailuo Yuanyin Chutan), *Quanzhou Wenshi*, 4(1980), PP. 27-36. Regarding reasons for the rebellion of Muslims in Late Yuan times, see Zhuang Weiji, "Rebellion of Muslims in the Late Yuan Period and the Decline of Quanzhou" (Yuanmo Waizu Panluan Yu Quanzhougang Di Shuailuo), *Quanzhou Wenshi*, 4(1980) PP. 19-26; Zhu Weigan, History of Fujian (Fujian Shigang), (Fujian Jiaoyu, 1985), Vol. 1, PP. 471-488. In regard to reasons for the silting up of the Quanzhou harbour, see Li Zhongjun, "Changes of the Coastline of the Jin River and the Decline of Quanzhou" (Jinjiang Hai'an Bianqian Yu Quanzhougang Di Shuailuo), *Haijiaoshi Yanjiu*, 1(1985), PP. 21-25.
 24. Chang Pin-tsun, "Regional Economic Development and Maritime Trade of Fujian During the Late Ming Period", (Wanming Fujian Di Haiwai Maoyi Yu Difang Jingji Fazhan), in *An Interpretation of Chinese History - A Collection of Articles in Celebration of Mr. Tao Xisheng's 90th Birthday* (Guoshi Shilun - Tao Xisheng Xiansheng Jiuzhi Rongqing Zhushou Lunwenji) (Taipei: Shihuo, 1987). Vol. 1 PP. 204-205.

25. G. William Skinner, op.cit., PP. 276-279; Fu Yiling, "The Traditional Society of China: A Multiple Structure" (Zhongguo Chuantong Shehui - Duoyuan Di Jiegou), ZSJY, 3(1988), P.5; Quan Hansheng, *Research on Economic History During the Ming and Qing Period*, (Mingqing Jingjishi Yanjiu) (Taibei: Lianjing, 1989), PP. 3-13, 17-27, 33-43.
26. The most detailed account of the development of Zhangzhou's overseas trade in the Ming Dynasty came from Zhang Xie, *A Study of the East and the West Oceans* (Dongxiyang Kao), (1617), (Beijing: Zhonghua, Reprint, 1981), edited by Xie Fang; Chen Ziqiang, "On the Historical Position of Zhangzhou during the Ming Dynasty" (Lun Mingdai Zhangzhougang Di Lishi Diwei), *Haijiaoshi Yanjiu*, 5(1983), PP. 90-97; Lin Renchuan, *Private Overseas Trade During the Late Ming and Early Qing Period* (Mingmo Qingchu Siren Haishang Maoyi) (Shanghai: Huadong Shifan Daxue, 1987), PP. 142-153.
27. Fu Yiling (1956), op.cit., PP. 107-129; Quan Hansheng, "The Trade between China and the Philippines During the Late Ming Period" (Mingji Zhongguo Yu Feilubin Jian Di Maoyi), *The Journal of Institute of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong* (hereafter cited as JICUHK), 1(1968), PP. 27-44, "The Inflow of American Silver into China from the Late Ming to the Mid-Qing Period." (Mingqing Jian Meizhou Baiyin Di Shuru Zhongguo), JICUHK, 2:1(1969), PP. 59-74. "Silk Trade between China and Spanish America from the Late Ming to Mid-Qing Period" (Zi Mingji Zhi Qingzhongye Xishu Meizhou Di Zhongguo Shihuo Maoyi), in *A Collection of Article on the History of Chinese Economy* (Zhongguo Jingjishi Luncong) (Hong Kong: New Asia Institute of Advanced Chinese Studies, 1972), Vol. 1, PP. 451-473. For research of Western scholars on the inflow of American silver into China, see Frederic E. Wakeman Jr., "China and the Seventh- Century Crisis", *Late Imperial China*, 7:1(1986), PP. 2-5.
28. Chang Pin-tsun, "Chinese Maritime Trade: The Case of Sixteenth Century Fu-Chien (Fujian)", (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Princeton University, 1983), PP. 261-290; also see Chang Pin-tsun, op.cit., P. 203.
29. Ibid., PP. 208-212, Chang pointed out that the beneficiary of the prosperity of Zhangzhou's trade was the Jiangnan area rather than Fujian because most exports came from Jiangnan.
30. E.S. Rawski, op.cit., PP. 68-88. For rapid increase of Fujian's rural markets from 186 in the period 1488-1505 to 700 odd in the years 1736-1795, see Chen Keng, "A Study on Rural Market of Fujian During the Ming-Qing Period" (Mingqing Fujian Longcun Shichang Shitan), ZSJY, 4(1986), PP. 52- 53. For economic prosperity in the mountain area of Fujian, Zhejiang and Jiangxi and the emergence of merchant groups, see Lin Renchuan, op.cit., pp. 367-371; Fu Yiling, "Notes on Merchants of Longyou, Zhejiang in the Ming Dynasty" (Mingdai Zhejiang Longyou Shangren Lingshi), in *A Collection of Articles on Social and Economic History During the Ming and Qing Period* (Mingqing Shehui Jingjishi Lunwenji), (Beijing: Renmin, 1982), PP. 179-186; Xu Xiaowang, "New Trend of Economic Development in Minzhengan's Frontier and Mountain Areas During the Ming-Qing Period" (Mingqing Minzhengan Bianqu Shanqu Jingji Fazhan Di Xin Qushi), in Fu Yiling and Yang Guozhen eds., *Fujianese Society and Rural Economy During the Ming- Qing Period* (Mingqing Fujian Shehui Ji Xiangcun Jingji), (Xiamen: Xiamen Daxue, 1987), PP. 193-226.
31. Ng Chin-Keong, "A Study on the Peasant Society of South Fukien", *Nanyang University Journal*, 6(1972), PP. 189-213; Su Xinhong, "The Seaward Flow of Min-nan's Population in the Ming-Qing Period" (Mingqing Shiqi Minnan Renkou

- Di Hailu Wailiu), ZSJY, 4(1987), PP. 46-50.
32. Lin Liyue (1987), op.cit., PP. 177-181; Lin Renchuan, op.cit., PP. 404-410.
 33. E.S. Rawski, op.cit., P. 89.
 34. Lin Renchuan, op.cit., PP. 151-153; Chen Ziqiang et al., "An Account of the Symposium on Studies on Yuegang in Zhangzhou in the Ming Dynasty" (Mingdai Zhangzhou Yuegang Yanjiu Xueshu Taolunhui Zongshu), *Fujian Luntan*, 6(1982), PP. 96-97; Lin Tingshui, "Reclamation and Cultivation at the Lower Course of the Jiulong River and its Influence" (Jiulongjiang Xiayou Di Weiken Yu Yingxiang), ZSJY, 4(1984), PP. 84-86.
 35. Gu Yanwu, *Books on the Strengths and Weaknesses of China's Local Administrative Districts* (Tianxia Junguo Libingshu), (Taipei, Reprint, 1965), Vol. 26, Fujian, PP. 31b.
 36. Zhou Kai, *Xiamen Gazetteer* (Xiamen Zhi), (1839), (Taipei: Taiwan Yinhang, 1961, Reprint), Book 1, Vol. 2, PP. 15-17; Book 2, Vol. 5, PP. 177-178 and 180; Fu Yiling, "Research on Foreign Firms in Xiamen in Early Qing" (Qingdai Qianqi Xiamen Yanghang Kao), in Sa Mengwu et al., *Studies on the History of Fujian's Overseas Trade*, op.cit., PP. 41-46; Ng Chin-Keong (1983), op.cit., PP. 84-88.
 37. On foreign sojourners and their life in treaty ports, see Albert Feuerwerker, *The Foreign Establishment in China in the Early Twentieth Century*, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 1976), PP.1-23. Liu Shiji, "City and Market: City's Function, Characteristics and Transformation" (Chengguo Shichan - Chengshi Di Jineng Tezheng Ji Qi Zhuaxingzhong), in *A New Study on Chinese Culture - Economy* (Zhongguo Wenhua Xinlun - Jingjibian) (Taipei: Lianjing, 1982), PP. 334-336.
 38. Rhoads Murphy, *The Treaty Ports and China's Modernization: What Went Wrong?* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 1970), PP. 3-6; "City as a Mirror of Society: China, Tradition and Transformation," in John A. Agnew et.al., *The City in Cultural Context* (Boston: Allen & Unwin Inc., 1984), PP. 194-195; Paul A. Cohen: "Littoral and Hinterland in Nineteenth Century China: the 'Christian' Reformers", in John K. Fairbank, ed., *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974). P. 197.
 39. *Fuzhou Prefectural Gazetteer* (Fuzhoufu Zhi) (1754) (Taipei: Chengwen, Reprint, 1967) Vol. 2, PP. 39-40.
 40. Lee Kam-keung: "A Study on Fuzhou During the Qing Dynasty" (Qingdai Fuzhou Yanjiu), (unpublished M.A. Thesis, New Asia Institute of Advanced Chinese Studies, Hong Kong, 1977), PP. 1-30, 205-207; also see, Zheng Xunzhong "A Preliminary Study on the Urban Nature of Fuzhou" (Fuzhou Chengshi Xingzhi Chutan), *Fujian Shifan Daxue Xuebao (Philosophy and Social Science)*, 4(1981) PP. 2-3.
 41. *Draft of Qing History* (Qingshi Gao), op.cit., Book 9, Vol. 70, PP. 2242; Lo Ergang, *New History of the Xiang Army* (Xiangjun Xinzhi) (Changsha: Shangwu, 1939), PP. 232-237.
 42. H.B. Morse, *The Trade and Administration of the Chinese Empire* (1907), (Taipei: Chengwen, Reprint 1975), P. 248; Fuzhou, in Arnold Wright & H.A. Cartwright, ed., *Twentieth Century Impressions of Hong Kong, Shanghai and Other Treaty*

- Ports of China*, (Lloyd's Greater Britain Publishing Co., Ltd., 1908), P. 837; *Guide to China* (the Japanese Government Railways, 1924), P. 315; Lin Guande, "A Brief Account on Fuzhou's Economic Geography" (Fuzhou Jingji Dili Shulue), *Dixue Zazhi*, 2(1933), PP. 157-160; Yang Wenxun, *A New Chinese Geography* (Zhongguo Dili Xinzhi) (1935), P. 1987.
43. Dai Yifeng, "A Preliminary Study on Transportation on the Min River in Modern Times" (Jindai Minjiang Hangyunye Chutan), *ZSJY*, 3(1986), PP. 105-106; Lin Rongxiang, "Economic Geography of the Fujian Province" (Fujiansheng Zhi Jingji Dili), *Fangzhi Yuekan*, 6:9(1933), P. 1.
 44. Tōa Dōbunkai, *A Complete Gazetteer of China by Province* (Shina Shobetsu Zenshi), (Tokyo, 1920), Vol. 14, Fujian Province, P. 39, quoted from the 1915 Customs Report that two different sources of information showed the total population of Fuzhou to be approximately 624,000 or 650,000 - 700,000, also quoted from the statistics of the Japanese Consulate that the population of Fuzhou and Nantai was about 300,000; Zheng Zugeng ed., *Gazetteer of the Min District* (Minxian Xiangtuzhi) (1903), (Taipei: Chengwen, Reprint, 1974), P. 702, stated that the population of the city and suburbs of Fuzhou was about 400,000; Li Guoqi, *Modernization in China, 1860-1916: A Regional Study of Social, Political and Economic Change in Fujian, Zhejiang and Taiwan* (Zhongguo Xiandaihua Di Quyu Yanjiu - Minzhetai Diqu, 1860-1916), (Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1982), PP. 458-460, according the Li's study, the population of Fuzhou was 350,000 and Li's work also analysed the mobility of Fuzhou's population, and I have adopted the result of Li's research.
 45. *Complete Record of the Management of Barbarian Affairs* (Chouban Yiwu Shimo), Daoguang Dynasty, Vol. 64, PP. 41b-42a; Vol. 73, PP. 39a-40a; F.O. 17/64, Confidential, No. 55, To Henry Pottinger, April 6, 1843, PP. 214-216; according to the above materials, although the opening of Fuzhou as a treaty port was a clause in the Treaty of Nanking (1842), Fuzhou was not officially opened until 30 June 1844 upon the arrival of the British Consul, George Tradescant Lay, because of the difficulty in finding a suitable candidate for the post, and Sino-British Trade did not start until the month of October in the lunar calendar, 1844.
 46. E.C. Carlson, *The Foochow Missionary 1847-1880* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), P. 4.
 47. Li Guoqi (1982), op.cit., P. 138 & P. 141.
 48. Hao Yen-ping, *The Comprador in Nineteenth Century China: Bridge between East and West* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), PP. 75-83; Chen Ciyu, "The Production and Trade of Fujian Tea in Early Modern Time" (Jindai Limingqi Fujiancha Zhi Shengchan Yu Maoyi Gouzao), Part 1, *Shihuo Yuekan*, 6:9 (1976), PP.527-529.
 49. Chen Ciyu: *The Development of Chinese Tea Trade in the Modern World Market* (Jindai Zhongguo Chaye Di Fazhan Yu Shijie Shichang), (Taipei: The Institute of Economics, Academia Sinica, 1982), Ch. 2, PP. 27-32.
 50. In respect to Zuo Zongtang's contribution to the establishment of the Fuzhou Dockyard, see Gideon Chen, *Tso Tsung T'ang: Pioneer Promoter of the Modern Dockyard and the Woollen Mill in China*, (New York: Paragon Book Gallery, 1961), PP.14-48. Zhang Yufa, "The Founding and Early Development of the Fuzhou Dockyard 1886-1895" (Fuzhou Chuanchang Zhi Ji Qi Chuqi Fazhan 1886-1895), *BIMH*, 2(1971), PP. 177-205; Bao Zunpeng, *History of Naval*

Education in Late Qing (Qingji Haijun Jiaoyushe), (Taipei: Guofang Yanjiuyuan, 1969) PP. 5-46; David Pong, "Western Technicians and Technical Aid in China's Early Development Experience: The Foochow Navy Yard 1866-1875", *Papers on Far Eastern History*, 20(1979), PP. 83-104, pointed out that the number of European staff varied from 52 to 75 and that the students of the Navy Yard learnt and grasped the basic principles of marine engineering, modern naval warfare and navigation skills.

51. Li Guoqi (1982), op.cit., PP. 300-306; Imperial Maritime Customs, Decennial Report, Foochow, 1882-91, P. 423.
52. Li Guoqi (1982), op.cit., PP. 221-225.
53. Joseph W. Esherick, op.cit., P. 46, idea originated from this book; Li Guoqi (1982), op.cit., PP. 138-140, PP. 509-527, listed Fuzhou's new schools and newspapers.
54. Zhou Kai, op.cit., Book 1, Vol. 2, PP. 15-17; Book 2, Vol. 5, PP. 177-178 & P. 180.
55. Ibid., Book 1, P. 1; On recent research on the Circuit Intendant of Xinghua, Quanzhou and Yongchun, see Xu Xueji, "The Relationship between the Circuit-Intendant of Xinghua, Quanzhou and Yongchun and Taiwan " (Xingquanyongdao Yu Taiwan Di Guanxi), *Zhongguo Lishi Xuehui Shixue Jikan*, 13(1981), PP. 91-101.
56. Ng Chin-Keong (1983), op.cit., PP. 61-67.
57. Li Guoqi, "Functions and Development of 'Tao' (Intendant) in the Provincial Administration Under the Ming and Qing Dynasties" (Mingqing Liangdai Difang Xingzheng Zhidu Zhongdao Di Gongneng Ji Qi Yanbian), *BIMH*, Vol. 3, Part 1, (1972), PP. 170-173.
58. Zhang Yuee, "Geographic Record of Xiamen" (Xiamen Zhilue), *Dili Zazhi*, 4:6(1931), P. 1; Kong Li, *History of Xiamen* (Xiamen Shihua), (Shanghai: Renmin, 1979), P. 1; Wang Ermin, "The Opening of Xiamen and its Harbour Area" (Xiamen Kaiguan Zhi Gangbu Quhua), *Shihuo Yuekan*, 4:6(1974), P. 3, the inner harbour of Xiamen lies between Xiamen and Gulang Yu while the outer harbour is south of the inner harbour with its entrance between Wu Yu (Island) and Dadan.
59. Lin Rongxiang, op.cit., P. 1; Li Yiyuan and Wu Chunxi, *South Fujian* (Minnan), (Taipei: Haiwai Wenku, 1957), PP. 29-33; Philip Wilson Pitcher, *In and About Amoy* (Shanghai & Foochow: The Methodist Publishing House in China 1912), P. 270; H.B. Morse, op.cit., P. 249.
60. Li Guoqi (1982), op.cit., PP. 456-458; C.A.V. Bowra, "Amoy", in Arnold Wright & H.A. Cartwright ed., op.cit., P. 814; Ono Kyohei: *South China*. (Minami Shina), op.cit., P. 221.

Year	Urban Population	Rural Population	Total	Source
1832	-----	-----	144,893	Li Guoqi
1846	250,000 - 300,000	100,000	350,000 - 400,000	Li Guoqi
1892-1900	-----	-----	600,000 - 700,000	Li Guoqi

1908	114,000	100,000	214,000	C. A. V. Bowra
1912	-----	-----	230,000	Ono Kyohei

Regarding Xiamen's population change as reflected in the above table, according to Li Guoqi's interpretation, the population increase in 1846 was due to the opening of treaty ports and the resulting prosperity of trade which led to the influx of population into Xiamen, and urbanization; the total population reached a climax in the 1892-1900 period because after the Sino- Japanese War, Taiwan was ceded to Japan and many Taiwanese immigrated to Xiamen and the setting up of new industries also attracted many migrants; the population decreased in the early 20th Century as a result of the decline of Xiamen's trade and overseas migration.

61. Wang Ermin, op.cit., P. 6, Shisan Lutou was actually where thirteen piers were located and was the main area for Xiamen's foreign trade.
62. Li Guoqi (1982), op.cit., P. 138 & P. 141.
63. "Xiamen's Foreign Firms and Compradors" (Xiamen Di Yanghang Yu Maiban), *Fujian Wenshi Ziliao* (hereafter cited as FWZ), 5(1981), PP. 145- 159.
64. C.A.V. Bowra, op.cit., PP. 819-820; Hu Gang, "A Study of the Decline of the Minnan Sugarcane Industry in the 20th Century and Its Causes" (Yishi Shiji Minnan Zhetang Di Shuailuo Ji Qi Yuanyin Tanxi), *Xiamen Daxue Xuebao* (*Philosophy and Social Science*), 2(1988), P. 96.
65. Su Xinhong, op.cit., PP. 47-51; Zhuang Jifa, "Population Pressure in Fujian and Guangdong and Illegal Emigration to Taiwan in Early Qing" (Qingchu Minyue Renkou Yapo Yu Toudu Taiwan), *Dalu Zazhi*, 60:1(1980) PP. 25-33; Wen Guangyi, op.cit., PP. 79-83.
66. Yen Ching-hwang, *Coolies and Mandarins: China's Protection of Overseas Chinese During the Late Ching Period 1851-1911*, (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1985), PP. 41-52.
67. Peng Jiali, "Abduction of Chinese Labourers by Western Invaders in the 19th Century" (Shijiu Shiji Xifang Qinluezhe Dui Zhongguo Laogong Di Lulue), in Chen Hansheng ed., *Collection of Historical Materials on the Export of Chinese Labourers* (Huagong Chuguo Shiliao Huibian), Vol. 4, PP. 246-251.
68. Li Guoqi (1982), op.cit., P. 457; *Imperial Maritime Customs, Decennial Report, Amoy, 1902-11*, P. 114.
69. Li Guoqi (1982), op.cit., P. 304; Lin Jinzhi, *The Beginning and Development of Enterprises Funded by Fujianese Overseas Chinese in Modern Times* (Jindai Fujian Huaqiao Touzi Qiye Di Fasheng He Fazhan), (Fuzhou: Fujian Renmin, 1983), PP. 79-81.
70. Lin Jinzhi et al., *Selected Historical Materials on Chinese Enterprises Funded by Overseas Chinese in Modern Times - Fujian* (Jindai Huaqiao Touzi Guonei Qiyeshi Ziliao Xuanji - Fujianjuan), (Fuzhou: Fujian Renmin, 1985), PP. 53- 55.
71. Xu Xiaowang, "On Trends of Fujian's Economics Changes in Modern Times - and Causes for the Backward Condition of Fujian's Economy" (Lun Jindai Fujian Jingji Yanbian Di Qushi - Jianlun Jindai Fujian Jingji Luohou Di Yuanyin), *Fujian*

Luntan, 2(1990), P. 39.

72. Li Guoqi (1982), op.cit., P. 303; *Imperial Maritime Customs, Decennial Report, Amoy, 1902-1911*, P. 109; Lin Jinzhi et al., op.cit., PP. 95-118; Wang Lianmao and Zhuang Jinghui, trans., "Selected Materials on Social Survey of Quanzhou in 1908" (1908 Nian Quanzhou Shehui Diaocha Ziliao Jilu), *Quanzhou Wenshi Ziliao* (hereafter cited as QWZ), 15(1983), P. 182.
73. Yen Ching-hwang, *The Overseas Chinese and the 1911 Revolution: With Special Reference to Singapore and Malaya*, (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1976), PP. 36-60; Li Yuanjin, "Lin Wenqing's Thoughts: Convergence and Contradiction of Sino-Western Culture" (Lin Wenqing Di Sixiang - Zhongxi Wenhua Di Huiliu Yu Maodun) (unpublished M.A. thesis, Nanyang University, 1974), PP. 5-23; Wang Min, "Survey on Issues of the Formation of Fujian's Revolutionary Party in the Early 20th Century" (Yishi Shiji Chunian Fujian Gemingdang Xingcheng Di Wenti Kaocha), *Fujian Luntan*, 2(1990), P. 42.
74. De Fu, *Guidelines on Fujian's Administration* (Minzheng Lingyao), (1757), Vol. 2, Customs, P. 37.
75. Cai Ji, "Reforms on Fujian's Administrative Districts" (Fujian Xingzheng Quyu Gaigetian), *Dixue Zazhi*, 33(1913), PP. 1b-2. The article pointed out that when the literati came to Xiamen, they would reminisce the achievements of Zheng Chenggong..... the feeling of racial nationalism was thus aroused.
76. Cai Shaoqing, "Tiandihui and the Lin Shuangwen Uprising" (Tiandihui Yu Lin Shuangwen Qiyi), in *Studies on Secret Societies in Modern China*, (Zhongguo Jindai Huidangshi Yanjiu), (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1987), PP. 66- 122; "On the Social Origins, Structures and Functions and Historical Changes of Secret Societies in Modern China" (Lun Jindai Zhongguo Huidang Di Shehui Genyuan Jiegou Gongneng He Lishi Yanbian), *Nanjing Daxue Xuebao (Philosophy and Social Science)*, 1(1988), PP. 168-178; Zhuang Jifa, "Socio- Economic Changes and the Development of Secret Societies in the Qing Dynasty: Comparative Studies on Taiwan, Guangxi and Yunnan" (Qingdai Shehui Jingji Bianqian Yu Mimihuidang Di Fazhan - Taiwan Guangxi Yunnan Diqu Di Bijiao Yanjiu), in *Proceedings of The Conference on Regional Studies of Modern China* (Jindai Zhongguo Quyu Shi Yantaohui Lunwenji) (Taipei: IMH, Academia Sinica, 1986), Part 1, PP. 335-386.
77. Huang Jiamo, "The British and the Xiaodaohui Uprising in Xiamen 1850- 1853" (Yingren Xiamen Xiaodaohui Shijian), *BIMH*, 7(1978), PP. 309-354; Chen Yao, "The Rebellion of Secret Societies in South Fujian During the Early Xianfeng Period" (Xianfeng Chunian Minnan Huidang Zhi Luan), in *A Collection of Articles on Modern and Contemporary Chinese History* (Zhongguo Jinxiandaishi Lunji) (hereafter cited as AMCCH), (Taipei: Shangwu, 1985), Book 2, PP. 355-388, the article gave a very detailed account of the relationship between the Minnan society and the motivation and nature of the Xiaodaohui Uprising in Xiamen.
78. Chen Fan, "Retrospection on the Inexpediency of the Fujianese Gentry in Disbanding the Qiuyuanhui" (Zhuilun Minshen Jiesan Qiuyuanhui Zhi Shice), in *Compilation of Documents on the 50th Anniversary of the Founding of the Republic of China* (Zhonghuaminguo Kaiguo Wushinian Wenxian) (hereafter cited as DFRC), Vol. 1, Series 16, P. 594.
79. Lu Shiqiang, *The Causes of Opposition to Christianity Among China's Officials and Gentry 1860-74* (Zhongguo Guanshen Fanjiao Di Yuanyin), (Taipei, IMH, Academia Sinica, 1966), PP. 5-8.

80. Lin Wenhui, *Studies on Missionary Cases in Fujian in Late Qing* (Qingji Fujian Jiaoan Zhi Yanjiu), (Taipei: Shangwu, 1989) PP. 189-191.
81. Jones Kirby Jr., "The Foochow Anti-Missionary Riot - August 30, 1878", *JAS*, 25:4 (1966), PP. 665-679.
82. Lin Wenhui, op.cit., PP. 191-195; Lu Shiqiang, "The Anti-Christian Case of Zhou Han", (Zhou Han Fanjiao An), *BIMH*, 2(1971), P. 459.
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84. Cai Xuehai, "Li Hongzhang and the Sino-Japanese Negotiations on the Taiwan Aboriginal Community Incident" (Li Hongzhang Yu Zhong Ri Taiwan Fanshe Shijian Jiaoshe), *Taiwan Wenxian*, 24:2(1973), PP. 14-29; Lin Zihou, "The Taiwan Crisis and Its Impact", (Mudanshezhiyi Ji Qi Yingxiang), *Taiwan Wenxian* 27:3(1976), PP. 33-58; Edward Pak-Wah Leung, "The Quasi-War in East Asia: Japan's Expedition to Taiwan and the Ryukyu Controversy", *Modern Asian Studies*, 17:2(1983), PP. 257-281.
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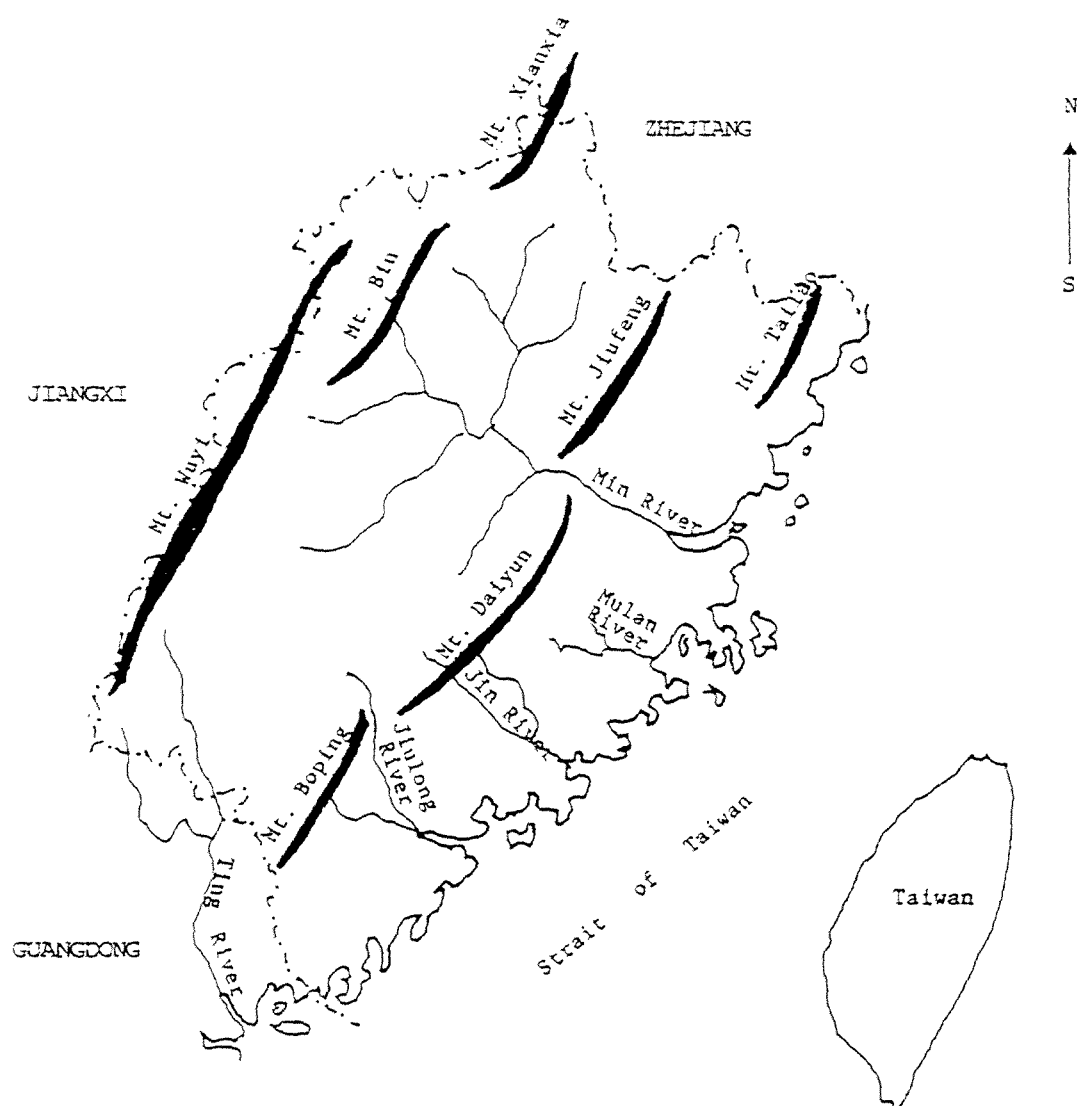
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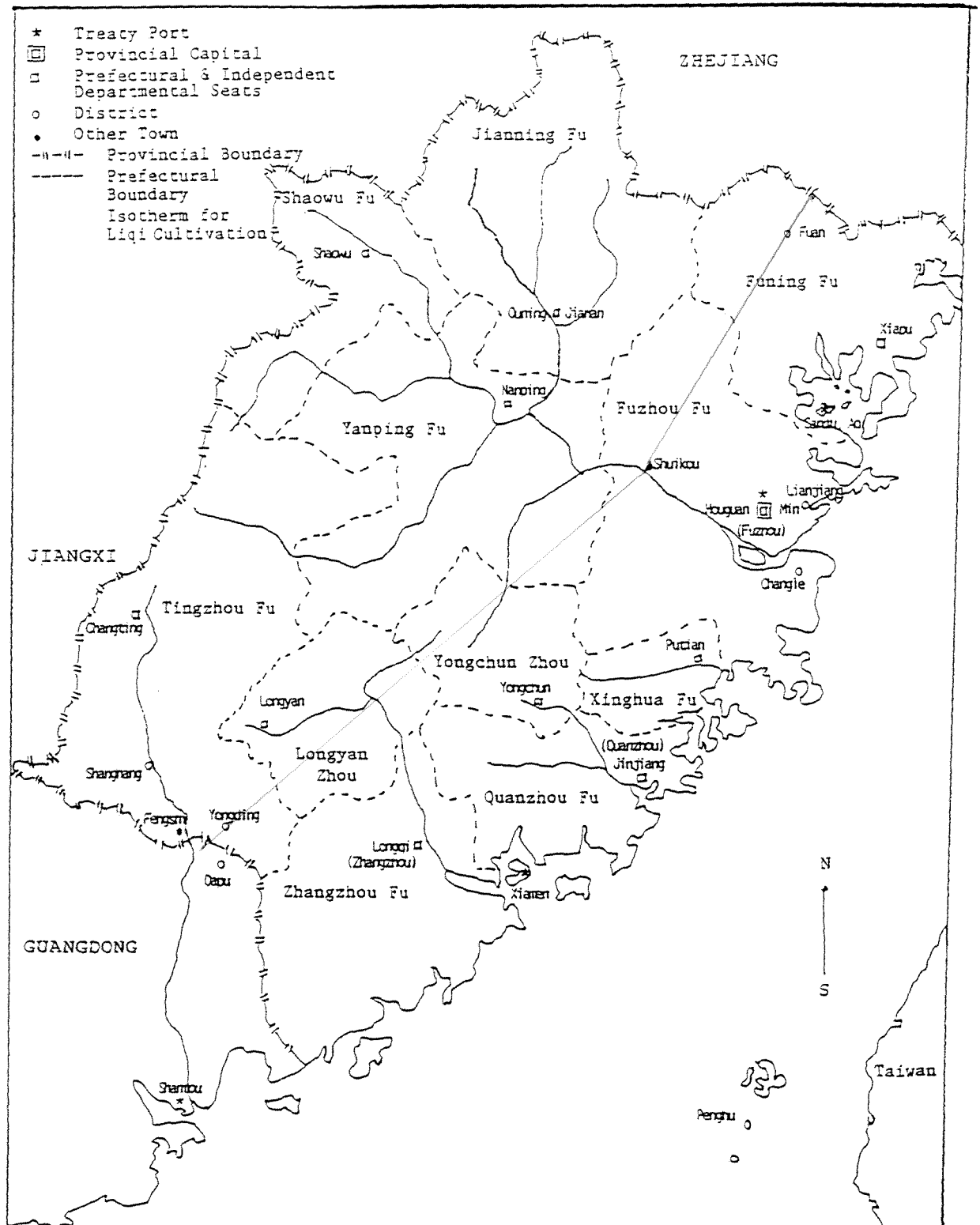
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105. History Department of Xiamen University, *A Brief History of Xiamen (Draft)*, (Xiamen Jianshi), (Xiamen, 1976), PP. 73-79.
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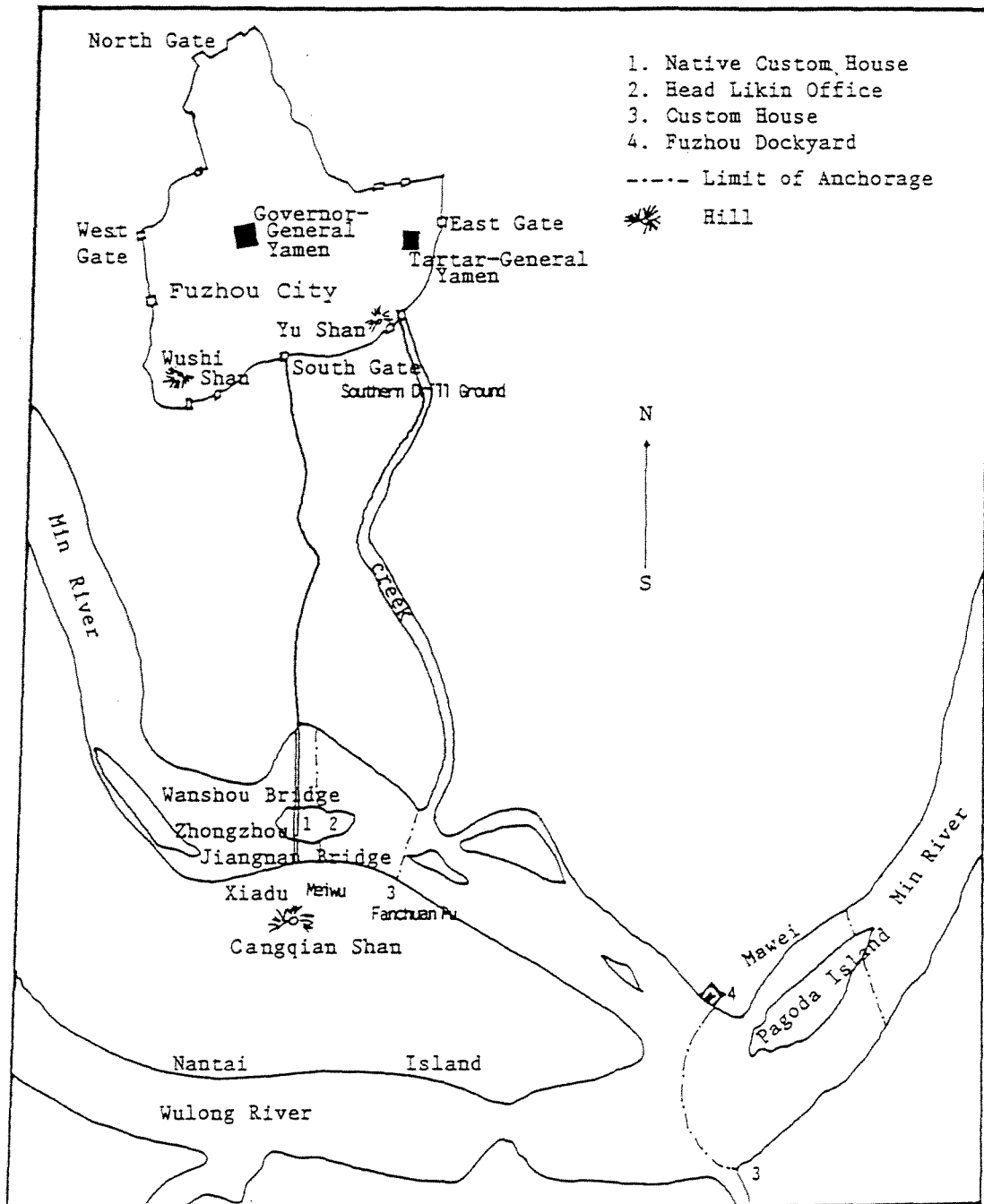
MAP 1 MOUNTAINS AND RIVERS OF FUJIAN



MAP 2 FUJIAN PROVINCE



MAP 3 THE PORT OF FUZHOU



MAP 4 DISTRICTS SURROUNDING XIAMEN

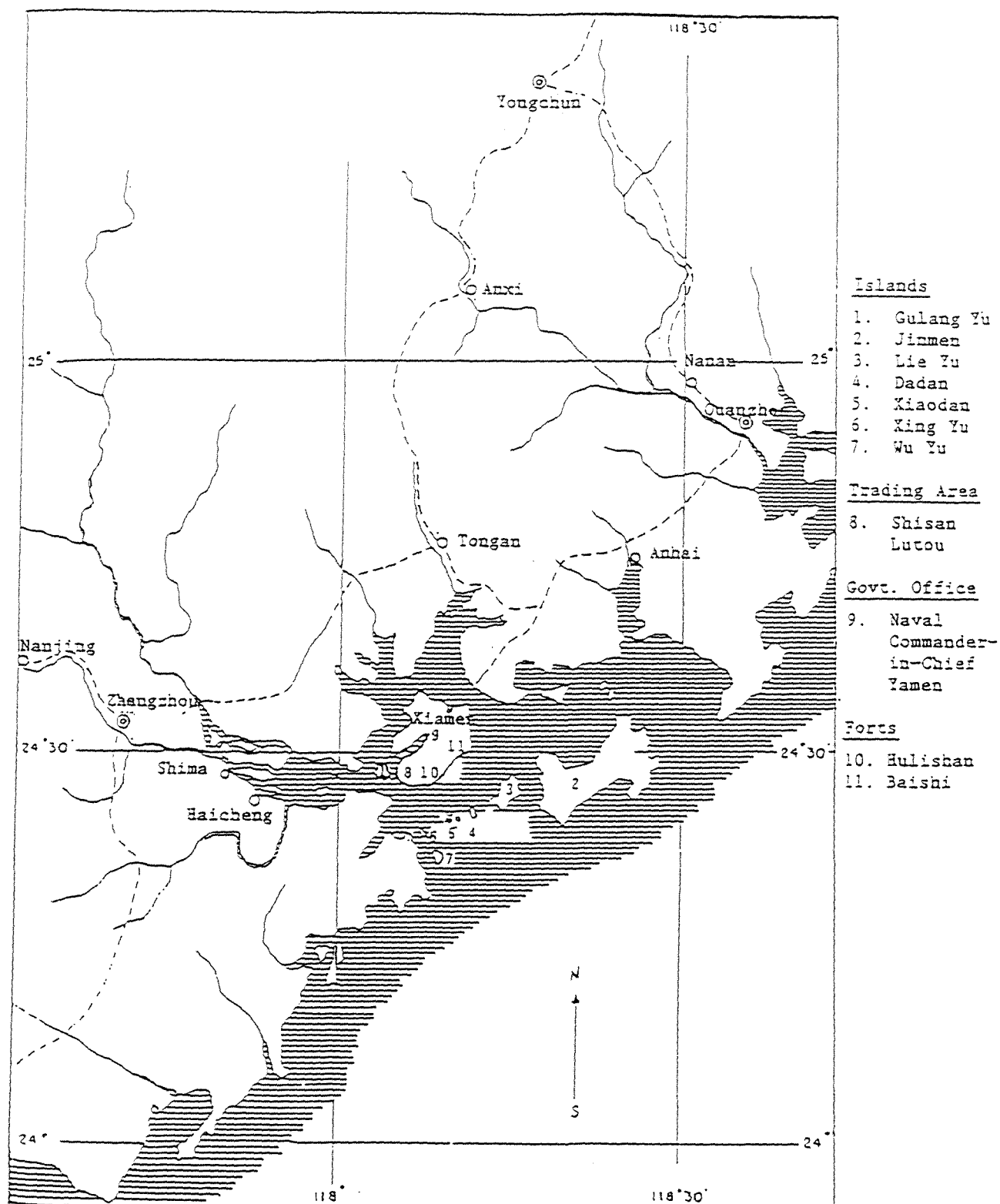


TABLE 1
COMPARISON OF NINE PREFECTURES (AND TWO
INDEPENDENT DEPARTMENTS) OF FUJIAN IN 1820

	Pre-fectures	Capital	Population	Area (Km ²)	Popu- lation per Km ²	Arable Land (mu)	Land Tax	
							Ti-ting tax (tael)	Grain tax (shu)
Coastal Area	Fuzhou	Min and Houguan	2,476,193	15,000	165.08	2,775,430	216,490.18	17,286.00
	Xinghua	Putian	493,433	3,900	126.52	1,431,161	89,735.26	13,607.42
	Quanzhou	Jinjiang	2,381,429	7,500	317.52	1,433,179	129,323.95	11,408.12
	Zhangzhou	Longqi	3,336,729	10,200	327.13	1,083,963	145,740.19	11,604.77
	Funing	Xiapu	751,660	9,000	83.52	543,716	50,802.10	9,366.74
Interior Area	Yanping	Nanping	853,347	14,400	59.26	982,388	108,314.19	15,968.73
	Jianning	Jianan & Ouning	3,193,410	14,400	221.76	2,134,219	202,216.96	16,277.19
	Shaowu	Shaowu	630,997	9,000	70.11	951,729	83,352.77	12,297.19
	Tingshou	Changting	1,485,903	17,400	85.40	1,315,322	135,892.24	14,651.20
	Yongchun	Yongchun	389,948	5,100	76.46	479,968	40,446.96	3,105.67
	Longyan	Longyan	328,419	7,200	45.61	305,320	32,027.71	482.50

Source: Liang Fangzhong, Statistics on Population, Cultivated Area, and Land Taxes during China's Successive Dynasties (Zhongguo Lidai Hukou Tiandi Tianfu Tongji), (Shanghai Renmin, 1980), PP. 277 and 408.

TABLE 2
MODERN INDUSTRIES OF FUJIAN, 1842-1914

Type of Industry	Area	Fuzhou (Fuzhou Prefecture)		Xiamen (Quanzhou Prefecture)		Yanping Prefecture		Jianning Prefecture		Shaowu Prefecture		Tingzhou Prefecture		Zhangzhou Prefecture	
	N	P	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P	F
Military	2														
Shipyards: Construction and Repairs			1		4										
Tea Processing		2	7				4		6						
Sugar Production		1			2										3
Flour Milling		1													
Egg Making			1												
Cannery		2			2										
Tobacco												1			
Opium					1										
Camphor			1												
Cloth Weaving		60+													
Cotton Mill		1													
Weaving and Dyeing		1													
Iron Pots and Pans					1										
China					1										
Glass		1			3										
Bricks					1										
Soap		1													
Matches			1		1										
Light Bulbs		2	1		2	1									
Kerosene					1										
Mining		1						1		1					
TOTAL:		2	73+ 12		12	8		4	1	6		1		1	3
PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL:		87+ (70.7%)			20 (16.3%)			4 (3.3%)	7 (5.7%)		1 (0.8%)		1 (0.8%)		3 (2.4%)

N = National

P = Private

F = Foreign

SOURCE: Sun Yutang & Wang Jingyu, Source Materials on the History of Modern Industry in China (Zhongguo Jindai Gongyeshi Ziliao), 1st collection (1840-1895), pp. 39, 41, 58-59, 105, 108, 134, 564-565, 979, 1166, 1167 and 1172; 2nd collection (1895-1914), pp. 818, 826, 830-831, 880, 882, 884, 886, 894, 914 and 1010.

TABLE 3
LIST OF NEWSPAPERS IN FUZHOU, 1858-1911

NAME	CIRCULATION	DATES	SOURCES
1. The Foochow Courier	-	1858	(A), P.88
2. The Foochow Advertiser	-	-	(A), P.88
3. The Foochow Daily Echo	-	-	(A), P.88
4. Xunshan Shizhe (name later changed to Minsheng Huibao)	-	1873	(C), P.104
5. Fu Bao	Several hundred copies, distributed in Fuzhou, Xiamen and Shanghai	1896-97	(C), PP.104-105
6. Min Bao	-	1897	(A), P.77
7. Fujian Riri Xinwen	-	-	(A), P.117
8. Fujian Ribao	-	-	(A), P.117
9. Fujian Xinwen Bao	-	-	(A), P.117
10. Fujian Qiri Bao (magazine)	-	-	(A), P.117
11. Zuohai Gongdao Bao	-	1910	(C), PP.106-107
12. Jianyan Bao	600-700 copies	1911	(B), PP.46-52
13. Min Xin	-	1911-3	(D), P.546

SOURCES :

- (A) Ge Gongzhen, History of Chinese Newspapers (Zhongguo Baoxue Shi), (Hong Kong : Taiping, 1964).
- (B) Liu Tong, "On Jianyan Bao" (Ji "Jianyan Bao"), FWZ, 6(1981).
- (C) Zhan Guanqun, "Huang Naichang and the Newspaper Industry of Modern Fujian" (Huang Naichang Yu Fujian Jindai Di Baoye), Fujian Shifan Daxue Xuebao (Philosophy and Social Science), 4(1986).
- (D) Fang Hanqi, History of Modern Chinese Newspapers and Periodicals (Zhongguo Jindai Baokan Shi), (Shanxi : Renmin, 1981), Vol. 2.

CHAPTER III REFORMS

After the 1900 Boxer Uprising, the country found itself in a state of crisis. In order to regain amity with foreign powers and internal stability, the Empress Dowager, then in refuge in Xian with Emperor Guangxu, issued an edict in the name of Emperor Guangxu demanding that officials in the central government, as well as local officials such as governor-generals and governors, submit proposals for reforms. Liu Kunyi (Governor-General of Jiangsu, Anhui and Jiangxi) and Zhang Zhidong (Governor-General of Hunan and Hubei) submitted three joint memorials and, with the support and participation of Yuan Shikai (Governor-General of Zhili), reforms in education, armed forces, economy and political institutions were carried out.¹ Then in 1905, following Japan's spectacular victory in the Russo-Japanese War, which was interpreted as showing the superiority of constitutional monarchism over absolute monarchism, the efforts of Liang Qichao, a reformer turned revolutionary after the 1898 coup d'etat who had again reverted to reform, in advocating constitutionalism finally won sympathy and support from officials and gentry in China and overseas. The Qing government thus decided to adopt programmes in preparation for constitutionalism scheduled to take place in the period 1906 to 1911, and reforms in Late Qing were therefore more in-depth and comprehensive.² Local officials and gentry began launching a series of institutional reforms which brought about the introduction of Western administrative, judicial, economic, educational and military systems to replace China's time honoured systems.³ As a result, the state and society of the last decade (1901-1911) of the Qing Dynasty underwent drastic changes which led to unforeseen political development in the provinces and paved the way for the 1911 Revolution. Some Western scholars have long pointed out that the changes in the last decade of the Qing Dynasty were not only closely related to the first phase of China's revolutions but were also at the origins of contemporary Chinese politics.⁴ Recently, apart from the traditional emphasis on revolutionary conspirators and popular movements, in their research on the 1911 Revolution, Marxist

historians in China have also started paying more attention to the relationship between the ruling-class reforms and the outbreak of the revolution.⁵ All in all, research by Western and Chinese scholars on the last decade of Qing rule points to the fact that reforms created conditions conducive to the outbreak of revolution which led to the fall of the regime. As Michael Gasster has aptly put it, "..... the more it reformed the less authority it had, but the less it reformed the less legitimacy it could claim."⁶

An examination of the reform measures in Fujian between the year 1901 and 1911 is indispensable in the study of the revolutionary movement in the province.

Reform Bureaucrats

The provincial administration of Fujian in the Qing Dynasty was headed by the Governor-General and the Governor who were so structured to preserve the balance of power and mutual surveillance. In this way, no official had full authority and each could be used to check another. This was a measure adopted by the imperial government to maintain full control over the local administration.⁷ After 1860, this system saw two major changes. Firstly, after the Taiping Rebellion, many key figures from the Hunan and Anhui armies were appointed governors-general or governors of Fujian.⁸ Troubled by foreign invasion and domestic chaos, many of them tried to adopt Western methods in pursuit of wealth and power. During Zuo Zongtang's office as Governor-General of Fujian and Zhejiang, he paid special attention to reforms in finance and administration as well as the Green Standard Army. Zuo also founded the Fuzhou Dockyard and its attached naval school to learn and practise Western shipbuilding techniques and to train shipbuilding engineers and naval personnel.⁹ When Ding Richang (1823-1882) was Governor of Fujian, he continued with reforms in administration, set up a telegraph system and promoted Taiwan's modernization.¹⁰ The above examples revealed not only the gradually increasing power of Fujian's governor-general and governor in the late 19th Century but also the establishment of a "reform" tradition in the province which led to the emergence of "reform bureaucrats".¹¹

Secondly, the need for reinforcement of maritime defence after the Sino- French War prompted the Qing government to upgrade Taiwan's status to that of a province in 1885 and the Governor of Fujian was transferred to Taiwan and given the new title of Governor of Taiwan. Thus the system whereby both the Governor-General and Governor were stationed in one provincial capital (Dufu Tongcheng) was put to an end in the province of Fujian and all administrative power was concentrated in the Governor-General of Fujian and Zhejiang.¹² After the 1900 Boxer Uprising, implementation of reform measures in Fujian was mainly taken up by the Governor- General.

There was a total of ten Governor-Generals of Fujian and Zhejiang appointed during the Late Qing reform period (1901-1911). While Xu Yingkui (1849-1912), Li Xingrui (1827-1904) and Songshou (?-1911) served the longest terms of office, the other seven governor-generals hardly did anything as they either served a very short term or never took up office.¹³ (see Table 4) While remaining in his substantive post of Tartar-General of Fuzhou, Chongshan acted three times Governor-General in April 1903, February-April 1905 and January-September 1906. During these short periods, he had carried out mainly military and political reforms. However, the most important reforms were implemented by Xu, Li and Songshou.

Xu Yingkui was a Hanlin scholar and a former Educational Commissioner of Gansu whose achievements there were commended by Zuo Zongtang. He had considerable experience in the central government as Vice-Minister of the Board of War and, in 1897, as a Minister of the Tsungli Yamen and later as Minister of the Board of Rites. At that time, reformers such as Kang Youwei (1858-1927) and Liang Qichao (1873-1927) were entrusted with the task of carrying out reforms by Emperor Guangxu. However, as Xu had a very low opinion of Kang Youwei, he was on bad terms with the reformers. Hence two reformers, Song Bailu (1854-1932) and Yang Shenxiu (1849-1898), submitted a joint memorial to impeach Xu. Another reformer Wang Zhao (1859-1933), who was the Secretary of the Board of Rites, requested Xu to send in on his behalf a petition recommending that Emperor Guangxu should travel to Japan and other

foreign countries but was refused. This resulted in the dismissal of six ministers and vice-ministers, including Xu, of the Board of Rites.¹⁴ It was not until after the 1898 coup d'état that Xu came again into favour when he was appointed to Fuzhou to the position of Governor-General of Fujian and Zhejiang. Xu was thus regarded by reformers as a conservative and an obstacle to reforms.

However, as Xu in his own defence said, "For generations, we have lived in Guangdong and are familiar with foreign affairs and Western methods." In 1901, although Xu refused to send in a joint memorial for reforms with Zhang Zhidong, he himself did submit a proposal offering "eight policies for current issues" (Shizheng Bace) and suggested that the adoption of Western ways and methods could well be beneficial to China but it must be proceeded with step by step.¹⁵ And during his term of office he carried out what he had proposed when he initiated important financial, military, educational and economic reforms in the province,¹⁶ proving that the accusation by reformers that he was a conservative was obviously unfair and might well be the result of the struggle between reformers and conservatives. From Xu's performance, one may say that he was in fact a steady reform bureaucrat. His grandson Xu Chongzhi (1887-1965) was later appointed a high-ranking officer of Fujian's New Army and the Principal Instructor of the Fujian Military Preparatory Academy (Fujian Lujun Wubei Xuetang) and played a significant role in the Fuzhou Uprising in 1911.

Li Xingrui was a Xiucai with a background in organising the local militia in Hunan during the Taiping Rebellion and managing military supplies for Zeng Guofan (1811-1872). In 1871, the Water Force of the Xiang Army became the Yangtzi Water Force. Li was appointed, together with Peng Yulin (1816-1890), by Zeng Guofan to re-structure the Force.¹⁷ In 1875, Li and Zheng Zaoru were ordered to superintend the Shanghai Machine Factory. In this way, Li became familiar with foreign affairs. Later, Li was promoted to become successively Governor of Jiangxi and then of Guangdong.¹⁸ During his first posting, Li submitted a memorial suggesting "ten policies for current issues" (Shizheng Shice Shu). The ten policies were a combination of what he saw as the best of

political theories and practices of China and the West, with emphasis on the recruitment of talented persons as well as financial, economic and military reforms. He hoped that the ten policies could help China to recover its rights lost under foreign military and diplomatic pressure.¹⁹ After he became the Governor-General of Fujian and Zhejiang in 1903, Li initiated numerous programmes including "the abolition and incorporation of government departments to cut down administrative expenses; the establishment of the Bureau of Commercial Affairs to recover economic rights; plans to form a new army for military reinforcement, and the setting up of a police force to safeguard the people's livelihood. Although not all the reforms yielded results during Li's term of office, a pattern for change was set for his successors."²⁰ The efforts of Xu Yingkui and Li Xingrui had given a good start to Fujian's educational, military, economic and administrative reforms in the Late Qing period.

Songshou, holder of a hereditary rank, had previously held the posts of Governors of Jiangxi, Jiangsu and Henan. In 1902, while he was the Lieutenant-Governor of Rehe, he submitted a memorial proposing four regulations for continued mining (Chenshu Xuxiu Kuangzhang Sitiao). As many Mongol tribes, who were difficult to control, resided in Rehe, Songshou put forward a proposal for administrative, military, educational and financial reforms for the more effective management of the area. According to the Draft of Qing History, Songshou was admired as an honest and upright individual who did not crave personal prestige and was tolerant towards his subordinates.²¹ Huang Naichang commended him as a liberal administrator,²² and he was praised by contemporaries as a man of virtue among Manchu officials.²³

Upon his appointment in 1907 as Governor-General of Fujian and Zhejiang, Songshou drafted twenty methods for improving Fujian's governmental affairs.²⁴ Although he had been criticized for sticking to traditional ways and rejecting Western learning, reforms were carried out during his term of office with special attention paid to the prohibition of opium-smoking among the Manchu banner forces.²⁵ In his report of 1910, Songshou stated that reforms implemented included "re-structuring of the army;

expansion of trade; (completing the) establishment of the police force; encouraging the setting up of industries; promotion of education..... and steps were also followed in preparation for constitution;".²⁶ Songshou was probably a well-intentioned official and perhaps should not be blamed for imperfections in Fujian's reforms which were attributable to the lack of funds.²⁷

During the Fuzhou uprising in 1911, Songshou committed suicide and was one of the two high officials who died while the others had either fled or joined the revolutionaries.²⁸

The Local Gentry

According to Li Guoqi's studies, among Fujian's gentry in the Qing Dynasty, those who were Juren or above were concentrated in the Min and Houguan districts in the Fuzhou Prefecture as well as the Jinjiang District in Quanzhou Prefecture, and they were predominantly from the families of Chen, Lin, Zheng, Wang and Shen.²⁹ In Late Qing, of the 103 Juren in Fujian from each Imperial Examination, two-thirds were from Fuzhou.³⁰ Between 1860 and 1904, there were altogether 319 Jinshi in the province of Fujian with 263 from the prefecture of Fuzhou and the number from the Min and Houguan districts totalled 204 which accounted for 63.94% of the entire province. In contrast, the Quanzhou Prefecture had 18 Jinshi, only 5.64% of the total number.³¹ (see Table 5) Hence, Fujian's gentry predominantly originated from Fuzhou and were particularly active in the ports of Fuzhou and Xiamen. They were zealous for introducing new thoughts and participating in reform movements, and one of the most outstanding among them was Yan Fu of Fuzhou.³² (see Table 6). Among the Fujianese reformers in the Late Qing period, the contributions of Chen Baochen (1848-1935) and his son-in-law Lin Bingzhang (1874-1924) to educational and economic reforms in the province were especially significant.

Chen Baochen became a Jinshi in 1868 when he was twenty years of age and was admitted to the Hanlin Academy where he met Zhang Zhidong (1837-1909), Zhang

Peilun (1848-1903) and Bao Ting (1840-1890). The four became firm friends and frequently jointly memorialized the throne criticizing current policies. Their outspokenness had gained them not only the title of "Party of the Purists" (Qingliu Dang) but also the trust of the Empress Dowager and Emperor Guangxu. In 1881, Chen submitted a memorial on six items on Western affairs (Jiangqiu Yangwu Liushi Zhe) which emphasized re-education of the Emperor as well as reforms on the method of selecting of talented bureaucrats, reorganization of the Office of Foreign Affairs and reform of laws etc.³³ In 1885, during the Sino-French War, the "Qingliu Dang", who were supporters of the War, were given the task of negotiations and local defence. However, apart from Zhang Zhidong, the others' performance was far from satisfactory. Chen, who was consequently demoted for his unwise choice of officers to take part in the War, returned to Fuzhou where he spent his time enjoying the scenery and writing poetry and became a well-known member of the local gentry.³⁴ After the Sino-Japanese War, aroused by the pathetic condition of China, Chen realized there was "an urgent need for more schools".³⁵ In 1895, Chen was appointed Head of the Aofeng Academy. In 1902, the Qing government issued an edict ordering the setting up of schools, and Aofeng Academy ended up becoming the College of Law and Administration (Fazheng Xuetang). In 1900, Chen founded the Japanese School (Dongwen Xuetang) and many children of the gentry enrolled in the school to study Japanese. Those with good results were sent to Japan for further studies. In 1903, the Japanese School became the Normal School of Fujian (Quanmin Shifan Xuetang) and Chen was appointed Director of both the Normal School of Fujian and the Higher School of Fujian (Quanmin Gaodeng Xuetang). He also organized the Public Education Society (Jiaoyuhui) with local people and took up the post of President in promoting the development of modern education in Fujian. In 1906, Chen was made Senior Councillor of the Office of the Commissioner of Education by Yao Wenzhuo, the Commissioner of Education. Under the co-operation of officials and gentry, modern education was further developed in Fujian.

Influenced by economic nationalism, some of the provinces of China started the

construction of their own railway systems in the year 1905, and Chen was recommended by another Fujianese official Zhang Hengjia, Director of the Banqueting Court, to assume the responsibility of building Fujian's railway. Chen travelled personally to Singapore, Penang and Java to solicit funding for the railway from Overseas Chinese. The year 1910 saw the completion of the Zhangzhou- Xiamen Line which unfortunately was closed down some years later due to poor management.³⁶ It could thus be seen that Chen played a pioneering role in Fujian's modern education and transportation, and he was highly commended by the Governor-General Songshou.³⁷

Lin Bingzhang, great-grandson of Lin Zexu (1785-1850), obtained a Juren degree in 1893 and became a Jinshi in the following year. He was married to the eldest daughter of Chen Baochen. Through Lin Xu, his cousin's husband, he participated in the Reform Movement of 1898. In 1904, on the recommendation of his father-in-law, Lin returned to Fujian from Beijing and assumed the positions of Vice-Director of the Normal School as well as Director of the Higher School of Fujian. Lin subsequently took part in the development of modern education, mainly in the domain of Western technology, in Fujian. In 1907, Lin was appointed Head of the Fujian Arts and Craft Institute (Gongyi Chuanxi Suo) and sought to promote the handicraft industry of Fujian by raising funds to set up handicraft factories and schools. Lin also initiated agricultural preparatory courses for agricultural development. He helped to establish Anti-Opium Societies throughout the province and was a key figure in Fujian's anti-opium campaign.³⁸ In all the above enterprises, particularly in the education field, Lin was a worthy successor to his father-in-law.

Educational Reforms

With regard to education in the country as a whole, the last decade of the Qing Dynasty saw a change from the training of would-be officials for success in the imperial examinations to a training in modern schools aimed at education for all including girls. The process of transformation was hastened by the abolition of the imperial examination

system in 1905, and a significant development was the despatch of an increasing number of students for further studies abroad. Most important of all, there was the setting up of an increased number of Western-style school system.³⁹

In 1872, one hundred and twenty teenage Chinese boys were dispatched to the United States for further study, and among them were two from Fujian (1.7%).⁴⁰ With the increasing need for the modernization of coastal defence, graduates of the Fuzhou Naval School were sent to England, France and Germany in four batches in 1877, 1882, 1886 and 1896 to receive naval training and acquire shipbuilding techniques.⁴¹ Particularly noteworthy were the thirty-six students sent to England in the first three batches. Not only did they become leaders of the Chinese navy during the Late Qing and Republican periods but they were also instrumental in introducing Western science and technology to China. The most outstanding among them was Yan Fu who translated famous works in social sciences from England and France, so exerting far-reaching influence in the intellectual circle in Late Qing times.⁴²

After the Sino-Japanese War, there was a widespread cry for reform in education with an emphasis on sending students abroad, and this started an era of Chinese students studying in Japan. Chinese students returning from Japan had great influence on changes in China during the early 20th Century.⁴³ Since the year 1898, Zhang Zhidong had encouraged sending students to Japan for further studies⁴⁴ and his advocacy gained strong support from the Qing government. In 1899, the Qing government decided that students should be selected from the Yangzi River region and coastal areas, including Fujian, for studies in Japan. The early 20th Century witnessed a culmination of Chinese students studying in Japan.⁴⁵ With financial support from the Tōa Dōbunkai, Chen Baochen founded the Japanese school in Fuzhou which taught the Japanese language and became a preparatory school for students destined for Japan.⁴⁶ The Fujianese students in Japan were mostly enrolled in two main streams of studies - arts and military courses.

Apart from some government-sponsored students, a great number of those taking up arts subjects were private students. Most of the students were enrolled either in

intensive courses including teacher training as well as law and administration, or in general courses comprised of studies at the primary and secondary levels.⁴⁷ In 1904, while Li Xingrui was Governor-General of Fujian and Zhejiang, fifteen students were sent to Japan, twelve for intensive teacher-training courses and the other three for law and administration or science subjects. In the same year, the successor of Li Xingrui, Wei Guangtao, selected an additional thirty students for the intensive teacher-training course in Japan and another ten for complete courses, and the students were sent to either the Kobun Gakuin or Kēi Gakudō in Tokyo.⁴⁸ According to a report of the Guild of Qing Students in Japan, the total number of Fujianese private students studying arts subjects in Japan in 1903 was thirty and the number increased to sixty-four in 1904.⁴⁹ In 1907, the Qing government reached an agreement with the Education Department of Japan that five specially-appointed Japanese schools including Dāiichi Kōtō (high school), Kōtō Sihan (teacher training college), Kōtō Kogyō (technical college), Kōtō Shōgyō (commercial college) and Chiba Igaku Semmon (medical college) should accept government-sponsored students from China in order that graduates of general courses could gain admission to professional and tertiary institutes for better quality training. Fujian was allocated a quota of nine students for the programme.⁵⁰

Most Chinese military students in Japan were sponsored by the Commission for Army Reorganization (Lianbing Chu) which was established in 1903. The students, upon arrival in Japan, were enrolled for preparatory military training, originally at Seijō Gakkō in Shinjuku, Tokyo, and at Shinbu Gakko after the year 1903. It was only after completion of the preparatory programme that the students were admitted into the Japanese Military Academy for a further three years of theoretical and practical military training.⁵¹ Between 1898 and 1903, the Fujianese government sponsored six students for military studies at Seijō Gakkō including Wang Qi, Zhang Zhepei, Feng Gengguang, Xu Chongyi, Xu Chongzhi and Hua Chengde.⁵² In 1904, accepting the proposal of the Chinese ambassador in Japan, Yang Shu, that the government should sponsor more students for army education, the Commission for Army Reorganization decided to select

military students from all over China for training in Japan in order to build up a modern army. The province of Fujian was given a quota of four students (one from the Fuzhou Banner Garrison) per year.⁵³ Statistics showed that in 1904, the number of Fujianese students studying at Seijō Gakkō was two while that at Shinbu Gakko was ten.⁵⁴ Just prior to the outbreak of the 1911 Revolution, private Fujianese students and students sponsored by the Fujianese government studying at the Japanese Military Academy totalled twenty-two.⁵⁵ Among the students, at least three were known to have joined in revolutionary groups in Tokyo and they were Shen Gang, Fang Shengtao and Wang Xiaozhen. (see Table 7)

The handful of Fujianese students who studied in Japan in the early 20th Century mostly became key figures of the new schools and new army after their return to China. Furthermore, roused by the weakness and helplessness of China against foreign invasion, and influenced by revolutionaries while in Japan, most of the students from Fujian became "inspirers" of the 1911 Revolution in the province.⁵⁶

In the early stages, Fujian's modern schools were set up either by the Christian Churches or the Chinese people themselves. In the Late Qing period, schools built by Churches were mainly concentrated in the coastal region, for example, the Anglo-Chinese College and Biblical Institute in Fuzhou, the Anglo-Chinese College and Tungwen Institute in Xiamen, and the Peiyuan College in Quanzhou. The above-mentioned colleges all used textbooks and teaching materials from the United States and Britain and the subjects taught included English, Mathematics, Science and Commerce, thus contrasting greatly with late-traditional Chinese education based on the classics and history.⁵⁷ Western learning gradually made some headway in Fujian. The comment that the Christian schools of Fujian were pioneers of modern education was appropriate.⁵⁸

After the Sino-Japanese War, the Chinese officials and gentry began paying attention to the establishment of modern schools offering Chinese and Western learning. In 1897, Chen Bi and Sun Baojun financed the setting up of the Cangxia Private School (Cangxia Jingshe) in Fuzhou with the appointment of Lin Shu as Chief Instructor. The

two major subjects offered were Chinese and English.⁵⁹ In Zhangzhou, a local official Wang Zhenzhong and others established the Sino-Western College in 1897 to teach Chinese, English and Mathematics.⁶⁰ The setting up of all these schools laid the foundation for Fujian's modern education system in the early 20th century.

Having suffered one defeat after another at the hands of foreign armies and navies, the Qing government finally realized the inferiority of its people in certain key areas of skills and knowledge. The promotion of education throughout the nation thus became an urgent task and in 1902, a decree was issued encouraging the establishment of new schools. In 1903, the Qing government promulgated regulations concerning educational institutions - the so-called "Guimao Education System" (Guimao Xuezhì) which was modelled on the Japanese education system with the establishment of a metropolitan university under which were universities, normal and professional schools, as well as primary and high schools. Japanese instructors were also recruited to assist in running the various institutions.⁶¹

For the province of Fujian, new educational institutions were usually established on sites of, and using funds already allocated to, existing academies (Shuyuan) and private schools (Sishu). Xu Yingkui set up in 1902 a university where the Zhengyi Academy used to be located. In the year 1903, the university was officially renamed the Higher School of Fujian and a new page was started in Fujian's educational reforms.⁶² In the same year, based on the Japanese School and Zhiyong Academy, the Normal School of Fujian was founded.⁶³ In 1904, following the Guimao Education System, Li Xingrui established the Committee of Educational Affairs (Xuewu Chu) in Fuzhou and appointed Yao Wenzhou as Chief Director responsible for the management of new schools.⁶⁴ The four well-known academies in Fuzhou namely, Aofeng, Zhengyi, Zhiyong and Fengchi, were merged by Li to form the College for Further Studies (Jiaoshi Guan) where candidates and degree holders of imperial examinations received modern education.⁶⁵ Consequently, there were dramatic changes both in educational administration and in the school system.⁶⁶

In 1906, a regulation concerning the system of educational officials of various provinces (Gesheng Xuewu Guanji Zhangcheng) was issued. According to this regulation, the Provincial Director of Education, Qin Shoushang, was dismissed and Yao Wenzhuo was appointed to the new post of Commissioner of Education (Tixue Shi) of Fujian responsible for supervision of the new education system in the province, and the Office of the Commissioner of Education (Xuewu Gongsuo) was subsequently established. Attached to the Office were one Senior Councillor (Yizhang) and four Advisors (Yishen) whose task was to assist the Commissioner of Education and act as advisors to the Governor-General in educational matters. The post of Senior Councillor of Fujian was initially taken up by Chen Baochen who was later replaced by Zheng Xiguang (1860-1911) in 1909.⁶⁷ At the same time, Education Exhortation Bureaus (Quanxue Suo) were set up in the various prefectures, departments and districts of the province. The year 1909 saw a total of forty-six such bureaus with 356 members (Quanxue Yuan) in Fujian specifically responsible for raising funds for the building of primary schools.⁶⁸

The regulation also called for the local gentry to organize Public Education Societies (Jiaoyuhui) and such a society was founded in Fujian in 1905 named the Fujian Society (Minsheng Xuehui) and had Chen Baochen as its chairman. When Pan Bingnian became Acting Chairman in 1909, the Society's total membership had already increased from about forty to over two hundred. Under the Society were various subsidiaries including the Section of Lectures on Education (Jiaoyu Jiangxibu), the Fujian Preparatory School for Students Going Abroad (Youxue Yubei Xuexiao), the Section for Lectures on Law and Administration (Fazheng Jiangxibu) and primary schools. By the year 1907, the central Society and its branches totalled sixteen and they were found throughout Fujian.⁶⁹ The Public Education Society of Fujian made great contributions to the training of modern education workers and other professionals, as well as promotion of primary schooling, with the establishment of thirty-three primary schools. The Society thus gained the reputation as the most important advocate of primary schools run by local

people.⁷⁰

The establishment of the above-mentioned "Office", "Bureaus" and "Societies" resulted from the co-operation of the local gentry and officials for the promotion of modern education.

Modern schools of all types and levels mushroomed in Fujian after 1905. Outstanding among them were professional training institutions which were mainly found in Fuzhou such as the Fujian College of Law and Administration (1907),⁷¹ the Middle School of Sericulture (1907),⁷² the Middle Commercial School (1907),⁷³ the Middle Agricultural School (1910)⁷⁴ and the Middle School of Industries (1911).⁷⁵ The reason why so many professional training schools were established in Fuzhou was because of the great importance Songshou had attached to professional education.⁷⁶ Research has indicated that Fujian was among the leaders of the country in professional education where the quality and number of teachers as well as number of students were concerned.⁷⁷

Furthermore, as primary schooling was considered to be the foundation of education, the officials and gentry in all parts of Fujian had paid particular attention to the setting up of primary schools. In Fuzhou alone, four well-known primary schools were established even before the year 1905 namely, the Houguan Junior/Senior Primary School, Guanwo Primary School, Xicheng Primary School and Kaizhi Primary School. From 1905 onwards, the Qing government went further and ordered Governor-Generals and Governors throughout China to speed up the establishment of primary schools. In this way, the number of government, municipal and private primary schools grew rapidly in the province of Fujian.⁷⁸ According to statistics, the number of primary schools in Fujian rose from 330 in 1906 to 550 in 1909.⁷⁹

Apart from sending students abroad, the promotion of modern education in Fujian before the year 1905 placed great emphasis on normal and tertiary schooling while after 1905, the emphasis was shifted to professional, and primary as well as to literacy education. Among all levels of education, Fujian's greatest success was in the promotion

of primary schooling. Statistics showed that in 1905, all levels of schools in Fujian totalled 76. According to the Commissioner of Education's Report of 1906, there were altogether 351 modern schools in the province consisting of 1 higher school, 5 normal schools, 1 college of law and administration, 14 middle schools and 330 primary schools. Three years later in 1909, the total number of schools in Fujian had increased to 583 including 1 higher school, 8 normal schools, 1 school of law and administration, 8 professional schools, 15 middle schools and 550 primary schools. The number of all students had also increased dramatically from 3466 in 1905 to 29663 in 1909. Existing materials indicate that there were 26,114 primary school students aged between 15 and 20 in Fujian in 1909 which accounted for 88.03% of the total number of students in all schools in the province, and 1,908 primary school teachers. The teacher/student ratio in primary schools was 1:13.7.⁸⁰ It was evident that the development of modern education in Fujian was, as Songshou had said, "progressing with each passing day though one dared not make the hasty conclusion that education for all had been achieved."⁸¹

Military Reforms

The province of Fujian was one of the pioneers in military reforms in China. With the founding of the Fuzhou Dockyard and its attached naval school by Zuo Zongtang, China's modern navy originated from the province. Important officials of the Nanyang and Beiyang Fleet were mostly graduates of the Fuzhou Naval School. Fujian thus gained the reputation of being "the cradle of the modern Chinese navy."⁸² With respect to the army, the Qing military system underwent a great transformation after the 1860's. With the decline of the Banner Force and the Green Standard Force, the Xiang and Huai Armies gradually took over defence duties of the province after the Taiping Rebellion (1853-1864) and they became known as the "Defence Battalion." (Fangying). Later, by way of the "Brave Battalion System" (Yongying Jidu), the Green Standard Force was retrained⁸³ to become the "Retrained Green Standard Force" (Lianjun). In 1865, under the leadership of Zuo Zongtang, the Xiang Army took up garrison duties in Fujian. Zuo

subsequently selected members from Fujian's Green Standard Force for re-training in the use of Western weapons and established the Retrained Green Standard Force in the province. Sun Kaihua (?-1893), Cao Zhizhong and others who were noted commanders of the Ting Army (Tingjun), originally a branch of the Xiang Army, recruited brave natives from Hunan and Fujian for special training as defence troops to be stationed in Fuzhou and Minnan.⁸⁴ Thus began military reforms in Fujian.

After the Boxer Uprising, the Qing government ordered the provinces to strengthen their military forces with Japan as their model in order to build up a new army.⁸⁵ Sun Daoren (1867-?), a Hunanese, was given the task of forming Fujian's New Army. Sun's father was Sun Kaihua who became famous as the Commander of the Zhuosheng Ying (Battalion) formed by natives of Hunan and Fujian which defeated the French Army in the Battle of Huyi in the Sino-French War (1884-85). Sun Kaihua was later promoted to the position of Army Commander-in-Chief of Fujian. Influenced by his father, Sun Daoren joined the army and was later appointed by Xu Yingkui as Chief of the Military Secretariat of the Governor-General of Fujian (Quanmin Yingwu Chu) responsible for strengthening Fujian's defence. As Sun had always been a zealous advocate of training the army for a stronger nation, and that reforms in military education should be given priority, he was chosen for the task of training Fujian's New Army.⁸⁶

In 1901, Sun Daoren and a troop of 30 junior and middle-rank officers were sent to Japan by Xu Yingkui to attend the autumn military manoeuvres there and inspect Japanese military education.⁸⁷ Upon his return to China, Sun set up the Fujian Military Preparatory Academy using the Japanese Military Academy as a model, and he himself became the head of the Academy. Japanese instructors were hired and the Academy was quite successful in training army officers, offering both Complete (Zheng Ke) and Abridged Courses (Sucheng Ke).⁸⁸ Sun was also appointed Chief of the Military Drilling Secretariat (Ducao Yingwu Chu) in 1903 and Chief of the Military School (Jiaolian Chu) administered by the Training Director's Office (Dulian Gongsuo) in 1905. Both organizations were engaged in re-organizing, commanding and drilling of Fujian's Regular

Army (Changbei Jun).⁸⁹ Sun was thus the individual responsible for training the New Army of Fujian. In 1905, Sun was ordered to reorganize the Regular Army into a division of the New Army and he was subsequently appointed Commander of the new division which became the 10th Division of the Fujian New Army. In the year 1911, Sun was once more promoted to the position of Army and Naval Commanders-in-Chief of Fujian and became the highest ranking military official of the province. Sun Daoren was regarded as the creator of Fujian's New Army in the Late Qing period.⁹⁰ That Sun suddenly changed sides and joined the revolutionaries on the eve of the 1911 Revolution undoubtedly played an important part in the success of the revolution in Fuzhou.

The re-organization of Fujian's New Army from its original Retrained Green Standard Force and Defence Battalion was carried out in two phases.⁹¹

The first phase (1902-05) involved the setting up of the Regular Army. When ordered to set up a modern army in Fujian in 1902, Xu Yingkui made plans to organize three forces including the Regular Army, Reserves for the First Call (Xubei Jun), and the Police Force (Xunjing) based on the existing Retrained Green Standard Force, Defence Battalion and Green Standard Force. The Regular Army was the most important and made up of the Left and Right Divisions. The Left Division, reorganized and commanded by Sun Daoren, consisted of 9 infantry battalions, 1 artillery battalion and 1 engineer battalion and was stationed at the provincial capital. The Right Division, retrained and led by Cao Zhizhong, comprised 9 infantry battalions and 1 artillery battalion and was stationed at Changmen. The Regular Army was officially formed in the year 1903. The Reserves for the First Call were divided into the Left, Centre, and Right Troops each of which was sub-divided into four battalions and posted at various strategic points throughout the province. The Police Force was created by transforming the Green Standard Force.⁹²

According to Sun Daoren, although it was officially established in 1903, the Regular Army of Fujian was far from perfect mainly because of the lack of funds as well as hindrance from the Treasurer, Zhou Lian. Moreover, as Sun himself was demoted

soon afterwards due to defamation by Zhou Lian, the further development of the Regular Army was hindered.⁹³

The second phase (1905-11) involved the setting up of the New Army. After the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05), the Qing Court once again urged the various provinces to accelerate military reforms.⁹⁴ The then Governor-General of Fujian and Zhejiang, Wei Guangtao, proposed to set up an army with two divisions but his plan did not materialize due to "a serious lack of revenue to provide funding for setting up the New Army as well as Wei's need to hand over office to his successor."⁹⁵ Chongshan, who took over from Wei and became the Acting Governor-General, revised the plan and proposed establishing a division with two brigades. The plan was carried out in two stages since the latter half of 1905. Both Brigades A and B had originated mainly from the reorganization of the two divisions of the Regular Army. While Brigade A was formed in 1906, the organization of Brigade B was suspended on Chongshan's request because of the lack of funds as well as difficulties in transferring men from the Retrained Green Standard Force and Defence Battalion who were needed for maintaining order in the province.⁹⁶ The Commission for Army Reorganization, however, objected to the suspension and asked that funds for Brigade B should be raised by reducing the number of soldiers in the Green Standard Force and by tax revision. Chongshan finally agreed to continue with the organization of Brigade B. Apart from reducing the number of Green Standard soldiers as instructed by the Commission, local people were recruited to join the Brigade and plans were made to have the formation of Brigade B completed in late 1907.⁹⁷ The two Brigades were at that time jointly called the "First Division" and commanded by Sun Daoren⁹⁸ who later went to Zhili to inspect the second and sixth Divisions of the Beiyang Army there, and sent officers to study from them. But, again due to the lack of funds and the negative attitude of Zhou Lian, the First Division was crudely formed and was later renamed the "Tenth Division" of the New Army.⁹⁹

Fujian's New Army possessed the characteristics of a modern Western army in terms of organization, training and weapons. The organization was to a great extent

copied from Japan. The Tenth Division comprised two infantry brigades, one cavalry squadron, one battalion each of artillery, engineer and transport corps, and a band.(see Table 8) In regard to training, much emphasis was placed on martial spirits, and like the German and Japanese armies, the Fujianese were trained in ordinary ground drill, the handling of arms and open/close order. The weapons used by the New Army included the Mauser rifle, the Krupp mountain gun and land mines. The Fujianese army also utilized the telephone as a means of communication.¹⁰⁰ A recent evaluation by Liu Fenghan has suggested that the quality of Fujian's New Army, if assessed by a system of five grades from A to E, would only score a D .¹⁰¹

As the New Army was still being drilled and mainly for national defence, it could not take up garrison duties. In 1907, the Qing government ordered that the provinces should organize and train their own reserve forces (or provincial troops) (Xunfang Ying) which were also to be responsible for local security. Besides, as the loyalty and stability of the New Army were shaken due to the penetration of revolutionaries, the formation of the reserve forces also played an important part in surveillance of the New Army.¹⁰²

Songshou proposed that the Reserve Force of Fujian should be made up of five detachments (Lu) and sixteen battalions. The General Staff Office (Junzi Fu) however only permitted the formation of five detachments and twelve battalions. Hence, it was decided that the four battalions of the middle detachment should be stationed at Xiamen, Xinghua, Quanzhou and Yongchun; the two battalions of the left detachment at Yanping and Jianning; the two battalions of the right detachment at Zhangzhou and Longyan; the two battalions of the vanguard at the capital and Funing; and the last two battalions of the rear-guard at Tingzhou and Shaowu. The formation of nine out of the twelve battalions was completed on the eve of the 1911 Revolution, mainly by transferring men from the Defence Battalions as well as selecting soldiers from the Green Standard Force by eliminating the old and the weak. The reserve force at this time was only 3130 strong.¹⁰³ At the outbreak of the Wuchang Uprising, Songshou sent a dispatch to the Qing Court requesting a re-organization of the 40th Infantry Regiment of the New Army into five

battalions of the reserve force which, combined with the nine battalions already completed, could provide sufficient strength and military force to cope with any revolutionary uprising in Fujian. However, with the rebellion of the New Army in Fuzhou, Songshou's plan was aborted.¹⁰⁴

With regard to Fujian's Police, there was the establishment of the Police Headquarters in Fuzhou as well as various divisional police stations in 1903, during Li Xingrui's term of office. The total number of the force was 1096 including both officers and rank-and-file.¹⁰⁵ The Higher Police Academy was set up in the year 1908 and students in Japan were recruited as instructors. A report in 1909 stated there were over 1000 graduates from the Academy.¹⁰⁶ In the year 1909, Lu Chenghan was appointed Commissioner of Police (Xunjing Dao) and the Office of the Commissioner of Police was also founded to promote police work throughout the province. The number of policemen in Fujian province totalled 3000. Research showed that, up to the year 1911, among the cities and suburbs of Fujian, police work could most easily be seen in Fuzhou, Xiamen, Shima, Longxi, Xinghua, Quanzhou and Fuqing, though the quality of the policemen was still not satisfactory as the police force had been created by transforming the weak Green Standard Force and an unstable source of funds had resulted in arrears of pay.¹⁰⁷

To sum up, Fujian's military development in the Late Qing period centred upon the re-organization and training of the New Army by Sun Daoren. The Regular Army which was formed in 1902 and comprised the Left and Right Divisions was transformed into the New Army in 1905. The New Army which was originally called the First Division consisting of Brigades A and B finally became known as the Tenth Division. In respect to the source of manpower, the New Army was basically derived from the Retrained Green Standard Force and Defence Battalion largely made up of Hunanese with the remainder being recruited from local Fujianese. As people commented at that time, Fujian's New Army was "a mixture of the old Hunanese army and the young people of Fujian."¹⁰⁸ Where the training of the Army was concerned, the German system which was used as a model at the beginning was soon replaced by the Japanese system. Apart

from setting up the Fujian Military Preparatory Academy modelled on its Japanese counterpart, Japanese military instructors were hired and Chinese graduates from the Japanese Military Academy such as Xu Chongzhi, Wang Qi, Lin Zhaomin and Xiao Qibin, who had been influenced by Chinese revolutionaries and their publications in Japan, were recruited as officers and instructors of the New Army. As a result, revolutionary elements and ideas penetrated the New Army.¹⁰⁹ The Tenth Division of Fujian thus became a major anti-Manchu military force in the province during the 1911 Revolution.

Financial and Economic Reforms

In the Late Qing Period, China found itself in one crisis after another both financially and economically.¹¹⁰ Fujian's economy took a turn for the worse in the 1880's due to firstly, the poverty of its people and infertility of its land; secondly, decline of the tea trade due to Indian and Japanese competition and export of local products and finally, destruction of the Fuzhou Dockyard during the Sino-French War. After 1895, the province suffered unfavourable balance of foreign trade with deficits amounting to an average of \$10,000,000 - 20,000,000 per annum between 1895 and 1915.¹¹¹ The situation was not helped by the outlay on its share of indemnities and reform expenditures as well as internal debts and foreign loans accrued since the Boxer Uprising.¹¹² Finding solutions for its financial deficits and economic depression thus became a task of top priority for the province. From 1900 onwards, the Qing government had engaged in financial reorganization as well as promotion of agriculture, industries and commerce in order to remedy the situation.¹¹³

Fujian's first task was to focus on the readjustment of chaotic financial organizations and financial centralization. Reforms in Fujian's financial system began in 1904 when Li Xingrui merged three units established in the Taiping Rebellion period namely, the Bureau of Reorganization (Shanhou Ju), the Bureau of Tax and Likin (Shuili Ju), and the Bureau of Supplement Taxes (Jiyong Ju), to form the Bureau of Finance (Caizheng Ju) responsible for collection of revenue as well as control of expenditures. At

the same time, the Relief Bureau (Zhenjuan Ju) and Accounting Bureau (Jiaodai Ju) were merged into the Bureau of Finance. However, it was not until the establishment of the Office of Finance (Duzhi Gongsuo) in 1910 that the province finally saw an end to chaotic financial organizations. The Office of Finance was headed by the Treasurer whose task was to supervise government incomes and expenditures.¹¹⁴

In 1908, in response to a request from the Central Government for financial reorganization and centralization, Songshou founded the Committee for the Reorganization of Financial Affairs (Qingli Caizheng Ju) and Committee of Investigation (Tiaocha Ju). Shang Qiheng (1866-?), the Treasurer of Fujian, was appointed President of the two Committees¹¹⁵ and responsible for financial reorganization matters. The work of the Committees included investigation of the province's annual revenue and expenditures; compilation of financial statistical tables; preparation of annual budgets; classification of national and provincial taxes; and working out financial reports of Fujian for submission to the Central Government.¹¹⁶ However, in spite of the above-mentioned reforms in the taxation system and financial organizations, financial deficits still posed a problem for the Fujianese government.

As a result of the Taiping Rebellion, late Qing's finance underwent drastic changes.¹¹⁷ To cite Fujian as an example, sources of revenue had switched from land and salt taxes to likin (transit tax), maritime customs revenue, and miscellaneous taxes.¹¹⁸ With the intensification of internal disturbances and external invasion, public expenditures increased so rapidly that the province was confronted with extreme financial difficulties in the early 20th century.¹¹⁹ During his term of office, Xu Yingkui memorialized to the Court that "with the decline in tea trade, merchants come no more and income from likin has decreased considerably.....".¹²⁰ In this way, the province of Fujian was short of cash.¹²¹ In spite of this, Fujian was asked in 1903 to increase its contribution to the central Government by 400,000 taels to be taken from tobacco and liquor tax as well as customary fees (lougui).

In view of the financial difficulties facing officials and poverty of the people, Li

Xingrui requested a temporary suspension of the demand for an increase in the province's contribution.¹²² In 1905 and 1907 respectively, Chongshan also sent two memorials to the Court stating that the shortage of revenue, caused by the decline in the tea and lumber trades, had led to problems in delivering the province's share of the expenses of the central government (Jingxiang).¹²³ Then in 1910, Songshou memorialized that the first budget for Fujian was prepared and would be put on trial in the following year. The budget estimated the annual government income to be approximately 7,031,328 taels while expenditures would be 8,237,665 taels. Thus a deficit of 1,200,000 taels was already forecast. What was more, expenditures stated in the budget did not include funds for education, civil administration and industries. For the Fujianese government to make ends meet was obviously an impossible task.¹²⁴

Hence, the Governor-General and Treasurer of Fujian not only took steps to broaden the tax base and increase *likin* but also made efforts to reduce spending. They also encouraged the development of industries and commerce as a means of increasing revenue. Songshou once said, "Although the province of Fujian is a barren region..... with the development of agriculture, forestry and various industries, the profits thus earned can be used to support the government financially."¹²⁵ In respect to the funding and technology required for industrial development, assistance from Overseas Chinese was important.¹²⁶ Consequently, encouraging industrial development and investments from Overseas Chinese had become the essence of economic reforms in Fujian in the first decade of the 20th century.

The force behind economic reforms in late Qing was the idea of "exalting commerce" put forward by intellectuals and the gentry in search of wealth and power. "Commercial Warfare" (*Shangzhan*) thus became the slogan of the times. Represented as a means for rights recovery and industrial promotion, the concept of "Commercial Competition" was in reality the advocacy of co-development of agriculture, industries, and commerce through agricultural reforms, encouragement of commerce, and the establishment of new industries. Motivated by this trend of thought, the Qing

government decided on changes in the government's economic organization as well as the setting up of Chambers of Commerce.¹²⁷ Reforms in economic organization led to the establishment of the Ministry of Commerce and the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce in 1903 and 1906 respectively, responsible for policy making and promotion of economic modernization. The Ministries were particularly successful in the protection of merchants as well as the stimulation of commerce by way of an award system and this was regarded by historians as the change of the epoch in that there was a marked switch from the "traditional" policy of contempt for merchants to a significant upgrading of their social status.¹²⁸ Moreover, the local government responded to the change by creating the Bureau of Commercial Affairs (Shangzheng Ju) and the post of Industrial Intendant (Quanye Dao).¹²⁹

After 1904, Chambers of Commerce started mushrooming in various parts of China also to assist the government in economic reforms and construction.¹³⁰

(A) The Bureau of Commercial Affairs (1904) and the Industrial Intendant (1910) and Economic Reforms in Fujian:

Against the background of "exalting commerce" mentioned above, fund-raising for the pacification of rebellions and the management of Western affairs since the 1850's also necessitated the creation of specialized bureaus and the specialization of the Intendant's function. This resulted in the emergence of new economic organizations in Fujian.¹³¹

In 1899, Xu Yingkui set up the nation's first Merchants Protection Bureau (Baosheng Ju) in Xiamen for the protection of Overseas Chinese who were mainly from Guangdong and Fujian. The prosperity and wealth of Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia attracted the attention of the Qing Court and their importance gained official recognition between 1895 and 1912. As an impetus for Overseas Chinese merchants to return to make investments, the Fujianese authorities established the Merchants Protection Bureau¹³² which was jointly organized by officials and the gentry.¹³³ However, due to mismanagement of the Bureau, the returned Overseas Chinese suffered from the

"corruption of the low-ranking officials and extortions by local bullies."¹³⁴ Hence, the Bureau was criticized by the Ministry of Commerce and ordered to close down. Responsible officials were also reprimanded and punished.¹³⁵

According to Lin Jinzhi's statistics, between 1895 and 1911, there were altogether thirteen Fujianese enterprises funded by Overseas Chinese including six in industry, one in agriculture, two in transportation and four in commerce. Investments were concentrated in the port of Xiamen and the most significant capital investment was that made towards the construction of the Zhangzhou-Xiamen Railway which was supervised by Chen Baochen. A total of \$2,220,000 (silver dollars) had come from returned Overseas Chinese which accounted for 66% of the overall capital investment in the railway project.¹³⁶

In the year 1902, a former Prefect of Fuzhou, Cheng Zufu, proposed and drafted the constitution for the establishment of the Bureau of Commercial Affairs by the government and merchants to promote commercial affairs.¹³⁷ In the same year, Xu Yingkui set up the Bureau of Mining (Kuangwu Ju) as well as the Bureau of Camphor (Guannao Ju) for the purpose of economic development in Fujian. The Bureau of Mining planned to co-operate with foreign merchants in developing mining in Tingzhou, Jianning and Shaowu.¹³⁸ At the same time, the Bureau of Agriculture and Mulberry (Nongsang Ju) was founded to promote Fujian's silk industry. An agricultural experimental station was also attached to the Bureau and carried out agricultural reforms.¹³⁹ Later, with a view to better management, a centralized bureau at the provincial level emerged.

Li Xingrui suggested in 1904 that in order to facilitate the promotion of commerce and the protection of merchants, a Bureau of Commercial Affairs should be set up in the two port cities of Xiamen and Fuzhou.¹⁴⁰ For Xiamen, the Bureau of Camphor, the Merchants Protection Bureau, and others, were amalgamated to form the Bureau of Commercial Affairs which was an official organization comprising six divisions responsible for local affairs in agriculture, animal husbandry, transportation, mining and

finance as well as the continued execution of the merchants protection policy. However, the Bureau was still plagued by the same problems mentioned previously.¹⁴¹ In the same year, a similar Bureau of Commercial Affairs emerged in Fuzhou with the proposal of a 15 1/2-year plan for economic development in the province to be carried out in three different stages. The plan aimed at the expansion of agriculture, industries, commerce and mining; the creation of Chambers of Commerce; sending students abroad; the issuance of banknotes and the minting of copper coins. Moreover, some members of the Bureau jointly funded the establishment of a company under the name of Kai Yuan to buy machinery and equipment for the production of candles and soap. They also planned to manufacture towels and socks etc.¹⁴² The Bureau Chief was appointed Advisor of Commercial Affairs (Shangwu Yiyuan) by the Ministry of Commerce in order to strengthen communication between the central and local governments in commercial affairs. The province of Fujian saw a total of four Advisors namely, He Chenghao, Wang Gui, Li Yusen and Lu Weiying.¹⁴³

In 1906, reforms at the provincial government level were carried out throughout the nation. The following year saw the reorganization of the Bureau of Commercial Affairs into the Bureau of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce in Fujian and the Bureau of Agriculture and Sericulture was later also merged into the newly established Bureau.¹⁴⁴ The new post of Industrial Intendant was created in 1908 to take over the task of provincial economic development. Fujian had its first Industrial Intendant in 1910 in the person of the former Grain Intendant, Zhang Xingbing. A memorial by Songshou expressed satisfaction with Zhang's performance and commended him for setting up branch Chambers of Commerce and Agriculture; sending Industrial Deputies to various parts of the province for economic promotion; planning to organize tea-planting courses; encouraging the development of the Industrial Institute; establishing of the Association of Production (Chupin Xiehui) and participating in the Nanyang Imperial Exhibition (Nanyang Quanyehui) which aimed to expand trade markets.¹⁴⁵

(B) Establishment of Chambers of Commerce in Fujian:

In 1904, the Ministry of Commerce encouraged Chinese merchants to set up Chambers of Commerce throughout the nation based on the Western model "to facilitate the exchange of commercial information and promotion of commerce and industry."¹⁴⁶ During his term of office, Li Xingrui had realized the importance of Chambers of Commerce, seeing them as the key to commercial expansion. Not only would such organizations "unite officials and merchants" but they could also "increase merchants' competitiveness so they could be free from foreign control in trading."¹⁴⁷ The Ministry's plan was that General Chambers of Commerce should be established in provincial capitals and major commercial centres while secondary commercial centres should set up branch chambers.¹⁴⁸ According to recent statistics, there were forty-eight Chambers of Commerce set up in Fujian before the 1911 Revolution including two General Chambers in Fuzhou and Xiamen.¹⁴⁹ The General Chamber in Fuzhou was founded in 1904. It was administered by a Chairman, Zhang Zanting, and Vice-Chairman, Li Funan, and had a membership of 920 in the year 1912. The General Chamber in Xiamen, on the other hand, was set up in 1905 and had 430 members. It was led by the Chairman Lin Erjia (1875-1951) while the post of Vice-Chairman had been assumed by Chen Gang, Qiu Zengqiong and Fu Zheng consecutively.

All the above-named office-bearers belonged to the gentry-merchant class¹⁵⁰ with Lin Erjia being the most famous among them. Lin had come from the well known Lin family of Banqiao in Taiwan who had accumulated great wealth through business activities. After the Sino-Japanese War when Taiwan was ceded to Japan, Lin migrated to Xiamen with his father Lin Weiyuan (?-1905).¹⁵¹ In 1905, Lin Erjia was recommended by the Senior Secretary of the Ministry of Commerce, Wang Qingmu, to take up office as Chairman of Xiamen's General Chamber of Commerce, a position which he held until 1911.¹⁵² During his term of office, Lin founded the Xiamen Telephone Company, the Longxi Cattle Raising Company and the Guangfu Sugar Company. At the same time, he was appointed First Advisor to the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce and participated in the survey of mining in Fujian. Lin also acted as Currency Advisor in the

Ministry of Finance. He took part in the construction of the Zhangzhou-Xiamen Railway¹⁵³ and advocated reforms in Fujian's tea trade.¹⁵⁴ Lin had undoubtedly made great contributions to the promotion of industry and trade in the province and he was also a typical case of the attention given to Fujianese merchants by the Qing government.

With the establishment of Chambers of Commerce throughout the nation, merchants began to be actively involved in social and political spheres. In the political arena, merchants played an important role in the Anti-American Boycott of 1905; the Rights Recovery Movement; the Constitutional Movement and the Tax-Resistance Movement.¹⁵⁵ The involvement of Fujianese merchants in social and political activities began with the 1905 Anti-American Boycott which occurred principally in Fuzhou and Xiamen. The Boycott in Fuzhou was initiated by students who organized the Public Society for the Protection of Workers in Fujian as their base for the movement. They mobilized merchant groups in boycotting American goods. Fuzhou's General Chamber of Commerce also participated in the boycott movement in response to the call from Zeng Zhu (1849-1908) who was the leader of the Fujianese merchant group as well as Chairman of the General Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai. The Fuzhou Chamber distributed leaflets containing information of fourteen types (101 brands) of imported American goods and appealing to merchants to stop buying or selling such goods.¹⁵⁶ In Xiamen, the boycott movement was led by Chen Gang, a Fujianese merchant who had returned from the Philippines and was also the Vice-Chairman of Xiamen's General Chamber of Commerce. At that time, the American Consul George E. Anderson tried to force Chen out of the movement by threatening to confiscate his assets in the Philippines. When a halyard in the American Consulate was cut, Anderson made use of this opportunity to create the so-called "Halyard Incident" and demanded an apology from the Xiamen authorities by a salute of guns. The angry Xiamen General Chamber attempted to stop the authorities from making the apology but failed.¹⁵⁷ Nationalism of the Fujianese merchants was clearly revealed.

The merchants of Fujian were also participants in the Tax-Resistance Movement.

During the period 1909 to 1910, the Prefect of Fuzhou, Cao Yuan forcibly increased the *likin* and the Fujianese merchants rose in resistance. Members of the Fuzhou General Chamber of Commerce such as Zeng Shanke, Huang Dunchen, Cai Zhanpang and Chen Shengru organized the Commercial Research Institute of Fujian (*Minsheng Shangye Yanjiusuo*) to fight against the government and finally achieved their purpose of stopping the increase. This movement was regarded as the beginning of anti-government activities of the Fujianese merchants. Later, the General Chamber of Fuzhou set up evening commercial schools to educate young businessmen. The Union of Merchants Volunteer Corps (*Shangtuan Gonghui*) was also founded to recruit able-bodied men from the merchant groups for military training and their three instructors were revolutionaries. From then on, the merchants of Fujian had their own military force and later became involved in the 1911 Revolution.¹⁵⁸

Political Reforms

In view of internal disturbances and external aggression, some of the gentry had advocated constitutional monarchy since 1895. In 1905, after the defeat of Russia by Japan in the Russo-Japanese War, the Qing government decided to follow Japan's example and adopt constitutionalism.¹⁵⁹ Historians regarded this as the initial step towards the modernization of China's state system.¹⁶⁰ In the following year, the Qing Court ordered the capital and provinces to prepare for constitutionalism. Having decided on central government reforms, discussions were held regarding reforms on the provincial system. The Qing Court offered two proposals for changes in local government. The proposals were firstly, the reorganization of local government systems at all levels including districts, departments, prefectures and provinces based on the principle of separation of the legislative, executive and judicial functions; and secondly, readjustment of the functions of Governor-Generals, Governors, Commissioners and Intendants. The proposals were sent to Governor-Generals, Governors and Tartar-Generals of the provinces for comments and suggestions.¹⁶¹ The then Acting Governor-General of Fujian

and Zhejiang, Chongshan, responded by suggesting that implementation of the first proposal should be shelved due to financial difficulties and lack of suitable candidates to take up the task. The second proposal, on the other hand, was considered to be more practicable as it did not involve great changes to the existing system.¹⁶² Fujian's response to the Qing Court's proposals was evidently not positive.

However, in 1907 the central government finally decided on reforms in provincial government systems through separation of the legislative, executive and judicial functions, and the Three Eastern Provinces (Manchuria) were the first to carry out such reforms while the other provinces followed over a period of fifteen years.¹⁶³ Following orders from the Qing Court, the new Governor-General Songshou started on reforms in the local government.

In respect to the executive aspect, the power of the Governor-General was consolidated. Songshou established the Council of the Governor-General (Yishi Tang) made up of local officials and gentry, principally responsible for discussion and assessment of local issues. The Council thus became an advisory body to the Governor-General.¹⁶⁴ On the other hand, Songshou also set up the Chancery of the Governor-General (Muzhi). In order to deal with numerous reform-related matters, an office had already been set up to assist him and this office was renamed the Chancery of the Governor-General in 1911 according to the new local government system. The Chancery was directed by a Chief Secretary (Mishuyuan) and nine Secretaries (Canshiyuan) posted at nine separate sections responsible for all provincial affairs. There were also a number of clerks and assistants. From this time onwards, the Governor-General's Office was transformed from an informal to an official secretariat.¹⁶⁵ At the same time, Commissioners and Intendants were demoted to become directly responsible to the Governor-General though their total number was increased and they all performed specialized functions. There were altogether four Commissioners performing different duties namely, treasury, judicial, education and foreign affairs. Two new Intendant positions were created and they were the Police Intendant and Industrial Intendant.¹⁶⁶

With this change, the Governor-General had the whole province in his hands.

For the legislative side, there was the creation of the provincial assembly and local self-government system. On the surface, the aim of carrying out constitutionalism in late Qing was to give power to "the people", but as a matter of fact, the aim of the Qing Court was also to institutionalize gentry power and to strengthen the centre by a sort of alliance between the Throne and local gentry. The setting up of legislative bodies was thus of paramount importance.¹⁶⁷ In 1908, the Empress Dowager issued a decree instructing the establishment of assemblies at both central and local levels in order to achieve the aim of "opening the numerous affairs of the state to public opinions."¹⁶⁸ The Qing Court had also issued the Regulations for the Establishment of Provincial Assemblies (1908); Regulations for Self-Government in Cities, Towns and Rural Areas (1908) and Regulations for Self-Government in Prefectures, Departments and Districts (1909) for the setting up of assemblies of various levels in the provinces.¹⁶⁹ For the province of Fujian, the Governor-General established the Provincial Assembly Preparations Office (Ziyiju Banshichu) to prepare and arrange for Provincial Assembly elections as well as the setting up of local self-government organizations.¹⁷⁰

(A) Fujian's Provincial Assembly:

Provincial assemblies were regarded as "the first step towards preparations for constitutionalism and the source of candidates for the national assembly."¹⁷¹ In Fujian, members of the Provincial Assembly were chosen by a two-stage election. As voters were restricted to those who fulfilled specific educational and asset requirements, there were only 50,034 qualified voters in the entire province and the figure accounted for a mere 0.32% of the total population of Fujian. The voters' responsibility was to elect seventy-two members for the Provincial Assembly. However, qualified voters were not keen on participating in the election. To cite an example, during the first election in Fuzhou's urban areas, only about 40% of the voters turned up while less than 20% of those qualified in the rural areas cast their votes.¹⁷² A report from Songshou pointed out that on 24 May 1909, seventy-two official members and forty-one reserve candidates for

the Provincial Assembly were elected in Fujian. At the same time, there was a special quota of three official and two reserve candidates allocated to the Banner garrison stationed in the province. There was thus a total of 118 official and reserve members.¹⁷³ However, only seventy-nine of the total number of candidates actually took up office at the Provincial Assembly. Of the seventy-nine members, the background of only thirty-six could be traced. They included three Jinshi, twenty-one Juren, seven Gongsheng (Senior Licentiates) and two Linsheng (Stipendiaries). Most of the thirty-six candidates were the local gentry and four of them had studied in Japan. According to the *Dongfeng Zazhi*, quite a number of the Fujianese candidates were primary school teachers. It was therefore evident that Fujian's members were gentry and that at least a limited number had some modern ideas and a measure of new knowledge.¹⁷⁴

In Fujian's Provincial Assembly, four of the office-bearers were well-known constitutionalists. They were the President Gao Dengli, Vice-Presidents Liu Chongyou (1877-1941) and Chen Zhilin (1897-?), and Chief Secretary Lin Changmin (1876-1925).¹⁷⁵ Gao Dengli was a juren and an instructor at schools at both the prefectural and district levels. Liu Chongyou, also a juren, graduated from the Wasada University in Japan. Chen Zhilin became a xiucai and juren in 1896 and 1903 respectively. In 1902, he graduated from the Anglo-Chinese College in Fuzhou. Between 1904-05, Chen travelled through Singapore and the Dutch Indies. Upon his return to China, he was given the post of Principal of the Zhangzhou Middle School. Later, he was involved in businesses in Fuzhou and became a rich merchant. Lin Changmin studied under Lin Shu and was a friend of Lin Xie's who was a radical intellectual. He became a xiucai in 1897. In 1902, he went to Japan and studied for seven years at the Wasada University until 1909 when he graduated with honours in political economy. While in Tokyo, he was Chairman of the Fujianese Students Association and was friendly with Zhang Jian, Tang Hualong, Liu Chongyou, Yang Du, and Song Jiaoren, revolutionary leader, for whom he had a special respect. Returning to China in 1909, he was appointed Dean of Studies at the Fujian College of Law and Administration.¹⁷⁶ Before becoming members of the Provincial

Assembly, Gao, Liu and Lin set up in 1909 the Zhengyuhui (Political Participation Club), with an institute attached, for promotion of constitutionalism. With the establishment of provincial assemblies throughout China, the constitutionalists organized three petitions as well as set up a political party, Xianyouhui (Constitutionalist Friends Club) to force the Qing government to call parliament immediately. Gao, Liu and Lin were actively involved in the activities. In 1911, they organized, with others, the Fujian Branch of the Xianyouhui. Increasingly disappointed with the performance of the Qing government, the Fujianese constitutionalists began co-operating with revolutionaries in social welfare activities.¹⁷⁷ At the same time, five of the members of the Provincial Assembly in Fujian were revolutionaries including Huang Naichang, Yu Zhongying, Huang Jixing, Zheng Zuyin and Lu Chuhuang.¹⁷⁸ The newly founded Provincial Assembly of Fujian had its first official meeting on 14 October 1909.¹⁷⁹

(B) Local Self-Government:

Local self-government was the foundation of constitutionalism and comprised an "upper level" including prefectures, departments and districts as well as a "lower level" consisting of cities, towns, and rural areas. As the lower level was the basis of local self-government, reforms began at this level.¹⁸⁰ Fujian's self-government was supervised by the Provincial Assembly which completed the lower-level reforms by the year 1911.

At the beginning, the Fujianese were at a loss as to how local self-government should be implemented. The government therefore decided to start with education and propaganda. In 1908, a lecture course on self-government was offered at the College of Law and Administration in Fuzhou to cultivate self-government personnel and to teach the people knowledge of self-government. In the following year, the course was expanded and became the Provincial Capital Institute of Self-Government (Shengcheng Zizhi Yanjiusuo). Juren, Gongsheng, Shengyuan (holders of the first examination degree) and Jiansheng (Imperial College students) were to be selected from various parts of the province to be trained at the Institute in preparation for local self-government.¹⁸¹ Between 1908 and 1910, three classes totalling 369 students graduated from the Institute

and they later became the cadre of Fujian's self-government. The graduates were at first sent back to their native region to set up Local Institutes of Self-government where they themselves became directors or lecturers. There were altogether 78 such local institutes throughout the province and they in turn picked out local gentry for self-government training. From 1909 to 1910, over 4,000 students graduated from the local institutes in various parts of the province. The institutes all adopted the vernacular as their medium of publication and instruction on self-government in cities, towns, and villages. The foundation was thus laid for the lower level of Fujian's self-government through a transformation of the late-traditional gentry whereby it was envisaged election would confer legitimacy on local notables rather than examination degrees.¹⁸²

In 1909, City and Town Councils and Executive Boards as well as Rural Councils and Rural District Directors (Xiangdong) were first set up in the Min and Houguan Districts of the province.¹⁸³ Before the 1911 Revolution, similar deliberative and executive bodies were established at other cities and towns throughout the province while village councils and rural district directors were still in their embryonic stage.¹⁸⁴

In respect to the upper level of self-government in Fujian, plans for its implementation were under way before the 1911 Revolution. As the Min and Houguan Districts were already carrying out self-government at the lower level, they were automatically chosen as a model for other areas in the establishment of self-government bodies at the district level. Unfortunately, due to the outbreak of the 1911 Revolution, self-government in other districts as well as in the prefectures and departments could not be accomplished.¹⁸⁵ In this way, self-government in Fujian was merely completed at the lower level and, even then, only in certain areas of the province. The confusion that followed the Revolution put an unintended end to this process of democratization.

Judicial reforms in Fujian were three-fold. Firstly, there was the training of judicial personnel. From 1907 to 1910, a total of 721 students, who were mainly officials or gentry, completed judicial training at the College of Law and Administration. Those who passed the requisite examination were assigned to low-rank positions at the various

law courts.¹⁸⁶ Extra efforts to train judges were also made in 1911.¹⁸⁷ Secondly, law courts and prosecuting attorneys' offices were to be established throughout the province. However, prior to 1911, Fuzhou and Xiamen were the only two ports which saw the emergence of three levels of courts and prosecuting attorneys' offices as well as courts for both civil and criminal cases.¹⁸⁸ Finally in 1910, the post of Judicial Commissioner was given the new title of Commissioner of Judicial Affairs (Tifashi) whose task was to superintend judicial affairs of the province and oversee the operation of courts, prosecuting attorneys' offices and prisons.¹⁸⁹ Fujian's judiciary thus became an independent entity separated from the executive system.

In short, the most important aspects of Fujian's political reforms were to some degree mutually self-contradictory. They lay, first, in the strengthening of the power and influence of the Governor-General, and, second, in the establishment of the Provincial Assembly which provided a base of political activities for the local gentry and enabled them legitimately to increase their political participation. These latter bodies have been regarded by historians as the incarnation of provincialism which resulted in the split between the central and local administrations.¹⁹⁰ Moreover, members of the Provincial Assembly were quite actively involved in provincial and national affairs.¹⁹¹ They proposed motions challenging the balance of political power, including the supervision of the Governor-General's executive power, as by the review of the provincial budget and the impeachment of local officials; motions to protect the interests of the province, such as the cutting of customary fees at customs barriers, the protection of Fujian's mining rights, and the recovery of sovereignty at the foreign settlement in Gulang Yu; and motions having a national orientation, such as the promotion of a national language, the protection of Overseas Chinese,¹⁹² and participation in the parliamentary petition movement.¹⁹³ In regard to the impeachment of local officials, members with revolutionary background including Huang Naichang and Zheng Zuyin impeached Wang Rongshou, the District Magistrate of Lianjiang, for falsely accusing Zeng Jiansan of arousing a rebellion. As a matter of fact, however, Zeng was a member of the

Guangfuhui in Lianjiang and really a revolutionary.¹⁹⁴

The constitutionalists in the Provincial Assembly later co-operated with the revolutionaries in the province and advocated reforms. This in a way revealed the political inclinations of the Provincial Assembly: it was not entirely hostile to the revolutionaries. Nevertheless, the constitutionalists of Fujian's Provincial Assembly did not play a key role in the "recovery" of the province in 1911. Rather, leadership of the revolution fell into the hands of the revolutionaries and the New Army. This was one of the few exceptional cases, as constitutionalists in most other provinces did play an important part in the "recovery" of their own province.¹⁹⁵ This point will be developed in a later chapter.

Notes

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7. Hu Sijing, *Supplement of National News Items* (Guowen Beicheng), (1911). in *Collection of Historical Notes of Modern China* (Jindai Baihai), (Chengdu: Sichuan Renmin, 1985), Vol. 1, PP. 208-209; Guo Songtao Memorial (Guo Songtao Zougao), in Liu Jinzao ed., *Encyclopedia of the Historical Records of the Qing Dynasty, continued* (Qingchao Xu Wenxian Tongkao), (Shanghai: Shangwu, 1935), Vol. 132; PP.8915-8917; also see Franz Michael, "Regionalism in Nineteenth-Century China", in Stanley Spector, *Li Hung-chang and the Huai Army: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Chinese Regionalism*, (Seattle: University of Washington, 1964), PP.xxix-xxxi; for clashes between Governor-Generals and Governors in

Fujian in the latter part of the 19th Century, see Li Guoqi (1982), op.cit., PP. 184-185.

8. Li Guoqi (1982), op.cit., P. 164.
9. Li Enhan, "Study of Zuo Zongtang's Statecraft Theory from his Performance" (You Zuo Zongtang Di Shigong Lun Qi Jingshi Sixiang), in *Proceedings of the Conference on the Theory of Statecraft of Modern China* (Jindai Zhongguo Jingshi Sixiang Yantaohui Lunwenji), (Taipei: IMH, Academia Sinica, 1983), PP. 448-453. Gideon Chen (1961), op.cit., PP.14-48.
10. Lu Shiqiang, *Ding Richang and the Self-Strengthening Movement* (Ding Richang Yu Ziqiang Yundong), (Taipei: IMH, Academia Sinica, 1972), PP. 297-320; Zhang Shixian, "Ding Richang's Taiwan Policy" (Ding Richang Zhitai Zhengce), AMCCH, Vol. 29, PP. 195-234.
11. Liu Kwang-Ching, "The Limits of Regional Power in the Late Ching Period: A Reappraisal", *The Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies*, 10:2 (1974), PP. 208-212; for bureaucratic reformism, see Daniel Bays, *China Enters in Twentieth Century: Chang Chih-Tung and the Issues of a New Age 1895-1909*, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1978), PP. 3-6.
12. Zhang Shixian, *Taiwan Policy during the Late Qing Period* (Wanqing Zhitai Zhengce), (Taipei: Zhongguo Xueshu Zhuzuo Jiangzhu Weiyuanhui, 1978), PP. 175-207; Xie Hao, "Analysis and Debate on the Date Taiwan became a Province" (Taiwan Jiansheng Riqi Ji Qi Zhenglun Xiwei), *Zhongguo Lishi Xuehui Shixue Jikan*, 16(1984), PP. 239-257, there were two different views on when Taiwan became a province - 1885 or 1887 - I have adopted the former.
13. The other seven governor-generals were Xi Liang who was a well-known reformist official but unfortunately never took up office, see Roger V. Des Forges, *Hsi-liang and the Chinese National Revolution* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1973); Wei Guangtao who was criticized for not making any contribution to reforms, see *Jingzhong Ribao*, 30 October 1904; Sheng Yun whose term of office lasted only one odd month; Song Fan who contributed much to reforms in Shanxi and Gansu but unfortunately had fallen ill and later died in office, see *Biographies of Qing History* (Qingshi Liezhuan), (Beijing: Zhonghua, Reprint 1981), Book 15, Vol. 59, PP. 4605- 4608; Duan Fang who did not take up office because he was sent on an overseas mission, see *Draft of Qing History* (Qingshi Gao), Book 42, Vol. 469, P. 12786; Zhou Fu who never took up office; and Ding Zhenduo who was in office six odd months and was not noted for anything special.
14. "Memoir of Xu Yingkui" (Xu Yingkui Zhuan), in *A Collection of Memoirs Inscribed on Tombstones* (Beizhuan Ji), Series 3, (Taipei: Wenhai, Reprint, 1980), Vol. 6, PP. 343-350; "Biographies of Xu Yingkui, Yang Shenxiu, Song Bailu and Wang Zhao", in Tang Zhijun, *Draft Biographies of Participants in the Reform 1898* (Wushu Bianfa Renwuzhuan Gao), (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1961), Vol. 1, PP. 116-117.

P. 311 & P. 339, Vol. 2, PP. 538-541.

15. "Xu's Eight Solutions for Current Issues" (Shizheng Bace), in *Collection of Distinguished Political Essays of the Qing Dynasty* (Huangchao Xuai Wenbian), (Taibei: Xuesheng, Reprint, 1965), Book 21, Vol. 9, PP. 929-937.
16. "Xu Yingkui's Memorial on Agriculture, Industry and Trade in Fujian", in Shen Tongsheng (1909), op.cit., Book 4, Vol. 25, PP. 1426-1427; in his memorial, Xu pointed out that Fujian's economic development embraced the following: Western agricultural machinery was fit for use only in the North- West plains but not in Fujian's mountain area; expansion of Fuzhou's lacquer industry would be beneficial to the province; mining and railway construction by Overseas Chinese should be encouraged; the above suggestions revealed clearly Xu's economic knowledge and insight.
17. Liao Yizhong and Luo Zhenrong eds., *Diary of Li Xingrui* (Li Xingrui Riji), (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1987), PP. 65-74; Wang Wenxian, "The Establishment and Influence of the Yangtze Water Forces during the Late Qing Period" (Qingji Changjiang Shuishi Zhi Chuangjian Ji Qi Yingxiang), HRTNU, 2(1974), PP. 262-273; Wang Xianqian, "Epitaph of Li Xingrui" (Li Qinke Gong Shendaobei), in *A Collection of Memoirs Inscribed on Tombstones, continued* (Xu Beizhuan Ji), see Zhou Junfu ed., *A Collection of Qing Biographies* (Qingdai Zhuanji Congkan), (Taibei: Mingwen, 1985), Book 116, PP. 725-727.
18. Liao Yizhong and Luo Zhenrong, ibid., PP. 145; Wang Xianqian, ibid., Book 116; PP. 727-728; Li Zhongxi, "Memorial for Appointment of Li Xingrui as Co-Superintendent of the Shanghai Machine Factory" (Zouwei Zhifu Li Xingrui Huiban Shanghai Jiqichang) in *Materials on the Self-Strengthening Movement* (Yangwu Yundong Wenxian Huibian), (Taibei: Shijie, Reprint, 1963) P. 28.
19. Li's "Ten Solutions for Current Issues", in *Memorials of the Daoguang, Xianfeng, Tongzhi and Guangxu Period* (Huangchao Dao Xian Tong Guang Zouyi), (Taibei: Wenhai, Reprint), (1), Vol. 6b, PP. 359-365.
20. "Biography of Li Xingrui", in *Biographies of Qing History*, (Qingshi Liezhuan), (Beijing: Zhonghua, Reprint, 1981), Book 16, Vol. 62, PP. 4946-4948.
21. "Biography of Songshou" (Songshou Zhuan), in *Draft of Qing History*, Book 42, Vol. 469, P. 12787.
22. Huang Naichang (1918), op.cit., P. 198.
23. Fei Xingjian, *Biographies of Famous Persons in Modern China* (Jindai Mingren Xiaozhuan), in Zhou Junfu ed., op.cit., Book 202, P. 596.
24. *Zhongxing Ribao*, 5 October 1907, Page 2.

25. *Zhongxing Ribao*, 28 April 1909, Page 4.
26. "Songshou's Memorial on 3 Years' Service" (Songshou Zou Gongzhi Sannian), *Zhengzhi Guanbao* (hereafter cited as ZGB), Book 32, 929(1910), P. 412.
27. *Ibid.*, P. 412.
28. "Biography of Songshou", in *Death of Officials in the 1911 Revolution* (Xinhai Xunnan Ji), (Tianjin, 1916), Vol. 1, P. 1, the other official who died was Lu Zhongqi, Governor of Shanxi.
29. Li Guoqi (1982), *op.cit.*, PP. 86-88.
30. In 1645, the quota of Juren for Fujian was 105; in 1652, the quota was increased to 112; in the 1880's, the quota was reduced to 103, see Zhang Zhongru, *Materials on the Examination System of the Qing Dynasty* (Qingdai Kaoshi Zhidu Ziliao), (Shanghai: Liming, 1934), P.7; also see *Imperial Maritime Customs, Decennial Report 1882-91*, Fuzhou, P. 421.
31. *Lists of Jinshi from Imperial Examinations in the Ming and Qing Dynasties* (Mingqing Like Jinshi Timing Beilu), (Taipei: Huawan, 1969), Vol. 4, PP. 2589-2931.
32. Li Guoqi (1982), *op.cit.*, PP. 218-250.
33. Quoted from "Biography of Chen Baochen", in *Draft Biographies of the Qing Dynasty* (Qingdai Renwu Zhuangao), (Shenyang: Liaoning Renmin, 1989), Vol. 5b, P. 24; He Yiwen, "A Respectful Memoir of my Grandfather, the Emperor's Teacher, Chen Baochen" (Jinji Wo Waigong (Dishi) Chen Baochen Shilue), *Zhuanji Wenxue*, 54:2(1987), PP. 77-84, gave a detailed description of Chen's family background. For studies on the Qingliu Dang and Qingyi, see Lloyd E. Eastman, *Throne and Mandarins: China's Search for a Policy During the Sino-French Controversy 1880-1885*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), PP.16-29.
34. Chen Yan, *Poems from the Shiyi Chamber Among Teachers and Friends* (Shiyishi Shiyi Shilu), in Zhou Junfu, *op.cit.*, Book 27, P.25; for Chen's life history, also see Chen Zhenshou, "Chen Baochen" in *Biographies of the Republican Period* (Minguo Renwu Zhuan), (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1987), Book 6, PP. 166-172; "Several Issues Concerning Chen Baochen" (Guanyu Chen Baochen Di Jige Wenti), *Shehui Kexue Zhanxian*, 4(1983), PP. 135-139; Guo Zhaomin, "The Chen Baochen I Know" (Wo Suo Zhidao Di Chen Baochen), *FWZ*, 5(1981), PP. 63-71; Kawamura Kazuo, "Chen Baochen: Teacher of Emperor Xuantong" (Sentō tei no shifu Chin Bō Shin ni tsuite), in *Studies in Asian History Dedicated to Dr. Kazuo Enoki on his Sixtieth Birthday* (Enoki hakushi kanrekei kinen Tōyōshi ronsō), (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1975), PP. 201-208.
35. "Chen Baochen's Letter to Wang Kangnian" (Chen Baochen Zhi Wang Kangnian

Shu), in *Letters Between Wang Kangnian and His Teachers and Friends* (Wang Kangnian Shiyou Shuzha), (Shanghai: Guji, 1986), Book 2, P. 2088.

36. Chen Zhenshou (1987), op.cit., P. 169; Guo Zhaomin, op.cit., PP. 67-68; *Donghua Records in the Guangxu Period* (Guangxuchao Donghua Lu), Vol. 5, Memorial from the Ministry of Commerce, PP. 5400-5401; F.O. 405/200, Enclosure in No. 77, P. 147, "..... The line was constructed by Chinese engineers, and the results are poor."; for economic nationalism, see Li Enhua, *China's Quest for Railway Autonomy 1904-1911: A Study of the Chinese Railway-Rights Recovery Movement*, (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1977), P. 107.
37. ZGB, op.cit., Book 7, No. 201, P. 388.
38. Wu Jiaqiong, "A Brief Account of Mr. Lin Bingzhang" (Lin Bingzhang Xiansheng Gaishu), FWZ, 19(1988), PP. 98-99; ZGB, op.cit., Book 44, No. 1258, P. 108.
39. Chen Qitian, *Chinese Education History of the Past Thirty Years* (Zuijin Sanshinian Zhongguo Jiaoyushi), (Taipei: Wenxing, Reprint, 1962), PP. 9-30; Wang Dezhaoh, *Study of the Examination System in the Qing Dynasty* (Qingdai Keju Zhidu Yanjiu), (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1982), this book gave a very detailed account of the abolition of the imperial examination system and the establishment of new education in the Qing Dynasty.
40. Dong Shouyi, *History of Overseas Studies in the Qing Dynasty* (Qingdai Liuxue Yundong Shi), (Shenyang: Liaoning Renmin, 1985), PP. 87-92. The two teenage boys from Fujian were Huang Xibao and Xue Youfu.
41. Lin Qingyuan, *Draft History of the Fujian Dockyard* (Fujian Chuanzhengju Shigao), (Fujian: Renmin, 1986), PP. 141-161, PP. 309-313.
42. Wang Jiajian, "Naval Education of Chinese Students in England and its Influence in the Late Qing Period" (Qingmo Haijun Liuying Xuesheng Di Paiqian Ji Qi Yingxiang 1876-1885), HRTNU, 2(1974), PP. 161-187; also see Benjamin Schwartz (1964), op.cit., Ch. 4-9.
43. Huang Fuqing, *Chinese Students in Japan in Late Qing Period* (Qingmo Liuri Xuesheng), (Taipei: IMH, Academia Sinica, 1975), P. 3, Huang pointed out that the Chinese students in Japan from 1896 to 1911 were considered most important and had the greatest influence on China; Marius Jansen, "Japan and the Chinese Revolution of 1911" in *The Cambridge History of China*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), Vol. 11, Part 2, P. 348.
44. Zhang Zhidong, "Exhortation to Study", (Quanyue Bian) in Wang Shutong ed., *Complete Works of Zhang Zhidong* (Zhang Wenxiang Gong Quanyi) (Taipei: Wenhai, Reprint, 1980), Book 25, P. 14533, Zhang encouraged sending students to Japan because firstly, it was much cheaper than sending students to Western countries; secondly, China and Japan had similar writing and customs, and lastly, as

Japan had adopted Western culture very successfully, it was not really necessary to send students to the West.

45. "1899 Memorial of the Foreign Office on Selection of Students for Studies in Japan" (Zongshu Zouzun Linxuan Shengtu Youxue Riben Shiyi Pian), in *Collection of Implementation of Regulations (1905)* (Yuezhang Chengan Huilan), (Taipei: Huawen, Reprint), Book 9, Vol. 32b, P. 5414.
46. Huang Fuqing (1975), op.cit., PP. 13-18; also Huang Fuqing, *Japanese Social and Cultural Enterprises in China 1898-1945* (Jindai Riben Zaihua Wenhua Ji Shehui Shiye Zhi Yanjiu), (Taipei: IMH, Academia Sinica, 1982), PP. 21-22; Liang Huahuang, "The Taiwan Sōtō Kufu's Educational Establishments in Fujian" (Taiwan Zongdufu Zai Fujiansheng Di Jiaoyu Sheshi), *Lishi Xuebao*, *Chenggong Daxue*, 11(1984), PP. 39-40 & 46, the article pointed out that the Japanese School in Fuzhou was originally funded by the Taiwan Sōtō Kufu.
47. Shu Xincheng, *History of Overseas Studies in Modern China (1925)* (Jindai Zhongguo Liuxue Shi), (Taipei: Longtian, Reprint, 1968), PP. 49-50.
48. "Memorial of Wei Guangtao" (Wei Guangtao Zouzhe), in *Secret Palace Memorials of the Guangxu Period* (Gongzhongdang Guangxuchao Zouzhe) (hereafter cited as SPMG), Vol. 20, PP. 796-798.
49. Fang Zhaoying ed., *Preliminary Collection of Lists of Overseas Students in the Late Qing and Early Republican Period* (Qingmo Minchu Yangxue Xuesheng Timinglu Chuji), (Taipei: IMH, Academia Sinica, 1962), PP. 1-4; Fifth Report of the Guild of Qing Students in Japan (1904), quoted from Li Xisuo, "Movement of Chinese students in Japan before the 1911 Revolution" (Xinhai Geming Qian Di Liuri Xuesheng Yundong), 70th CACAR, Vol. 1, PP. 609-611.
50. Huang Fuqing (1975), op.cit., PP. 94-105. Y.C. Wang, *Chinese Intellectuals and the West*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1966), PP. 66-67.
51. Shu Xingcheng, op.cit., PP. 51-57; Huang Fuqing (1975), ibid., PP. 33-54; Regulations Set Down by the Commission for Army Reorganization on Selections of Military Students to be Sent Overseas (Lianbingchu Niding Xuanpai Lujun Xuesheng Youxue Zhangcheng), *Lishi Dangan*, 3(1989), PP. 51-53.
52. Nakamura Tadashi, "The Seijō School and Chinese Students" (Seijō Gakkō to Chūgoku jin ryūgaku sei), in *Essays on Modern and Contemporary Chinese History in Memory of the Late Professor Kikuchi Takaharu* (Kikuchi Takaharu Sensei tsuitō ronsō) (Tokyo: Kyuko Shoin 1985), PP. 259-261, cites the academic reports of the six students from Fujian and of the six students. Wang Lin gained the best results in academic subjects with a total of 716 marks while the worst results came from Xu Chongzhi who scored a total of only 432; however the case was just reversed for non-academic subjects - Wang's total marks were 62 while Xu's were 78, see Nakamura Tadashi, "List of Early Chinese Students at the Overseas Student

Section of Seijō Gakkō" (Chengcheng Xuexiao Liuxueshengbu Chuqi Zhongguoren Xingming Bu), in *Xinhai Gemingshi Yanjiuhui Tongxun*, 28(1987), PP. 7-21. Apart from the six government-sponsored students from Fujian, the book also listed 9 private students who withdrew from the school including Jiang Erpeng, Lin Zhaomin, Liang Xunqin, Fang Shengtao, Shen Gang, Liu Chongsheng, Wang Xiaozhen, Liu Quanye and Weng Hao as well as 2 Fujianese students who were sponsored by the Sichuan government, Jiang Yong and Li Jingqi.

53. Shu Xincheng, *op.cit.*, PP. 51-55.
54. Li Xisuo, *op.cit.*, P. 610; on studies on Shinbu Gakkō, see Kobayashi Tomoaki, "The Shinbu-School and the Chinese Military Students in Japan" (Shinbu Gakkō to ryūnichī shingoku rikugun gakusei), in *Essays on Modern and Contemporary Chinese History in Memory of the Late Professor Kikuchi Takaharu*, *op.cit.*, PP. 277-309.
55. Anonymous ed., *List of the Chinese Graduates from the Japanese Military Academy in Late Qing and Early Republican Period* (Qingmo Minchu Liuri Lujun Shiguan Xuexiao Renming Bu), (1903), (Taipei: Wenhai, Reprint, 1966), PP. 1-94; Kobayashi Tomoaki, "Revised List of the Chinese Graduates from the Japanese Military Academy" (Nihon Rikugun Shikan Gakko sotsugyo shina ryugakusei), *Shingaikakumei Kenkyu*, 1(1981), PP. 35-39.
56. Zheng Lie, *Poetry on Characters of Past Dynasties and Biography of General Lin* (Lidai Renwu Pingyong Lin Dajianjun Zhuan), (Taipei: 1953), PP. 4-7, Fujianese members of the Tongmenghui in Tokyo were fifty-six, most of the members listed were arts or military students studying in Japan; Zheng Lie himself was also an Overseas Student in Japan and he was in charge of the 14th (Fujian) Branch of the Tongmenghui in Tokyo.
57. Chen Huaizhen, "A Brief Account of the Anglo-Chinese College in Fuzhou" (Fuzhou Heling Yinghua Shuyuan Gaikuang), *FWZX*, 2(1983), PP. 162-164; Hong Buren, "Fragments of the Tungwen Institute in Xiamen" (Xiamen Tungwen Shuyuan Linzhao), *XWZ*, 4(1983), PP. 39-46, the institute was founded by A.B. Johnson, the U.S. Consul, in 1898 according to the American education system; Xu Shengjun, "Tales of the Anglo-Chinese College of Gulang Island" (Gulangyu Yinghua Zhongxiu Jianwen), *XWZ*, 13(1988), PP. 21-23; Chen Chaoqing, "A Historical Account of the Peiyuan College in Quanzhou" (Quanzhou Peiyuan Xuexiao Xiaoshi), *QWZ*, 18(1985), PP. 70-71.
58. Li Guoqi (1982), *op.cit.*, PP. 139 & 509.
59. "Memorial of Songshou", *ZGB*, Book 7, 192(1908), PP. 238-239; Sheng Langxi, *China's Academy System* (1934) (Zhongguo Shuyuan Zhidu), (Taipei: Huashi, Reprint, 1977), PP. 224-232; Li Guoqi (1982), *op.cit.*, P. 510.
60. Yin Caiyun, "A Brief History of the Sino-Western College" (Zhangzhou Zhongxi

Xuetang Shilue), in *Zhangzhou Wenshi Ziliao* (hereafter cited as ZWZ), 1(1979), P. 130.

61. *Donghua Records in the Guangxu Period*, op.cit., Vol. 4, PP. 4179-4720; Shu Xincheng, *Materials on Education History of Modern China* (Zhongguo Jindai Jiaoyushi Zhiliao), (Beijing: Renmin, 1961), Vol. 1, PP. 195-226; Wang Dezhaoh (1982), op.cit., PP. 222-224; Wang Xiangrong, *The Japanese Instructor* (Ribei Jiaoxi), (Beijing: Sanlian, 1988), PP. 153-176; Sally Borthwick, *Education and Social Change in China: The Beginnings of the Modern Era* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1984), PP. 66-73.
62. "Memorial of Xu Yingqui", in *A Collection of Edicts and Memorials* (Yu Zhe Huicun), (Taipei: Wenhai, Reprint, 1967), Vol. 40, PP. 1783-1786; "Memorial of Songshou", in ZGB, Book 17, 300(1908), PP. 40-41; Suzanne Wilson Barnett, "Foochow's Academies: Public Ordering and Expanding Education in the Late 19th Century", BIMH, Vol. 16(1987), PP. 526-530, apart from appointing Ye Zaiqi as the Chief Inspector, the Higher School of Fujian later also recruited 18 instructors of Chinese and Western languages, up to the year 1908, there were a total of 109 graduates from the School.
63. "Memorial of Chongshan", in SPMG, Book 23 (1906), PP. 318-320, the Normal School of Fujian had expanded three times since 1903 and recruited 4 Japanese instructors and many Chinese instructors, two types of courses were offered namely, Professional Courses (Benke) and Abridged Courses (Jianyi Ke), attached to the school were the Normal Institute with over 600 students, primary school and Female Normal Institute, and there was also a Special Course on Physical Education.
64. "Memorial of Songshou" in ZGB, Book 31, 878(1910), PP. 55-56; "Memorial of Chongshan" in SPMG, Book 23 (1906), PP. 340-341, as laid down by the Ministry of Education, all Commissioners of Education Designate should visit Japan for an inspection of the Japanese education system, accordingly Yao Wenshuo had also been in Japan for more than three months before taking up the post of Commissioner of Education for Fujian.
65. SPMG, Book 23 (1906), P. 506, six subjects were taught in the College including the Classics, History, Politics, Geography, Military Studies and Mathematics.
66. Shen Tongsheng (1909), op.cit., Book 5, Vol. 31, PP. 2153-2158; Zhen Yan, "On the Abolition of the Examination System in 1905" (1905 Nian Fei Keju Lun), Shixue Yuekan, 6(1989), PP. 64-70; Liu Demei, "The Provincial Director of Education: A Study of their Role in Education Reform in Late Qing" (Qingji Di Xuezheng Yu Xuefeng Xuezhi Di Bianqian), HRTNU, 17(1989), PP. 327-340.
67. "Memorial on the System of Educational Officials of Various Provinces" (Gezheng Xuewu Guanzhi Zhe), in Shu Xincheng (1961), op.cit., Vol. 1, PP. 282-287; Wei Xiumei, *Offices and Personnel in the Late Qing Period* (Qingji Zhiguan Biao), (Taipei: IMH, Academia Sinica, 1977), Vol. 2, P. 683; SPMG, Book 24, PP. 261-

262; *Xuebu Guanbao*, (hereafter cited as XBGB), (Taipei: Palace Museum, Reprint, 1980), Book 3, 94(1909), P. 490.

68. Chen Qitian, op.cit., P. 78; "Regulations of the Education Exhortation Bureaus (1906)" (Zouding Quanxuesuo Zhangcheng), in Zhu Youxian ed., *Historical Materials on the Education System of Modern China* (Zhongguo Jindai Xuezhishi Shiliao), (Shanghai: Huadong Normal University, 1987), Series 2, Vol. 1, PP. 144-147; "Memorial on Revision of the Regulations of Education Exhortation Bureaus (1910)" (Gaiding Quanxue Zhangcheng Zhe), in Shu Xincheng (1961), op.cit., Vol. 1, PP. 287-290.
69. Public Education Society of Fujian ed., "A Look at the Public Education Society of Fujian" (Fujian Jiaoyu Zonghui Yilan), (Fuzhou 1908), PP. 1-4; ZGB, Book 20, 564(1909), P. 149; *Statistical Charts and Tables on Education, the First Issue, for 1907* (Diyici Jiaoyu Tongji Tubiao, Guangxu Sanshisan Nian) (Taipei: Zhongguo, Reprint, 1973), P. 882.
70. Guo Gongmu, "Christian and Other Schools in Fuzhou before the 1911 Revolution" (Xinhai Geming Qian Fuzhou Di Jiaohui Xuexiao He Gelei Xuetang), FWZ, 20(1988), PP. 80-81.
71. ZGB, Book 22, 617(1909), PP. 29-30, the College was formed by the combination of the College of Further Studies (Jiaoshi Guan) and the College for Officials (Keli Guan); it was located at the site of the old Aofeng Academy, the school offered two main types of courses - Special Course (Bieke) and Lecture Course (Jiangxi Ke) as well as lecture course for Law and Administration (Fazheng Jiangxi Ke) and lecture course for Self-Government (Zizhi Jiangxi Ke) to train Fujianese to become judiciary and self-government personnel, by the year 1909, the school had about 700 students.
72. SPMG, Book 24, P. 163; ZGB, Book 25, 735(1909), P. 524; the school was originally the Zhejiang-Guangdong Sericulture School (Zheyue Lianggu Canwu Xuetang) attached to the Bureau of Agriculture and Sericulture of Fujian (Minsheng Longsangju); in 1906, the Zhejiang Sericulture School changed its name to Middle Technical School (Zhongdeng Shiye Xuetang) and in the following year, it was again renamed Middle School of Sericulture; courses offered were divided into Professional (Ben Ke) and Special Courses (Bie Ke).
73. ZGB, Book 40, 1162(1911), PP. 297-298, this school was originally the Preparatory School for Students Going Abroad under the Public Education Society in Fujian and it became the Middle Commercial School in 1907.
74. ZGB, Book 25, 731(1909), PP. 462-463, the school was previously the Agricultural Experimental Station (Longye Shiyanchang) attached to the Fujian Arts and Crafts Institute; (Gongyi Chuanxisuo) it was renamed Middle Agricultural School in 1910; it was located at Fenglan Ge outside the West Gate; funding for the school came mainly from the Fujian Customs Office; both Professional and Preparatory Courses

were taught to train modern agricultural personnel.

75. ZGB, Book 23, 669(1909), PP. 391-392, the school had originated from the Cangxia Private School founded by Chen Bi; in the year 1909, Songshou transformed it into the Middle School of Industries; it was located in Nantai where the Office for the First Captain of the Left Battalion (Zuojundu Si) used to be; two main courses, Civil and Electrical Engineering, were offered.
76. ZGB, Book 6, 162(1908), P. 172, Songshou had proposed in 1907 the setting up of a Higher Institute of Arts and Crafts by several provinces, and it was therefore evident Songshou was keen on promoting professional education.
77. Chen Qitian, op.cit., P. 132; Li Guoqi(1982), op.cit., PP. 512-513. Li has pointed out that Fujian's success in the promotion of professional education was partly due to the founding of the Fuzhou Naval School as early as 1865.
78. Shen Tongsheng (1909), op.cit., Book 5, Vol. 31, PP. 2153-2158, an Edict pointed out that "Prussia defeated France and Japan defeated Russia, people with insight will attribute this to the contribution of primary school teachers", the Qing government thus paid special attention to primary education; Guo Gongmu (1988), op.cit., PP. 78-81.
79. XBGB, Book 1, 25(1907), PP. 512-513, the figure for 1906 was based on the "Report of the Commission of Education in Fujian"; for the 1909 figure, see Chen Qitian, op.cit., P. 99.
80. XBGB, Book 1, 25(1907), PP. 512-513; Chen Qitian, ibid., PP. 99, 114, 125, 134, 151 & 161. See Wang Di, "Late Qing Reforms and Rise of Modern Schools" (Qingmo Xinzheng Yu Jindai Xuetang Di Xingqi), *Jindaishi Yanjiu*, 3(1987), P. 255. Li Guoqi (1982), op.cit., P.516.
81. ZGB, Book 7, 201(1908), PP. 388-389; Book 31, 878(1910), PP. 55-56.
82. Wang Jiajian, "The Nanyang Fleet: Its Establishment and Development during the Late Qing Period 1866-1911" (Qingji Nanyang Haijun Di Chuangjian Yu Yanbian), HRTNU, 19(1991), PP. 235-278; see also Yang Dongliang, *The Establishment and Decline of the Fujian Fleet in the Qing Dynasty* (Daqing Fujian Haijun Di Chuangjian Yu Fumo), (Beijing: Zhongguo Renmin Daxue, 1989).
83. *Draft of the Qing History* (Qingshi Gao), op.cit., Vol. 132, P. 3931 and 3916; Wang Ermin, "The Brave Battalion System of the Qing Dynasty" (Qingdai Yongying Zhidu), BIMH, Vol. 4, Part 1(1973), PP. 1-52.
84. Xu Xueji, "A Study of the Life History of the Famous Anti-French Commander Sun Kaihua" (Kangfa Mingjiang Sun Kaihua Shiji Kao), Taiwan Wenxian, 36:3 & 4(1985), PP. 239-256; Chen Chang, *A Brief Account of the Ting Army* (Tingjun Jilue), (Taibei: Wenhai, Reprint, 1966), Vol. 14, PP. 914-915, 919-921, 926-928 &

1011-1012.

85. Guo Yaping, "On the Military System of the New Army in Late Qing" (Lun Wanqing Xinjun Junzhi), *Nankai Shixue*, 2(1985), PP. 16-19; Ralph L. Powell, *The Rise of Chinese Military Power 1895-1912*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1955), P. 131.
86. Sun Daoren, "Memoirs of Tui An" (Tui An Jishi), *FWZ*, 19(1988), PP. 132- 139, *Imperial Maritime Customs, Decennial Reports, Fuzhou, 1892-1901*, P. 112.
87. Sun Daoren, *ibid.*, P. 138.
88. "Memorial of Chongshan (1903)", SPMG, Book 18, PP. 384-385. Complete courses at the Fujian Military Preparatory Academy were all 3-year courses teaching ordinary military science (Putong Junshi) while Abridged Courses lasted 1 year and involved the teaching of general military knowledge (Dagai Junshi). See also "Memorial of Songshou (1906)", SPMG, Book 22, PP. 775- 776. Abridged Courses were offered only from 1903-1904 with a total of 109 graduates. Abridged Courses later developed into the Junior Cadet school and graduates from this school were admitted into the Fujian Military Preparatory Academy to study Complete Courses and the Academy was praised for its achievements in training personnel for Fujian's New Army; Sun Daoren, *op.cit.*, P. 138.
89. SPMG, Book 18, PP. 250-251; Book 21, P. 669.
90. SPMG, Book 21, P. 669; also see Sun Daoren, *op.cit.*, PP. 141-143.
91. Guo Yaping, *op.cit.*, PP. 15-16.
92. "Memorials of Chongshan and Li Xingrui", see Liu Jinzao (1935), *op.cit.*, Vol. 219, PP.9660-9661; "Memorial of Chongshan (1903)", SPMG, Book 18, PP.386-388; Chen Xulu and Lao Shaohua, "The New Army in Late Qing and the 1911 Revolution" (Qingmo Xinjun Yu Xinhai Geming), *AHR*, Book 1, PP. 283-284.
93. Sun Daoren, *op.cit.*, P. 139.
94. Ralph L. Powell, *op.cit.*, PP. 224-225; Liu Fenghan, "The Organization and Transformation of Military Command in the Late Qing Period" (Wanqing Xinjun Bianlian Ji Zhihui Jigou Di Zuzhi Yu Bianqian), *BIMH*, 9(1980), PP. 201-253.
95. "Memorial of Chongshan (1905)", SPMG, Book 21, P. 666.
96. "Memorial of Chongshan (1906)", SPMG, Book 22, PP. 811-812.
97. "Memorial of Chongshan (1907)", SPMG, Book 24, PP. 389-391; Liu Jinzao (1935), *op.cit.*, Vol. 220, PP. 9670-9672.

98. "Memorial of Chongshan (1905)", op.cit., P. 667; Liu Jinzao (1935), ibid., Vol. 220, P. 9667; *Dongfang Zazhi* (hereafter cited as DFZ), 3:1 (1906), P. 22.
99. Sun Daoren, op.cit., PP. 141-142; also see Wen Zhigong, *China's Military History in the last 30 Years (1930)* (Zuijin Sanshinian Zhongguo Junshishi), (Taipei: Wenxing, Reprint, 1962), P. 56, the 36 divisions and brigades of the New Army were numbered according to their time of establishment.
100. SPMG, Book 17 (1903), P.361, and Book 21 (1905), P.668. Liu Tong, "Reminiscences of the Recovery of Fujian", and Wang Xunyu and Wang Yihu, "Participating in the 1911 Revolution of Fujian", op.cit., FWZ, 6(1981), PP.74 & 97; Year Book of 1911 (Xuanton Sannian Nianjian), (Taipei: Tianyi, Reprint, 1973), P. 226; Liu Fenghan "The New Army and the 1911 Revolution, Part 2" (Xinjun Yu Xinhai Geming) (2), *Jindai Zhongguo*, 26(1981), P. 227. See also Edmund S.K. Fung (1980), op.cit., PP.21-22 & 27-29.
101. Liu Fenghan, "On the New Army and the 1911 Revolution" (Lun Xinjun Yu Xinhai Geming), CASR, PP.154-158. According to Liu's assessment, the Tenth Division, which was re-organized from the Defence Battalion and Retrained Green Standard Force, had no battle experience. Not only was the army more than thirty percent short of officers and rank-and-file, but the standard of its equipment and training was merely passable.
102. Ralph L. Powell, op.cit., PP. 247-249; Chen Chongqiao, "Changes of the Qing Army System since 1860" (1860 Nian Hou Qingdai Lujun Junzhi Di Yanbian), *Liaoning Daxue Xuebao* (Philosophy and Social Sciences), 1(1980), PP. 25-26.
103. Liu Jinzao (1935), op.cit., Vol. 223, PP. 96-97; "Memorial of Songshou", ZGB, Book 36, 1025(1910), PP. 50-51; Shen Jian, "China's Army and Military Expenditures on the Eve of the 1911 Revolution" (Xinhai Geming Qianxi Woguo Zhi Lujun Ji Junfei), *Shehui Kexue*, 2:2(1937), P. 372.
104. "Songshou's Dispatch and the Emperor's Decree (1911)", in *A Collection of Documented Materials on History of Republican China* (Zhonghua Minguoshi Dangan Zhiliao Huibian), (Jiangsu: Renmin, 1979), Vol. 1, P. 185.
105. "Memorial of Li Xingrui", DFZ, 1:7(1904), PP. 1576-1578.
106. "Memorial of Songshou (1909)", ZGB, Book 24, 699(1909), PP. 389-390; also see DFZ, 5:1(1907), P. 40.
107. *District Gazetteer of Min Hou* (1933) (Minhou Xianzhi), (Taipei: Chengwen, Reprint, 1984), PP. 69-71; Wang Jiajian, *The Modernization Process of China's Police System in the Late Qing and Early Republican Period 1901- 1928* (Qingmo Minchu Woguo Jingcha Zhidu Xiandaihua Di Licheng), (Taipei: Shangwu, 1984), PP. 69-71; Li Guoqi (1982), op.cit., PP. 268-269.

108. *Zhongxing Ribao*, 29 October 1908, Page 4; *Zonghui Xinbao*, 7 April 1911, Page 5; Ralph L. Powell, op.cit., P. 234.
109. Liu Fenghan (1983), op.cit., PP. 147-181.
110. Li Shiyue, "The Decline of Rural Economy and Peasant Movement in Late Qing" (Qingmo Longcun Jingji Bengkui Yu Longmin Yundong), *Shixue Yuekan*, 6(1958), PP. 12-18; Quan Hansheng and Wang Yejian, "Population Change in the Qing Dynasty" (Qingdai Di Renkou Biandong), in *Collection of Articles on Social and Economic History in China in the Past 300 Years* (Zhongguo Jin Sanbainian Shehui Jingjishi Lunji), (Hong Kong: Cuncui Xueshe, 1979), PP. 81-82.
111. Xu Xiaowang, "On the Trend of Economic Changes in Modern Fujian" (Lun Jindai Fujian Jingji Yanbian Di Qushi), *Fujian Luntan*, 2(1990), PP. 35-41.
112. "Fuzhou's Economic Condition" (Fuzhou Jingji Zhi Xianzhuang), *Shangwu Guanbao* (hereafter SWGB), Book 4(1909), P. 718; ZGB, Book 36, 1026(1910), PP. 68-69; for internal debts, see Peng Yuxin, "The Financial Relationship between the Central Government and the Provinces in Late Qing" (Qingmo Zhongyang Yu Gesheng Caizheng Guanxi), in *Articles on Modern Chinese History* (Zhongguo Jindaishi Luncong), (Taipei: Zhengzhong, 1963), Series 2, Book 5, P. 21; for foreign loans, see Ho Honwai, "A Final Attempt at Financial Centralisation in the Late Qing Period, 1909-11", *Papers on Far Eastern History*, 32(1985), Appendix 1, PP. 54-55, the table indicated three foreign loans for Fujian.
113. Guo Hongxiao, "The Late Qing Government's Economic Policy of Encouraging Benefits and Exterminating Corruption" (Lun Qingmo Zhengfu Zai Jingji Shang Chubi Xingli Di Zhuyao Zhi Ju), *ZSJY*, 3(1991), PP. 69-79.
114. "Memorial of Songshou (1910)", ZGB, Book 36, 1039(1910), PP. 280-281; *Veritable Records of the Guangxu Period* (Guangxu Chao Shilu), (Taipei, Huawen, 1964), Vol. 525, PP. 4839-4840.
115. ZGB, Book 20, 579(1909), PP. 400-401.
116. "Songshou's Reports on Constitutional Preparation", ZGB, Book 19, 550(1909), PP. 435-436; Book 24, 701(1909), P. 420; Book 32, 909(1910), P. 83; Book 38, 1101(1910), PP. 330-332; NGGB, Book 50, 70(1911), P. 225; "Constitution for Financial Reorganization of the Board of Finance" (Duzhibu Qingli Caizheng Zhangcheng), SWGB, Book 4, PP. 18-19; also see *Financial Reports of Fujian* (Fujian Quanzheng Caizheng Shuomingshu), (Shanghai: Jingji Xuehui, 1915), Preface, P. 1, the Financial Reports began with an Introduction while the remaining chapters gave a detailed account of the history as well as the pros and cons of the various revenue items; Ho Honwai (1985), op.cit., PP. 14-21. On the central push for centralization, see John Fincher, *Chinese Democracy: Statist Reform, the Self-government Movement and Republican Revolution*, (Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 1989), PP. 164-168.

117. Peng Zeyi, "Aggravation of the Qing Financial Crisis and Extortions from the 1850's to 1870's (Shijiu Shiji Wushi Niandai Zhi Qishi Niandai Qingchao Caizheng Weijie He Caizheng Soukuo Di Jiaju), in *Chinese Finance and Economy during the Latter Part of the 19th Century* (Shijiu Shiji Houbanqi Di Zhongguo Caizheng Yu Jingji), (Beijing: Renmin, 1983), PP. 138-175. On financial reforms after the Taiping Rebellion, see C. John Stanley, *Late Ch'ing Finance: Hu Kuang-yung as an Innovator*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), P.4.
118. DFZ, 1:12(1904), P. 2868; on the importance of likin, see Zhuang Jifa, "Likin and the Source of Funding for Reforms in Late Qing" (Qingji Lijin Yu Xinzheng Jingfei Di Laiyuan), *Dalu Zazhi*, 57:6(1978), P. 21; Li Guoqi (1982), op.cit., PP. 412-416, gave a detailed account of the change in Fujian's revenue in Late Qing; on the increasing importance of miscellaneous taxes in the late Qing period, see Ho Honwai, "Broadening the Tax Base and Its Limitation in the Late Qing Period: The Case of Miscellaneous Taxes with Special Reference to Levies on Tobacco, Liquor and Property Deeds" (Qingmo Fuzhui Jizhun Di Kuoda Ji Qi Juxian: Yi Zashui Zhong Di Yanjiushui He Qishui Weili), BIMH, 17, Part 2 (1988), PP. 69-98. Hu Kuang-yung played a role in the financial reforms of Fujian during the late Qing period, see C. John Stanley (1961), *ibid.*, PP.11-14, 33-35, 38-41, 47-51 & 57.
119. The Maritime Customs of Fuzhou and Xiamen collected additional likin and opium tax amounting to 120,000 taels per annum to pay for indemnities of the Boxer Uprising and this resulted in financial burden for the Fujianese government. See Zhuang Jifa, *ibid.*, P. 22.
120. "Memorial of Xu Yingkui", in *Memorials of the Daoguang, Xianfeng, Tongzhi and Guangxu Period* (Huangchao Dao Xian Tong Guang Zouzhe), (Taibei: Wenhai, Reprint), Book 2, Vol. 26, PP. 1308-1309.
121. On analysis of causes for cash shortage, see Report from Lu Weiyong, "Councillor of Commerce in Fujian", ZGB, Book 2, 669(1907), P. 592.
122. *Veritable Records of the Guangxu Period*, op.cit., Vol. 529, P. 4878.
123. SPMG. Book 21 (1905), PP. 139-140; Book 24(1907), P. 278.
124. "Memorial of Songshou", ZGB, Book 36, 1042(1910), PP. 324-326.
125. SPMG. Book 24(1907), P. 378.
126. Shi Jinghui "Matters on Protection of Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia from Fujian" (Baohu Nanyang Minqiao Shiyi Shuo), SWGB, Book 4 (1909), P. 267.
127. Wang Ermin, "The Concept of Commercial Warfare and Exalting Commerce" (Shangzhan Guannian Yu Zhongshang Sixiang), in *Intellectual History of Modern China* (Zhongguo Jindai Sixiangshi Lun), (Taibei, 1977), PP. 233-379, Wang

pointed out that the term "Shangzhan" was first used by Zeng Guofan in 1862. Mabel Lee, "The Exalting Commerce Movement of Late Qing" (Wanqing Di Zhongshang Zhuyi Yundong), BIMH, 3, Part 1 (1972), PP. 207- 221; Ruan Zhongren, *The Founding of Organization of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce: Chinese Government's Role in Economic Modernization 1903-1916* (Qingmo Minchu Long Gongshang Jigou Di Sheli - Lun Zhengfu Yu Jingji Xiandaihua Guanxi Zhi Jiantao) (Taipei: Institute of History, National Taiwan Normal University, 1988), PP. 1-12.

128. Mabel Lee, *ibid.*, P.219; Wellington K.K. Chan, *Merchants, Mandarins and Modern Enterprise in Late Ching China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), PP.165-195; Ruan Zhongren, *ibid.*, PP.371-374. Although China had, since the Han Dynasty, adopted a policy of suppressing the merchants, they were not obstructed from climbing the political ladder since Song times. See Yang Lien-sheng, "Government Control of Urban Merchants in Traditional China", in *The Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 1 & 2 (1970), PP. 186-190.
129. Wellington K.K. Chan, *ibid.*, PP. 206-212, Chan pointed out that both the Ministry of Commerce and Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce wanted to control the Bureau of Commercial Affairs and Industrial Intendant thus resulting in "dual lines of control"; Ruan Zhongren argued that there was no conflict of interests between the local and central economic organizations which even went as far as co-operating with each other for their own interests, see Ruan Zhongren, *op.cit.*, PP. 258-266.
130. For studies on Chambers of Commerce by Chinese and foreign scholars, see Zhu Ying, "Studies on Chambers of Commerce in Late Qing" (Qingmo Shanghui Yanjiu Shuping), *Shixue Yuekan*, 2(1984), PP. 112-116.
131. Ruan Zhongren, *op.cit.*, PP. 178 & 183.
132. "The Position of Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia" (Nanyang Huaqiao Zhi Diwei), SWGB, Book 5(1910), P. 176; Wang Gungwu, *Chinese and the Chinese Overseas* (Singapore: Times Academic Press, 1991), PP. 24-25.
133. *Memorials of the Daoguang, Xianfeng, Tongzhi and Guangxu Period*, *op.cit.*, Vol. 10, PP. 558-559, the Qing Court ordered the Superintendents of Trade for the Northern and Southern Ports as well as Governor-Generals and Governors in the coastal region to follow Fujian's example and set up a Merchants Protection Bureau; also see SPMG, Book 18, PP. 381-385.
134. SWGB, Book 1 (1906), P. 289; Yen Ching-hwang, *Coolies and Mandarins: China's Protection of Overseas Chinese during the Late Ching Period (1851-1911)*, (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1985), PP. 267-289; Wellington K.K. Chan, *op.cit.*, PP. 201-204; according to Yen, China's protection of Overseas Chinese started in 1893 but was not successful because local officials "regarded the returned overseas Chinese as potential spoils and as a new source of income".

135. *Donghua Records in the Guangxu Period*, op.cit., Vol. 5 (1903), PP. 5108, 5115-5116; Wellington K.K. Chan, op.cit., P. 210.
136. Lin Jinzhi, *A Brief Account of Overseas Chinese's Investment in Mainland Enterprises in Modern China* (Jindai Huaqiao Touzi Guonei Qiye Gailun), (Xiamen: Xiamen University Press, 1988), Chapter 3, PP. 294-297 & 299-300, and *Studies on History of Overseas Chinese's Investment in Mainland Enterprises in Modern China* (Jindai Huaqiao Touzi Guonei Qiyeshi Yanjiu), (Fuzhou: Fujian Renmin, 1983), P. 80; Michael R. Godley, *Overseas Chinese Enterprise in the Modernization of China 1893-1911*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), PP. 163-169.
137. Gan Han ed., *A New Collection of Qing Dynasty Writings on Statecraft, Continued* (Qingchao Jingshiwen Xinbian Xuji) (1902), (Taibei: Wenhai, Reprint 1979), Vol. 10, PP. 799-801.
138. *Donghua Records in the Guangxu Period*, op.cit., Vol. 5, P. 5309, both Bureaus' plan on the development of mining and camphor failed; also see DFZ, 1:2(1904), P. 485.
139. *Veritable Records of the Guangxu Period*, op.cit., Book 7, Vol. 512, P. 4704; "Memorial of Chongshan", SPMG, Book 22 (1906), PP. 828-829.
140. DFZ, 1:3(1904), PP. 728-729.
141. DFZ, 1:3(1904), P. 735; "Memorial from the Ministry of Commerce (1905)", *Donghua Records in the Guangxu Period*, op.cit., Vol. 5, PP. 5376-5378, execution of the Merchants Protection Policy was taken over by the Xiamen General Chamber of Commerce when the Bureau of Commercial Affairs failed to perform the task satisfactorily.
142. DFZ, 1:9(1904), P. 114, 2:7(1905), P. 4403.
143. DFZ, 1:11(1904), PP. 2665-2666; Lu Weiyong had written articles on Fujian's finance and tea planting, see ZGB, Book 2, 66(1907), P. 1918; SWGB, Book 2(1907), P. 651.
144. *District Gazetteer of Minhou* (1933), op.cit., Vol. 28, P. 88.
145. "Memorial of Songshou", ZGB, Book 32, 913(1910), PP. 156-158, Book 45, 1289(1911), P. 131; also see Nozawa Yutaka, "The 1911 Revolution and the Issue of Industries: the 1910 Nanyang Imperial Exhibition and the U.S. and Japanese Industrial Groups Visit in China: (1910 Nian Nanyang Quanyehui Yu Ri Mei Shiyetuan Di Fanghua)", 70th CACAR, Vol. 3, PP. 2473-2485, the Nanyang Imperial Exhibition was the first national exhibition of Chinese products and was held in Nanjing.

146. SWGB, Book 3(1908), P. 113.
147. DFZ, 1:3(1904), PP. 728-729.
148. "Brief Regulations of the Chambers of Commerce" (Shanghai Jianming Zhangcheng), DFZ, 1:1(1904), P. 234; Yu Heping, "Nature of Corporation of Modern Chambers of Commerce" (Jindai Shanghai Di Farenshetuan Xingzhi), *Lishi Yanjiu*, 5(1990), PP. 41-42.
149. Different statistics showed there were only 45 Chambers of Commerce in Fujian, see Wan Di, "The Establishment of Chambers of Commerce and the Relationship between Officials and Merchants in Late Qing" (Lun Qingmo Shanghai Di Sheli Yu Guanshang Guanxi), *Shixue Yuekan*, 4(1987), P. 41.
150. *The First Yearbook of China (1912)* (Diyihui Zhongguo Nianjian), (Taipei: Zhongguo, Reprint, 1973), P. 1562; Ruan Zhongren, op.cit., P. 453; Marianne Bastid-Bruguere, "Currents of Social Change" in *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 11, Part 2, PP. 557-558, according to Bastid-Bruguere, the term gentry-merchants, if applied to a group, "represented a global notion including both official and scholar gentry involved in business and merchants possessing literary degrees or official titles, as well as simple scholars and merchants associated with them".
151. "The Lin Benyuan Family of Taipei" (Taipei Lin Benyuan Jia), XWZ, 9, PP. 118-124.
152. "Memorial of Wang Qingmu", DFZ, 3:3(1906), PP. 6250-6251.
153. *40th Birthday of Mr. and Mrs. Lin Erjia* (Shuzhuang Xiansheng Sishi Shuangshou) (1914), PP. 17-19; "Lin Erjia and his Garden" (Shuzhuang Yu Lin Erjia), XWZ, 4(1983), PP. 143-152.
154. Lin Erjia, "Tea Reforms of Fujian" (Minsheng Chaye Gailiang Qingxing), SWGB, Book 2 (1907), P. 630.
155. Zhang Cunwu, op.cit., PP. 43-46; Zhu Ying, *Studies on New Merchant Organizations during the 1911 Period* (Xinhai Geming Shiqi Xinshi Shangren Shetuan Yanjiu), (Beijing: Chinese People's University, 1991), PP. 285-301; Marie-Claire Bergere, "The Role of the Bourgeoisie", in Mary C. Wright ed., *China in Revolution: The First Phase 1900-1913*, op.cit., PP. 241-242, 245-257; Kojima Yoshio, "A Study on the Union of Bourgeoisie and Economic Reforms during the 1911 Revolution" (Xinhai Geming Shiqi Zhichan Jieji Jieji He Jingji Gaige Di Tansuo), in *Symposium on the Modernization in China 1860-1949* (Zhongguo Xiandaihua Lunwenji), (Taipei: IMH, Academia Sinica, 1991), PP. 210-214.
156. Zhu Shijia ed., *Historical Materials on the American Persecution of Chinese Workers* (Meiguo Pohai Huagong Shiliao), (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1958), PP. 154-156.

- On activities of Zeng Zhu among merchants of Shanghai, see Mark Elvin (1967), *op.cit.*, PP. 125-126.
157. Zhang Cunwu, *op.cit.*, PP. 154-156.
 158. DFRC, Vol. 1, Series 12 (1961), PP. 82-83 and Vol. 2, Series 4 (1961), PP. 304-305, the three instructors were Chen Gengxin, Feng Yuzhuang and Yan Ji, who were revolutionaries.
 159. Zhang Yufa (1971), *op.cit.*, PP. 3-5 and 300-315; Meribeth E. Cameron, *op.cit.*, PP. 100-101; John Fincher (1989), *op.cit.*, PP. 57-81.
 160. Wang Jiajian, "Study on the Modernization of Local Administration in Late Qing 1838-1911 (Wanqing Difang Xingzheng Xiandaihua Di Tantao), AMCCH, Book 16 (1986), PP. 109-185; Lu Meiyi, "On Reforms of the Official System and Modernization of the State System in Late Qing" (Lun Qingmo Guanzhi Gaige Yu Guojia Tizhi Jindaihua), *Henan Daxue Xuebao* (Social Science), 4(1986), PP. 81-88. Min Tu-ki argued that tradition also played a role in the establishment of provincial assemblies, "By combining the traditional idea of feng-chien with a modern purpose, the gentry demonstrated how tradition can play a role in the process of modernization." See Min Tu-ki, *National Polity and Local Power: The Transformation of Late Imperial China*, edited by Philip A. Kuhn and Timothy Brook, (Cambridge: Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1989), PP. 137-139.
 161. Hou Yijie ed., "Reply of Governor-General and General to Despatch on Reforms of Local Official System in Late Qing " (Qingmo Dufu Dafu Liding Difang Guanzhi Diangao), *Jindaishi Ziliao*, 76(1989), PP. 51-53.
 162. *Ibid.*, PP. 65-66; Wang Jiajian (1986), *op.cit.*, PP. 150-155.
 163. "Memorial of Yi Kuang" in *Documented Materials on the Preparation for Constitution in Late Qing* (Qingmo Choubai Lixian Dangan Shiliao), (hereafter cited as DMPC), Vol. 1, P. 505. Roger V. Des Forges, *op.cit.*, PP. 168-176, the author not only gave an account of Hsi-Liang's political reforms in the Three Eastern Provinces but also pointed out that he played a radical role in the promotion of constitutionalist government.
 164. DFZ. 5:1 (1908), P. 55.
 165. "Regulations on Reforms of Official System in the Provinces" (Gesheng Guanzhi Tongze), DMPC, Vol. 1, PP. 506-508; "Memorial of Songshou", ZGB, Book 46, 1324 (1911), PP. 209-210, the nine separate sections were Finance, Military Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Civil Affairs, Education and Ceremonies, Personnel, Judicial, Post and Communications as well as Agriculture, Industry and Commerce.
 166. Li Guoqi (1982), *op.cit.*, PP. 160-166; Wang Jiajian (1986), *op.cit.*, PP. 161- 162.

167. Zhang Pengyuan (1969), op.cit., PP.1-6. For discussions on consitutionalism and the implementation of local self-government, see Min Tu-ki (1989), op.cit., PP.144-158; see also John Ficher (1989), op.cit., PP.99-102.
168. DMPC, Vol 2, P. 67.
169. For the first two sets of Regulations, see DMPC, Vol 2, PP. 668-683 & 724-741, and for the third set of Regulations, see ZGB, 825(1910), PP. 30-44; John Fincher (1989), op.cit., this work is a path-breaking study on the issue in the English language.
170. "Memorial of Songshou", ZGB, Book 13, 374(1908), PP. 288-289.
171. "Memorial of Songshou", ZGB, Book 19, 550(1909), PP. 433-434.
172. Li Guoqi (1982), op.cit., PP. 241-245.
173. "Memorial of Songshou", ZGB, Book 24, 701(1909), P. 417.
174. For list of members of Fujian's Provincial Assembly, see Zhang Pengyuan (1969), op.cit., PP. 274-277; Li Guoqi (1982), op.cit., PP. 245-246.
175. Zhang Pengyuan, ibid., PP. 274-277.
176. *A Directory of Chinese Officials and Gentry at the End of Qing and the Beginning of the Republic* (Shin-matsu Minsho Chugoku kanshin jimmeiroku), (Beijing: Chugoku kenkyukai, 1918), PP. 240, 342, 383-384 and 673. *Who's Who in China 1918-1950*, (Hong Kong: Chinese Materials Centre, Reprint, 1982), Vol. 1, PP. 112-113 and Vol. 2, PP. 108-109. For a detailed life history of Lin Changmin, see Howard L. Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), Vol. 2, PP. 368-372; also see Liang Jingchun, "Biography of Lin Changmin" (Lin Changmin Xiansheng Zhuan), *Zhuanji Wenxue*, 7:2(1965), PP. 3-4.
177. Zhang Yufa (1971), op.cit., PP. 95, 393 and 485-486; Li Guoqi (1982), op.cit., PP. 249-250; Zhang Pengyuan (1969), op.cit., PP. 164-165.
178. Zhang Pengyuan, ibid., PP. 274-277, indicates that Huang Naichang, Yu Zhongying and Zheng Zuyin were members of the Tongmenghui (The Revolutionary Alliance). Hang Jixing was also a revolutionary, see Zhu Huanxing and Lin Junhan, "A Brief History of the Putianese in the 1911 Revolution" (Xinhai Putianren Geming Shilue), *Putian Wenshi Ziliao*, (hereafter cited as PWZ) No. 2,(1981), P. 1. Lu Chuhuang joined the Fujianese student Union in Shanghai which was a revolutionary organization, see DFRC, Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 74.
179. ZGB, Book 24, 701 (1909), P. 417.

180. DMPC, Vol. 2, P. 743; Shen Huaiyu, "The Early Development of Local Self-Government in China 1898-1908", (Qingmo Difang Zizhi Zhi Mengya 1898- 1908), BIMH, 9(1980), PP. 291-320. For an earlier study on Shanghai's local self-government, see Mark Elvin (1967), *op.cit.*, PP. 68-84.
181. ZGB, Book 19, 550(1909), P. 434; Book 24, 701(1909), P. 419; Book 19, 546(1909), PP. 354-356.
182. ZGB, Book 38, 1101(1910), P. 330; Book 44, 1260(1911), P. 136; Book 19, 546(1909), P. 355.
183. ZGB, Book 38, 1101(1910), P. 329.
184. NGGB, Book 50, 70(1911), PP. 225-226; John Fincher (1989), *op.cit.*, PP. 230-231, gave an account of self-government activities in Quanzhou.
185. ZGB, Book 44, 1260(1911), P. 136.
186. ZGB, Book 19, 550(1909), P. 436; Book 24, 701(1909), P. 418; Book 32, 909(1910), P. 81; Book 38, 1101(1910), PP. 328-329.
187. NGGB, Book 50, 72(1911), P. 226.
188. ZGB, Book 43, 1024(1911), PP. 313-314; Book 47, 1361(1911), PP. 333- 334; NGGB, Book 48, 10(1911), PP. 389-390; Book 50, 72(1911), P. 227. The correctness of the use of the term "law" for China has been challenged by Thomas B. Stephens who prefers "social discipline system". See Thomas B. Stephens, *Order and Discipline in China: The Shanghai Mixed Court 1911-27*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992), PP. 16-39.
189. ZGB, Book 43, 1024(1911), P. 313; *Draft History of the Qing Dynasty*, *op.cit.*, Book 12, Vol. 119, P. 3472;
190. Hu Chunhui, *Regionalism and the Federal Government Movement in the Early Republican Period* (Minchu Di Difangzhuyi Yu Liansheng Zizhi), (Taipei: Zhengzhong, 1983), PP. 11-20; John Fincher, "Political Provincialism and the National Revolution" in Mary C. Wright ed., *China in Revolution*, *op.cit.*, P. 219; Daniel H. Bays, *op.cit.*, PP. 5-6.
191. F.O. 405/199, Enclosure in No. 175, Further Memorandum by Mr. Cambell on the Provincial Assemblies of 1909; P. 262, described the First session of Fujian's Provincial Assembly in 1909 as follows, "In the twenty-one working days, fifty-two Bills were discussed and passed, and nine questions were asked only thirty of the seventy-two members took an active part in the debates".
192. Geng Yunzhi, "Bourgeoisie Constitutionalists and the Provincial Assemblies in Late Qing" (Qingmo Zhichan Jieji Lixianpai Yu Ziyiju), in 70th CACAR, Vol. 2, PP.

1193, 1196, 1198, 1200-1203 & 1207-1209.

193. Zhang Yufa (1971), op.cit., PP. 393-394 & 409.

194. Geng Yunzhi, op.cit., PP. 1202-1203.

195. Shelley H. Cheng, "The Revolutionary Activities of Fukien Republicans 1901-1912", (unpublished paper, George Washington University, 1966), PP. 10-12; John Fincher, in Mary C. Wright ed., *China in Revolution*, op.cit., PP. 191- 192; Zhang Pengyuan (1969), op.cit., PP. 164-166, as a matter of fact, the 1911 Revolution in Fujian was under the control of the revolutionaries although the Constitutionals were given two positions in the revolutionary government.

TABLE 4
GOVERNOR-GENERALS OF FUJIAN AND ZHEJIANG, 1898-1911

NAME	NATIVE PLACE	QUALIFICATION	TERM OF OFFICE	REMARKS
Xu Yingkui	Panyu, Guangdong	Jinshi	25 October 1898 - 05 April 1903	---
Xi Liang	Mongolia	Jinshi	05 April 1903 - 18 April 1903	Did not take up office; Chong Shan was Acting Governor-General
Li Xingrui	Liuyang, Hunan	Gongsheng	18 April 1903 - 01 September 1904	---
Wei Guangtao	Shaoyang, Hunan	Jiansheng	01 September 1904 - 24 February 1905	---
Sheng Yun	Mongolia	Juren	24 February 1905 - 08 April 1905	Before Sheng Yun took up office, Chong Shan was Acting Governor- General
Song Fan	Manchuria	Juren	08 April 1905 - 01 January 1906	Died in office
Duan Fang	Manchuria	Juren	05 January 1906 - 02 September 1906	Did not take up office; Chong Shan was Acting Governor-General
Zhou Fu	Jiande, Anhui	Jiansheng	02 September 1906 - 11 September 1906	Did not take up office
Ding Zhengdao	Luoshan, Henan	Jinshi	11 September 1906 - 04 March 1907	---
Song Shou	Manchuria	Yinsheng	04 March 1907 - 09 November 1911	Died during the 1911 Revolution

SOURCE: Wei Xiumei, *Offices and Personnel in the Late Qing Period (Qingji Zhiguan Biao)*, (Taipei: IMH, Academia Sinica, 1977), Vol. 2, PP. 547-548.

TABLE 5
PERCENTAGES OF JINSHI FROM PREFECTURES AND
INDEPENDENT DEPARTMENTS OF FUJIAN, 1860-1904

Area	Number	Percentage	Remarks
<u>Eastern Fujian</u>			
1. Fuzhou (P)	263	82.44%	204 (63.94%) from Min and Houguan Districts
2. Funing (P)	7	2.19%	---
<u>Northern Fujian</u>			
1. Yanping (P)	1	0.31%	---
2. Jianning (P)	4	1.25%	---
3. Shaowu (P)	0	0	---
<u>Southern Fujian</u>			
1. Xinghua (P)	8	2.50%	---
2. Quanzhou (P)	18	5.64%	---
3. Yongchun (ID)	2	0.62%	---
<u>Western Fujian</u>			
1. Tingzhou (P)	10	3.13%	---
2. Zhangzhou (P)	4	1.25%	---
3. Longyan (ID)	2	0.62%	---

P = Prefecture

ID = Independent Department

SOURCE: List of Jinshi from Imperial Examinations in the Ming and Qing Dynasties (Mingqing Like Jinshi Timing Beilu), (Taipei: Huawen, 1969), Vol. 4, pp. 2589-2931.

TABLE 6
WELL-KNOWN FUJIANESE REFORMERS IN THE LATE QING PERIOD

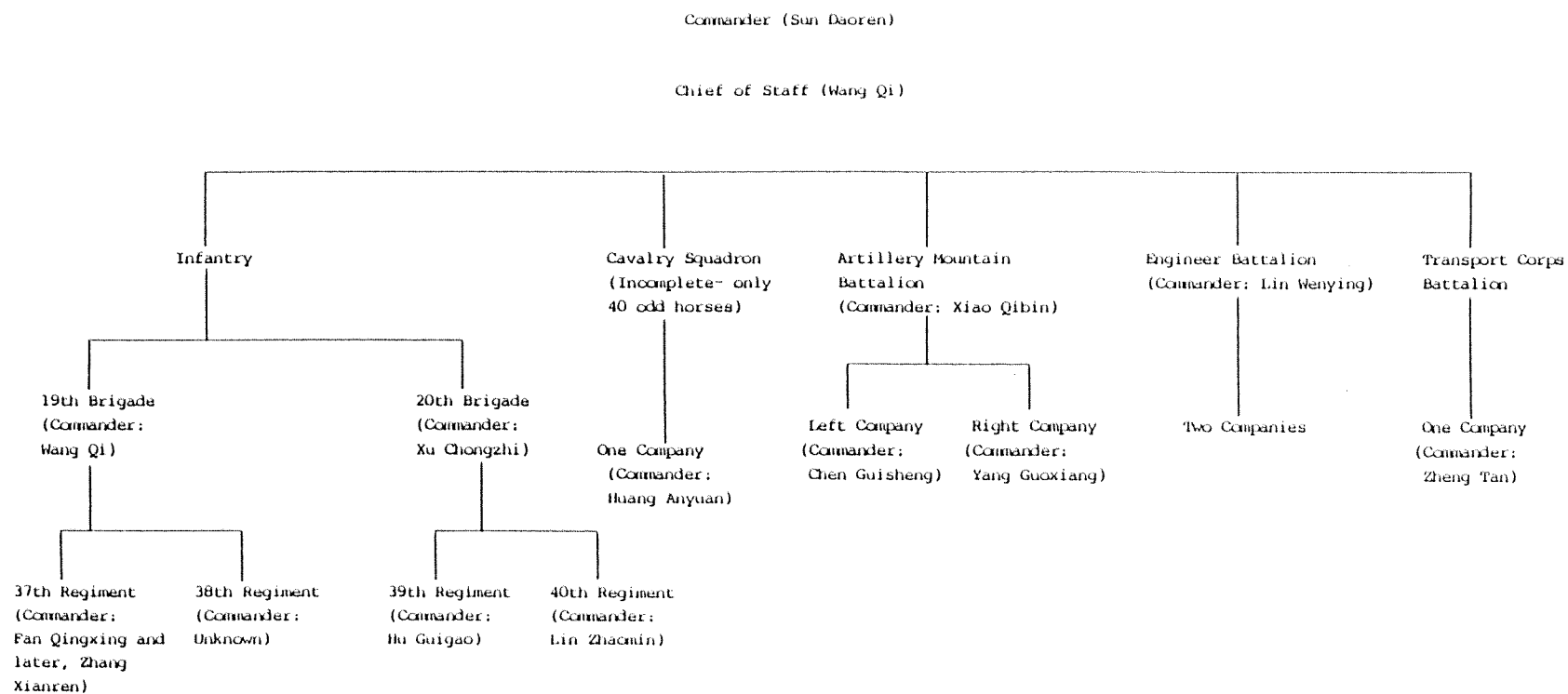
Name	Native Place	Qualification	Highest Official Rank Attained	Contributions	Sources
1. Yen Fu (1853-1921)	Houquan	Jinshi (Honorary)	Senior Assistant Chief of Staff (Naval)	Pioneer in the translation of famous works on modern European philosophy and social sciences	Draft of Qing History, Vol. 486, P. 13447
2. Lin Xu (1875-1898)	Houquan	Juren	Secretary of the Council of State	Set up Min Study Society; martyred in the 1898 Coup d'Etat.	Draft of Qing History, Vol. 464, P. 12747
3. Chen Baochen (1848-1935)	Min	Jinshi	Governor of Shanxi	Promoted development of Fujian's education, industries and railway transport in the early 20th Century	Chen Zhenshou, "Chen Baochen" in Biographies of Republican Period (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1987), Vol. 6, PP. 166-172.
4. Chen Yan (1856-1937)	Houquan	Juren	Second Class Secretary, Ministry of Education	Participated in the reform movement of 1898; later renowned for his poetry	Tang Zhiyun, Draft Biographies of the 1898 Reform Movement, (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1961), Vol. 1, P. 175
5. Chen Bi (1852-1928)	Houquan	Jinshi	President, Ministry of Post and Communications	Established Canqia Private School in Fuzhou; developed industries and new schools while posted at the Prefecture of Shuntian	District Gazetteer of Minhou, Vol. 69, P. 272
6. Shen Yuding (1858-1918)	Houquan	Juren	Governor of Guizhou	Set up new schools and an agricultural experimental station, developed urban services as well as built roads while he was Military Circuit Intendant of Jiangsu	District Gazetteer of Minhou, Vol. 69, PP. 269-270
7. Zheng Xiaoxu (1860-1938)	Min	Juren (First of the list of graduates and received the honorary title of Jieyuan)	Treasurer of Hunan	Got his reputation from assisting Zhang Zhidong, the Governor-General of Hunan and Hubei, in training the new army; also an active participant in the constitutional movement	Chen Zhenshou, "Zheng Xiaoxu" in Biographies of Republican Period Vol. 4, PP. 148-156
8. Lin Shu (1852-1924)	Min	Juren	Professor of the Metropolitan University of Beijing	Promoted modern education in Fuzhou; famous for translation of Western literature	District Gazetteer of Minhou, Vol. 71, PP. 293-294
9. Lin Bingzhang (1874-1924)	Houquan	Juren	Expectant Councillor, Ministry of Post and Communications	Promoted modern education and took part in the anti-opium movement in Fujian	Wu Jiaqiong, "A Brief Life History of Lin Bingzhang" in FWZ, 19(1988), PP. 98-99
10. Qiu Shuyuan (1874-1941)	Haicheng	Juren	---	Participated in the 1898 Reform Movement, later became a well-known Overseas Chinese merchant in Singapore and supported Kang Youwei's Reformist Camp	Yang Chengxu, "Studies on Qiu Shuyuan" in Nanyang Daxue Xuebao, 3(1969), PP. 98-110

TABLE 7
STUDENTS FROM FUJIAN AT THE
JAPANESE MILITARY ACADEMY IN LATE QING

Name	Native Place	Subject	Remarks
<u>Graduate Class 2</u> <u>1900-01</u>			
1. Xu Chongyi	Panyu, Guangdong	Artillery	Sponsored by Fujianese government
2. Feng Gengquang	- ditto -	Infantry	- ditto -
3. Hua Chengde	Changzhou, Jiangsu	- ditto -	- ditto -
4. Zhang Zhepei	Fuzhou, Fujian	- ditto -	- ditto -
5. Wang Qi	- ditto -	- ditto -	Sponsored by Fujianese government, Commander of the 19th Brigade of Fujian
<u>Graduate Class 3</u> <u>1903-1904</u>			
6. Li Yige	Fuzhou, Fujian	Infantry	---
7. Xu Chongzhi	Panyu, Guangdong	Artillery	Sponsored by Fujianese government; Commander of the 20th Brigade of Fujian
8. Liu Quanye	Min District, Fujian	Engineer	---
<u>Graduate Class 4</u> <u>1906-08</u>			
9. Shen Gang	Houquan, Fujian	Cavalry	Member of the Society for the Education of a Militant Citizenry in Tokyo, Japan
10. Fang Shengtao	- ditto -	- ditto -	Withdrew, Revolutionary
11. Liang Xunqin	Min District, Fujian	Artillery	---
<u>Graduate Class 5</u> <u>July 1907 - Nov. 1908</u>			
12. Lin Zhaomin	Fuzhou, Fujian	Infantry	Withdrew; Commander of the 40th Regiment in Fujian
13. Wang Xiaozhen	- ditto -	- ditto -	Withdrew; Revolutionary
<u>Graduate Class 6</u> <u>Dec. 1907 - Nov. 1908</u>			
14. Wang Guishan	Manchuria (Garrison in Fujian)	Infantry	Sent to Japan by the Manchu Garrison
15. Shen Jinen	Fuzhou, Fujian	- ditto -	Army Officer in Fujian
16. Lin Zhongyong	- ditto -	Cavalry	- ditto -
17. Jin Rongfan	- ditto -	Artillery	---
18. Xiao Qibin	- ditto -	- ditto -	Commander of Artillery Mountain Battalion in Fujian
19. Lin Wenyong	- ditto -	Engineer	Commander of Engineer Battalion in Fujian
<u>Graduate Class 7</u> <u>(Dates Unknown)</u>			
20. Wang Shen	Fuzhou, Fujian	Infantry	Army Officer in Fujian
21. Sun Baorong	- ditto -	- ditto -	- ditto -
22. Wu Jingzhen	- ditto -	Artillery	- ditto -

SOURCES: See Note 55; Fang Zhaoying ed., Preliminary Collection of Lists of Overseas Students in the Late Qing and Early Republican Period (Qingmo Minchu Yangxue Xuesheng Timinglu Chuj), (Taipei: IMH, Academia Sinica, 1962), pp. 7 and 9; Liu Tong, "Reminiscences of the Recovery of Fujian" (Fujian Guangfu Di Huiyi) and Yang Qi, "The Battle of Yu Hill in Fuzhou" (Fuzhou Yu Shan Zhanyi) in FWZ, 6(1981), pp. 74 and 88.

TABLE 8 THE ORGANIZATION OF THE TENTH DIVISION



Total number of officers in the Division: 455

Total number of soldiers in the Division: 6788

SOURCE: See Note 101

CHAPTER IV REVOLUTIONARIES

When the Qing Court promoted reforms throughout the nation in the early 20th century, Fujian had also undergone educational, military, financial, economic and political changes implemented through the co-operation of officials, gentry and merchants. Results of the reforms were particularly visible in Fuzhou and Xiamen while the other parts of the province were less advanced due to the lack of funds.¹ Reforms at the state level in late Qing resulted in drastic changes, both politically and socially. Not only had the existing gentry class enlarged their role in local politics and society through the setting up of new schools, and the development of industries and trade as well as participation in local assemblies by election, but new social groups had also emerged in the traditional society including the new intelligentsia, women's groups, Overseas Chinese, the new army and factory workers.² For Fujian, these new social groups were mainly concentrated in the two treaty ports, Fuzhou and Xiamen, and to a lesser extent, other urban centres in the province.

As already mentioned earlier, after the First Sino-Japanese War, Fujian became the target of political and economic pressure by Japan, France, Britain, the United States and Germany. In the early 20th century, the province was always in danger of being partitioned by foreign powers, at least in the perception of its inhabitants. Although the Qing Court made great efforts to maintain its sovereignty and carry out reforms, it suffered one defeat after another under foreign encroachment which resulted in further loss of rights. The Fujianese, like their compatriots elsewhere, gradually lost confidence in the Qing government and held it responsible for the national ill and humiliation. This gave rise to increasing discontent and resentment.³ The new intelligentsia, the Overseas Chinese and the new army, as well as the traditional secret societies became the vanguard of the anti-Qing movement and the main force in Fujian's revolution.⁴

The New Intelligentsia - Initiating the Revolution

Mary Backus Rankin's comment that "The 1911 Revolution was primarily a movement of students and scholars" applies aptly to Fujian.⁵ The Fujianese intellectuals began taking part in revolutionary activities early in the 20th century. They were mainly from the gentry and had received a modern education or studied abroad. Their revolutionary thought originated either from ideas of racialism that could be traced back to the Late Ming and Early Qing period, or from nationalism and liberalism from the West. They were also stimulated by the anti-Qing movement in China as well as by Western revolutionary history.⁶ As far as Western influence was concerned,⁷ the intellectuals of Fujian were especially inclined towards the nationalist revolution of Italy and Hungary. For example, Zheng Quan (1877-1939) compared himself to Kossuth, a Hungarian revolutionary leader of the 1848 Revolution, while at the same time likening himself, Zheng Zuyin (1872- 1944) and Cai Yi to Mazzini, Cavour and Garibaldi who were instrumental in bringing about national unity in Italy. The revolutionary movement of Fujian was therefore filled with the flavour of nationalism.⁸

With China's defeat by Japan in 1894-5 and the upheaval in 1900, the intellectuals of Fujian came to realize that the country was in crisis and expressed strongly their patriotic and anti-Manchu feelings in both words and action. Two pessimists, Chen Haikun and Chen Tianting, committed suicide by drowning themselves in an attempt to awaken fellow Fujianese to China's critical situation. Chen Haikun was a graduate of the Japanese School in Fuzhou and founded the Chongshi Hui (Society Advocating Practice). He called himself "Chou Man Sheng" (One who hates Manchus). In 1903, on his way to Japan for further studies, Chen was so troubled by thoughts of China's defeat and humiliation and filled with such a sense of hopelessness that when the ship passed Shimonoseki where the treaty was signed after the First Sino-Japanese war, he jumped overboard and drowned himself.⁹ Chen Tianting came from a gentry family in Fuzhou. He studied law and administration in Japan in 1904. While returning to China in 1907 upon the completion of his studies, he met a Korean on the ship and both were saddened

by the encroachment on their homeland by their aggressive neighbour. Overwhelmed by sorrow and indignation, Chen committed suicide by jumping into the sea and yelling before his death, "Is there nobody in Fujian who can do anything? Let it be!"¹⁰

On the other hand, there were others with a more positive attitude who were burning with the desire to overthrow the Qing government. This could be most clearly illustrated by sayings and stories attributed to five outstanding revolutionaries in the province - Lin Wen, Lin Yinmin, Lin Juemin and Fang Xingdong, four Fujianese martyrs of Huanghuagang (Guangzhou Uprising), and Lin Xie.

Lin Wen (1885-1911, Houguan), was reputed to have replied when asked about his marriage at the age of 20, "The disastrous partitioning of China is imminent and our dear compatriots will soon become slaves, is this the time for getting married and starting a family?"¹¹ Again, when he was a student in Tokyo, Lin said to his friends time and again, "I will be the first to give up my life to overthrow the Manchu government."¹²

Lin Yinmin (1886-1911, Min), one of Lin Wen's comrades in arms in Huanghuagang, cried when other people were too much attached to their families to respond to his call to join the revolutionary party, "I am aware of the attraction of one's family. But where will families be when the country perishes?"¹³

A similar story was attributed to Lin Juemin (1867-1911, Min), another Huanghuagang martyr, who wrote to his wife before the Guangzhou Uprising, "You are lucky to have married me but also unlucky to be living in China today. I am lucky to have you but also unlucky to be living in China today."¹⁴ Whenever his friends wept on hearing bad news of China's critical situation, Lin would say aloud, "Seeing our country in imminent danger, all men should sacrifice their own lives. Why are we crying? Since we regard ourselves as warriors, we should stand up and fight so China can be saved from its desperate situation."¹⁵

Likewise, Fang Xingdong (1885-1911, Houguan), the fourth Fujianese martyr of Huanghuagang, was said to have written to his father before the Guangzhou Uprising.

"Ever since their occupation of China, the Manchus suppressed the Chinese in every way. Now, when foreign invasion and the partitioning of China are imminent, the Manchu government is happy to hand China over to foreigners. Hence, if the Manchu government is not overthrown, China will perish."¹⁶

Similarly, Lin Xie (1874-1926, Min), a well-known revolutionary propagandist, cried out in sorrow on witnessing the partitioning of China by foreign powers, "Alas, poor China, such a vast country is being cut up piece by piece by other nations (the Chinese people) are being turned into slaves, women are being raped and properties are being robbed disaster is imminent, we must think about what to do."¹⁷

Such stories of the five young Fujianese had inspired many of their contemporaries and become part of the lore of the 1911 Revolution.

Tokyo and Shanghai were the two major centres of the revolutionary movement in late Qing. Most of the Fujianese patriots in the two cities had been roused by Sun Yatsen's revolutionary ideas as well as revolutionary activities initiated by Chinese radical students in Tokyo into joining the revolution.¹⁸ At the same time, Fuzhou also saw the emergence of its own revolutionaries.

In Tokyo, four of the members of the Xingzhonghui, which was established in 1895, were from Fujian, which had 1.4% of the total membership, ranking second a long way behind Guangdong (85.6%). The four were Yang Quyun (1861-1901), Wu Wenxiu (no dates known), Weng Hao (1875-1949) and Zheng Xiancheng (1885-1944), Weng and Zheng having joined the party in Tokyo. In 1903, as a result of the movement against the Russian occupation of Manchuria, the Chinese students in Tokyo set up the Militant People's Educational Association (Junguomin Jiaoyuhui). While 34 of the members were from Jiangsu (17.9%), Fujian had the second largest number of 22 members (11.6%).¹⁹

The establishment of the Tongmenghui headquarters in Tokyo in 1905 had considerable influence on Fujianese students there. As Zheng Zhenwen, a Fujianese who

had previously studied in Japan, recalled, with the establishment of the Tongmenghui in 1905 by Sun Yatsen as well as the circulation in Tokyo of the *Min Bao* (People's Journal) and revolutionary pamphlets such as *Ten Days in Yangzhou* (Yangzhou Shiri Ji), *The Massacre in Jiading* (Jiading Tucheng Ji) and a Song loyalist, Zheng Sixiao's *From the Heart* (Xinshi), many Fujianese students were influenced into joining revolutionary groups, with Zheng Zhenwen himself being one of them.²⁰ Shortly after, branches of the society were set up in one province after another throughout China. The 14th (Fujian) Branch of the Tongmenghui was formed mainly by Fujianese students and headed by Lin Wen who, upon his death at the Guangzhou Uprising on 27th April 1911 was succeeded by Zheng Lie (1888-1958).²¹

Lin Wen was a grandson of Lin Hongnian who obtained first place at the Metropolitan Examination of 1826 while his father Lin Zheng was a juren and a renowned poet. Going to Japan when he was 19 years of age, Lin Wen entered the Seijo Gakko. He later studied Law at the Nihon University, specializing in International Law. He was also very much interested in the philosophy of Wang Yangming (1472-1529), a neo-Confucian. While in Tokyo, Lin lived with his good friends and fellow provincials Lin Juemin and Lin Yinmin. Together, they were called "The Three Lin's". Feeling that the Qing government was weak and helpless, the three of them decided to join the revolution. Lin Wen subsequently met with Sun Yatsen and Huang Xing through an introduction by Zhang Ji and won the trust of the revolutionary leaders. Lin became an important figure in the Tongmenghui and played a key role in the publication of two of the Party's newspapers, *Min Bao* in Tokyo and *Zhongxing Ribao* in Singapore. He was also Head of the Propaganda Section in the Tongmenghui's Regional Office in South China in Hong Kong and travelled frequently between Tokyo, Hong Kong and Singapore in the course of his work. He also had a close relationship with other leading revolutionaries like Hu Hanmin, Song Jiaoren, Tan Renfeng and Zhao Sheng. As a matter of fact, it was through Lin's recommendation that Zhao Sheng had gained the trust

of Sun Yatsen. Within the revolutionary organization, Lin was known as a radical like Huang Xing and strongly advocated overthrowing the Qing rule by an armed uprising.²² With respect to nation-building after the revolution, Lin thought the problem should be tackled with by the promotion of education with emphasis on the combination of Confucian ethics and science. He suggested that the teaching of Confucian ethics could help people get rid of their selfishness and personal considerations while the studying of science could give them real knowledge. Lin believed Confucianism and science complemented each other. That Lin was able to bring out the importance of mixing the essence of Chinese and Western culture in his nation-building theory clearly showed his foresight and wisdom.²³

In Shanghai, the two most important Fujianese participants in the revolution were Lin Sen and Lin Xie. Both played significant roles in the activities leading to the 1911 Revolution and during the early Republican period. Lin Sen (1867-1943) studied in the Anglo-Chinese College in Fuzhou. His love of works by the "Ming loyalists" Gu Yanwu, Wang Fuzhi and Huang Zongxi had filled him with thoughts of racialism. Upon completion of his training at the Telegraph Academy in Taiwan, Lin worked at the Taipei Telegraph Office until 1895 when Taiwan was ceded to Japan after the First Sino-Japanese War and he embraced the anti-Manchu cause. Further stimulated by the two uprisings of 1895 and 1900 organized by Sun Yatsen, Lin initiated the establishment of the Fujianese Student Association in Shanghai for carrying out revolutionary activities while he was working at the Shanghai Customs House in 1902. He was elected Chairman of the Association and the Shanghai Customs House was used as a communication centre by the members. In 1906, a branch of the Association was set up in Fuzhou to further expand the scope of the members' revolutionary activities. In 1909, Lin Sen was transferred to a new post at the Jiujiang Customs House in Jiangxi and in 1911, he became a key figure in bringing about the independence of Jiujiang.²⁴ During the period 1933 to 1943, Lin Sen was the President of the Nationalist government in

Nanjing.

Lin Xie, also known as Lin Wanli, called himself Baishui when he was of middle age. His paternal uncle, Lin Luzhong (1853-1895), was the Captain of the *Yangwei* of the Beiyang Fleet and killed at the Battle of Yalu.²⁵ Lin's patriotism might well have been roused by the death of his uncle. In his early years, Lin was influenced by his teacher Gao Xiaotong and friends in Fuzhou and became inclined towards reforms. In the year 1902, he went to Shanghai and became friends with revolutionaries such as Cai Yuanpei (1868-1940) and Zhang Binglin (1869-1936) and became involved in revolutionary activities. For some time in 1903, Lin was a student in Tokyo where he joined the "Volunteer Corps to Resist Russia" because of the Russian occupation of Manchuria after the Boxer Uprising. He returned to Shanghai soon afterwards and ran a newspaper called *Russian Alarm* (Eshi Jingwen) with his friends Cai Yuanpei, Liu Shipei and so on. The name of the newspaper was changed to *Warning Bell Daily* (Jingzhong Ribao) in the following year. Through the paper, Lin and others protested against Russia's policy and criticized the Qing government for failing to resist Russian aggression. The paper thus became an important medium for revolutionary propaganda.²⁶ During 1903-04, Lin also published fortnightly the *Chinese Vernacular News* (Zhongguo Baihua Bao) which advocated not only anti-foreign and anti-Manchu ideas but also overthrowing the Manchus by means of assassinations, an idea Lin had adopted from Russian anarchists. In one of his works, Lin listed a number of well-known Chinese and European assassins and pointed out that, in the pre-revolution period, assassination was the most effective way to eliminate those of the ruling class who were obstacles to social development.²⁷ Through the *Chinese Vernacular News*, Lin expressed his opinions on political and racial issues. While politically, he stood for people's freedom and rights, rule by law and local self-government, racially, he proposed expelling alien races from China.²⁸ The paper also had great influence on the vernacular movement in the late Qing and early Republican period.²⁹ Lin was an outstanding example of Fujianese running newspapers for

revolutionary propaganda in Shanghai.

In 1901, Lin Xie and his cousins Huang Yiyun and Huang Zhanyun founded the Fuzhou Primary School which later became the Houguan Junior/Senior Primary School (Houguan Liangdeng Xuetang). The school curriculum focused on Chinese, Western learning and physical training. Speakers were often invited to give talks on current issues, scientific knowledge and political thoughts of the West. In the school library were a great number of revolutionary publications such as *The Jiangsu Journal* (Su Bao), Zou Rong's *The Revolutionary Army* (Gemingjun), *Ten Days in Yangzhou* (Yangzhou Shiri Ji), *The Massacre in Jiading* (Jiading Tucheng Ji), *History of the French Revolution* (Falanxi Geming Shi), *Biographies of the Three Founders of Italy* (Yidali Jianguo Sanjie Zhuan) and *The Fall of Poland* (Bolan Wangguo Ji). The school was famous for sowing seeds of revolution in Fuzhou.³⁰ Under his influence, Lin's sister Lin Zongsu also studied in Japan, took part in revolutionary propaganda work in Shanghai and became a well-known female revolutionary of the late Qing period.³¹

In Fuzhou, three revolutionary leaders emerged and they were Zheng Quan, Lin Sichen and Zheng Zuyin. Zheng Quan (1877-1939) got to know Zhao Sheng while studying at the Jiangnan Naval Academy in Nanjing³² and established Zhichi Xueshe (Society for the Ashamed) as well as the Yueshubao She (Reading Society) to start revolutionary activities. Later, due to intervention from the Superintendent of the Naval Academy, Zheng quitted school and returned to Fujian where he took up a teaching post at the Fuzhou Primary School and became actively involved in revolutionary activities within the educational circle. In 1902, Zheng organized the Yiwen She (Knowledge Broadening Society), the first revolutionary group in Fujian. He also produced two revolutionary pamphlets entitled *Prediction of China's Disaster of Being Partitioned* (Guafen Canhuo Yuyan Ji) and *The Survival and Demise of Fujian* (Fujian Zhi Cunwang). The latter was divided into six chapters: an introduction, "The Merits of Fujian", "The Present Situation of Fujian", "Fujian's Attempt at Survival", "The Liberation of Fujian"

and a conclusion. The pamphlet specifically pointed out Japanese, French, and other foreign invasions of the province and the Qing government's impotence which made it necessary for Fujian to gain liberation from the Manchus and become self-governing in order to survive. Zheng's anti-Manchu sentiments were clearly revealed in the work, "We Chinese descendants have been Manchu slaves for more than two hundred years. Now the country is collapsing, and we Fujianese have no choice but rise in self-preservation."³³ Both pamphlets cried out a warning for the people of Fujian in an attempt to awaken them from ignorance of their own critical situation.³⁴

Lin Sichen (1868-1924) decided, at the age of fifteen, to give up the pursuit of imperial examination degrees and switched to the study of Chinese Medicine. He set up his own practice in Nantai when he was twenty-five and gained a reputation for his excellent medical skills. After the Sino-Japanese War, Lin became interested in current affairs and began studying Chinese and Western history from which he derived revolutionary ideas. Then following the coup d'etat of 1898, Lin Sichen started looking for comrades in preparation for revolution. Moreover, after the Boxer Uprising in 1900, he and Zou Yanting were involved in the recruitment of secret society members to take part in anti-Qing activities. In this respect Lin was also a revolutionary forerunner in the province of Fujian.³⁵

Zheng Zuyin (1872-1944) and his family had lived in Longtanjiao of Nantai for generations. He had been a diligent student since he was very young and obtained outstanding results at the Houguan District School. He then entered the College of Law and Administration where he was a special course student. Zheng was particularly interested in Wang Yangming's theory of unity of knowledge and action and filled in the "Ledgers of Merit and Demerit" every day as a means to self-discipline.³⁶ Later, witnessing the corruption and helplessness of the Qing Court, he became inclined towards reforms and with Huang Naichang, founded the *Fu Bao* in Fuzhou, the first Chinese newspaper run by Fujianese. After the 1898 coup d'etat, Huang Naichang fled to

Singapore due to his involvement in the reform movement. Hence, totally disappointed with the Qing government, Zheng began looking for comrades and paved the way for revolution. In 1902, he co-operated with Zheng Quan and Cai Yi in setting up the Yiwen She. In 1906, Zheng was appointed Head of the Fujian Branch of the Tongmenghui. He was later also elected into the Provincial Assembly as a resident member. Under the cover of his position at the Provincial Assembly, Zheng secretly carried out revolutionary activities. He was thus one of the most important revolutionary leaders in the province of Fujian.³⁷

The Fujianese intellectuals advocated "anti-imperialism" and "anti-Manchuism" as well as developing a widespread hatred towards the existing authority both inside and outside the province. Sharing "unifying motivations for revolution", they started to organize revolutionary groups, set up modern schools and published newspapers in Tokyo, Shanghai and Fuzhou to spread anti-Manchu ideas. They tried to bring about broad cross-class participation in their activities. The revolutionary movement in Fujian was thus under way.³⁸

Fujianese Overseas Chinese - Advocating Revolution

Most Overseas Chinese originated from Fujian and Guangdong. The Fujian province had a dense population but a limited area as well as a relative lack of arable land. Fortunately, due to its proximity to the sea, it was easy for Fujianese to go abroad. At the same time, as the people of Fujian were skilled seamen and adventurous by nature, a seaward exodus had resulted ever since the Ming Dynasty. Political instability, population pressure in the rural areas and a demand from foreign countries for Chinese labour in late Qing times further accelerated overseas migration, with most migrants coming from Quanzhou and Zhangzhou. Southern Fujian therefore became the area producing the largest number of Overseas Chinese. An increasing number of Fujianese from Fuzhou and surrounding districts joined the exodus following the decline of tea

trade in Fuzhou after the Sino-French War (1884-85). Statistics show that in Singapore alone, there were as many as 15,000 immigrants from Fuzhou in the 1930's.³⁹

A number of Overseas Chinese were inclined towards revolution. Not only were they adventurous by nature but many of them were dissatisfied with their existing situation because they were subject, when abroad, to discrimination by foreigners and made to feel inferior. Feeling that their predicament was due to the weakness of the Qing government and its incapability to protect its overseas subjects, the Overseas Chinese began hoping for a stronger China and subsequently became easily influenced by revolutionaries.⁴⁰

Like their Guangdong counterparts, the Fujianese Overseas Chinese had advocated revolution as early as the late 19th Century. The most famous among them were Yang Quyun, Chen Chunan (1884-1971), Zhuang Yinan (1855-1938) and Xu Zanzhou (1873-1933). Yang Quyun was from Haicheng in Southern Fujian. His family first migrated to Penang and then moved back to Hong Kong. Yang was at one time Chairman of the Xingzhonghui in Hong Kong.⁴¹ Chen Chunan, a Straits-born Chinese with origins in Xiamen, became a revolutionary in 1900 and took up office as Chairman of the Tongmenghui Branch in Singapore in 1906. He made great contributions to the revolutionary movement in Singapore and Malaya, and was commended by Feng Ziyou as the most important Chinese revolutionary of Southeast Asia.⁴² Both Zhuang Yinan and Xu Zanzhou were Fujianese residing in Burma. They became "revolutionaries" under the influence of Qin Lishan (1877-1906), a "revolutionary" from Hunan. After the founding of the Tongmenghui Branch in Burma in 1908, both Zhuang and Xu had been Chairman of the Branch at one time or another. After the "recovery" of Fujian in 1911, Zhuang was appointed Chairman and Vice-Treasurer of the Advisory Committee of Xiamen.⁴³

Among the Fujianese Overseas Chinese from Singapore who returned to the province, the most important was Huang Naichang. However, historians of the 1911

Revolution have not paid Huang the attention he deserves concerning his contributions to the revolutionary movement in Fuzhou and Xiamen. Huang was really a legendary figure among Overseas Chinese from Fujian. Born in a peasant family in the Mingqing District, Huang was converted to Christianity at an early age and joined the Methodist Episcopal Church. From then on, he led an eventful life. He had been a preacher, a member of the gentry, pioneer in Sibü of Sarawak, educator, newspaperman, reformer and revolutionary.⁴⁴ Huang became a juren in 1894 and sat for the Metropolitan Examination in Beijing in 1897 when he became acquainted with well-known reformers such as Kang Youwei and the "Six Martyrs of the 1898 coup d'etat" and became a reformer himself. According to Huang, referring to the reform movement then in progress, "the whole country was awakened to new ideas and full of vigour".⁴⁵ After the 1898 coup d'etat, Huang was wanted by the government for his involvement in the reform movement and forced to flee to Fujian to escape arrest. Later, through his son-in-law Lin Wenqing (Lim Boon-keng) who was a leading Overseas Chinese in Singapore, Huang went to Singapore and became Chief Editor of the *Rixin Bao* (Daily New News).⁴⁶ In Singapore, Huang started looking for a piece of land for the settlement of his poor unemployed compatriots back in Fuzhou to save them from starvation in China. He found Sibü in Sarawak to be ideal for his plan. With the approval of the Second Rajah of Sarawak, an agreement was signed giving Huang rights of settlement in Sibü. Huang then sought support from the Chinese in Singapore and in the period 1900 to 1902, a total of 1118 natives from the Fuzhou Prefecture arrived in Sibü in three batches and settled there. Sibü was later also called "New Fuzhou" by the Fuzhou migrants. Huang thus gained reputation as a pioneer.⁴⁷

Huang Naichang's political ideas underwent a drastic change in the years 1898 to 1903. From a reformer, he turned into a devoted revolutionary. Reasons for the change were threefold. First of all, Fuzhou had for a long time been under foreign impact and thus easily became a breeding ground for nationalism. Evidence of this could easily be

detected in Huang's autobiography, "Looking back on the ten odd years when I was between the age of twenty-seven and forty (1875-1888), I saw foreign encroachment, the weakening of the country, corruption and the decline of public order as well as social decadence. I hoped to devote myself to serving my country."⁴⁸ Then in a naval battle during the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), Captain Deng Shichang (1849-1894) of the Battleship *Zhiyuan*, tried to ram into the *Yoshino* though the ship had apparently been hit by a torpedo from the *Yoshino*. The *Zhiyuan* consequently went down with all 250 people on board, including its Vice-Captain Huang Naimo (1862-1894) who was the third younger brother of Huang Naichang. The loss of his brother in a battle with the Japanese obviously strengthened Huang's nationalistic sentiment.⁴⁹

Secondly, oppression from the corrupt Qing Court increased Huang Naichang's dissatisfaction with the government. In 1898, Huang was a member of the reformist group who submitted a "ten-thousand-word memorial" to the Qing Court proposing reforms. When the reform movement failed, Huang expressed his feelings, "Recalling the eight months I was in Beijing witnessing the situation of the government, society and Manchus, I have come to realize that nothing but revolution can save the country."⁵⁰

Lastly, despite Huang's great pioneering efforts in Sarawak, his settlement plan met with profound difficulties mainly due to financial problems and his disagreement with the Sarawak government's policy on opium, something which Huang thought should not be allowed to exist in Sibü. At the same time, there was pressure from the Rajah who feared that the growing influence of the Fuzhou people would undermine his own power in Sibü. Consequently, Huang had to leave Sarawak before the twenty-year settlement agreement expired and suffered great losses. Disappointment and frustration might have made him a radical.⁵¹ As a matter of fact, since his meeting with Sun Yatsen in Singapore in 1900, Huang's political ideas had already been influenced. His bitter experience in Sibü turned him into one of the most enthusiastic supporters of Sun Yatsen and revolution.⁵²

In 1904, Huang Naichang became friendly with revolutionaries in Singapore

including Zhang Yongfu, Chen Chunan and Lin Yishun, and participated enthusiastically in revolutionary activities.⁵³ At the end of the same year, Huang returned to Fujian with one hundred new publications as well as five thousand copies of *Fight for Survival* (Tu Cun Pian), a revolutionary pamphlet of great impact originally written by Zou Rong under the title of *The Revolutionary Army* (Gemingjun)⁵⁴ and re-printed by Zhang and Chen for revolutionary propaganda. Huang also went south to Chaozhou where he liaised with revolutionaries such as Xu Xueqiu (?-1911) and distributed copies of the *Fight For Survival* to intellectuals and merchants. Revolutionary ideas were thus widely spread in Zhangzhou, Quanzhou, Chaozhou and Meizhou.⁵⁵ In 1905, Huang was appointed Chief Editor of the *Fujian Daily News* (Fujian Riri Xinwen) in Xiamen. He subsequently invited Zheng Quan, then Chairman of the Hanzu Duli Hui (Chinese Independence Society), and Chen Yushen to be editors of the newspaper aiming at revolutionary propaganda. At this time, the Anti-American Boycott over the Exclusion Act was in full swing. Under Huang's leadership, the *Fujian Daily News* vigorously spread anti-American ideas. As Huang himself said, "..... I use written words to arouse the Fujianese I am therefore not on good terms with the Americans in Xiamen."⁵⁶ As a result, Xiamen became the most fiercely anti-American area in the province of Fujian. Later, the paper was forced to close down after it disclosed the corruption of Ma Jinxu, the Naval Commander-in-Chief in Xiamen.⁵⁷

In the year 1906, Huang again went to Singapore just when the Tongmenghui Branch was being established there and he became a member of the Branch. He proposed that they should initiate armed uprisings in the Fujian and Guangdong border and this led to the Huanggang Uprising in 1907.⁵⁸ Also in 1907, when Huang was recuperating from an illness in Fuzhou, he secretly distributed the remaining copies of *Fight for Survival*. In this way, the pamphlet was passed from one Fujianese patriot to another and the people of Fujian were thus greatly influenced by revolutionary ideas.⁵⁹ As a member of the local gentry involved in the promotion of modern education, Huang

was elected to Fujian's Provincial Assembly in 1909 and this provided him with a cover for his identity as a revolutionary. Huang also played an important role during and after the "recovery" of Fujian in 1911.

To sum up, due to his conversion to Christianity at an early age, Huang Naichang was given the opportunity to take part in the promotion of modern education in Fuzhou and he was involved in the founding of three Church-run schools including the Biblical Institute, Peiyuan College and Anglo-Chinese College. At middle age, he won the degree of juren and became a member of the local gentry and participated in the Reform Movement of 1898. After the coup d'etat, he went to Southeast Asia where he initiated the Sibutu settlement plan and became an Overseas Chinese. As a result of his very good connections and reputation in both Fujian and abroad among the Overseas Chinese community, Huang's strong determination to turn towards revolution and overthrow the Manchus had great impact on the revolutionary movement in Fuzhou and Xiamen, for which he was lauded by Fujianese revolutionaries as "the sower of revolutionary seeds in Xiamen."⁶⁰

Most of those Overseas Chinese in the Dutch East Indies who returned to Fujian to take part in the revolution were from Semarang. After the establishment of the Tongmenghui Branch in Singapore in 1906, the Chinese in the Dutch East Indies were targets for recruitment by the revolutionaries in Southeast Asia. In 1907, the Singapore Branch sent Zhang Xuan and Wu Wenbo to the Dutch East Indies where they set up fifty-two revolutionary groups under the name of reading clubs. Most of the club members were totoks (China-born Chinese-speaking Chinese) who were new migrants from China in the late 19th century and more concerned about China than the Peranakan Chinese (local-born Chinese who did not speak the Chinese language).⁶¹ After 1908, there was a split in the Tongmenghui and its influence in Southeast Asia was challenged by Tao Chengzhang (1878-1912), a leader of the Guangfuhui (The Restoration Society). Tao started developing his own revolutionary force in Southeast Asia and was supported

by some members of the Tongmenghui who were disappointed with Sun Yatsen. These included Xu Xueqiu, Chen Yunsheng, Shen Junye, Wang Wenqing and Li Zhuzhong. The Guangfuhui was therefore able to develop in both British and Dutch Southeast Asia with Li Zhuzhong, a Hunanese who originally was a member of the Huaxinghui (The Revival of China Society), making the greatest contribution.⁶²

Tao Chengzhang was particularly successful in the development of the Guangfuhui in Semarang. Members of the Guangfuhui in Semarang later became closely related to the revolutionary movement in Xiamen and Quanzhou. Since the founding of the Semarang Branch of Guangfuhui in 1908, Tao had twice visited the place between 1901 and 1910 and was respected and supported by the people there.⁶³ Among the Overseas Chinese in Semarang, the most powerful were members of the Jiang family from the Shudou Village of Quanzhou. Of the Jiang family, Jiang Baoce and his brother Jiang Baoliao as well as their children Jiang Yilin and Jiang Deqing were most influenced by Tao Chengzhang. They were filled with nationalistic sentiments and inclined towards overthrowing the Manchu government. Jiang Yilin was full of praise for Tao who, he thought, was to be "admired for being an erudite scholar of noble character who led a simple life and possessed the demeanour of a great revolutionary".⁶⁴

Another Overseas Chinese in Semarang, Wang Zhenbang, who was related to the Jiang family, was also an admirer of Tao. Wang was a native of the Changfu Village in Nanan. His father was a well-known medical practitioner in Xiamen and Wang studied medicine under his father in the early years. As his wife was a member of the Jiang family, Wang was able to practise medicine in Semarang. Later, he ran a tobacco business in Semarang but failed. Therefore, in 1907, Wang went to Singapore where he continued his livelihood as a medical doctor. In Singapore, Wang became acquainted with Wang Jingwei (1883-1944) and Tian Tong (1879-1930) and joined the Tongmenghui. He returned to Semarang in 1908 when the Guangfuhui was developing its influence and subsequently became a member of the Guangfuhui due to his admiration for Tao

Chengzhang. In 1909, Sun Yatsen sent Tian Tong to Semarang with a view to contacting and uniting the revolutionaries. Wang assisted Tian Tong in persuading members of the Guangfuhui to join the Tongmenghui once again. In this way, unity was achieved, if only locally.⁶⁵

Members of the Jiang family and Wang Zhenbang returned to Xiamen or Quanzhou in or before 1911 to take part in the organization of the uprising and became important leaders in the recovery of Quanzhou and Xiamen.

The above-mentioned Fujianese, mainly those from British Singapore and the Dutch East Indies, who were involved in revolutionary parties abroad, returned to Fujian and secretly carried out anti-Manchu activities in the province. At the same time, they also provided financial support for various uprisings in China such as the Huanggang Uprising of 1907. Their donations later helped to stabilize and consolidate the Fujian Military Government which was established after the 1911 Revolution in Fuzhou, as well as the Branch Military Government in Xiamen. They undoubtedly made significant contributions to the revolutionary movement in Fujian.⁶⁶

Secret Societies - Anti-Manchu Forces

During the late Qing period, due to natural disasters as well as a serious shortage of land, exorbitant rents, and surplus labour force resulting from population pressure, the poor and uprooted people in the rural areas became the main source of social unrest and a force for change. Many peasants were forced to move to urban areas to look for work and became labourers. At the same time, due to an acute decrease in tea and sugar export, as well as the influx of foreign goods, the economy of Fujian took a turn for the worse. Unemployment became a serious problem in the coastal cities, and a precarious social condition emerged also in the urban areas.⁶⁷ Furthermore, great expenses were incurred for the Qing government to engage in wars with foreigners, to pay indemnities after defeat and to provide funding for reforms. As a result of this, the people of China

were made to suffer increased tax burdens. Apart from increasing levies and likin (transit tax), the Qing government also introduced new tax items and took every measure possible to increase revenue.⁶⁸ To take indemnities as an example, the province of Fujian was required to pay as much as 800,000 taels a year since 1902 as its share of indemnity for the Boxer Uprising alone. The 800,000 taels had mainly come from provincial taxes including a surcharge on land tax - an additional charge of 400 cash for every tael of tithing⁶⁹ and every picul of grain; commercial tax - 3% of the annual sales volume for all types of business; property tax - 10% of rental income; opium tax - 50 cash for every tael of opium; and liquor tax - 1.6 silver dollars for a vat, 0.2 silver dollar for a large jar, 0.1 silver dollar for a medium jar and 0.03 silver dollar for a small jar. Apart from the surcharge on the land tax, the other four items were all new taxes.(see Table 9)

On the other hand, in order to carry out reforms in the early 20th Century, the local government of Fujian had to source its own funds. The various departments and districts therefore introduced seventy-nine new items of miscellaneous taxes to pay for building new schools, the formation of police forces, the training of the new army, setting up foundling hospitals and running anti-opium campaigns. For example, brokerage tax was collected for the training of the new army; there was a paper tax for new schools and the police; a salt tax for foundling hospitals and an opium den tax for anti-opium campaigns.⁷⁰ Consequently, the people lived in difficulties and hardships. According to the Decennial Reports (1902-11) of the Fuzhou Customs, the average increase in prices of goods during the decade was estimated to be between 50% to 60% while a few thought it could even be as high as 80%. In reality, the prices of certain commodities and necessities had risen far above the estimations, for example, the prices of pork, fish, eggs, vegetables, firewood and ground-nut wood had gone up by 100%, while the price increases for cotton and wheat were 144% and 90% respectively. Though wages had increased considerably, the enhancement was not in proportion to the increased cost of living. Approximate increases during the same period in the pay of the working people

were 19% for stonecutters, 35% for masons, 50% for tailors and shop assistants, 67% for barbers, 70% for carpenters, and 100% for cooks. The same situation was also seen in Xiamen. The people of Fujian were hence further burdened by the phenomenal increase in the cost of living.⁷¹ The predicament of the Fujianese could best be reflected in a proclamation issued by the new government after the 1911 Revolution, "We Fujianese were subject to oppression under the Manchu rule with the connivance of the Qing government, the officials robbed us of our assets under the pretext of reforms, they exploited the people's money, the country was in chaos and the people lived in dire poverty"⁷² The people's grievances made them inclined towards overthrowing the Qing government.

In late Qing, members of the secret societies and the rank and file of the new army, including those in Fujian, had mostly originated from the peasants, urban vagrants and artisans.⁷³ Hence, the secret society members and soldiers in the new army had also suffered poverty and hardships, and they too, harboured thoughts of revolution. They were just waiting for the right person to come along and lead them to action.

Fujian was the birthplace of the famous Tiandihui (Heaven and Earth Society) of early Qing. The province had therefore long been regarded as a "rebellious province" with popular uprisings occurring from time to time.⁷⁴ However, during the late Qing period, the importance of the Tiandihui was replaced⁷⁵ by the Gelaohui (Elder Brothers Society) which originated from Sichuan and Hunan. Recent research indicated that the origin of the Gelaohui could be traced back to the Xianfeng Period (1851-1861) when members of the Xiang Army were formed into a brotherhood which later developed into mutual aid groups and learnt from secret societies in Sichuan and Hunan, copied their organization and called themselves the Gelaohui, and finally turned into an anti-Manchu secret society.⁷⁶ In 1864, led by Zuo Zongtang, the Xiang Army entered Fujian to put down the remnants of the Taiping Rebellion.⁷⁷ Afterwards, a large number of the Xiang Army were garrisoned in the province while many others just stayed and settled down. In

this way, the Gelaohui was also established in Fujian and gradually became active. There were four lodges of Gelaohui in the province of Fujian. The biggest of the four was the Fuming (Ming Revival) Lodge at Fuzhou's Southern Drill Ground with Xiao Chuchen as its Chief Dragon Head. The second was the Weiyi (Power and Righteousness) Lodge of Changmen; its Chief Dragon head was Chen Zichun and membership was mainly made up of soldiers and lower-ranked army officers from Hunan garrisoned in Fujian. The third, Fuhan (Han Revival) Lodge at Yanping, had Cheng Xiang as its Chief Dragon Head and was basically formed by dismissed members of the Xiang Army who had stayed behind in Northern Fujian and made a living by gang robberies. Lastly, there was the Fuhan (Return the Han) Lodge of Xinghua led by Chief Dragon Head He Langui who came to Xiamen in 1909 to expand his influence but was killed by the Naval Commander-in-Chief Hong Yongan; the position of Chief Dragon Head was subsequently taken up by Wan Guofa, a Battalion Commander stationed at Putian. The four lodges, of one heart and one mind, exerted considerable influence in the local communities.⁷⁸

Through the efforts of Lin Sichen, Zou Yanting and Liu Yuandong (1884-1911), members of secret societies in Fujian were recruited into the revolutionary movement. In 1900, Lin and Zou started contacting the secret society members. By means of an introduction by Fan Changzheng and Yang Guozheng who were both Hunanese and members of the Gelaohui, Lin and Zou were able to take up the position of Shengxian (Sage and Worthy) in the Fuming Lodge. Later, other revolutionaries such as Liu Yuandong, Huang Guangbi and Yan Ji also joined the lodge. Lin and Zou succeeded in gaining the trust of the Chief Dragon Heads of the four lodges and were given the opportunity to set up a new lodge in Fuzhou called Gonghe (Republic) Lodge. Hence, they were able to recruit their own members and expand their revolutionary force.⁷⁹

Liu Yuandong, a member of the Triad Society (another name for Tiandihui), on the other hand, went to less populated areas to get in touch with the people and secret societies. With his generosity, Liu was able to establish his image as a leader and he

became known to the lower social classes as "the generous Mr. Liu". The Guo family of Tengshan in Nantai, who were members of the Triad Society, also joined Liu's camp. It was thus evident that the revolutionaries were gradually being united with the grassroots of Fujian. Later, Liu was influenced by anarchism and concentrated on the study of assassination skills. In 1911, he led his followers including members of the Guo family to participate in the Guangzhou Uprising but was killed.⁸⁰

The New Army - Joining the Revolutionary Front

Fujian's New Army was the Tenth Division led by Sun Daoren. It was basically formed by the re-organization of the Retrained Green Standard Force and the Defence Battalion. Soldiers and low-ranking officers of the New Army were mostly Hunanese or local Fujianese. Many of the Hunanese were members of the Gelaohui. As a matter of fact, the army stationed in Fuzhou was also informally under the control of the Fuming Lodge, so there was a close relationship between Fujian's New Army and the secret societies.⁸¹

That Fujian's New Army later joined the revolutionary movement was the result of the efforts made by a descendant of a veteran of the Xiang Army, Peng Shousong, as well as officers of the New Army who had graduated from the Japanese Military Academy (Shikan Gakko) in Tokyo.

Peng Shousong's father was a member of the Xiang Army led by Zuo Zongtang into Fujian to put down the Taiping Rebellion, and had eventually settled down in the province. In his early years, Peng had purchased a junior government post and was at one time Chief Police Detective in Fuzhou. Later on, he was impeached by the Treasurer of Fujian⁸² for fighting with a fellow Hunanese during a New Year gathering at the Hunan Huiguan (native-place association) and since then Peng had hated the Qing officials. In 1907, during Chen Tianting's mourning ceremony, Peng spoke out vehemently against the Manchu government and cut his plait then and there. Following

this incident, Peng was recommended by Liu Tong to join the Tongmenghui and became a radical among the revolutionaries.⁸³ Making use of his own background as a descendant of a veteran of the Xiang Army and a member of the Gelaohui, Peng succeeded in mobilizing the rank-and-file of the New Army as well as the police force into a Junjing Tebie Tongmenghui (Special Army-Police Revolutionary Alliance) which later stood out as a strong revolutionary force and played a significant role in the "recovery" of Fuzhou.⁸⁴

Among the graduates from the Japanese Military Academy who returned to Fujian to take up official posts in the New Army, Xu Chongzhi was the most outstanding.⁸⁵ Xu was a grandson of Xu Yingkui, a former Governor-General of Fujian and Zhejiang. He enrolled in the Fuzhou Naval School in 1900 and was later sent by the provincial government to Japan to study first of all at Seijō Gakkō and then at the Japanese Military Academy where he was a graduate of the 1903-4 class. He might have been influenced while studying in Japan and became inclined towards revolution. Zou Lu, a prominent revolutionary historian, had had a very high opinion of Xu who was "full of revolutionary ideas; he was young but extremely talented and determined."⁸⁶ Upon his return to China, Xu was appointed Commander of the 20th Brigade of Fujian's New Army and also held positions at the Fujian Military Preparatory Academy, and exerted considerable influence on his sub-ordinate officers.⁸⁷ Hence, through the efforts of Peng and Xu, revolutionary thoughts penetrated the Tenth Division of the New Army in Fujian which afterwards developed into an important armed force in overthrowing the Qing rule in the province of Fujian.

In conclusion, the revolutionary movement in the province of Fujian during the late Qing period occurred as a result of the belief that the government was unable to resist foreign encroachment, and this in turn led to a mounting patriotism and anti-Manchu sentiments as well as the subsequent emergence of revolutionaries. In this respect, it was the Fujianese intellectuals in Tokyo, Shanghai and Fuzhou who took the

initiative in recruiting and liaising with revolutionary comrades, forming revolutionary groups and organizing revolutionary activities in Fuzhou, Xiamen and other parts of Fujian. They also played a part in formulating an ideology for the revolution. Although there are only limited materials available for study on the political ideology of the Fujianese intellectuals, records of the sayings and the deeds of revolutionary leaders such as Lin Wen, Lin Xie, Zheng Quan, Lin Sichen and Zheng Zuyin clearly reflected their ideas of nationalism which was a combination of anti-imperialism and anti-Manchuism.⁸⁸ At the same time, *The People's Heart* (Min Xin), a well-known revolutionary journal circulated in Fujian and Southeast Asia, spelt out their political ideal of the abolishing absolute monarchy and the establishment of a republic as well as the realization of representative government. The journal also strongly advocated Sun Yatsen's "The Three People's Principles" and asserted that the 20th Century would be the era of republicanism.⁸⁹ Concurrently, the Fujianese Chinese residing in Southeast Asia, apart from providing financial support for the revolutionary movement, also returned to Fujian to promote revolutionary ideas. Moreover, the secret societies and New Army formed by peasants, urban vagrants and artisans were mobilized in preparation for armed uprisings. In the early 20th century, Fujianese merchants started to become involved in social and political activities in the province. Apart from setting up chambers of commerce, they also took part in the Anti-American Boycott over the Exclusion Act. Nationalism among merchants gradually emerged and they became targets of recruitment by revolutionaries. In 1910, mobilized by the revolutionaries, the merchants protested against the increase in likin in Fuzhou. In the same year, the Union of Merchants Volunteer Corps organized their military force and later participated in the "recovery" of Fuzhou in 1911.⁹⁰ On the other hand, also worth mentioning is the fact that women from Fujian also played a part in the revolution. They included Lin Zongsu (Lin Xie's younger sister), Fang Junying (Fang Xingdong's elder sister), Wang Ying (Fang Xingdong's wife), Zeng Xing (widow of Fang Xingdong's brother), Zheng Meng (Fang Xingtao's wife),

Chen Simeng (daughter of Chen Baochen) and Zheng Huizhao. These brave women took part in revolutionary propaganda, taught at revolutionary schools, carried out liaison and cover-up work as well as assassinations. Their supporting role in the revolution should by no means be overlooked.⁹¹

Notes

1. "Memorial of Songshou", ZGB, Book 33, 958(1910), P. 397, pointed out that many modern schools outside Fuzhou could not develop properly due to the lack of government subsidies.
2. Mary C. Wright, op.cit., PP. 30-40; also see Mary Backus Rankin (1986), op.cit., PP. 21-31.
3. Essay from Xie Xin, "Tears Falling" (Lei Luo), *Min Xin*, 2(1911), P. 9. *Min Xin* was a revolutionary journal published by a revolutionary group, the Jingxing She (Awakening Society). The essay pointed out that the downfall of the country was brought about not by foreigners but the Qing government.
4. Historians have provided different answers to the question of who made the revolution of 1911. For Shanghai and Zhejiang, the new intelligentsia was the main force behind the revolution, see Mary Backus Rankin (1971), op.cit., P.227. In Guangdong, it was the merchants who played an important role, see Edward J.M. Rhoads (1975), op.cit., PP.271-272. In Hunan and Hubei, the new gentry whom Esherick labelled as the "urban reform elite" was the main force in the revolution, see Joseph W. Esherick (1976), op.cit., P.258. For Yunnan, the role played by the new army was emphasized, see Donald S. Sutton (1980), op.cit., P.77. In Huizhou, members of secret societies provided the mechanism for revolutionary mobilization, see Winston Hsieh, "Triads, Salt Smugglers and Local Uprisings: Observations on the Social and Economic Background of the Waichow Revolution of 1911" in Jean Chesneaux ed., *Popular Movements and Secret Societies in China, 1840-1950*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972), PP.145-164.
5. Mary Backus Rankin (1971), op.cit., P. 277; also see DFRC, Vol. 2, Series 4, P. 303, "the revolution in Fujian had originated from young students."
6. On the educational background of Fujianese intellectuals involved in the revolution, see Lee Kam-keung, "Preliminary Study on the Rise of Revolutionary Movement and Development of Revolutionary Groups in Fuzhou in Late Qing", CASR op. cit., P. 91, Note 25; on origin of revolutionary thoughts, see Lin Sen in BOR, Book 2, P. 434, "influenced by thoughts of Late Ming scholars Gu Yanwu and Wan Fuzhi, Lin was filled with revolutionary sentiments"; Lin Juemin in BOR, Book 2, P. 445, "(Lin) was admitted to the Higher School of Fujian at the age of fourteen when students were wrapped up in liberalism from the West"; Chen Gengxin in BOR, Book 2, P. 183, "Upon reading the fall of the Han race in the Late Ming/Early Qing period (Chen) was overwhelmed by indignation, thoughts of revolution were therefore deeply implanted in his mind later after reading Rousseau's Social Contract and various new ideas, he suddenly understood the meaning of equality and liberty and that the so-called emperor was just an autocrat who harmed the people!"; Yang Tianshi and Wang Xuezhuan ed., *Resist-Russia Movement 1901-1905* (Ju E

Yundong 1901-1905), (Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui Kexue, 1979), P. 188, indicated that Chen Haikun who committed suicide had said, "I always want to be like Cromwell, Danton and Robespierre who were able to try Charles I and Louis XVI. But I am afraid my wish will not come true and I'd rather sacrifice myself."

7. On the influence of Britain, France and America, see Mary Backus Rankin (1971), *op.cit.*, PP. 30-35; particularly on the influence of French culture and revolution on the patriots of late Qing, see Paaui Shiu-lam, "The Vogue of France among Late-Ching Chinese Revolutionaries: Metamorphosis and Interpretations", *JICUHK*, 17(1986), PP. 363-385.
8. DFRC, Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 68. For proof that Fujian's revolutionary journal used the unification of Germany and Italy in the latter part of the 19th Century as examples to encourage the Chinese revolutionaries, see *Min Xin*, 2(1911), P. 6; on the origin and formation of racialism and nationalism in the first decade of the 20th Century, see Frank Dikotter, *The Discourse of Race in Modern China*, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1992), PP. 97-125; on the emergence of nationalism in Modern China, see Li Enhan, "Chinese Nationalism in Late Qing" (*Qingji Zhongguo Di Minzu Zhuyi*), *Si Yu Yen*, 5:6(1968), PP. 24-32; Lee Kuo-chi (Li Guoqi), "Nationalism and Hsin Hai Revolution", in *Proceedings of Conference on Dr. Sun Yatsen and Modern China*, (Taipei, 1986), Vol. 2, PP. 38-74.
9. Chen Haikun, in BOR, Book 5, PP. 195-196.
10. Chen Tianting, in BOR, Book 6, PP. 66-68.
11. Lin Wen, in BOR, Book 2, P. 389.
12. Zheng Lie, in BOR, Book 19, P. 283.
13. Lin Yinmin, in BOR, Book 2, P. 398.
14. The original letter of Lin Juemin to his wife can be found in Xiao Ping ed., *Selection of Poems and Essays by Martyrs of the 1911 Revolution*, (Xinhai Geming Lieshi Shiwenxuan), (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1962), PP. 170-175. In 1924, Lin Juemin's two last letters to his wife and father were sent by his father Lin Xiaoying to Lin Sen who later had the letters published, see Lin Xiang, "Lin Sen and the 1911 Revolution" (*Lin Sen Yu Xinhai Geming*), *Zhuanji Wenxue*, 41:3(1982), P. 39.
15. Lin Juemin, in BOR, Book 2, P. 446.
16. Fang Xingdong, in BOR, Book 1, PP. 214-215; also see Xiao Ping ed., *op.cit.*, PP. 166-169.
17. Ding Shouhe ed., *Introduction of Periodical Publications of the 1911 Revolution Period* (*Xinhai Geming Shiqi Qikan Jieshao*), (Beijing: Renmin, 1982), Vol. 1, PP.

18. Harold Z. Schiffrin, *Sun Yatsen and the Origins of the Chinese Revolution*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), PP. 255-282.
19. Zhang Yufa, *Revolutionary Groups in Late Qing* (Qingji Di Geming Tuanti), (Taipei: IMH, Academia Sinica, 1975), PP. 181-199 and 262-272. Zheng Lie (1953), op.cit., Note 8, P. 35; Shelley H. Cheng, "The Revolutionary Activities of Fujian Republicans 1901-1912", (Unpublished paper, George Washington University, 1966), PP. 2-4. The works of Zheng Lie and Shelley H. Cheng give a detailed account of Weng Hao and Zheng Xiancheng's participation in the revolution, Zheng Lie was Zheng Xiancheng's younger brother and the father of Shelley H. Cheng.
20. Zheng Zhenwen, "Reminiscence - Before and After the 1911 Revolution" (Xinhai Geming Qianhou Di Huiyi), FWZX, 1(1981), P. 44.
21. Zheng Lie also took part in the Guangdong Uprising and survived, he later became Head of the 14th Branch and married Lin Wen's younger sister Lin Peiying, see Chen Mengjian, "An Old Companion at Huanghua-Zheng Lie" (Huanghua Jiulu Zheng Lie), *Guoshiguan Guankan*, 1(1987) (Resumed Publication), PP. 124-126.
22. Lin Wen, in BOR, Book 2, PP. 388-390; Shelley H. Cheng, *The Tung Meng Hui: Its Organization, Leadership and Finance 1905-1912*, (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Washington, Seattle, 1962), P. 112.
23. Zheng Lie (1953), op.cit., P. 8.
24. Gao Chunshu, "Lin Sen and the 1911 Revolution" (Lin Sen Yu Xinhai Geming), *Zhongguo Lishi Xuehui Shixue Jikan*, 12(1980), PP. 273-275; Lou Xiang, "Lin Sen" in *Biographies of Republican Period* (Minguo Renwu Zhuan), (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1980), Vol. 2, P. 119; Lin Xiang, op.cit., P. 37; Liu Tong, "Brief Life History of Lin Sen" (Lin Sen Xinglue), FWZ, 5(1981), PP. 53-54; Samuel Y. Kupper, "Revolution in China: Kiangsi Province, 1905- 1913", (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, the University of Michigan, 1973), PP. 149-161.
25. Chen Yuling, "Biography of Mr. Lin Baishui" (Lin Baishui Xiansheng Zhuanlue) in Bian Xiaoxuan and Tang Wenbiao ed., *A Collection of Memoirs Inscribed on Tombstones of 1911 Revolution Characters* (Xinhai Renwu Beizhuanji), (Beijing: Tuanjie, 1991), P. 535; "Biography of Lin Luzhong", see Qi Qizhang, *The Beiyang Fleet* (Beiyang Jiandui), (Jinan: Shandong Renmin, 1981), PP. 207-208.
26. Zhong Birong, "Lin Baishui" in *Biographies of Republican Period*, Vol. 3, PP. 310-312; on Shanghai's revolutionary agitation in 1902, see Feng Ziyong, *Revolutionary History Prior to the Establishment of Republican China* (Zhonghua Minguo Kaiguo Qian Gemingshi), (Taipei: Shijie, Reprint, 1954), Vol. 1, PP. 126-142; also see Mary Backus Rankin (1971), op.cit., PP. 51, 68, 88, 97, 99 and 122.

27. On the *Chinese Vernacular News*, see Ding Shouhe ed., *Introduction of Journals of the 1911 Revolution Period* (Xinhai Geming Shiqi Qikan Jieshao), Vol. 1, PP. 441-460. On Lin's emphasis on assassinations and its influence on the revolution, see Edward S. Krebs, "Assassination in the Republican Revolutionary Movement," *Ching-Shih Wen-Ti*, 4:6(1981), PP. 56-60; see also Lin Xie, "On Education by Assassins" (Lun Cike Di Jiaoyu), in Zhang Nan and Wang Renzhi eds., *Selected Essays from the Ten Years Preceding the 1911 Revolution* (Xinhai Geming Qian Shinianjian Shilun Xuanji), (Hong Kong: Sanlian, 1962), Vol. 1, Book 2, PP. 912-918.
28. Lin Xie, "The People's Opinion" (Guomin Yijianshu) in Zhang Nan and Wang Renzhi eds., *ibid.*, Vol. 1, Book 2, P. 896.
29. Hu Shi praised Lin Xie for his contribution to the Vernacular Movement while talking to Lin's daughter Lin Weijun, see Lin Weijun, *Biography of Lin Baishui* (Lin Baishui Zhuan), (Taipei: Zhuanji Wenxue, 1969), PP. 40-41.
30. Huang Yiyun, "Biography of Mr. Lin Baishui of the Min District" (Minxian Lin Baishui Xiansheng Zhuanlue) in Lin Weijun, *ibid.*, PP. 106-107. Pu Hanzi, "The Houguan Junior/Senior Primary School which Sowed the Seeds of Revolution in Late Qing" (Sabo Geming Zhongzi Di Qingmo Houguan Liangdeng Xiaosuetang), *FWZX*, 1(1981), PP. 58-60.
31. Lin Weihong, "Activities of Women Revolutionaries during the Tongmenghui Period" (Tongmenghui Shidai Geming Nuzhishi Di Huodong), *AMCCH*, Book 17a, P. 330-331.
32. The Jiangnan Naval Academy in Nanjing was established in 1890 and closed in 1911. Students took seven years to graduate, see Bao Zunpeng, *History of Naval Education in Late Qing*, (Qingji Haijun Jiaoyushi), (Taipei: Guofang Yanjiuyuan, 1969), PP. 99-105. That Weng Hao, Zheng Xiancheng and Zheng Lie were also students at the Academy showed that the emergence of Fujian's revolutionary leaders was closely related to the Academy: see Zheng Lie (1953), *op.cit.*, P. 35.
33. The two pamphlets were published in 1903 by the Shanghai Dawenshe which was funded by Huang Shou and Huang Jixing from Putian, see Zhu Huanxing and Lin Junhan, *PWZ*, 2(1981), *op.cit.*, P. 1; *The Survival and Demise of Fujian* can be found in the Special Section of Fujian's Provincial Library, the pamphlet consists of 15 pages and was sold in 1903 for 20 cents, the pamphlet was also distributed to candidates of the Provincial Examination in Fuzhou in 1903 so as to rouse their nationalistic sentiments, see *National Daily News* (Guomin Riri Bao), (Taipei: Xuesheng, Reprint, 1965), 13 October 1903, P. 390.
34. Zheng Quan, in *BOR*, Book 7, P. 301; *DFRC*, Vol. 1, Series 12, PP. 68-69.

35. Lin Sichen, in BOR, Book 2, P. 430.
36. Cynthia Brokaw, "Yuan Huang (1533-1606) and the Ledgers of Merit and Demerit", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 47:1(1987), P. 139, the Ledgers of Merit and Demerit provided the users with precise guidelines to behaviour that would earn divine rewards based on a belief of supernatural retribution.
37. Pan Shouzheng, "Zheng Zuyin and Sun Daoren" (Zheng Zuyin Yu Sun Daoren), FWZ, 6(1981), PP. 177-178; "Biography of Mr. Zheng Zuyin" (Zheng Zuyin Xiansheng Waizhuan), FWZX, 2(1983), PP. 215-216; "A Brief Account of Mr. Zheng Zuyin" (Zheng Zuyin Xiansheng Shilue), mimeographed copy stored in the Library of Xiamen, (undated and author unknown).
38. The presence of "unifying motivations for revolution" was one of the necessary conditions for the revolutionary movement. See James Defronzo, *Revolutions and Revolutionary Movements*, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991), PP. 16-17.
39. Li Guoqi (1982), op.cit., PP. 451-452.
40. Wang Yunqing, "Reminiscences of the Recovery of Xiamen" (Guangfu Xiamen Di Huiyi), XWZ, 18(1991), PP. 24-25. Wang, a revolutionary in Singapore, recollected that when he went to Singapore with his father at the age of sixteen, he saw that Chinese people entering the colony had to shed all their clothes for a health examination. Anyone who did not take off his clothes quick enough would be whipped by the British officials. Wang's father told him that the weakness of the Qing government had resulted in the Overseas Chinese being insulted and bullied by foreigners. Anti-Qing sentiments thus bred in Wang's heart. See also Sun Jian, "Overseas Chinese and the 1911 Revolution" (Huaqiao Yu Xinhai Geming), in AHR, Vol. 1, P. 235; Yen Ching-hwang, "Nanyang Chinese and the 1911 Revolution" in Lee Lai To ed.(1987), op.cit., PP. 27-31.
41. "A Brief Account of Yang Quyun" (Yang Quyun Shilue) in Feng Ziyou, *Reminiscences of the Revolution* (hereafter cited as ROTR) (Geming Yishi), (Taibei: Shangwu, Reprint, 1968), Vol. 1, PP. 6-9; on the relationship between Sun Yatsen and Yang Quyun and their revolutionary activities, see Hsueh Chun-tu, "Sun Yat-sen, Yan Ch'u-yun, and the Early Revolutionary Movement in China", JAS, XIX:3(1960), PP. 307-318. For the study of Yang Quyun using the psycho-history approach, see Hua Zhongxing, "Studies on Yang Quyun" (Yang Quyun Yanjiu), *Guoshiguan Guanankan*, 14(1993), (resumed publication), PP. 75-105.
42. "Chen Chunan - the Most Important Chinese Revolutionary of Southeast Asia" (Nanyang Gemingdang Diyiren Chen Chunan) in Feng Ziyou, ROTR, Vol. 3, PP. 183-189. On studies of Chen Chunan, see Yen Ching-hwang, *The Overseas Chinese and the 1911 Revolution: With Special Reference to Singapore and Malaya*, (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1976), PP. 51-60, 88-94.
43. "Overseas Chinese in Burma and the Revolution in China" (Miandian Huaqiao Yu

- Zhongguo Geming) in Feng Ziyou, *ibid.*, Vol. 2, PP. 243-255; Chen Ruxing, "The 1911 Revolution and Overseas Chinese in Burma" (Xinhai Geming Yu Miandian Huaqiao) in Zhang Yufa ed., *A Collection of Articles on the History of Contemporary China* (Zhongguo Xiandaishi Lunji), (Taipei: Lianjing, 1980), Vol. 3, PP. 323-337.
44. Liu Zizheng ed., *Huang Naichang and New Fuzhou* (Huang Naichang Yu Xin Fuzhou), (Singapore: Nanyang Xuehui, 1979), the book contains the most detailed life history of Huang Naichang; Liu Chiang, "The Life History of Hwang Nai Chang", *Journal of the South Seas Society*, 8:2(1952), PP. 1-5; Zhan Guanqun, "Huang Naichang - Reformer, Pioneer and Revolutionary" (Huang Naichang - Weixin Zhishi, Tuohuangzhe, Gemingdangren), *Minqing Wenshi Ziliao*, 1(1983), PP. 1-27.
 45. Huang Naichang, "Autobiography at the Age of Seventy" (Fucheng Qishi Zixu) (1918) in Liu Zizheng, *ibid.*, P. 186.
 46. "The Founder of New Fuzhou Huang Naichang" (Xin Fuzhou Jiansheren Huang Naichang) in Feng Ziyou, *ROTR*, Vol. 3, P. 171; Chen Mong Hock, *The Early Chinese Newspapers of Singapore 1881-1912*, (Singapore: University of Malaya Press, 1967), PP. 57-58, both works were wrong in pointing out that Huang Naichang was editor of *Sing Po* when he had actually been editor of *Rixin Bao*.
 47. "Industries Section", *DFZ*, 3(1904), P. 36; John M. Chin, *The Sarawak Chinese*, (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1981), PP. 61-65; Liu Zizheng, *Huang Naichang and Sibü* (Huang Naichang Yu Sibü), (Beijing: Zhongguo Huaqiao, 1991), PP. 1-75.
 48. Huang Naichang (1918), in Liu Zizheng ed. (1979), *op.cit.*, P. 185.
 49. Huang Naichang, *ibid.*, P. 185; Huang Peixi, "Nationalist Hero Huang Naimo" (Minzu Yingxiong Huang Naimo), *Minqing Wenshi Ziliao*, 5(1986), PP. 1-7; also see John L. Rawlinson, *op.cit.*, P. 182.
 50. Huang Naichang, *ibid.*, P. 187.
 51. Liu Zizheng ed. (1979), *op.cit.*, PP. 36, 189-190.
 52. Yen Ching-hwang (1976), *op.cit.*, PP. 40, 63-64. Yen gives a very good description and analysis of the meeting between Sun Yatsen and Huang Naichang as well as Huang's switch to revolution. See also Leung Yuen Sang, "Religion and Revolution - the Response of the Singapore Chinese Christians to the Revolutionary Movement in China" in Lee Lai To ed., *op.cit.*, PP. 74- 78. Leung analyses the relationship between Huang Naichang's Christian beliefs and his switch to revolution.
 53. Zhang Yongfu, "Biography of Huang Naichang" (Huang Naichang Jun Zhuan) in Zhang's *Nanyang and the Founding of Republican China* (Nanyang Yu Chuangli

Minguo), (Shanghai: Zhonghua, 1933), PP. 109-110, "..... when talking about the sadness of losing our country (to the Manchus), it was like black slaves pleading with heaven, when talking about the injustice long done to our people, both old and young were overcome by indignation (Naichang was sixty, I was thirty, Chunan was eighteen, Yishun was twenty, but age did not make any difference), when feelings were aroused, the old and young were the same."

54. Zhang Yongfu, op.cit., P. 110; John Lust trans., *Tsou Jung's The Revolutionary Army* (Geming Jun), (The Hague - Paris: Mouton and Co., 1968), PP. 44-45, talked about the history of publication of Tsou's work.
55. Liu Zizheng ed. (1979), op.cit., PP. 195-196.
56. Huang Naichang, (1918) in Liu Zizheng ed. (1979), op.cit., PP. 195-197.
57. Zhang Guanqun, "Huang Naichang and the Newspaper Industry of Modern Fujian" (Huang Naichang Yu Fujian Jindai Di Baoye), *Fujian Shifan Daxue Xuebao (Philosophy and Social Science)*, 4(1986), P. 106.
58. Feng Ziyou, ROTR, Vol. 2, P. 172 and Vol. 4, P. 161.
59. Zhang Yongfu (1933), op.cit., P. 110.
60. HMRF, P. 73.
61. Huang Fuluan, *Overseas Chinese and the Chinese Revolution* (Huaqiao Yu Zhongguo Geming), (Hong Kong: Yazhou, 1954), PP. 72-73; Feng Ziyou, *History of the Revolution and the Founding of Republican China by Overseas Chinese* (Huaqiao Geming Kaiguo Shi), (Taipei: Shangwu, 1975), PP. 91-95; Leo Suryadinata, "The 1911 Revolution and the Chinese in Java -A Preliminary Study" in Lee Lai To ed., op.cit., PP. 108-124.
62. Feng Ziyou, ROTR, Vol. 5, PP. 72-73; Yen Ching-hwang (1976), op.cit., PP. 212-215; on the relationship between Tongmenghui and Guangfuhui, see Jin Chongji and Hu Shengwu, "Study on the Relationship Between Tongmenghui and Guangfuhui" (Tongmenghui Yu Guangfuhui Guanxi Kaoshi), 70th CACAR, Vol. 1, PP. 742-765.
63. Tang Zhijun, "Chronicle of Tao Chengzhang" (Draft) (Tao Chengzhang Nianpu) (Chugao) in *Works of Tao Chengzhang* (Tao Chengzhang Ji), (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1986), PP. 489 and 494.
64. Jiang Yilin, "The Recovery of Quanzhou in the 1911 Revolution" (Xinhai Geming Quanzhou Guangfu Ji), QWZ, 9(1981), P. 2.
65. "Biography of Wang Zhenbang" (Wang Zhenbang), QWZ, 9(1981), PP. 121- 122; Feng Ziyou, "Supplementary Account of the Life History of Tian Tong" (Tian Tong

Shilue Bushu), ROTR, Vol. 2, PP. 162-163.

66. Shelly H. Cheng, "The Tung-meng-hui and Its Financial Supporters" (Zhongguo Tongmenghui Geming Jingfei Zhi Yanjiu) in Zhang Yufa ed., *A Collection of Articles on the History of Contemporary China*, (Taipei: Lianjing, 1980), Vol. 3, P. 252, the article pointed out that financial support from the Chinese in Southeast Asia was most important; Yen Ching-hwang (1976), op.cit., PP. 310 and 314-317, through Huang Naichang, the Chinese in Singapore and Malaya donated S\$30,000 towards the Huanggang Uprising of 1907 and provided financial support of S\$270,000 to the revolutionary government after the recovery of Fuzhou in 1911. Through Wang Zhengbang, the Guangfuhui in Semarang contributed a total of \$7,000 towards the recovery of Fuzhou, see Wang Zhengbang, "A Brief Account of the Recovery of Xiamen, Zhangzhou, Quanzhou and Yongchun" (Guangfu Xiamen Zhang Zuan Yong Jilue), (1911), QWZ, 9(1981), PP. 37-38. After the "recovery" of Xiamen in 1911, Zhuang Yinan came to Xiamen from Burma with funds to provide financial assistance while Overseas Chinese from Semarang such as Zhuang Yiqing also came with \$20,000. At the same time, Chen Xinzheng and others in Penang also sent money over to Xiamen to show their support. See Qiu Jinjing, "The 1911 Revolution in Xiamen" (Xinhai Geming Zai Xiamen), XWZ, 1(1963), PP. 12-13.
67. Wu Yannan, "The 1911 Revolution and the Issue of Peasants" (Xinhai Geming Yu Nongmin Wenti), 70th CACAR, Vol. 1, PP. 486-491. Chen Xulu, "Secret Societies and the 1911 Revolution" (Mimi Huidang Yu Xinhai Geming) in Lin Zengping et al eds., *The 1911 Revolution* (Xinhai Geming), (Chengdu: Bashu, 1979), PP. 341-351. For unrest in Fujian's rural and urban areas, see Lin Xiangrui ed., *An Outline of the History of Fujian - Modern Period* (Fujian Lixhi Gaiyao Jiangyi - Jindai Bufen), (Fuzhou, 1985), PP. 56-62, 76 & 86. See also Xu Xiaowang (1990), op.cit., PP.37-38 & 41. Fan Qilong, "Fujian on the Eve of the 1911 Revolution" (Xinhai Geming Qianxi Di Fujian), *Fujian Luntan*, 4(1991), PP. 30-31.
68. Peng Yuxin, "The Collapse of the Qing Finance on the Eve of the 1911 Revolution" (Xinhai Geming Qianxi Qingwangchao Caizheng Di Bengkui), 70th CACAR, Vol. 2, PP. 1301-1330.
69. The "ti tax" was the land tax proper whereas the "ting tax" was basically a commutation of labour services required of the adult males. The "ting tax" was abolished and incorporated by apportionment into the land tax in the second quarter of the 18th century. See Wang Yeh-chien, *Land Taxation in Imperial China, 1750-1911*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), P. 10.
70. *Financial Reports of Fujian (1915)*, op.cit., Annual Revenue Section - 咁 Miscellaneous Taxes, PP. 1-10 and 17-25.
71. *Imperial Maritime Customs, Decennial Reports, Fuzhou, 1902-11*, PP. 98-99; *Amoy*,

1902-11, P. 115.

72. DFRC, Vol. 2, Series 4, P. 383.
73. Cai Shaoqing, "The Relationship between the 1911 Revolution and Secret Societies" (Lun Xinhai Geming Yu Huidang Guanxi), 70th CACAR, Vol. 1, P. 510; Yoshihiro Hatano, "The New Armies" in Mary C. Wright ed., *China in Revolution*, op.cit., PP. 368-369.
74. Zhang Yufa, "Hongmen and Its Anti-Manchu Movement" (Hongmen Ji Qi Fanman Yundong) in Zhang Yufa ed., *A Collection of Articles on the History of Contemporary China*, op.cit., Vol. 3, PP. 362-369; Cai Shaoqing, "On the Origin of the Heaven and Earth Society" (Guanyu Tiandihui Di Qiyuan Wenti) in Cai Shaoqing, *Studies on the History of Secret Societies of Modern China* (Zhongguo Jindai Huidangshi Yanjiu), (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1987), PP. 45-65.
75. Fan Qilong, "The Four Anti-Manchu Struggles of the Taiping Army in Fujian" (Taipingjun Sici Rumin Qianhou Fujian Di Fanqing Douzheng), (Fujian Normal University, History Department, 1984), PP. 14-46, Fujian's Tiandihui was suppressed by the Qing government during the Taiping Rebellion and its influence was greatly undermined.
76. Liu Zhengyun, "The Xiang Army and Gelaohui - Analysis of the Origin of the Gelaohui" (Xiangjun Yu Gelaohui - Shixi Gelaohui Di Qiyuan Wenti) in *Proceedings of the Conference on Regional Studies of Modern China* (Jindai Zhongguo Quyushi Yantaohui Lunwenji), (Taipei: IMH, Academia Sinica, 1985), PP. 389-400, contrary to traditional theories that the Gelaohui was a branch of either the Tiandihui or Sichuan's Guoluhui (國嚕會), Liu thought that the Gelaohui had originated from the Brotherhood Group of the Xiang Army; also see Charlton M. Lewis, "Some Notes on the Ko-lao Hui in Late Ching China" in Jean Chesneaux ed., *Popular Movement of Secret Societies in China 1845-1950*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972), PP. 97-100 and 110- 112.
77. Fan Qilong (1984), op.cit., PP. 50-77.
78. DFRC, Vol. 1, Series 12, PP. 70-71; Lian Lichang, *Secret Societies of Fujian* (Fujian Mimi Shehui), (Fujian: Renmin, 1989), PP. 259-265.
79. Lin Sichen, BOR, Book 2, PP. 430-431.
80. DFRC, Vol. 1, Series 14, P. 475; Lin Denghao, "Biography of Liu Yuandong" (Liu Yuandong Xiaozhuan), FWZX, 6(1986), PP. 137-140; Gao Bingkang, "On Functions of the Secret Societies of Fuzhou During the 1911 Revolution" (Ji Xinhai Geming Qijian Fuzhou Huidang Di Zuoyong), FWZX, 6(1986), PP. 10 and 12.

81. Liu Tong, "Reminiscences of the Recovery of Fujian", FWZ, 6(1981), op.cit., P. 72-73; Zou Lu, *Draft History of the Chinese Guomindang* (Zhongguo Guomindang Shigao), (Taibei: Shangwu, Reprint, 1965), P. 906; Cai Shaoqing, 70th CACAR, Vol. 1, P. 523.
82. "Memorial of Chongshan", SPMG, Book 21(1905), P. 481.
83. DFRC, Vol. 2, Series 4, P. 322.
84. Liu Tong, FWZ, 6(1981), op.cit., P.72, "Biography of Peng Shousong" (Peng Shousong Shilue) in *Selected Documented Materials of the Wuchang Uprising* (Wuchang Qiyi Dangan Ziliao Xuanbian), (Hubei: Renmin, 1983), Vol. 3, PP. 235-238.
85. Lin Yinmin, BOR, Book 2, P. 397; Zou Lu (1965), op.cit., P. 946; also see Chapter III, Table 7, graduates from the Japanese Military Academy who returned to Fujian included Xu Chongzhi, Wang Qi, Lin Zhaomin, Shen Jinen, Lin Zhongyong, Xiao Qibin, Lin Wenying, Wang Shen, Sun Baorong and Wu Jingzhen, among these graduates, Xu Chongzhi and Lin Zhaomin were the most outstanding and the two of them had trained some New Army officers with revolutionary ideas such as Tao Junbao.
86. Zou Lu (1965), op.cit., P. 906; Guan Lingling, "Xu Chongzhi and the Three Revolutions during the Early Republican Period" (Xu Chongzhi Yu Minchu Zhi Sanci Geming), *Dongwu Wenshi Xuebao*, 8(1989), PP. 356-357, according to Guan, Xu did not join the Tongmenghui in 1905 when he was studying in Tokyo but on the eve of the 1911 Revolution.
87. Xu Chongzhi, in BOR, Book 20, P. 192.
88. Michael Gasster has provided a very good analysis of nationalism in the 1911 Revolution, "When anti-imperialism was complemented by anti-Manchuism, when anti-Manchuism combined resentment against Ch'ing weakness vis-a-vis imperialisms and contempt for the Manchus as foreign barbarians with the modern concepts of nation and sovereignty, and when these ideas were fused into the program of an armed and organized conspiracy that rang its message out to Chinese deep in China itself and from Japan to Hong Kong, to Singapore to Burma modern Chinese nationalism was born." See Michael Gasster, *Chinese Intellectuals and the Revolution of 1911: The Birth of Modern Chinese Radicalism*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1969), PP. 231-232.
89. Lin Pinghan, "The Spreading of Democratic Thoughts in Fujian Before and After the 1911 Revolution" (Xinhai Geming Qianhou Minzhu Sixiang Zai Fujian Di Chuanbo), *Fujian Luntan*, 2(1990), P. 24.
90. Li Guoqi (1982), op.cit., PP. 228-229; DFRC, Vol. 1, Series 12, PP. 79-80 and 82-

83; Vol. 2, Series 4, P. 315.

91. Zheng Lie (1953), op.cit., PP. 4-5; Lin Weihong, op.cit., PP. 330-331, 333 and 354-355; Li Youning, "Madam Fang Junying - Pioneer of the 1911 Revolution" (Xinhai Geming Xianjin Fang Junying Nushi), *Zhuanji Wenxue*, 38:5(1981), PP. 16-18.

TABLE 9

MAJOR ITEMS IN MISCELLANEOUS TAXES IN FUJIAN, 1902

ITEM	ESTIMATED INCOME	ACTUAL INCOME
	(TAEELS)	(TAEELS)
1. Surcharge for land tax	339,000	291,000+
2. Commercial tax	273,000+	251,000+
3. Property tax	72,000+	69,000
4. Opium tax	65,000+	52,000+
5. Liquor	56,000+	47,000+
Total	805,000+	710,000+

SOURCE: Financial Reports of Fujian (1915), Annual Revenue: Miscellaneous Taxes, PP. 2-3.

CHAPTER V *REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS*

The emergence of revolution was the result of the initiation and advocacy by individuals who were dissatisfied with the political and social situation. The expansion of the revolutionary movement, on the other hand, depended on the establishment and activities of revolutionary groups formed by people from all walks of life. The study of revolutionary groups in Late Qing has therefore always been an important issue for historians of the 1911 Revolution.¹ Accordingly, an investigation into the revolutionary groups in Fujian in the late Qing period will bring about a more thorough understanding of the development of revolution in Fujian.

Existing literature on Fujian reveals that the formation and activities of Fujianese revolutionary groups took place between the years 1902 and 1911 in urban centres including Fuzhou, Xiamen, Putian, Zhangzhou, Quanzhou, Jianan and Tingzhou.² Revolutionary groups in Fuzhou and Xiamen were the most outstanding and the two cities also saw the greatest concentration of revolutionaries and revolutionary organizations in the province.

Since the setting up of the Yiwen She in 1902, revolutionary groups in Fuzhou had developed rapidly. Until the eve of the 1911 Revolution, thirty-six revolutionary organizations had emerged in Fuzhou alone including twenty-nine revolutionary groups and seven revolutionary schools. (see Tables 10 and 11) A comparison would show that Fuzhou was in no way inferior to the three revolutionary centres in Late Qing, namely Tokyo, Shanghai and Wuchang, where the number of revolutionary groups and schools was concerned.³ Fuzhou was evidently an active revolutionary centre. (see Table 12) The role played by revolutionary groups of Fuzhou in Fujian's revolutionary movement was three-fold. Firstly, as Fuzhou had seen the emergence of the first revolutionary leaders and groups, it was the birthplace of the revolutionary movement in Fujian. Secondly, after the Fujian Branch of the Tongmenghui was set up in 1906 in Fuzhou, the city became the hub of the revolutionary movement in the province. Finally, the revolutionary groups in Fuzhou not only conducted local revolutionary activities but also expanded their revolutionary influence to Xiamen, Putian, Lianjiang and Jianan etc. The

rise and activities of revolutionary groups in Xiamen were largely motivated by the revolutionaries of Fuzhou.

In respect to the revolutionary groups in Xiamen, they were formed by both revolutionaries from Fuzhou as well as Fujianese Overseas Chinese who had returned from Southeast Asia. The revolutionary force in Xiamen was gradually strengthened and in the years 1905 to 1911, thirteen revolutionary organizations were established comprising twelve revolutionary groups and one revolutionary school. (See Table 13) Xiamen had long been the port of entry and departure for Fujianese Overseas Chinese. Chinese revolutionaries returning from overseas to carry out activities in Zhangzhou and Quanzhou must stop over in Xiamen. The city had therefore gained significance as the liaison centre for the revolutionary movement in Southern Fujian.⁴

This chapter will pay special attention to Fuzhou and Xiamen in the study of revolutionary groups in the province of Fujian.

The Emergence of Revolutionary Groups in Fuzhou, 1902-1906

Since the founding of the first revolutionary group - Yiwen She - in Xiadu,⁵ Fuzhou in 1902 by Fujianese revolutionaries, the revolutionary strategy and target were modified to keep pace with the changing situation. As a result, many new revolutionary groups were formed. In respect to Fuzhou, important revolutionary groups set up before the year 1911 included the Wenming She (Civilization Society, 1903), Xuesheng Lianhe Hui (Joint Students' Society, 1904), Hanzu Duli Hui (Chinese Independence Society, 1905), Luhui Fujian Xuesheng Hui (The Fujianese Student Association in Shanghai, 1903) and its Fuzhou Branch (1906), Zhongguo Tongmenghui Fujian Zhibu (The Fujian Branch of the Tongmenghui, 1906), Qiaonan Gongyi She (Public Welfare Society from the Area South of the Bridge, 1907) and Junjing Tebie Tongmenghui (Special Army-Police Revolutionary Alliance, 1911). It should be noted that since 1902, while new revolutionary groups were formed, some existing ones were disbanded. For example, the emergence of the Hanzu Duli Hui in 1905 followed the disbandment of the Wenming She. In 1906, the Fujian Branch of the Tongmenghui was established and many

members of the Hanzu Duli Hui joined the Branch. Later, the Hanzu Duli Hui was disbanded. Besides, from the revolutionary standpoint, the aim of revolution was to overthrow the existing regime. Apart from the setting up of underground organizations in a conspiracy to achieve their objective, the revolutionaries also carried out undercover work as members of legal local organizations such as schools, militia, guilds and welfare societies. Making use of the front organizations, the revolutionaries were able to co-operate with the local elite.⁶ The same also applied to Fujian before the 1911 Revolution. While there was the existence of underground organizations such as the Hanzu Duli Hui and the Fujian Branch of the Tongmenghui, the revolutionaries also set up various front organizations like the Yiwen She, Luhui Fujian Xuesheng Hui and the Qiaonan Gongyi She which were in fact blinds behind which they pursued their revolutionary aims.

Before going into details of the various revolutionary groups in Fuzhou, it is important to look at the characteristics of their development. The development of revolutionary groups could be divided into two phases. The years 1902 to 1906 witnessed the emergence of revolutionary groups. Further development of the groups took place in the period 1906-1911. The founding of the Fujian Branch of the Tongmenghui in 1906 marked the linking up of a provincial revolutionary force with the central power led by Sun Yatsen and the Tongmenghui. Fujian thus became one of the provinces which took part in the nation-wide revolutionary movement under the banner of the Tongmenghui and entered a new phase. However, in 1907, the Qiaonan Gongyi She was set up. In order to escape suppression by local officials and be accepted by society, the one-time revolutionaries changed their strategy and functioned as reformers. The following discussion on Fuzhou's revolutionary groups begins with the five set up between the years 1902 and 1906.

(1) Yiwen She (Knowledge Broadening Society, 1902) - The Society was set up in 1902 by Zheng Quan, Zheng Zuyin and Cai Yi under the pretext of commemorating the birth of Confucius. Their real purpose was to advocate nationalism. Located at the Gurong Academy on Cangqian Shan (Hill) of Nantai, it was Fuzhou's earliest revolutionary body. Under the society were the Yuebao Suo (Newspaper Reading

Room), Yiwen Xuetang (Yiwen School) and Changle Yiqun She (People's Welfare Society of Changle). The Yiwen School was originally co-located with the Yiwen She but was later moved to the Temple of Zhu Xi in Xiadu and its name was also changed to Yiwen Junior/Senior Primary School. Students were widely recruited and like its well-known counterpart, Houguan Junior/Senior Primary School, revolutionary ideas were spread. The Changle Yiqun She was a branch of the society established in Changle by Chen Yusheng and Zheng Peiyun. The branch kept a large stock of books and newspapers for revolutionary propaganda. The Society was clearly making use of its school and publications as a means to recruit revolutionaries.⁷

(2) Wenming She (Civilization Society, 1903) - The efforts of Lin Sichen and Zou Yanting in mobilizing the secret societies earned the trust of the various lodges of Fujian and they were given the opportunity to set up a new lodge in Fuzhou by the name of Gonghe Lodge. The lodge, a secret revolutionary body, carried out activities under the camouflage of the Wenming She which was founded by Lin Sichen, Liu Yuandong and Yan Ji at the Shijin Temple in Xiadu. While on the surface, the society was engaged in the purchasing of books and newspapers for the general public for the promotion of new knowledge, in actual fact, what it was doing was to liaise secretly with members of the other lodges in preparation for uprising. To strengthen its influence, the society aimed at recruiting members from educational, industrial and commercial circles. As a result, most of its members were intellectuals while members from the industrial and commercial fields numbered one hundred and twenty odd and sixty odd respectively. These recruits later became the core of the revolutionary movement in Fuzhou.⁸ Moreover, Wenming She had in its stock of publications Zou Rong's *The Revolutionary Army* which was very popular among the readers. In this way, revolutionary thoughts became widely spread⁹ and the activities of the society gradually got the attention of local officials.

(3) Xuesheng Lianhe Hui (Joint Students' Society, 1904) - Fujian's revolution originated from students who had imbibed revolutionary ideas through their studies at modern schools including the Yiwen, Houguan, Xicheng, Kaizhi and Guanwo as well as

Christian schools such as the Anglo-Chinese College.¹⁰ Among these schools, the earliest established and most influential was undoubtedly the Houguan Junior/Senior Primary School which was regarded by most Fujianese as "the breeding ground of revolutionary students".¹¹ The Houguan School had evolved from the Fuzhou Primary School which was founded in 1901 by Lin Xie, Huang Yiyun and Huang Zhanyun. Zheng Quan and Fang Xingtao had both taught at the school at one time or another. At the same time, a Lizhi She (Will Inspiring Society) was set up in the school. On a regular basis, the society invited well-known speakers to give talks on topics ranging from current issues and Western political thoughts to comments and criticism of the corrupt Manchu government. Banned books such as *The Revolutionary Army, Ten Days in Yangzhou* (Yangzhou Shiri Ji) and *The Massacres in Jiading* (Jiading Tucheng Ji) were secretly made available to students. Under such impact, ten students of the society pledged to overthrow the Qing rule and each of them adopted "Han" (漢) as the first character of their alias. They were the famous "Ten Han Group" (Shi Han Tuan) and most of them later became active in the revolution of Fujian.¹² Participation of students in Fujian's revolutionary movement finally resulted in the establishment of the Xuesheng Lianhe Hui in 1904, initiated by Lin Sichen, Zheng Quan, Zheng Zuyin, Lin Juemin (then a student at the Higher School of Fujian) and Huang Guangbi (one of the Ten Han Group). The inauguration ceremony of the society was held at the Temple of Zhu Xi in Xiadu and over a thousand students from the Fujian Military Preparatory Academy, Normal School of Fujian as well as the various high schools and primary schools attended the ceremony. One representative was chosen by each of the schools to take part in the election for key positions in the society. Finally, Huang Guangbi was elected Chief Representative and Lin Yuezhi from the Higher School of Fujian became Vice-Representative of the Society. During the ceremony, it was also decided that the connection between students and secret societies should be strengthened. Furthermore, the students staged a demonstration in the streets of Fuzhou after the ceremony but this roused the attention of the Treasurer of the local government, Zhou Lian, who ordered that the radicals should be suppressed. Under the suppression, a number of important revolutionaries such as

Zheng Quan, Liu Yuandong, Lin Sichen and Yan Ji were forced to flee Fuzhou.¹³ This "1904 Suppression by Zhou Lian" infuriated many of the revolutionaries and made them more radical.

On the other hand, a number of students from the Anglo-Chinese College, led by Qi Xuan, Zhou Jing, Liu Naiyu and Huang Jiacheng, organized the Jingxing She (Awakening Society) in the school and turned to liaising with Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia. At the same time, they also published newspapers including *Jingxing* (Awakening) and *Min Xin* (People's Heart) with Chen Shousui in Hong Kong responsible for the distribution of *Jingxing* in Southeast Asia in order to promote revolutionary ideas among the Overseas Chinese. Huang Naichang had taken part in the founding of the Anglo-Chinese College and the revolutionary inclined students of the College had obviously been influenced by Huang.¹⁴

(4) Hanzu Duli Hui (Chinese Independence Society, 1905) - Some time after the 1904 Suppression by Zhou Lian, the escaped revolutionaries started returning to Fuzhou. In the spring of 1905, twenty-eight revolutionaries including Lin Sichen, Zheng Quan and Zheng Zuyin swore a blood oath and established this new revolutionary group at the Gurong Academy on Cangqian Shan. Zheng Quan first took up the position of Chairman and was later succeeded by Zheng Zuyin. Lin Sichen and Zou Yanting were responsible for the training of members; Yang Ziyu for secret communications; Chen Yushen for the judiciary and Lin Juemin and Chen Gengxin for mobilization of the new army. Others such as Liu Yuandong, Huang Guangbi, Yan Ji, Pu Kaitai, Shi Ming and Lin Hengke were also entrusted with important tasks. The aim of the society was to actively prepare for an armed uprising, liaise with members of other secret societies and get ready for action in gaining liberation from the Manchus for Fujian.

The recruitment of members as well as the holding of meetings of the Society always took place secretly for fear of suppression by the local government. According to the regulations of the society, all new recruits were required to go through two procedures before they were formally admitted as members. First of all, they must become lodge members whereby they were taught special signs and language to be used

in order to strengthen their sense of affiliation to the lodge. They were also given tasks to perform as a means to test their loyalty and ability. Having fulfilled the initial requirement, they were then recommended by the lodge to join the Society. The admission ceremony included a blood oath. Regulations of the society had to be strictly adhered to and violation of the regulations was punishable by death. Members of the society were mostly radicals from various social groups and schools in Fuzhou. As a safeguard against their being discovered and reported to the government, there was no fixed venue for meetings which were held at different locations such as the area around Nantai at the Gurong Academy or some small inns, as well as places outside the East Gate of the City including the Kexue Yanjiu Suo (Institute of Scientific Research) and Puwen School. For communication, the members had at first invented their own set of characters which looked like Japanese and Korean but was spoken as a Fuzhou dialect. Later, they switched to a special kind of cipher and paper. Letters calling for meetings were sent bearing the seal of "Gong Quan" (Public Rights 公權).¹⁵

Soon after the establishment of the Society, a number of the members such as Lin Juemin and Chen Yushen went to study in Japan where they joined the 14th Branch of the Tongmenghui. In this way, there was connection between Fuzhou revolutionaries and the Tongmenghui in Tokyo.¹⁶ Later, through the revolutionaries in Chaozhou, Zheng Quan of the Hanzu Duli Hui came into contact with the Tongmenghui of Hong Kong and plans were made for insurrection in Fujian. Unfortunately, due to failure in smuggling arms into the province, the plan had to be abandoned. Members of the society then took part in the Uprising in Huanggang in 1907. However, when the uprising was suppressed by the Qing government, the society also disbanded and many of its members turned to the Fujian Branch of the Tongmenghui.¹⁷

(5) Luhu Fujian Xuesheng Hui (The Fujianese Student Association in Shanghai, 1903) and its Fuzhou Branch (1906). - In the spring of 1903, Lin Sen and others got in touch with Fujianese students in Shanghai and established the Luhu Fujian Xuesheng Hui. The Shanghai Customs House was used as their communication centre to liaise with Fujianese throughout China and abroad. When the Tongmenghui was founded in August

of 1905, members of the association all joined in under the leadership of Lin Sen.¹⁸ In 1910, the total number of members of the association stood at one hundred and three. Lin Sen was the first Chairman of the association and he was succeeded in 1909 by Pan Zuyi.¹⁹

In the autumn of 1906, a branch of the association was set up in Fuzhou with Yan Ji, Lin Sichen, Zheng Zuyin, Zhuang Lin and Sun Dongqing as key members. Under the facade of recruiting comrades for recovering Fujian's rights, the branch was secretly involved in revolutionary activities and was closely connected with other revolutionary groups in Fuzhou.²⁰ The association in Shanghai sent Chen Tianchi back to Fuzhou to set up the Fuzhou Shuobao She (News Commentary Society of Fuzhou) in Shanghang Street, a commercial area in Nantai. Apart from providing the general public with books and newspapers containing revolutionary ideas, members of the society also took turns in giving talks on current issues on a weekly basis as a means to awaken their fellow countrymen to the nation's situation. The setting up of the society had a great impact on the people of Fuzhou, particularly the merchants.²¹

To sum up, the development pattern of revolutionary groups in Fuzhou in the early years was the emergence of different leaders. The revolutionary force was at its formative stage and there was the absence of a united front. There were three main revolutionary forces including, first of all, the Yiwen She founded by Zheng Quan and others which aimed at recruiting members from the educational circle. The second was Lin Sichen's Wenming She which acted as a camouflage for the Gonghe Lodge and its members were mostly from secret societies though some had come from the educational, industrial and commercial sectors. Finally, there was the Fujianese Student Association in Shanghai led by Lin Sen and its Fuzhou Branch which, apart from the recruitment of members from the educational field, also aimed at the unification of revolutionary groups both inside and outside the province. The three different forces gradually came together. Their activities were carried out in three directions - the establishment of modern schools to absorb young students; the setting up of reading rooms and societies for the general public and the formation of secret bodies to liaise with secret societies. What they hoped

to achieve was the spreading of revolutionary ideas as well as the recruitment of revolutionary comrades. The year 1904 witnessed a significant transformation of revolutionary groups in Fuzhou. Under the impact of the Russo-Japanese War, radical students in Fuzhou, roused to the feeling of patriotism, organized the Xuesheng Lianhe Hui and from "individual" activities, turned to "united" popular movements. Their activities, however, roused the attention of local officials and resulted in suppression. Despite such pressure, the radicals in Fuzhou united and went further in establishing the Hanzu Duli Hui in preparation for an armed uprising to free the province from Qing rule. The revolutionary force in Fujian thus reached a condition of preliminary consolidation in a few major urban centres.

Further Development of Revolutionary Groups in Fuzhou, 1906-1911

The founding of the Tongmenghui in Tokyo in 1905 ushered in a new era of revolutionary movement in the late Qing period.²² After its establishment, the Tongmenghui immediately embarked on the recruitment of members as well as expansion of its organization. According to the 1906 General Regulations, the organization of Tongmenghui should be in the form of a hierarchy comprising the headquarters, branches and sub-branches so as to expand its revolutionary force. The headquarters and provincial branches were to be located in Tokyo while sub-branches, under the direct supervision of the Tokyo provincial branches, were to be set up in the various provincial capitals in China. As an initial step, from amongst Chinese students in Tokyo, Sun Yatsen appointed the more influential to become Oath Administrators of the various provinces. The Oath Administrators in turn recruited members from people of their respective provinces residing in Tokyo. When a certain number of members was reached, provincial branches were set up and the Oath Administrators then became branch heads. At the same time, members were sent back to their own provinces to carry out activities and expand the influence of the Tongmenghui.²³ To take Fujian as an example, Lin Wen was first appointed Oath Administrator of the province and later took up the post of branch head of the 14th Branch of the Tongmenghui.²⁴ After the death of Lin Wen in the

Guangzhou Uprising of 1911, Zheng Lie became the branch head. The 14th Branch was at first located at Okubo outside the city of Tokyo and later moved to Yanagi-cho in Hongo within the city. According to Zheng Lie, the total number of members joining the 14th Branch in Tokyo at that time was fifty-six and many of them later became important figures in revolutionary activities in Fujian and other provinces in China. The most significant among them were the six members of the Fang family namely, Fang Xingtao, Fang Xingdong, Fang Junying, Zheng Meng, Wang Ying and Zeng Xing.²⁵

The jurisdiction of the Tokyo provincial branches extended far beyond Tokyo to their respective provinces in China. In the case of Fujian, Lin Wen's authority was even greater for he had Lin Sen in charge of Fujianese members in Shanghai as well as Weng Hao and Lin Xiao responsible for liaison with revolutionary comrades in Manchuria and Wuchang respectively. Like the other provincial branches, the 14th Branch of Fujian could act independently with or without the knowledge of the Tokyo Headquarters and make its own revolutionary plans as long as they were compatible with the revolutionary aims of the Tongmenghui.²⁶

(1) Zhongguo Tongmenghui Fujian Zhibu (The Fujian Branch of the Tongmenghui, 1906) - After the Tongmenghui was founded in 1905, members of the various provincial branches started returning to China to set up sub-branches or similar organizations in their respective provinces.²⁷ In respect to Fujian, approval was given by Sun Yatsen to the request of Lin Wen and Fang Xingtao for the establishment of a sub-branch. Thus in the spring of 1906, Huang Guangbi, Shi Ming and others of the 14th Branch left Tokyo for Fuzhou where they formed the Zhonghua Tongmenghui Zhihui (Branch of the Chinese Tongmenghui).²⁸ In the summer of the same year, Sun Yatsen sent Wang Yintang back to Fuzhou with a secret appointment letter and other documents to set up the Fujian Branch of the Tongmenghui. Recommended by Lin Wen, Zheng Zuyin became head of the Branch. Lin Sichen was appointed Oath Administrator. Simultaneously, the Bingwu Julebu (The 1906 Club) was established as a secret meeting venue for the Branch members. In 1907, all the members of the Hanzu Duli Hui joined the Tongmenghui²⁹ and this signified the convergence of local and central revolutionary

forces. Fujian was united with centres of anti-Manchu activity elsewhere in the country in the revolutionary movement.

As laid down by Regulations, the Fujian Branch of the Tongmenghui had to be located in Fuzhou. The name designated for divisions of the Branch set up in the various prefectures, departments and districts was "(Name of prefecture or district) Division in Fujian of the Chinese Tongmenghui". The organization of the Branch should comprise one Branch Head to be in charge of all operations; two Advisors to assist the Branch Head; forty Secretaries to be responsible for general affairs, public relations, administration and clerical duties as well as thirty Councillors to give comments on matters of importance.³⁰

After its establishment, the Fujian Branch not only kept in touch with Lin Wen of the 14th Branch in Tokyo and Lin Sen in Shanghai³¹ but also expanded its influence to other parts of the province. Records by Zou Lu indicated that the Tongmenghui sent Huang Guangbi, Lin Shishao, Shi Ming and Xu Zhuoran to Jianan, Putian, Quanzhou, Xiamen and so on to set up divisions.³² In Jianan, there was already an organization established by revolutionaries from Fuzhou who were also trying to persuade the local army to join them in overthrowing the Qing government.³³ In Putian, since 1902, the reform-minded gentry and young intellectuals there had been in close contact with Fujianese revolutionaries in Fuzhou and Shanghai. Huang Jixing, Huang Jiyun, Huang Shou and Huang Xiang, who were from the same gentry family, had contributed greatly to promoting revolution in Putian. Huang Jixing, a Xiucai degree holder, had made much effort in the promotion of modern education. In 1909, he was elected to be a member of Fujian's Provincial Assembly.³⁴ In the list of members of the Fujianese Student Association in Shanghai of 1903, there were the names of sixteen Putianese and Huang Jixing was one of them.³⁵ In 1904, Huang's brother-in-law Tao Kaiqu, who came from a gentry family and had studied in Japan and was inclined towards revolution, provided funds to organize the Xing She (Wakening Society) and Liqing Primary School for promotion of revolution. The primary school, with students aged between 15 and 20, later became the breeding ground of Putianese revolutionaries. In 1906, Lin Shishao

returned to Putian and set up the Xinghua Tongmenghui with himself taking up the position of Chairman.³⁶ In respect to Quanzhou, Xu Zhuoran, who in 1907 spent a short period of time in Singapore where he was influenced by the activities of Sun Yatsen and later returned to Xiamen to join the Tongmenghui, established the Xiyu School and Tiyu Hui (Physical Education Society) in the city to spread revolutionary ideas and recruit members thus laying the foundation for Quanzhou's revolutionary movement.³⁷ For Xiamen, Shi Ming was one of the individuals who played an important role in developing the revolutionary force. Details will be discussed later in the chapter.

In 1908, a Fuzhou revolutionary Wu Shi went back to his native place, Lianjiang District, where he met with members of the Guangfu Hui (Great Blessing Society), the local militia of Toubao Village, and tried to gain support for the revolution among the founders of the society including Zheng Ruisheng, Zeng Shouhui and Huang Kean. Under Wu's influence, the society later changed its name to Lianjiang Guangfuhui (Lianjiang's Restoration Society) and Lianjiang became another stronghold of the Fujian Branch of Tongmenghui apart from Fuzhou. Members of the society were mostly peasants and people skilled in martial arts. In 1911, the society participated in the Guangzhou Uprising and nine of its member were killed.³⁸ Not only did the Fujian Branch of Tongmenghui set up divisions throughout the province but it also secretly planned to rise up against the Qing government in 1908 after the death of Emperor Guangxu. However, the plan was finally abandoned when the members found the time was not yet ripe for action and they were also not strong enough to achieve their aim.³⁹ With the whole nation immersed in the Constitutional Movement and the change in strategy of the Fujianese revolutionaries, using armed uprisings as a means to overthrow the Qing rule was temporarily shelved. In early 1911, responding to the Tongmenghui Headquarters' call for uprising, the Fujian Branch joined in the Guangzhou Uprising. Later, after the Wuchang Uprising, it initiated the "recovery" of Fuzhou. This resulted in the liberation of Fujian from the Manchus.

(2) Qiaonan Gongyi She (Public Welfare Society from the Area South of the Bridge, 1907) - In 1907, due to the failure of the Huanggang Uprising, Fujianese

revolutionaries began the adoption of new revolutionary strategy in order to maintain their strength. They turned to milder tactics and became involved in social welfare work as a means to gain public support and achieve their revolutionary aims. This "roundabout strategy" was implemented and promoted by the Qiaonan Gongyi She which was founded by Zheng Shouxin, Liu Jie and members of the Fujian Branch of Tongmenghui such as Lin Sichen, Lin Yushi, Wang Hongzi and Chen Yuxin at Meiwu of Nantai. Members mainly originated from the Yiwen She and Hanzu Duli Hui as well as the intellectual and merchant classes. The Chairman of the society was Zheng Shouxin while Lin Sichen supervised all operations.⁴⁰ On the surface, the Society co-operated with the local gentry and constitutionalists in setting up modern schools, providing free burials and medical service, launching anti-opium campaigns, giving public talks and carrying out other social welfare activities. As a matter of fact, members of the society were using their community work as a cover while they were secretly engaged in the promotion of revolution.⁴¹ Many of the members had first joined in due to their enthusiasm for social welfare but some had become members simply out of curiosity. To influence these non-revolutionary members, the society published a newsletter entitled *Diaocha Lu* (Investigation Records) which not only reported home and overseas news but also carried anti-Qing propaganda. The newsletter, which later became *Jianyan Bao*, was very popular among members of the society.

Since it was involved in different types of social welfare activities, the society had a number of subsidiary bodies responsible for the different kinds of work. Apart from the Yuebao She (Newspaper Reading Society) of which no information could be traced, there were five other subsidiaries including the following:

(a) Shehui Banshichu (Community Office) - The Office was established in 1909 and was co-located with the Gongyi She. The success of the Gongyi She on the southern side of the bridge prompted the establishment of similar societies on the northern side at Chating, Qionghui and Yuelu.⁴² The Community Office was thus set up for liaison with the various societies and it became an operation centre. Important staff of the Office in 1909 included the Chief Executive Chen Bingtai, Assistant Executive

Zhuang Lin, Chief Councillor Lin Sichen, Chinese Secretaries Liu Tong and others, English Secretaries Wu Guanluan and so on as well as Editors such as Zheng Zuyin.⁴³

(b) Qudu She (Anti-Opium Society) - The Society was founded in 1908 by Lin Bingzhang and others and chaired by Lin. The First Anti-Opium Bureau under the Society was set up in Nantai. The number of bureaus later increased to four and they were found both inside and outside Fuzhou City. The task of the bureaus was to help opium smokers to get rid of their addiction. Seventy-five branches and sub-branches of the society were gradually established throughout the province and they all achieved significant results.⁴⁴

(c) Jiuho Hui (Fire Fighting Society) - In view of the fact that fires frequently broke out in the densely populated Fuzhou City and Nantai Island but the government fire service was not adequate, Lin Yushi set up the Fire Fighting Society at the Tianan Temple on Cangqian Shan. Liu Yuandong was put in charge of all operations. Among the members of the society, many were "revolutionaries". Later, following the success of the society, similar bodies were also established in other parts of Fuzhou.⁴⁵

(d) Tiyu Hui (Physical Education Society) - In order to resist foreign invasion, the early 20th Century saw the emergence of the idea of militant citizenry with emphasis on physical education and advocacy for military strength. A similar phenomenon emphasizing physical education and martial arts was also witnessed in some European countries, India and Bengal.⁴⁶ Under the influence of such an idea, the Chinese students in Tokyo organized the "Volunteer Corps to Resist Russia" in 1903. Just before the 1911 Revolution, societies emphasizing physical education and military strength were set up all over the country by people from the commercial and educational circles.⁴⁷ Against this background, Fuzhou merchants formed the Union of Merchants Volunteer Corps to recruit able-bodied men from merchant groups for military training. At the same time, the Qiaonan Gongyi She established Tiyu Hui with Feng Jinrong as instructor. Appeals were made to young men, particularly in Nantai, to attend regular physical training on Mai Yuan (wheat field) in Meiwu. Participants were mostly students of the Anglo-

Chinese College, Peiyuan College and Biblical Institute.⁴⁸ In this way, the military strength of the Fuzhou revolutionaries was formed.

(e) *Jianyan Bao* (Opinion News) - The paper was first published on the 10th of January 1911 with the co-operation of constitutionalists. Seeing the success of the Gongyi She, Liu Chongyou and Lin Changmin, two constitutionalist leaders, believed that having the Gongyi She on their side would be beneficial to the development of constitutionalists. In the winter of 1910, through Zhang Haishan and Zhao Tongyou, the constitutionalists expressed to the Gongyi She their willingness to provide funding for a newspaper but all other affairs would still be managed by the Gongyi She. The newspaper thus fell into the hands of revolutionaries and was turned into a medium of propaganda for the Fujian Branch of the Tongmenghui. The Chief Supervisor was Lin Yushi and Lin Sichen was responsible for distribution. Zhang Haishan, Liu Tong, Lin Sichen and Huang Guangbi had all been Editor of the paper at one time or another. In respect to contents, there were five main sections comprising the editorial, commentaries, reports, miscellaneous items and pictures. Six to seven hundred copies were usually published for every issue and the paper was very popular. After the "recovery" of Fujian in 1911, the paper continued publication but under the new name of *Gonghe Bao* (Republican News).⁴⁹

In early 1911, the Tongmenghui initiated the Guangzhou Uprising and many comrades from the Gongyi She joined in. From its engagement in public welfare activities, the society had changed its tactics and participated in an armed uprising.⁵⁰ After the Wuchang Uprising in the same year, Fuzhou also stepped up preparations for liberation from the Manchus and the work was mainly taken up by the Fujian Branch of Tongmenghui and the Junjing Tebie Tongmenghui. The two societies set up a joint head office at the Qiaonan Gongyi She which acted as a commanding centre to give commands to the Student Army and Explosives Squad who were mostly members of Tiyu Hui, and the Merchant Volunteer Corps, as well as liaise with the new army and police.⁵¹ This finally led to the "recovery" of Fuzhou. During his visit to Fujian in 1912, after the Qing government was overthrown by the 1911 Revolution, Sun Yatsen

particularly commended the Gongyi She for its contribution to Fuzhou's independence movement and presented the society with a plaque bearing the name "Independence Hall" (Duli Ting). In this way, the Gongyi She became famous all over the province.⁵²

(3) Junjing Tebie Tongmenghui (Special Army-Police Revolutionary Alliance, 1911) - This Special Alliance was founded by Peng Shousong. After becoming a member of the Tongmenghui, Peng believed that the success of a revolution depended on military strength which in turn depended on the army and police.⁵³ Moreover, though he was a relatively new member of the Tongmenghui, he was unwilling to be in a subordinate position. He formed the idea of developing his own strength and began recruiting members of the army and police to set up a new organization.⁵⁴ The Junjing Tebie Tongmenghui was subsequently established in June of 1911 with Peng himself assuming the position of Chairman. The Tebie Tongmenghui had its headquarters at Peng's own home in Xiadu supervised by Peng himself and there were two other offices, one co-located with the *Jianyan Bao* headed by Liu Tong and Zheng Zuyin and the other at Fahai Temple managed by Peng's nephew Peng Yinxiang. However, as Fahai Temple was in the vicinity of the Banner garrison, the office there was later moved to Beihou Street.⁵⁵

At that time, most members of Fuzhou's army and police force were of Hunanese origin or secret society members. Peng had a similar background and he used this to his advantage in absorbing recruits from the new army and police. First of all, he enlisted the support of important elements of the various lodges and joined the lodges into one united body called "Hong Jia Shou Tong Pu" (洪家收通舖). As most of the lodge members belonged to the new army or police, they were gradually absorbed into the Tebie Tongmenghui. By the time of the Wuchang Uprising, eighty percent of the Fuzhou new army and police had become members of the Tebie Tongmenghui.⁵⁶ Fuzhou's military force was thus controlled by the revolutionaries.

From the establishment of the Fujian Branch of Tongmenghui in 1906 to the "recovery" of Fujian in 1911, the three revolutionary groups mentioned above not only had come together to form one united front but also joined with local influences and the

co-operation between the Qiaonan Gongyi She and the constitutionalists was a typical example. In terms of the leadership and activities of the revolutionary groups, although the Fujian Branch was a leading force in the province, it was not able to lead and control effectively revolutionary activities in the area. The reason for this was, as analysed by Zhang Yufa, the revolutionary movement in Late Qing had the characteristics of decentralization with branches of the various provinces co-operating with local influences and developing in their own separate ways.⁵⁷ This special feature was aptly reflected in Fujian's revolutionary movement. During the later stage, most of the revolutionary activities were carried out by the Gongyi She and Junjing Tebie Tongmenghui. The former adopted a new revolutionary strategy of co-operating with the local gentry and constitutionalists to promote social welfare. This was done to gain fame and recognition for the revolutionaries within local communities and as a result, social influence of the revolutionaries and popular support for revolution increased. The latter was formed by efforts of Peng Shousong to recruit members of the new army and police with secret society backgrounds into the revolutionary front in order to strengthen their military force. By so doing, Peng also became a key figure in Fujian's revolutionary movement. Then after the Wuchang Uprising, the three revolutionary groups - Fujian Branch, Gongyi She and Special Alliance - immediately joined forces to stage the "recovery" of Fuzhou and later gained control over the entire province of Fujian.

Revolutionary Groups in Xiamen and their Activities, 1905-1911

The emergence of revolutionary groups in Xiamen could be attributed to the efforts of the Tongmenghui and Guangfuhui. Regarding the Tongmenghui, members had mainly originated from Fuzhou and they started carrying out revolutionary activities in Xiamen as early as 1905. At that time, Huang Naichang, Zheng Quan and Chen Yushen came south to Xiamen to run the *Fujian Daily News* and laid the foundation for further activities of Fuzhou revolutionaries in Xiamen. Afterwards, Shi Ming and Zhang Haishan also arrived in Xiamen and continued with the promotion of revolution in the city. Earlier on, Shi Ming and some others such as Lin Hengke had founded the Puwen

School in Fuzhou which became a meeting place for revolutionaries. In 1905, when Shi was in Tokyo, he joined the 14th Branch of the Tongmenghui there. Immediately afterwards, he returned to Fuzhou and took part in the establishment of the Fujian Branch. In 1907, Shi fought in the Huanggang Uprising.⁵⁸ Zhang Haishan, on the other hand, was the founder of the Xicheng School in Fuzhou. He joined the Fujian Branch in 1906 and later took up position as editor of *Jianyan Bao*.⁵⁹ Before the "recovery" of Xiamen, Shi and Zhang did much to facilitate the development of Xiamen's revolutionary movement. Activities of the Fuzhou revolutionaries in Xiamen included the following:

(1) Dissemination of Revolutionary Ideas - This was done either by word of mouth or writing, and mainly focused on the dissemination of anti-Manchu ideas and nationalism. They looked for suitable targets to spread their ideas verbally.⁶⁰ Dissemination by writing started with the *Fujian Daily News* established by Huang Naichang and Zheng Quan in Xiamen and the newspaper became the base for revolutionary propaganda. Apart from the *Fujian Daily News*, there was also the reprinting and distribution of Zou Rong's *Gemingjun* under the new title of *Tu Cun Pian* by Zhou Minghui (a member recruited by Shi Ming in Xiamen), Qiu Qijing (1888-1984) and Wang Jinyin who had asked a merchant Huang Tingyuan for a donation of one hundred dollars to complete the task.⁶¹ Huang Tingyuan was a native of Tongan and together with Lin Lucun, a Xiamen merchant, had provided financial support for the publication of *Fujian Daily News*. Huang thus made friends with Huang Naichang who had a great influence on his becoming inclined towards revolution. Furthermore, Huang Tingyuan was actively involved in the Anti-American Boycott of 1905 and was appointed Vice-Chairman of the Society for the Resistance of Sino-American Workers Immigration Agreement. The merchants of Xiamen were also sympathetic to revolution.⁶² Then after the Wuchang Uprising, Zhang Haishan started the publication of *Nansheng Ribao* (Voice of the South Daily) with he himself assuming the position of Chief Editor. The paper reported news of uprisings throughout China and published numerous articles containing revolutionary ideas and advocating that revolution was necessary. The paper had a distribution of one thousand and three hundred copies and

had a great impact on the "recovery" of Xiamen.⁶³ The *Nansheng* and *Jianyan Bao* were the mouthpiece of the revolution in Southern and Northern Fujian.

(2) Recruitment of Members - The Tongmenghui's Oath Administrators in Xiamen included Shi Ming, Wang Zhenbang, Chen Dehui, Huang Yuese and others who recruited members for the society. To become a member, one had to have an introduction from two existing members and sign a sworn agreement. After joining the society, the members all carried out their own activities. Targets of recruitment were mainly young intellectuals and the urban lower classes. In respect to the recruitment of young intellectuals, after his arrival in Xiamen, Shi Ming persuaded students of the Hope Hospital at Gulang Yu such as Wang Zhaopei, Zhou Minghui and Lin Huaian to become members. Wang Zhaopei subsequently used the Hope Hospital as a base for his activities and formed the Jidujiao Jili Hui (Christian Independence Society) to recruit Christians as revolutionaries. At the same time, realizing that the school was the ideal place for absorbing young students, Shi Ming and Lin Hengke took up teaching posts at the Datong Secondary School. Other members of the Tongmenghui also followed their example and became teachers at the Tongwen Institute established by Chinese merchants and Johnson A. Burlingame, the American Consul at Xiamen and Anglo-Chinese College set up by British missionaries in order to win over the support of young students for the revolution. Under the influence of the revolutionaries, students of the graduating class at Tongwen Institute staged a strike in 1907 asking for additional lessons on Chinese language. However, the students' request was turned down and some students were dismissed by the school. Enraged, all students of the class left and a merchant of Xiamen, Chen Ziting, donated funds to build a new school, Xiamen Secondary School, for the students. After the "recovery" of Xiamen in 1911, many of the students from Tongwen Institute joined the student army and went to Quanzhou to participate in spreading ideas of "recovery". This showed the work of individual members of the Tongmenghui in the implementation of revolution.⁶⁴

In respect to recruitment among the urban lower classes, the Tongmenghui established the Gulang Yu Yuebao Suo. (Gulang Yu Newspaper Reading Room) and

Minnan Yuebao She (Minnan Newspaper Reading Society) at Gulang Yu, purchased revolutionary publications and carried out recruitment of comrades. They also made use of the Nanyue Hui (Southern Music Society) which was frequented by masons as a place to spread revolutionary ideas to them. Another revolutionary, Huang Yunshan, set up the Zhonghua Xiatuan (Chinese Chivalry Society) to get in touch with the lower social classes and mobilize the Xiamen police into joining the Tongmenghui.⁶⁵

(3) Establishment of Liaison and Communication Centres - Huang Naichang and Zheng Quan set up the Yinghua Gongsuo (Yinghua Public Hall) in the vicinity of the Xiamen Customs House. They also founded, together with Huang Yunshan, a society for southern music lovers called Jiantang Shengxue Hui (Jiantang Music Study Society). Both the public hall and society were used as liaison centres for revolutionaries.⁶⁶ On the other hand, a number of pro-revolution citizens made use of the organizations where they were employed as either communication centres or meeting places. These organizations comprised the dormitory of the Hope Hospital, the Great Northern Telegraph Company, the American Consulate at Xiamen and foreign firms such as the Standard Oil Company. From the various bases, the Tongmenghui members in Xiamen embarked on a series of activities in the city.⁶⁷

(4) Participation in Public Welfare Activities - Huang Tingyuan, Huang Yunshan, Qiu Rumeng and some others started the establishment of social organizations to carry out public welfare work,⁶⁸ e.g. eradication of superstitions, an example of which was the demolition of the Xianshan Temple in Xiamen in 1910; setting up branches of the Anti-Opium Society to supervise anti-opium activities; and appealing for the abolition of foot-binding.⁶⁹ These activities were carried out as a means to raise the social status of the Tongmenghui revolutionaries in Xiamen.

The Guangfuhui's activities in Xiamen were mainly connected with Wang Zhenbang and Jiang Deqing, two Overseas Chinese in Semarang. Wang Zhenbang returned to Xiamen in early 1911 to continue with his medical practice but secretly, he was promoting revolution. He had first resided in Gulang Yu and later moved to the Wancheng Kezhan (Inn) in Xiamen. The inn carried a foreign business licence as a cover

for its being a base for revolutionary activities such as the spreading of revolutionary ideas, the recruitment of members and the development of revolutionary organizations. Around the same time, Jiang Deqing also came back to Xiamen from Semarang and became an important assistant to Wang Zhenbang. Hence, after the recovery of Xiamen, Jiang was elected to be the Deputy Head of the Junzheng Fenfu (Branch Military Government).⁷⁰ Activities of the revolutionaries from Semarang in Xiamen included the following:

(1) Establishment of Secret Organizations - The Semarang revolutionaries established secret organizations in both Xiamen and Quanzhou. In Xiamen, there were the Hechang Zhan (Inn) and Wanmei Xinju (Wanmei Remittance Office), while in Quanzhou, the "Chi Wang Wo" (Shelter for those Ashamed to Lose their Country) was set up at Zishanshe. Wang Zhenbang travelled back and forth between Xiamen and Quanzhou to keep in contact with revolutionaries in both places.⁷¹

(2) Mobilization of Secret Societies and Local Influences in Xiamen - During the mid-Qing period, as a result of "xiedou" (feud) among the villages of the Xinghua Prefecture, there was the emergence of the Baiqi Hui (White Flag Society) and Wuqi Hui (Black Flag Society) which were very active in the prefecture. When Zuo Zongtang was Governor-General of Fujian and Zhejiang from 1863 to 1866, the two societies were under close surveillance and many of their members were arrested. The members were therefore more restrained in their activities and it was not until the early 20th Century that they became active again and their influence was expanded to the Quanzhou Prefecture. Both societies were secretly stocked with arms and weapons and were often hired to take part in "xiedou" as well as anti-taxation activities. Members of the societies, who were mostly bandits, were always ignoring or defying the government.⁷² They always created public disturbances by committing murders and every crime imaginable. At that time, the leader of the White Flag Society in Nanan, Yang Ju, called himself "Fu Yi Quan Wang" (Quanzhou's King of Fortune and Righteousness). Wang Zhenbang tried to absorb Yang and his society into the Guangfuhui but was not successful.⁷³ Meanwhile, there were three big families in Xiamen namely, Chen, Wu and Ji. After

Xiamen was opened as a treaty port, many foreign vessels were anchored here. The three families had control over nine of Xiamen's wharves and were involved in the transportation of passengers and goods. Each of the families had its own territory of influence and none could infringe on the rights of others. However, due to conflict of interests, "xiedou" often occurred. Among the three families, the most powerful was the Wu family who were called the Wu's of Shixun (石滬吳). While in Xiamen, Wang Zhenbang succeeded in winning the three families over and formed an alliance with them. In this way, the Guangfuhui was able to gain the important support of the influential leaders of major kinship groups in Xiamen.⁷⁴

(3) Mobilization of the Garrison at the Forts of Xiamen - In 1911, through the help of Zhong Tinghui and Chen Yanggao, Wang Zhenbang took the risk of proceeding to the forts at Shuikou, Hulishan and Baishi to meet with the various commanders and troops. Many of the soldiers were greatly moved by Wang's speeches and turned into revolutionaries. Wang also obtained a promise from the fort commanders to remain neutral in case of an uprising.⁷⁵

(4) Staging an Armed Uprising - In April of 1911, Wang Zhenbang and some others were secretly informed of the impending uprising in Guangzhou. Wang therefore left Xiamen for Guangzhou with Yang Jie and Chen Huorang to take part in the uprising. However, upon arrival in Guangzhou, they found the uprising had already been suppressed. Disappointed, they returned to Xiamen. Later in the year, after the success of the Wuchang Uprising and the subsequent recovery of Guangzhou, two members of the Guangfuhui, Xu Xueqiu and Chen Yunsheng, returned to Chaozhou from Southeast Asia to join in the recovery movement. Wang Zhenbang met with both of them in Hong Kong and Chaozhou to discuss plans for the recovery of Southern Fujian and Eastern Guangdong. Wang was also involved in the production and smuggling of bombs into the two provinces for the recovery movement.⁷⁶

Nationalism in Xiamen surfaced after the Sino-Japanese War as a result of foreign encroachment. However, there were still no revolutionary leaders or groups in the area until the arrival in 1905 of revolutionaries from Fuzhou and Southeast Asia

which led to the emergence of revolutionary forces. Revolutionary influence from outside mainly came from the Fujian Branch of Tongmenghui and the Semarang Guangfuhui. In 1907, leaders of the Tongmenghui and Guangfuhui, turned hostile against each other and as a result, branches of the two societies in Xiamen also went about their work separately. Though the two societies were trying to expand their own influence in different ways, they shared one common characteristic in that all activities were generally restricted to the individual efforts of a handful of men and a cohesive organization did not exist. Activities of the Fuzhou revolutionaries from the Fujian Branch concentrated on dissemination of revolutionary ideas; recruitment of members from schools, commercial and industrial circles and the police as well as promotion of public welfare. What they did was in no way different from what the revolutionaries in Fuzhou were doing. For the Guangfuhui, their activities had, as a rule, started with the recruitment of comrades from secret societies, the new army and Overseas Chinese which was followed by the launching of an armed insurrection at the appropriate time.⁷⁷ The activities in Xiamen of Wang Zhenbang from the Semarang Guangfuhui also followed the same pattern. It was clearly seen that though members of the two societies were developing in their own different ways, they were still under the influence of the revolutionary groups from which they had originated.

In regard to the achievements of the two groups, in the six years between 1905 and 1911, the Fujian Branch of Tongmenghui set the trend for revolution in Xiamen and established their own influence in the city. On the other hand, for the Semarang Guangfuhui, although Wang Zhenbang was in Xiamen for only a short span of time, "his aggressiveness and indiscriminate recruitment of members enabled him to draw over to his side all kinds of talents".⁷⁸ Wang therefore succeeded in establishing a base for the Guangfuhui in Xiamen. As a matter of fact, the various revolutionary activities of the two groups had aroused the attention of the local authorities. Hong Yongan, the Naval Commander-in-Chief in Xiamen, was particularly harsh with the revolutionaries. Once tracked down and arrested, they were all severely punished.⁷⁹ Then after the "recovery"

of Fuzhou, the two revolutionary forces formed an alliance to overthrow the Qing rule in Xiamen which led to the "liberation" of the city.

An Analysis of the Strategy of the Revolutionary Groups in Fujian

With the increasing number of revolutionary groups in Fuzhou, Xiamen and other areas in the province, the revolutionary force in Fujian became stronger by the day and revolutionary activities were carried out one after another. At this time, due to the change in strategy of Fuzhou revolutionaries in 1907, a dramatic change in Fujian's revolution movement resulted. From the traditional revolutionary strategy of mobilizing students and secret societies in the adoption of violence to overthrow the Manchu government, there was a switch to co-operation with the local gentry and constitutionalists in the use of peaceful means including the promotion of social welfare and participation in the Rights Recovery Movement to gain more support from the people for the revolutionary cause. The revolutionaries were lying low for a chance to strike again. The activities of the Hanzu Duli Hui established in 1905 and the Qiaonan Gongyi She founded in 1907 most clearly illustrated the change in strategy of the Fujian revolutionary groups.

When the revolutionary movement of Fujian first started in Fuzhou, activities of the revolutionary groups mainly focused on revolutionary propaganda, recruitment of members, organization of revolutionary bodies and demonstrations. It was not until the establishment of the Hanzu Duli Hui that revolutionaries in Fuzhou began making plans for an armed uprising to overthrow the Manchu rule through violent means. The adoption of such strategy was the reaction to the Qing government's tough suppression of demonstrations and subversive activities of revolutionaries.

In the summer of 1904, provoked by the Russo-Japanese War which aroused their nationalistic sentiments, sixty to seventy patriotic students from various private and public schools in Fuzhou such as Lin Juemin and Lin Yuezhi from the Higher School of Fujian; Chen Gengxin and Yan Ji from the Houguan Junior/Senior Primary School and He Sui from the Fujian Military Preparatory Academy assembled at the Wangbeitai

(North-Facing Terrace) on Cangqian Shan in Nantai where they discussed and lamented over the predicament of China. Though it was raining, the students took turns to voice their grievance and anger at the Qing government's corruption and helplessness which had brought great loss and humiliation to the country. They all believed that patriotism meant driving out the Manchus which in turn required military strength. The meeting was followed by a demonstration and the students marched along in the rain singing the song "When will (we) be awakened?". Singing aloud and marching forward as one, they made a detour at the East Gate to pass by the Manchu garrison before disbanding.⁸⁰ It was evident that the Fuzhou students were bursting with anti-Manchu feelings.

Soon afterwards, driven by patriotism, the students of Fuzhou initiated the formation of the Xuesheng Lianhe Hui, an alliance aimed at overthrowing the Qing rule. During the inauguration ceremony, the aim of the society was expounded while at the same time an election for the Chief Representative took place. Lin Yuezhi and Huang Guangbi carried the same number of votes, and both tried to offer the position to the other. Annoyed by what Lin and Huang were doing, Zheng Quan went up the stage and spoke out, "If one day we start a revolution and have to elect a commander but everybody is offering the position to someone else, won't it be a waste of time and affect our chance of success?"⁸¹ Zheng's words clearly revealed his desire for revolution. The teachers and students present were so moved by what he had said that they staged a collective demonstration right after the ceremony and proceeded to Wenming She where they met with the heads of secret societies to show their support for anti-Manchu activities. What had begun as an inauguration ceremony of a student society thus ended with a large scale public demonstration.⁸² The two student demonstrations mentioned above finally aroused the attention of the local authorities and led to suppression by the Treasurer, Zhou Lian. As a result, both the Wenming She and Xuesheng Lianhe Hui were disbanded and members were forced to flee Fuzhou. It was not until 1905 that they came together again and organized the setting up of the Hanzu Duli Hui with a pledge to overthrow the Manchu government by revolution.⁸³ In 1907, co-operating with revolutionaries in Chaozhou, they engineered the Huanggang Uprising.

The key to the relationship between the Hanzu Duli Hui and the Chaozhou revolutionary force was Huang Naichang. After his conversion from reformer to revolutionary, Huang travelled back to China from Singapore in 1904. From Shanghai, he went to the Chaozhou and Swatow region where he spread revolutionary ideas to the local people⁸⁴ and became acquainted with Xu Xueqiu, Chen Yunsheng and others. Greatly influenced by Huang's thoughts of racialism,⁸⁵ Xu and Chen co-operated with Huang in the organization of revolutionary groups and together, the three of them worked for revolution in Fujian and Guangdong.⁸⁶ In early 1905, Huang Naichang went back to Fuzhou. At the same time, Chen Yunsheng was put in charge of revolutionary activities in Fujian and Guangdong and he kept in close contact with Huang Naichang.⁸⁷ Later, Huang went south to Xiamen to assume responsibilities for the publication of the *Fujian Daily News* and Zheng Quan, Chairman of the Hanzu Duli Hui, was appointed Editor of the newspaper. The Duli Hui thus became involved in the revolutionary movement in Fujian and Eastern Guangdong. Zheng Quan even went personally to Chaozhou to meet with Xu Xueqiu to discuss plans for a joint uprising in Fujian and Chaozhou. However, the plan never came into being.⁸⁸

In 1906, Huang, Xu and Chen arrived in Singapore one after another and joined the Singapore Tongmenghui as members. They also met with Sun Yatsen and made plans for an uprising at the Fujian-Guangdong border. Their plan was enthusiastically supported by members of the Singapore Tongmenghui who made generous donations for the uprising - the famous Huanggang Uprising which took place in the year 1907.⁸⁹ In April of 1907, Chen Yunsheng plotted to start a rebellion in Huanggang. In preparation for the uprising, Chen sent some men to Fuzhou to liaise with Huang Naichang who in turn made the plan known to Zheng Zuyin, the then Acting Chairman of the Hanzu Duli Hui. Zheng subsequently called a meeting of the society and the members decided to send Shi Ming and some others to take part in the uprising at Huanggang and they proceeded to Chaozhou by fishing boats. Eventually, approximately seven hundred revolutionaries from Fujian and Guangdong participated in the Huanggang Uprising⁹⁰ and it was also the very first time that Fujianese had taken part in any armed uprising

outside their own province. In the course of action, Shi Ming demonstrated outstanding bravery at the Battle of Jingzhou⁹¹, however the Huanggang Uprising was suppressed by the Qing army. Although Shi Ming was able to survive, when he returned to Fujian, he was rebuked by members of the Hanzu Duli Hui for not sacrificing his life for the cause of the uprising. Hence, there was a split in the Duli Hui which finally led to its disbandment.⁹²

With the failure of the Huanggang Uprising, the Fujianese revolutionaries began losing faith in the effectiveness of armed uprisings to achieve their revolutionary aim. They came to realize that not only were they attracting too much attention by recruiting members from secret societies and absorbing students but it was also useless. Moreover, failure of the planned insurrection of the Hanzu Duli Hui further strengthened their belief that to bring about the downfall of the Qing Court, they had to change their revolutionary strategy and mode of activities. They therefore switched to the non-violent strategy of getting involved in community work as a means to gain support from the public. To achieve their purpose, the revolutionaries of Fujian established the Qiaonan Gongyi She. On the one hand, leading members of the Gongyi She, most of whom resided in the area south of the Wanshou Qiao (Bridge), made use of their social connections to absorb the local gentry into the society to promote public welfare and get rid of social maladies through activities such as the setting up of new schools, providing free medical service, newspaper publication, promotion of physical education, fire fighting and prohibition of opium smoking.⁹³ On the other hand, they liaised with farmers, merchants and workers and took part in campaigns against tax increases. They also supported the Rights Recovery Movement which had been advocated by the gentry and merchants since 1905.⁹⁴ In respect to Fujian, there were a number of movements for rights recovery staged by the Gongyi She including the recovery of mining rights from France in Yanping, Shaowu and Jianning; protest against foreign occupation of land around Cangqian Shan; prevention of Chinese coolie trade by the French; protest against Japan's conspiracy to monopolize the running of water supply systems and so on. Through their activities and efforts, the Qiaonan Gongyi She not only succeeded in

gaining support and faith of the people of Fuzhou but also won the trust and recognition from the local gentry and constitutionalists in the province.⁹⁵

In November 1910, after three failed attempts to petition immediate summoning of a parliament, some constitutionalists from various provinces including Fujian moved more and more towards support for revolution and sought co-operation with the revolutionaries.⁹⁶ The joint efforts of the Fujianese constitutionalists and revolutionaries in the publication of the *Jianyan Bao* was a typical example. In April 1911, Songshou found out that revolutionaries had penetrated welfare organizations like the Gongyi She to expand their influence. He therefore ordered the disbandment of local welfare organizations in Fujian. Fortunately, the provincial assembly stood up for the organizations. Not wishing to go against public opinion, Songshou was forced to revoke his order. The support of constitutionalists, such as that shown in this incident, was important for the revolutionaries to maintain their strength and paved the way for the "recovery" of Fujian in 1911.⁹⁷

After 1907, the Fujianese revolutionaries changed their strategy and switched to co-operation with the local gentry and constitutionalists to carry out local reforms. As a result, revolutionary activities in Fujian waned. Though a similar phenomenon could also be seen in other provinces, activities of the Fujianese revolutionaries still showed their own characteristics in comparison. Firstly, between 1907 and 1911, revolutionaries in Fuzhou and Xiamen were mainly engaged in organization of welfare societies to promote social welfare⁹⁸ while their counterparts in other provinces were organizing newspaper agencies, literary societies, theatrical troupes as well as academic and political associations.⁹⁹ Welfare societies in other provinces, particularly Jiangsu and Zhejiang, were usually established by the local gentry and merchants.¹⁰⁰

Secondly due to their preoccupation with social welfare activities, revolutionary activities of the Fujian revolutionaries had basically stopped.¹⁰¹ On the other hand, apart from those involved in reforms, many revolutionaries in Shanghai, Beijing, Tianjin, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Jiangxi, Hunan, Hubei, Guangdong, Guangxi, Anhui, Shanxi, Shaanxi and Yunnan were still engaged in revolutionary activities, mainly liaison with students,

members of secret societies and the new army to carry out revolutionary propaganda, assassinations and armed uprisings. Armed uprisings that took place between 1908 and 1910 included the Qinlian Uprising in Guangxi (1908), Hekou Uprising in Yunnan (1908), Xiong Chengji Mutiny in the Anhui Army (1908) and Guangzhou New Army Uprising in Guangdong (1910).¹⁰² It was not until the end of 1910 that the Fujianese revolutionaries responded to the call of the Tongmenghui to participate in the Guangzhou Uprising in 1911.

Finally, the constitutionalists had played a leading role in the anti-Imperialist movement, rights recovery petition movement, anti-tax movement and parliamentary petition movement in China.¹⁰³ Their leadership was particularly significant in Shanghai, Hunan, Hubei, Zhejiang, Guangdong and Guizhou.¹⁰⁴ But the case of Fujian was quite different. In the various political and social movements, it was the Fujianese revolutionaries who had played important parts. Since 1905, through the Lu-Hu Fujian Xuesheng Hui in Shanghai and the Qiaonan Gongyi She in Fuzhou, the revolutionaries of Fujian had appealed to the Fujianese residing in China and overseas to join them in the rights recovery and anti-tax movements in the province. In this way, the Fujianese revolutionaries had earned the recognition of the local people. In view of the prestige of the Qiaonan Gongyi She in the province, even the Fujianese constitutionalists sought co-operation with them. The constitutionalist of Fujian apparently played a less significant role than the revolutionaries in local affairs. The reason for this was threefold. First of all, the two important reform leaders in Fujian, Chen Baochen and Lin Bingzhang, had left the province to take up official positions in Beijing in 1909 and 1910 respectively. They were later also appointed members of the National Assembly. Secondly, since 1907, the Fujianese constitutionalists had concentrated on organizing political parties and participating in the parliamentary petition movement. As their leaders, Gao Dengli, Liu Chongyou and Lin Changmin, had spent most of their time taking part in activities outside the province, it was naturally difficult for them to take good care of local affairs.¹⁰⁵ Lastly, according to observation of the Fujianese revolutionaries, while expanding their political influence in the province, the constitutionalists had come into

conflict with the conservative members of the local gentry.¹⁰⁶ It was evident that the Fujianese constitutionalists only had limited influence in the local community.

The active performance of the Fujianese revolutionaries not only earned them a say in local affairs but also reflected the inefficiency and weakness of the Qing rule in Fujian. As a Fuzhou revolutionary, Liu Tong, recalled, the Gongyi She not only served as a cover for revolutionaries but ".....the public welfare activities embraced various aspects and they always reflected the government's corruption. On the one hand, the activities served to arouse people's indignation and disgust with the Qing government. On the other, they exposed the government's weaknesses and inability thus greatly undermining the prestige and authorities of the Qing officials"¹⁰⁷ Consequently, while the Fujian government gradually lost the confidence and trust of its people, the Gongyi She succeeded in gaining popular support and loyalty through its performance in community work. This greatly facilitated the further development of the revolutionary movement.¹⁰⁸

To sum up, despite the emergence of the Fujian Branch of the Tongmenghui as the central leading force of revolutionary groups, the revolutionaries of the province had, for a time, abandoned the usual strategy of recruitment of members and carrying out armed uprisings. Instead, they turned to the milder strategy of getting involved in social welfare activities, a method which had long been adopted by local gentry in the traditional Chinese society.¹⁰⁹ By so doing, the revolutionaries hoped to attain social status and gain popular support as a means to achieve their revolutionary objectives. As far as the Qiaonan Gongyi She was concerned, its success in gaining popular support led to the emergence of the so-called "dual power"¹¹⁰ phenomenon in the provincial capital. The success of the 1911 Revolution in Fujian was undoubtedly attributable to the change in strategy of the revolutionaries in the province.

Notes

1. Zhang Yufa, *Revolutionary Groups in Late Qing* (Qingji Di Geming Tuanti), (Taipei: IMH, Academia Sinica, 1975), PP. 1-6.
2. HMRF, PP. 71-84; FWZ, 6(1981); FWZX, 1(1981); QWZ, 9(1981); and PWZ, 2(1981); Qiu Jinjing, "The 1911 Revolution in Xiamen" (Xinhai Geming Zai Xiamen), XWZ, 1(1963), PP. 1-13; "Before and After the Recovery of Zhangzhou in 1911" (Xinhai Zhangzhou Guangfu Qianhou) and Wu Meilin, "The Fall of the Civilian Army of Shanghang in the 1911 Revolution" (Xinhai Geming Shanghang Minjun Beixian Ji) in FWZ, 6(1981), PP. 120-121 and 139-141; also see Cheng Kongli et al., "The 1911 Revolution in Fujian" (Xinhai Geming Zai Fujian) in AHR, Book 2 (1981), PP. 762-770; Fan Qilong, "Fujian on the Eve of the 1911 Revolution" (Xinhai Geming Qianxi Di Fujian), *Fujian Luntan*, 4(1991), PP. 33-34.
3. Zhang Yufa (1975), op.cit., PP. 658-686, statistics on revolutionary groups and schools in Tokyo, Shanghai and Wuchang were taken from Zhang's book, however Zhang had only listed six revolutionary groups and five schools in Fuzhou while statistics from other sources exceeded these numbers.
4. Wang Zhenbang, "A Brief Account of the Recovery of Xiamen, Zhangzhou, Quanzhou and Yongchun" (Guangfu Xiamen Zhang Quan Yong Jilue) (1911), QWZ, 9(1981), P. 36; also see Yang Jinhe and Hong Buren ed., *Revolutionary History of South Fujian* (Minnan Gemingshi), (Beijing: Zhongguo Jihua, 1990), PP. 40-49.
5. Most revolutionary groups in Fuzhou were set up in Xiadu located in the northern part of Nantai and east of Cangqian Shan, also known as Tianan Shan, where foreigners were concentrated. West of Xiadu was Cangqian while east of it was Guanyinjing and Meiwu. After the opening of Fuzhou as a treaty port, foreign trade flourished in Xiadu. Moreover, as Xiadu was 3.3 miles away from Fuzhou city, revolutionary groups tended to concentrate in the area as it was easier to avoid government attention. See Guo Gongmu, "Investigation on Several Issues Related to the Recovery of Fuzhou in 1911" (Xinhai Fuzhou Guangfu Jige Wenti Di Tiaocha Yanjiu), FWZX, 1(1981), P. 82; Zheng Zugeng, *Gazetteer of Min District* (Minxian Xiangtuzhi), (1903), (Taipei: Chengwen, Reprint, 1974), Vol. 2, PP. 511-518 and 594; Zheng Baijia, *Fuzhou Travel Guide* (Fuzhou Luxing Zhinan), (Shanghai: Shangwu, 1935), PP. 227-231.
6. A similar phenomenon could also be seen in other provinces such as Zhejiang and Anhui, see Mary B. Rankin (1971), op.cit., PP. 157-158.
7. DFRC, Vol. 1, Series 12, PP. 68-69.
8. DFRC, Vol. 1, Series 12, PP. 70-71; Pan Shouzheng, "The 1911 Revolution in Fuzhou" (Xinhai Geming Zai Fuzhou) in FWZX, 1(1981), P. 2.
9. Chen Shousui, "Taking Over the Headquarters of Fuzhou's Telegraph Bureau" (Jieguan Fuzhou Dianbao Zongju), FWZ, 6(1981), P. 94.

10. FRC, Vol. 2, Series 4, P. 303; Pan Shouzheng (1981), op.cit., P. 4; Ding Xiancheng "Reminiscence of the Patriotic Movement of Christian Schools and Revolutionary Battle in Fuzhou Before and After the 1911 Revolution" (Xinhai Geming Qianhou Fuzhou Jiaohui Xuexiao Di Aiguo Yundong Yu Geming Zhanzheng Di Huiyi), FWZX, 1(1981), PP. 63-65.
11. FRC, Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 69.
12. Pu Hanzi, "The Houguan Junior/Senior Primary School which Sowed the Seeds of Revolution in Late Qing" (Sabao Geming Zhongzi Di Qingmo Houguan Liangdeng Xiaoxuetang), FWZX, 1(1981), PP. 58-62, members of the "Ten Han Group" included Cheng Suyou (alias Handun), Huang Guangbi (Hanlun), Gao Yishu (Hannan), Pu Kaitai (Hanzi), Ni Luxin (Hanjie), Chen Yushen (Hanxin), Yen Ji (Hanmin), Zhang Shaorong (Hanhong), Cai Shijun (Hanlie) and Chen Gengxin (Hanlang).
13. DFRC, Vol. 1, Series 12, PP. 71-72; Pan Shouzheng (1981), op.cit., P. 5; Biography of Lin Sichen, in BOR, Book 2, P. 431.
14. DFRC, Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 84; Ding Xiancheng (1981), op.cit., P. 64; Chen Shousui (1981), op.cit., P. 94.
15. FRC, Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 72; Zheng Quan, "A Brief Account of the Recovery of Fujian" (Fujian Guangfu Shilue), in DFRC, Vol. 2, Series 4, PP. 314-315.
16. Zheng Lie (1953), op.cit., P. 7; Shelley H. Cheng, (1966), op.cit., P. 6.
17. DFRC, Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 81; Vol. 2, Series 4, P. 304, it was recorded that after the establishment of the Fujian Branch of the Tongmenghui in 1906, the Hanzu Duli Hui disbanded. However, another record indicated that the Hanzu Duli Hui was disbanded as a result of the failure of the Huanggang Uprising in 1907, see Zheng Quan, in DFRC, Vol. 2, Series 4, P. 315, I find the latter record more reasonable as it explained why the Hanzu Duli Hui was disbanded. Also see Lee Ta-Ling, *Foundations of the Chinese Revolution, 1905-1912: A Historical Record of the Tung-meng Hui*, (New York: St. John's University Press, 1970), P. 119.
18. DFRC, Vol. 2, Series 4, P. 304; Gao Chunshu, "Lin Sen and the 1911 Revolution" (Lin Sen Yu Xinhai Geming), in Zhongguo Lishi Xuehui Shixue Jikan, 12(1980), PP. 273-275; Lin Xiang, "Lin Sen and the 1911 Revolution" (Lin Sen Yu Xinhai Geming), in *Chuanji Wenxue*, 41:3(1982), P. 38.
19. Report of the Fujianese Student Association" (Fujian Xueshenghui Baogao), stored in Dangshihui, No. 362/31.2, the report listed names of committee members of the Fujianese Student Association which differed from the list of 1910; it also reported the expenditures and income of its Shanghai Headquarters as well as the Fuzhou Branch. For list of committee members of the Student Association in 1910. see DFRC, Vol. 1, Series 12, PP. 73-79.
20. DFRC, Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 73; Vol. 2, Series 4, P. 304.

21. DFRC, Vol. 1, Series 12, PP. 79-80; also see Contribution of the News Commentary Society of Fuzhou (Shuobao She Zhi Biyi), in *Nanqiao Ribao*, 3 January 1912, P. 3; Regulations of the News Commentary Society can be found in the Special Section of the Provincial Library of Fujian in Fuzhou.
22. Sun Yatsen, "Nation-Building Plan" (Jianguo Fanglue), in *Complete Works of Sun Yatsen* (Sun Zhongshan Quanji), (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1985), Vol. 6, P. 237; Zhang Kaiyuan and Lin Zengping ed., *History of the 1911 Revolution* (Xinhai Geming Shi), (Beijing: Renmin, 1980), Book 2, PP. 22-34.
23. General Regulations of the Chinese Revolutionary Alliance (Zhongguo Tongmenghui Zongzhang) (1906), *Geming Wenxian*, (Taipei: Zhongyang Wenwu, 1974), Book 65, PP. 83-86; for research on the Tongmenghui's organization, see Shelley H. Cheng (1962), op.cit., Ch. 3, particularly PP. 116-119; Zhang Yufa (1975), op.cit., PP. 321-341.
24. For studies on provincial branches of the Tongmenghui in Tokyo, see Shelley H. Cheng, "The Provincial Groupings of the Tung-Meng-Hui, 1905-1912", (Unpublished paper, July 1962), PP. 1-6, according to Cheng, "the provincial branches in Tokyo were designated by number, rather than by the name of the province, according to the order of maps for each province appearing in a Chinese Geography text book which Huang Hsing had used while teaching school in Hunan about two years earlier."
25. Zheng Lie (1953), op.cit., PP. 4-5, Zheng's book listed names of fifty-six members of the 14th Branch in Tokyo; also see Zheng Zhenwen, "Reminiscence - Before and After the 1911 Revolution" (Xinhai Geming Qianhou Di Huiyi), FWZX, 1(1981), P. 44, Zheng indicated that apart from the fifty-six listed by Zheng Lie, Lin Yuezhi and Chen Chengze were also members of the 14th Branch.
26. Zheng Lie (1953), op.cit., PP. 5-6; Shelley H. Cheng (1966), op.cit., P. 7.
27. Feng Ziyu, ROTR, Book 2, P. 149; also see Zheng Lie (1953), op.cit., P. 6, though looking at its organization and structure, the Fujian Branch of Tongmenghui should be classified as a sub-branch, it was called a Branch because, according to Zheng Lie, quite a number of comrades from the 14th Branch in Tokyo returned to China after the Wuchang Uprising thus resulting in the merge of the 14th Branch into the Fujian "sub-branch", in this way, the Fujian Tongmenghui was given the name Branch.
28. Zheng Quan, in DFRC, Vol. 2, Series 4, P. 316; Zheng Lie, "The Fujian Revolution and Taiwan in 1911" (Xinhai Fujian Geming Yu Taiwan), *Taiwan Minsheng Bao*, 9.10 (1 October 1945), P. 11.
29. DFRC, Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 81; Zheng Lie (1953), op.cit., PP. 6-7, listed forty-six members of the Fujian Branch of Tongmenghui.
30. *Geming Wenxian*, op.cit., Book 65, PP. 126-127.

31. Liu Tong, "An Account on the Recovery of Fujian" (Fujian Guangfu Ji Yao), in DFRC, Vol. 2, Series 4, P. 309.
32. Zou Lu (1965), *op.cit.*, P. 905.
33. Zhuo Jicheng et al., "Chronicle of Jianou" (Jianou Dashi Ji), *Jianou Wenshi Ziliao*, 2(1982), P. 161.
34. Zhu Huanxing and Lin Junhan, (1981), *op.cit.*, PP. 1-2.
35. DFRC, Vol. 1, Series 12, PP. 73-79.
36. Liang Jichuan, "On Three Revolutionaries of the 1911 Revolution" (Ji Xinhai Geming Sanwei Dangren); Lin Xishan et al., "In Remembrance of Uncle Lin Shishao" (Huainian Bofu Lin Shishao) and Lin Chaihe, "The Government and Private Schools and the Development of Local Factions in Putian Before and After 1911" (Xinhai Qianhou Putian Guansili Xuetang He Difang Paixi Di Yanhua), all in PWZ, 2(1981), PP. 86-87, 91-92, 117-119.
37. Xu Zhuoran, BOR, Book 7, P. 8; Xu Zhuoran, QWZ, 9(1981), P. 85.
38. DFRC, Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 84; Wu Shi, "Surviving the Guangzhou Uprising" (Guangzhou Qiyi Shenghuan Ji), FWZ, 6(1981), PP. 28-29; Chen Zuntong, *Chronicle of Fujian* (Fujian Biannianshi), Vol. 10, PP. 46-47.
39. Zheng Quan, in DFRC, Vol. 2, Series 4, P. 315.
40. Liu Tong, "Reminiscences of the Recovery of Fujian", FWZ, 6(1981), PP. 70-72.
41. HMRF, P. 279; DFRC, Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 70; Zheng Quan, "Before and After the Recovery of Fujian" (Fujian Guangfu Qianhou Jishi), Dangshihui, No. 356/138.
42. Guo Gongmu (1981), *op.cit.*, P. 83.
43. DFRC, Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 82; staff of the Shehui Banshichu were elected annually, for list of staff in 1909, see Zhongxing Ribao, 20 February 1909, P. 4.
44. Zheng Zugeng ed., *Gazetteer of the Min District* (1903), *op.cit.*, Vol. 2, PP. 696-697; He Xiuxian, "History of the Anti-Opium Society Headquarters of Fujian" (Fujian Qudu Zongshe Zhi Lishi) in *Fujian Qudu Zongshe Jibao*, 1(1907), PP. 1-2; "List of Branches and Sub-branches of the Anti-Opium Society in the Province" (Qudushe Quansheng Zhi/Fenshe Yilanbiao) in *Fujian Qudu Zongshe Jibao*, 12(1910), PP. 3-6.
45. DFRC, Vol. 1, Series 12, PP. 81-82; also see Zhongxing Ribao, 5 September 1908, P. 6.
46. See John Rosselli, "The Self-Images of Effectiveness: Physical Education and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Bengal", *Past and Present*, 86(1980), P.132.

47. Zhu Ying (1991), op.cit., PP. 114-126.
48. DFRC, Vol. 1 Series 12, P. 83; also see Lu Yuebo, "Recollections of the 1911 Revolution in Fujian" (Fujian Xinhai Geming Diandi Huiyi), FWZ, 6(1981), P. 100.
49. Liu Tong, "On *Jianyan Bao*" (Ji "Jianyan Bao"), FWZ, 6(1981), PP. 48 and 51; Fang Hanqi, *History of Modern Chinese Newspapers and Periodicals* (Zhongguo Jindai Baokan Shi), (Shanxi: Renmin, 1981), Vol. 2, PP. 545-547.
50. HMRF, P. 279.
51. DFRC, Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 70; Liu Tong, in DFRC, Vol. 2, Series 4, P. 308.
52. DFRC, Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 85; Zheng Quan, "Before and After the Recovery of Fujian", op.cit., Dangshihui, No. 356/138; Zheng Zhenwen, "Mr. Sun Yatsen's Fujian Visit" (Sun Zhongshan Xiansheng Lai Min), FWZ, 6(1981), PP. 1-2.
53. Liu Tong, FWZ, 6(1981), P. 73.
54. Zheng Lie (1945), op.cit., P. 11.
55. "Special Issue In Commemoration of the Celebration of the Independence of Fujian" (Shengqing Jinian Tekan), Dangshihui, No. 356/255, P. 4; Anonymous, "History of Peng Yinxiang" (Peng Yinxiang Lishi) in *Selected Documented Materials of the Wuchang Uprising* (Wuchang Qiyi Dangan Ziliao Xuanbian), (Hubei: Renmin, 1983), Vol. 3, PP. 243-247, there was a detailed description of the origin, organization and regulations of the Junjing Tebie Tongmenghui.
56. DFRC, Vol. 2, Series 4, P. 310; Chen Zuntong, *Chronicle of Fujian* (Fujian Biannianshi), Vol. 10, P. 50, Chen stated that about ten thousand members of the army and police were sympathetic to revolution.
57. Zhang Yufa (1975), op.cit., P. 699; Edmund S.K. Fung, "The Kung-chin-hui: A Late Ch'ing Revolutionary Society", in *Journal of Oriental Studies*, XI:2(1973), P. 193.
58. DFRC, Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 81, Li Hanqing, "Historical Records of Fujianese Revolutionaries" (Fujian Zhishi Geming Shiji), *Fujian Wenxian*, 1(1968), P. 17; Zhang Yongfu (1933), op.cit., PP. 29-30.
59. DFRC, Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 80; Liu Tong, "On *Jianyan Bao*", op.cit., PP. 48-49, due to insufficient funding for the *Jianyan Bao*, Zhang Haishan left and went south to Xiamen and Liu Tong assumed responsibility for the newspaper.
60. Qiu Jinjing (1963), op.cit., P. 3.
61. Qiu Jinjing (1963), ibid., PP. 3-5; Qiu Lianbin, "Biography of Mr. Qiu Jinjing" (Qiu Jinjing Xiansheng Chuanlue), XWZ, 10(1986), P. 38.

62. Li Hanqing (1968), op.cit., P. 22; Huang Naichang (1918) in Liu Zizheng (1979), op.cit., P. 196; Qiu Yiling, "Newspapers in Xiamen Before and After the 1911 Revolution" (Xinhai Geming Qianhou Di Xiamen Baokan), XWZ, 18(1991), P.155.
63. Qiu Jinjing (1963), op.cit., P. 6; History Department of Xiamen University, *A Brief History of Xiamen (Draft)* (Xiamen Jianshi), (Xiamen, 1976), PP. 83-84.
64. HMRF, P. 73, Qiu Jinjing (1963), ibid., PP. 2-3 and 6-8; Wang Zhaopei, "A Base of the 1911 Revolution in Xiamen - Hope Hospital" (Xiamen Xinhai Geming Di Yige Judian - Jiushi Yiyuan), FWZ, 6(1981), PP. 118-119; Hong Buren (1983), op.cit., P. 54; in respect to modern education in Xiamen, also see Imperial Maritime Customs, Decennial Reports, Amoy, 1902-11, PP. 110-111.
65. Lin Xiangrui ed. (1985), op.cit., PP. 101-102; Qiu Jinjing (1963), op.cit., P. 4.
66. Li Hanqing (1968), op.cit., P. 22; Liu Chunshu and Wang Yaohua, *A Brief Account of Fujian's Popular Music* (Fujian Minjian Yinyue Jianlun), (Shanghai: Wenyi, 1986), P. 238.
67. Qiu Jinjing (1963), op.cit., P. 5.
68. HMRF, P. 73.
69. Qiu Jinjing (1963), op.cit., P. 6.
70. Wang Zhenbang (1911), op.cit., P. 36; "Biography of Jiang Baoliao" (Jiang Baoliao Chuan), QWZ, 9(1981), P. 94.
71. Wang Zhenbang (1911), ibid., P. 37; Jiang Yilin, "The Recovery of Quanzhou in the 1911 Revolution" (Xinhai Geming Quanzhou Guangfu Ji), QWZ, 9(1981), P. 7.
72. Lian Lichang (1989), op.cit., PP. 278-284; "Memorial of Xu Yingkui, Governor-General of Fujian and Zhejiang" (Minzhe Zongdu Xu Yingkui Zhe) (1902) in *Documented Materials on People's Uprisings in the Decade before the 1911 Revolution* (Xinhai Geming Qian Shinianjian Minbian Dangan Shiliao), (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1985), Vol. 1, PP. 388-389; P.W. Pitcher, *In and About Amoy*, op.cit., PP. 114-115.
73. Military (Junshi) in DFZ, 3:12 (1906), P. 204; "Biography of Wang Zhenbang" (Wang Zhenbang), QWZ, 9(1981), P. 122; Chen Yanting, "Wang Zhenbang's Participation in the 1911 Revolution in Xiamen" (Wang Zhenbang Canjia Xiamen Xinhai Geming), XWZ, 18(1991), P.30.
74. Qiu Ming, "The Emergence of the Three Big Families in Xiamen" (Xiamen San Daxing Di Chansheng), XWZ, Vol. 9, PP. 141-142; "On the Japanese Ronin (Vagabonds) in Xiamen" (Xiamen Riji Langren Jishu), XWZ, 2(1983), P. 32; Wang Zhenbang (1911), op.cit., P. 37.
75. Wang Zhenbang (1911), ibid., P. 36; Jiang Yilin (1981), op.cit., P. 8; Lin Xiangrui (1985), op.cit., P. 102.

76. Feng Ziyou, ROTR, Book 2, P. 201; "Biography of Wang Zhenbang", op.cit., P. 122.
77. Zhang Yufa, "Guangfuhui and the 1911 Revolution" (Guangfuhui Yu Xinhai Geming), AMCCH, Book 17a, PP. 452-456.
78. Jiang Yilin (1981), op.cit., P. 8.
79. Xiamen Gazetteer - Biographies of the Virtuous (Manuscript) (Xiamen Zhi - Jieyi Chuan), quoted from Chen Kongli et al. (1962), op.cit., P. 769.
80. Zheng Zhenwen, "The 1911 Revolution and the Fujianese Revolutionaries" (Xinhai Geming Yu Fujian Dangren), FWZ, 6(1981), P. 38; He Sui, "My Experience of the 1911 Revolution" (Xinhai Geming Qinli Ji), MOR, Book 1 (1961), PP. 459-460, according to He, the song "When Will (We) Be Awakened?" was composed by Shen Xingong and comprised four parts on the Opium War, Sino-French War, Sino-Japanese War and the Boxer Uprising. The one sung by the students was on the Opium War and the lyrics ran, "Our race is doomed. Misfortune confronts four hundred million people. Feed us with poison, suppress (us) with troops. Even force (us) to pay indemnities. Ningbo, Shanghai, Min-Yue, Xiamen, five ports opened for trade. Hong Kong presented as a gift. The flying lion's flag controls the South. Who started the war? Who asked for treaties? When will our people be awakened?"
81. DFRC, Vol. 1, Series 12. P. 71.
82. DFRC, ibid., PP. 71-72.
83. Zheng Quan, in DFRC, Vol. 2, Series 4, P. 314, Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 72.
84. Huang Naichang (1918) in Liu Zizheng (1979), op.cit., PP. 194-195; Zhang Jingsheng, "The Huanggang Uprising in Chaozhou in 1907" (Dingwei Chaozhou Huanggang Geming) in Chinese Historical Association, (Zhongguo Shixuehui) ed., *The 1911 Revolution* (Xinhai Geming), (hereafter cited as XHGM), (Shanghai: Renmin, 1957), Book 2, P. 550.
85. Xu Xueqiu was the son of a wealthy Chaozhou merchant in Singapore. Chen Yunsheng, who came from the same native place, was a good friend of Xu's. The two of them later joined the Guangfuhui led by Tao Chengzhang in 1908 because of dissatisfaction with Sun Yatsen. On how Xu and Chen became acquainted with Huang Naichang, there were two different sayings. Some believed that Xu and Chen joined the revolutionary movement in Southeast Asia between 1902 and 1903 when Huang was in Singapore, see Feng Ziyou, *Revolutionary History Prior to the Establishment of Republican China* (Zhonghua Minguo Kaiguo Qian Gemingshi), Book 2, P. 147; ROTR, Vol. 3, P. 270; *Biography of the Revolutionary Martyr Xu Xueqiu* (Geming Lieshi Xu Xueqiu Chuanji), (Singapore, 1962), P. 6. Others held that Huang became acquainted with Xu Xueqiu when he was spreading revolutionary ideas in Chaozhou, see ROTR, Vol. 2, P. 172; Zhang Yongfu (1933), op.cit., P. 110.

86. Yen Ching-hwang (1976), op.cit., PP. 163-164, Yen pointed out that assisted by Xu Xueqiu, Huang Naichang was able to organize revolutionary groups in Chaozhou; Zhang Jinsheng in XHGM; op.cit., P. 550, Zhang indicated that Huang Naichang set up a revolutionary organization at Xu Xueqiu's home in Hongan Village, Haiyang District and planned to establish a cloth manufactory to absorb workers into the revolutionary movement, many Chaozhou patriots joined Huang and Xu's group.
87. Huang Naichang (1918) in Liu Zizheng (1979), op.cit., P. 195; "An Account of the Two Uprisings in Huanggang of Chaozhou in 1907" (Dingwei Chaozhou Huanggang Eryi Bieji), in Qiu Quanzheng and Du Chunhe eds., *Selected Materials on the 1911 Revolution* (Xinhai Geming Shiliao Xuanji), (Hunan: Renmin, 1981), Vol. 1, P. 280.
88. Huang Naichang (1918), ibid., P. 196; Zheng Quan, in BOR, Book 7, P. 302.
89. Zhang Yongfu (1933), op.cit., PP. 27-28; Feng Ziyou, ROTR, Vol. 2, PP. 172 and 196; in respect to the Huanggang Uprising, see Edward J.M. Rhoads (1975), op.cit., PP. 111-113.
90. Zheng Quan, in DFRC, Vol. 2, Series 4, P. 315; Dispatch of the Grand Council to Zhou Fu, Governor-General of Guangdong and Guangxi (Junjichu Ji Liangguang Zongdu Zhou Fu Dianzhi), in XHGM, Book 2, P. 555; Jiang Yongjing, "Study on Fundings for the Ten Uprisings Before the 1911 Revolution" (Xinhai Geming Qian Shici Qiyi Jingfei Zhi Yanjiu) in AMCCH, Book 17a, PP. 215-223.
91. Zhang Yongfu (1933), op.cit., PP. 28-30, Jingzhou was approximately 6.6 miles from Huanggang.
92. DFRC, Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 72.
93. Liu Tong, "On *Jianyan Bao*", FWZ, 6(1981), PP.46-47; also see DFRC, Vol. 2, Series 4, P.309, Series 12, P.70.
94. Li Guoqi, "The Development of China's Nationalism Between the Two Sino-Japanese Wars" (Jiawu Zhanhou Zhi Kangzhan Yiqian Woguo Minzuzhuyi Di Fazhan), *Jindai Zhongguo*, 28(1982), P. 104.
95. Liu Tong, in DFRC, Vol. 2, Series 4, P. 309, Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 82; on local officials' praise for the Gongyi She, see *Zhongxing Ribao*, 1 October 1907, P. 2 and 25 October 1907, P. 2.
96. Zhang Pengyuan (1969), op.cit., PP.63-77; Samuel Y. Kupper (1973), op.cit., P.109.
97. DFRC, Vol.2, Series 4, PP.324-327; also see Zhang Pengyuan, ibid., PP.164-165.
98. DFRC, Vol.2, Series 4, PP.325-326; Qiu Jinjing, XWZ, 1(1963), P.6; Wu Kun, QWZ, 9(1980), P.27; also see Note 44 of this chapter.

99. For Shanghai and Zhejiang, see Mary B. Rankin (1971), *op.cit.*, PP.119-120, 122-125 & 192-194; for Guangdong, see Edward J.M. Rhoads (1975), *op.cit.*, PP.182-183; for Jiangxi, see Samuel Y. Kupper (1973), *op.cit.*, PP.103-109; for Hubei, see Joseph W. Esherick (1976), *op.cit.*, PP.151-153; for Guizhou, see Feng Zuyi, "The Society and the 1911 Revolution of Guizhou in Late Qing" (Qingmo Guizhou Shehui Yu Guizhou Xinhai Geming), 70th CACAR, Vol.2, PP.1025-1026.
100. Mary B. Rankin, *ibid.*, PP.199-200; Zhang Kaiyuan, "The 1911 Revolution and the Jiang-Zhe Bourgeoisie" (Xinhai Geming Yu Jiang-Zhe Zichan Jieji), 70th CACAR, Vol.1, PP.256-257.
101. In 1908, Peng Shousong organized the Heichi She (Black and Red Society) and conspired to stage an uprising. He also suggested making use of the occasion of the mourning of the late Emperor Guangxu at the Minglun Hall in Fuzhou to assassinate all civil and military officials present at the ceremony. However, Peng's plan was ultimately abandoned by the Fujian revolutionaries as it was realized that the assassination would not bring about success of the revolution. See DFRC, Vol.2, Series 4, P.322; "Biography of Peng Shousong" (Peng Shousong Shilue) in *Selected Documented Materials of the Wuchang Uprising* (Wuchang Qiyi Dangan Ziliao Xuanbian), (Hubei: Renmin, 1983), Vol.3, P.235. For Xiamen, it was not until 1911 that the revolutionaries planned the uprising, see Wang Zengbang (1911), QWZ, 9(1981), PP.36-37.
102. The revolutionaries in Shanghai and Jiangsu mainly carried out propaganda through the press, see Mary B. Rankin (1971), *op.cit.*, PP.115-118; Zhang Kaiyuan and Lin Zengping (1980), *op.cit.*, Vol.3, P.120. The revolutionaries in Zhejiang contacted members of secret societies and recruited the new army in Hangzhou in preparation for the uprising, see Mary B. Rankin (1971), *op.cit.*, PP.191 & 194-197. In Jiangxi, the revolutionaries worked to convert the new army to the cause of revolution, see Samuel Y. Kupper (1973), *op.cit.*, PP.111-113. The revolutionaries in Hunan and Hubei liaised with members of secret societies and new army respectively, see Joseph W. Esherick (1976), *op.cit.*, PP.150-158. The revolutionaries in Guangdong recruited members of the new army and initiated the New Army Uprising in 1910, see Edward J.M. Rhoads (1975), *op.cit.*, PP.182-184 & 189-197. In Guangxi, the revolutionaries staged the Qinlian Uprising in 1908; in Anhui, there was the Xiong Chengji Mutiny of 1908; in Shanxi and Shaanxi, the revolutionaries concentrated on liaison with the new army; in Yunnan, there was liaison with the new army and the initiation of the Hekou Uprising in 1908, see *The 1911 Revolution in Various Places* (Xinhai Geming Zai Ge Di), (Beijing: Zhongguo Wenshi, 1991), PP.58-59, 96-97, 109-119, 180-181 & 198-201. The revolutionaries in Tianjin and Beijing penetrated the Beiyang New Army and assassinated the Prince-Regent, see Lin Nengshi, "Revolutionary Activities in Northern China During the 1911 Revolution Period" (Xinhai Geming Shiqi Beiyang Diqu Di Geming Huodong), AMCC, Book 18, PP.847-850.
103. Lin Zengping, et.al. eds. (1991), *op.cit.*, PP.71-72.
104. For Hunan and Hubei, see Joseph W. Esherick (1976), *op.cit.*, PP.66-105 & 166. For Jiangsu and Zhejiang, see Zhang Kaiyuan, *op.cit.*, 70th CACAR, Vol.1,

PP.263-280; Mary B. Rankin (1971), op.cit., PP.197-200. For Guangdong, see Edward J.M. Rhoads (1975), op.cit., PP.129-171. For Guizhou, see Feng Zuyi, op.cit., 70th CACAR, Vol.2, PP.1025-1028.

105. Zhang Yufa (1971), op.cit., PP.393-395, 424-426 & 482-485; Hou Yijie, *Political Reforms in China in the Early Twentieth Century* (Ershishiji Chu Zhongguo Zhengzhi Gaige Fengchao), (Beijing: Renmin, 1993), PP.266-267, 270-271, 279, 292-293 & 309.
106. Liu Tong, "On *Jianyan Bao*", FWZ, 6(1981), P.48. There was, however, no detailed record of the conflict between the local gentry and constitutionalists.
107. Liu Tong, in FWZ, 6(1981), P. 70.
108. Zou Lu (1965), op.cit., P. 906.
109. Chang Chung-li, *The Chinese Gentry: Studies on Their Role in Nineteenth-Century Chinese Society*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1955), PP. 51-70.
110. Thomas H. Greene, *Comparative Revolutionary Movements*, (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1990), PP. 99-101.

TABLE 10 REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS IN FUZHOU

Year of Establishment	Name	Location	Founder(s) or Person(s) In-Charge	Goals and Activities	Sources
1) 1902	Xinxue She	Nantai	Zheng Quan; Cai Yi; Zheng Zuyin	Introduction of new knowledge and ideas	(B), Vol. 2, Series 4, P. 314.
2) 1902	Yiwen She	Xiadu	- ditto -	Setting up newspaper reading room and Yiwen School; recruitment of revolutionary elements	(B), Vol. 1, Series 12, PP. 68-69.
3) 1902	Yiwen She Yuebao Suo	Xiadu	---	Spreading of revolutionary ideas	(B), Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 69.
4) 1902	Changle Yiqun She	Changle	Chen Yusheng; Zheng Peiyun	Providing newspaper reading room for the public; revolutionary propaganda	(B), Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 69.
5) 1903	Gonghe Shantang (Lodge)	Xiadu	Zou Yanting; Lin Sichen	Recruitment of revolutionaries; liaison with secret societies in Fujian	(B), Vol. 1, Series 12, PP. 70-71.
6) 1903	Wenming She	Xiadu	Zheng Quan; Liu Yuandong; Yan Ji	Acting as a 'cover' for the activities of Gonghe Lodge	(A), Book 2, P. 431; (B), Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 71.
7) 1903	Haibin Gonghui	—	Huang Zhanjun	Participation in the Resist-Russia Movement of 1903	(D), PP. 187-188.
8) 1903	Kaizhi Hui	—	---	- ditto -	(D), P. 187.
9) 1903	Chongshi Hui	—	Chen Haikun; Cai Yi	Discussions of current issues by students from the Japanese School and patriots	(D), P. 187; (L), P. 38.
10) 1904	Xuesheng Lianhe Hui	Xiadu	Huang Guangbi; Lin Yuezhi	Union of students involved in liaison with secret societies	(B), Vol. 1, Series 12, PP. 71-72.
11) 1905	Hanzu Duli Hui	Xiadu	Zheng Quan; Zheng Zuyin	Formed by radical revolutionaries; participation in the Huanggang Uprising in 1907	(B), Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 72.
12) 1906	Branch of Luhufujian Xuesheng Hui	—	Yan Ji; Lin Sichen; Zhuang Lin; Sun Dongqing	Secretly involved in revolutionary activities while initiating rights recovery movement on the surface	(B), Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 73.
13) —	Fuzhou Shuobao She	Nantai	Chen Tianchi	revolutionary propaganda	(B), Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 79.
14) 1906	Fujian Branch of Tongmenghui	—	Zheng Zuyin; Lin Sichen	Leader of revolutionary groups in Fujian with divisions in Lianjiang, Jianan, Xinghua, Quanzhou and Xiamen	(B), Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 81 and Vol. 2, Series 4, PP. 304 and 309; (E), P. 905
15) —	Lianjiang Guangfuhui	Lianjiang	Wu Shi	Participation in the Guangzhou Uprising in 1911	(K), P. 28.
16) 1906	Bingwu Julebu	Zhongzhou	—	Subsidiary of Fujian Branch of Tongmenghui; venue for secret meetings of members	(B), Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 81.

17) 1907	Qiaonan Gongyi She	Meiwu	Zheng Shouxin	Engaged in revolutionary activities under the cover of promotion of social welfare work; commanding centre of the Tongmenghui for the Recovery of Fuzhou in 1911	(C). Book 4, P. 454; (B). Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 70.
18) 1908 -09	Shehui Bianshichu	Meiwu	---	Liaison office for Gongyi She set up in Qiaonan and Qiaobei	(B). Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 82.
19) 1908	Qudu She	Nantai	Lin Bingzhang	Helping opium smokers to get rid of their addiction	(F). PP. 696-697
20) 1908	Yuebao She	---	---	A subsidiary of the Qiaonan Gongyi She	(B). Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 70.
21) 1908	Minnan Jiuhuo Hui	Tianan Temple, Nantai	Lin Yushi; Liu Yuandong	Responsible for fire-fighting; succeeded in gaining rights to Tianan Temple from the British; also responsible for maintaining order and preventing the Manchus from arson during the Recovery of Fuzhou in 1911	(B). Vol. 1, Series 12, PP. 31-32.
22) ---	Tiyu Hui	Qiaonan Gongyi She	Feng Jinrong	Training of students from the Anglo-Chinese College, Peiyuan College and Biblical Institute; responsible for maintaining order in Qiaonan and Qiaobei during the Recovery of Fuzhou in 1911	(B). Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 83; Vol. 2, Series 4, PP. 315-316.
23) 1908 -09	Shangye Yanjiu Suo	Nantai	Chen Yuhang	Participation in the Tax-Resistant Movement in Fuzhou; later became an anti-government merchant group	(B). Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 82; Vol. 2, Series 4, P. 315; (J), P. 3.
24) 1908 -09	Shangtuan Gonghui	Nantai	Chen Gengxin; Feng Yuzhuang; Yan Ji	Selection of able-bodied men from merchant groups for military training; responsible for maintaining order in Qiaonan and Qiaobei during the Recovery of Fuzhou in 1911	- ditto -
25) 1911	Jianyan Bao	Qiaonan Gongyi She	Zhang Haishan; Liu Tong; Lin Sicheng; Huang Guangbi	Propaganda centre for the Fujian Branch of the Tongmenghui	(B). Vol. 2, Series 4, PP. 310, 328-329; (G). Vol. 2, PP. 545-547.
26) 1911	Junjing Tebie Tongmenghui	(1) Xiadu; (2) Jianyan Bao; (3) Fahai Temple	Peng Shousong; Peng Yinxiang; Liu Tong	Mobilization of the New Army and Police to join the revolutionary movement	(B). Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 84; Vol. 2, Series 4, PP. 308-310; (H). P. 4.
27) 1911	Baoan Hui	Nantai	Sun Dongqing; Lin Yushi	Responsible for maintaining order during the Recovery of Fuzhou in 1911	(B). Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 84.
28) ---	Jingxing She	Nantai	Qi Xuan; Zhou Jing; Liu Naiyu; Huang Jiacheng; Chen Shousui	Liaison with Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia; publication of newspapers including Jingxing and Minxin to spread revolutionary ideas	(B). Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 84; (D). P. 94.

29) ---	Kexue Yanjiu Guan	moved several times	Yang Ziyu; Liu Zuolin; Chen Yili	Production of explosives	(B), Vol. 1, Series 12. PP. 83-84.
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SOURCES:

- (A) BOR
- (B) DFRC
- (C) MOR
- (D) Yang Tianshi and Wang Xuezhuan ed., Resist - Russia Movement 1901-1905 (Ju E Yundong 1901-1905), (Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui Kexue, 1979)
- (E) Zou Lu, Draft History of the Chinese Guomindang (Zhongguo Guomindang Shigao), (Taipei: Shangwu, 1965)
- (F) Zheng Zugeng, Gazetteer of the Min District (Minxian Xiangtu Zhi), (1903), (Taipei: Chengwen, Reprint, 1974)
- (G) Fang Hanqi, History of Chinese Newspapers and Periodicals (Zhongguo Jindai Baokan Shi), (Shanxi: Renmin, 1981)
- (H) "Special Issue in Commemoration of the Celebration of the Independence of Fujian" (Shengqing Jinian Tekan), Dangshihui, No. 356/255.
- (I) Chen Shousui, "Taking Over the Headquarters of Fuzhou's Telegraph Bureau" (Jieguan Fuzhou Dianbao Zongju), FWZ, 6(1981).
- (J) "Origin and Provisional Regulations of the Commercial Research Institute of Fujian" (Minsheng Shangye Yanjiu Suo Yuanqi Bing Zanding Zhangcheng), Zhongxing Ribao, 17 February 1909.
- (K) Wu Shi, "Surviving the Guangzhou Uprising" (Guangzhou Qiyi Shenghuan Ji), FWZ, 6(1981).
- (L) Chen Zuntong, Chronicle of Fujian (Fujian Biannianshi), Vol. 10.

TABLE 11 REVOLUTIONARY SCHOOLS IN FUZHOU

Year of Establishment	Name	Location	Founder(s) or Person(s) In-Charge	Goals and Activities	Sources
1) 1901	Houguan Liangdeng Xuetang	Yue Hill	Huang Zhanyun; Huang Yiyun; Lin Xie	spreading revolutionary ideas among student; ten of the students joined together to form the "Ten Han Group" and some of them later became martyrs of the Guangzhou Uprising	(A), Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 69.
2) 1903	Yiwen Xuetang	Nantai	Zheng Quan; Cai Yi	recruitment of students as revolutionaries; revolutionary propaganda	(A), Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 69; Vol. 2, Series 4, P. 303.
3) ---	Guanwo Xuetang	Fuzhou City	Jiang Yun	revolutionary propaganda	(A), Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 80.
4) ---	Xicheng Xuexiao	---	Zhang Haishan	Communication centre for revolutionaries	(A), Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 80.
5) ---	Kaizhi Xuexiao	Nantai	Wu Jiechen; Chen Yuan; Chen Guang etc.	revolutionary propaganda	(A), Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 80.
6) ---	Puqian Xuetang	---	Lu Weiying; Zheng Kaichen	led by Zheng Kaichen, principal of the school for the second term, all students joined the Xuesheng Lianhe Hui	(A), Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 80. (B), P. 37.
7) ---	Puwen Xuetang	East Gate	Shi Ming; Lin Hengke; Yang Ziyu etc.	meeting place for the Hanzu Duli Hui	(A), Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 81.

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SOURCES:

(A) DFRC

(B) Chen Zuntong, Chronicle of Fujian (Fujian Biannian Shi), Vol. 10.

TABLE 12
REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATIONS IN TOKYO,
SHANGHAI, WUCHANG AND FUZHOU

Place	No. of revolutionary groups	No. of revolutionary schools	Total
Tokyo	31	2	33
Shanghai	18	8	26
Wuchang	7	1	8
Fuzhou	29	7	36

SOURCES: Zhang Yufa, Revolutionary Groups in Late Qing (Qingji Di Geming Tuanti), PP. 658-686; also see Tables 9 and 10 of this chapter.

TABLE 13
REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATIONS IN XIAMEN

Year of Establish-ment	Name	Location	Person(s) In- Charge	Aim & Activities	Sources
1905	Yinghua Gongsuo	Near the Xiamen Customs House	Huang Naichang & Zheng Quan	Liaison centre	(A), P. 22
1905	Jiantang Shengxue Hui	Xiamen	- ditto -	- ditto -	(A), P. 22
—	Jidujiao Zili Hui	Gulang Yu	—	Recruitment of Christians	(B), PP. 2-3
—	Gulang Yu Yuebao Suo	- ditto -	Qiu Qijing, Zhou Minghui & Wang Jinyin	Recruitment of revolutionaries by providing reading materials for the masses	(B), P. 4
—	Minnan Yuebao She	- ditto -	Huang Yuese	- ditto -	(B), P. 4
—	Xiamen Gongli Zhongxue (Xiamen Public Secondary School)	Xiamen	Chen Ziting	Spreading revolutionary ideas & strengthening military drilling	(B), P. 8
—	Qudu She Fenzhi (Branch of Anti-Opium Society)	- ditto -	Yang Zihui & Others	Keeping in touch with the lower class	(B), P. 6
—	Nan Yue Hui	- ditto -	—	Spreading revolutionary ideas to worker	(C), P. 101
—	Zhonghua Xianxian	- ditto -	Huang Yunshan	Keeping in touch with the lower class	(C), P. 102
1910	Wan Mei Xinju Wangjiangtian Hang(co.)	- ditto -	Wang Zhenbang	Secret revolutionary body, liaison with members	(D), P. 36
1910	Chi Wang Wo	Quanzhou	- ditto -	- ditto -	(D), P. 37
—	Wancheng Kezhan (Inn)	Xiamen	- ditto -	Secret revolutionary body, recruitment of members	(D), P. 122
—	He Chang Zhan (Inn)	Xiamen	Jiang Baoyan	Secret revolutionary body	(D), P. 7

SOURCES:

- (A) Li Hanqing, "Historical Records of Fujianese Revolutionaries" (Fujian Zhishi Geming Shiji), Fujian Wenxian, 1(1968)
- (B) Qiu Qijing, "The 1911 Revolutionary in Xiamen" (Xinhai Geming Zai Xiamen), XWZ, 1 (1963)
- (C) Lin Xiangrui, ed. An Outline of the History of Fujian - Modern Period (Fujian Lishi Gaiya Jiangyi - Jindai Bufen), (Fuzhou, 1985)
- (D) QWZ, 9(1981)

CHAPTER VI THE REVOLUTION

After 1907, the Qing Court pushed forward various reforms throughout the country and anti-Qing activities were at a low ebb. Between 1910 and 1911, however, the Qing government again found itself beset with internal and external difficulties. In 1911, with the Qing's ruling position becoming even more shaky than it was during the Boxer Uprising (1900-1901), the revolutionary situation was able to develop and became far more critical than before.¹ The development of the revolutionary situation between 1910 and 1911 was attributable to three factors namely, the aggression of foreign powers at the border areas and the Qing government's inability to deal with it; the Qing government's rejection of the constitutionalists' petitions for immediate convocation of a parliament which led to their switch to revolution and the occurrence of a series of "mass actions" throughout the nation.

The Revolutionary Situation, 1910-1911

Continuously plagued by internal disorder and external aggression since 1910, the Qing government was on the verge of collapse. Externally, after the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, Japan emerged as a great power. In 1907, there was the conclusion of the Franco-Japanese and Russo-Japanese agreements as well as the Anglo-Russian Entente which further consolidated Japan's alliance with Britain, France and Russia in the Far East. By signing the treaties, the imperialist nations agreed to co-operate with one another and recognize each other's special interests in their own spheres of influence. The four imperialist nations were each allocated spheres of interest in Manchuria, Mongolia, Tibet, Yunnan and Fujian. Not only did Japan and Russia promise to assist each other in the expansion of their Manchurian railroad, but Japan also promised to support Russia in Mongolia as the quid pro quo for Russia's agreement to its annexation of Korea in 1910. That Britain and Russia only recognized China's suzerainty in Tibet was an indication of the interference of Chinese sovereignty in that area. In 1910, Britain sent troops to meddle along the Yunnan border while France extended its railroads to Yunnan.² Confronted with the expansion of the foreign powers, the Qing government on the one hand made an attempt at sinification of the outlying territories while on the other

tried to create an American-German-Chinese entente to maintain its territorial integrity. Unfortunately, China's efforts were all in vain.³ The inability and helplessness of the Qing government in the resistance of foreign invasion further aggravated the people and there were rumours spread by the native press that China was in danger of being partitioned by foreign powers. Students and intellectuals, who were most agitated by the situation, strongly expressed their feelings, "If we don't seize the country from the Manchus now, it will be divided in the future like a melon."⁴ Fujian was within Japan's sphere of influence and the Japanese annexation of Korea filled the Fujianese with the fear of imminent annexation of their own province. Widespread rumours of China being divided up by foreign powers aroused sentiments of nationalism in all the treaty ports. The young students were particularly disillusioned and violently excited by the Qing government's inability to resist foreign encroachment.⁵

Internally, since the establishment of provincial assemblies by the Qing Court in 1909, the influence of constitutionalists was strengthened. Instigated by Zhang Zhan, Chairman of the Provincial Assembly of Jiangsu, there were three petitions in 1910 for immediate summoning of a parliament by constitutionalists. The constitutionalists believed that the convocation of a parliament would not only carry favour with the people but also show the foreign powers that the Chinese were united. This would both eliminate the chance of revolution as well as avoid foreign encroachment. However, instead of the rapid convocation of a parliament, the Qing Court only agreed to shorten the preparation period for constitutionalism from nine to six years and to summon a parliament in the year 1913. The provincial assemblies of the various provinces, including Fujian, telegraphed to Beijing opposing the delay. In response, the Qing government ordered the prohibition of further petitions. The constitutionalists were greatly disappointed by this turn of events.⁶ Shen Manyun (1868-1915), a banker and a member of the Shanghai City Council assembly, who took part in the petition of 1910 in the capital sighed over the failure of the petition, "The water in the cauldron is boiling but the swimming fish is not aware of it. The Will of Heaven cannot be reversed. All that is humanly possible has been done."⁷ Banned from further petitioning, some

constitutionalists turned to criticizing the Qing government through the press. Their exposure of the government's inefficient administration, chaotic finance and half-hearted reforms greatly undermined the authority of the Qing Court. The more radical constitutionalists even turned to supporting the revolutionaries.⁸

Widespread rioting and outbreaks became common in the first decade of the 20th Century. In order to pay indemnities after the Boxer Uprising and raise funds for reforms, the Manchu government imposed supplementary taxes and ad hoc levies. Further plagued by natural calamities, economic recession, increased rice prices and the opium poppy ban, the people lived in absolute poverty. Consequently, "mass actions" occurred throughout the nation and Fujian was no exception.⁹ Between 1902 and 1911, a total of 1,311 mass action incidents took place in the various provinces and the occurrences increased from year to year. The year 1910 alone saw as many as 250 such incidents which accounted for 19.6% of the total number. Of the 250 incidents, there were 94 strikes and boycotts (37.6% of the total), 83 riots (33.2%), 33 anti-tax actions (13.2%), 17 robberies (6.8%), 12 uprisings of revolutionaries and secret societies (6%) as well as 5 anti-foreign and anti-missionary actions (2%). Where distribution was concerned, most of the mass action incidents occurred in and around the Yangtze area and the southern provinces.¹⁰ Among all the incidents which occurred in 1910, the most outstanding cases which shook the nation were the Changsha (Hunan) Rice Riot and Laiyang (Shandong) Anti-Tax Riot. Not surprisingly, the year 1910 was regarded by historians as the peak of unrest.¹¹

Ignoring the signs of distrust and disillusionment with the regime shown by the people, the Manchu Court made three fatal decisions within two weeks in May of 1911. First of all, a new cabinet dominated by Manchus was named and this increased animosity between the Manchus and Chinese. Secondly, an order was issued for the nationalization of private trunk railway lines. Finally, to complete the nationalization of the Beijing-Hankou and Guangzhou-Hankou Lines, the Qing government tried to contract a loan of six million taels with the four-power consortium comprised of Britain, the United States of America, France and Germany. The two latter decisions aroused a

storm of protest in Hubei, Hunan, Guangdong and Sichuan as the people felt that the Qing government was selling the country to foreigners. The Sichuan people's protest was so vigorous and widespread that it led to the famous "Sichuan Railway Agitation" and the torch of revolution was lit. As a historian of 1911 studies has appropriately put it, "The Manchu Court was digging its own grave."¹²

With the nation's internal and external circumstances becoming more and more critical, the time seemed ripe for revolution and the revolutionaries were ready for new armed uprisings. After lying low for three years and witnessing the weakness and incompetence of the Qing government, discontent and resentment of the Fujianese revolutionaries against the Court increased so that in response to the call from the headquarters of the Tongmenghui, they joined the Guangzhou Uprising (Canton Uprising) of 27 April 1911. Fujian was inevitably swept into the mighty torrents of the 1911 Revolution.

The Fujianese and the Guangzhou Uprising

In respect to the development of the Tongmenghui, armed uprisings led by Sun Yatsen and Huang Xing in the southern and south-western provinces suffered repeated failures in the years 1907 and 1908.¹³ Since 1907, leaders of the Zhejiang-Anhui group of the Guangfuhui, Zhang Binglin and Tao Chengzhang, began a series of attacks on Sun Yatsen because of differences in revolutionary outlook and strategy as well as internal discord due to provincialism. The attacks on Sun concentrated on the unfair allocation of revolutionary funds and wrong strategy used in the armed uprisings at the southern and south-western frontiers. This resulted in a serious split of the Tongmenghui. Zhang and Tao on the one hand initiated an Anti-Sun Movement at the headquarters of the Tongmenghui in Tokyo while on the other undertook to develop a new revolutionary force in the Dutch East Indies, Singapore and Malaysia by raising funds and recruiting members under the banner of Guangfuhui. The organization and activities of the Tongmenghui in Southeast Asia were thus greatly affected.¹⁴ At the same time, as Sun was prohibited from staying in either Japan or the colonies of Britain, France and

Holland in Southeast Asia on the request of the Qing Court to the various nations, he had no alternative but go to Europe and the United States for further development.¹⁵ The revolutionary movement therefore suffered a great loss of leadership due to Sun's flight and the year 1909 saw the activity of the revolutionaries at its lowest ebb. Fortunately, the Tokyo headquarters of the Tongmenghui remained operative through the efforts of Liu Kuiyi (1878-1950), one of the leaders of Huaxing Hui (Society for China's Revival), who still supported Sun Yatsen and Huang Xing.¹⁶

In May of 1909, Sun Yatsen fled to Europe and the United States to look for support from Overseas Chinese and Western countries for the revolution in China. Upon arrival in the United States, Sun stayed in both the eastern and western coasts where he established branches of the Tongmenghui in New York, Chicago, San Francisco and Hawaii.¹⁷ In mid-March of 1910, Sun met with Homer Lea and Charles B. Boothe in Los Angeles to plan a large-scale uprising in China. Lea was appointed to be the Commanding General of the uprising and Boothe its Financial Agent responsible for raising a loan of US\$3,500,000 from a New York financial group to fund the revolution. However, Boothe failed to secure the loan.¹⁸ On the other hand, after his meeting with Lea and Boothe, Sun Yatsen went to Japan but was later deported by the Japanese government which acted upon the request of the Qing Court. Sun subsequently went to Singapore and Malaysia where he re-organized the Tongmenghui's Southeast Asian headquarters and had it moved from Singapore to Penang. Sun's efforts not only consolidated his own leadership in the Party but also strengthened unity of the party members and revived confidence in launching another armed uprising in China.¹⁹

In 1910, Sun summoned Huang Xing, Zhao Sheng (1881-1911), Hu Hanmin (1879-1936) and party members of Penang to a conference in Penang on the 13th of November to discuss plans for another uprising. During the conference, Sun started by consoling those who were frustrated in the New Army uprising in Guangzhou in 1910, "Although we have come to the end of our tether, agitation for revolution is strong and the Overseas Chinese are enlightened, from now on our only concern will be the lack of planning and courage."²⁰ Sun also volunteered to raise funds for the uprising and

planned to ask for donations from Overseas Chinese.²¹ Guangzhou was again chosen to be the target of the uprising. Huang Xing and Zhao Sheng were appointed action commanders and plans were under way to mobilize the New Army of Guangzhou.²² Branches of the Tongmenghui at various provinces were asked to organize their own "selected guards" to participate in the uprising as "dare-to-die" volunteers. Huang, Zhao and Hu subsequently set up the general planning board in Hong Kong to make plans and specific arrangements for action. The number of "selected guards" would be increased to over 800 to be divided into ten groups to attack the Governor-General's Office as well as military bases, arsenals and police stations etc. in Guangzhou. As the Guangzhou New Army were only equipped with unloaded weapons, they planned to supply the soldiers with ammunition from the arsenals to enable them to join in the action. According to the plan, after securing Guangzhou, Huang and Zhao would lead separate armies to Hunan and Jiangxi in the north to link up with the revolutionaries in the Yangtze area. Letters were then despatched to party members of various provinces calling for their support and Xiong Yueshan, a revolutionary studying in Japan, was sent back to Tokyo to apprise Liu Kuiyi, Chairman of General Affairs of the Tokyo headquarters, of their plan.²³ In response to Huang Xing's summons, the 14th Branch of Tongmenghui and revolutionaries in Fujian proceeded to Guangzhou. In early 1911, Lin Wen, the Head of the 14th Branch, received on his sickbed in Tokyo letters from Huang, Hu and Zhao calling for his support of the planned Guangzhou uprising. In his letter, Huang said, "I wish you a speedy recovery and would like to invite members of your branch to come and join us".²⁴ In spite of his illness, Lin responded to their appeal and started making arrangements for participation. In February of the same year, Fujianese members of the 14th Branch began heading back to China to raise funds for the uprising and to mobilize the Fujianese revolutionaries.

To raise funds for the uprising, the Fujianese revolutionaries asked for donations from Lin Xiongzhen in Taiwan on the pretext of education promotion. Lin Xiongzhen came from the rich Lin family in Banqiao and was also Chen Baochen's nephew. Chen's son Chen Maofu and son-in-law Wang Xiaozong were both members of the 14th Branch

in Tokyo. Lin Xiongzhen's accountant, Cai Faping, was a former committee member of the Fujianese Student Union in Shanghai which was founded by Lin Sen. Lin Wen therefore sent Wang Xiaozong and Chen Yushen to Taiwan to meet with Cai Faping and Lin Xiongzhen through letters of introduction from Lin Sen and Chen Maofu. Subsequently, with Cai's assistance, they obtained a donation of three thousand Japanese dollars from Lin Xiongzhen. Half of the donation was used for the purchasing of pistols while the remaining sum was reserved for travelling expenses for Fujianese revolutionaries going to Guangzhou.²⁵ A report from a revolutionary indicated that the Fujianese had raised their own funds for participation in the Guangzhou Uprising.²⁶

To mobilize Fujianese revolutionaries, members of the 14th Branch in Tokyo went back to Guangzhou, Guilin and Fuzhou. Lin Wen and Chen Kejun headed south to Guangzhou, entrusting affairs of the 14th Branch to Fang Shengdong. However, Fang did not stay in Tokyo. Later, he and Zheng Lie travelled back to Guangzhou to deliver arms and ammunition and subsequently joined in the uprising.²⁷

In Guilin, since 1910, members of the 14th Branch Wang Xiaozhen and Fang Xingtao as well as He Sui, a Fuzhou revolutionary and graduate of the Baoding Military Academy, had succeeded in infiltrating into the New Army of Guangxi. He Sui, Geng Yi and others had also set up the Guangxi Branch of the Tongmenghui and sought to influence the New Army to side with them. Lin Wen hence sent Li Hui to Guangxi to liaise with Fang Xingtao for the New Army's support and Li succeeded in his mission.²⁸ In February/March that year, members of the 14th Branch such as Chen Gengxin, Fang Xingdong, Fang Junying and Zeng Xing arrived in Guilin for discussions and a get together with their relatives and close friends before going to Guangzhou for the uprising.²⁹

In early April, Lin Juemin and Li Hui were back in Fuzhou for a meeting with members of the Fujian Branch of Tongmenghui. Revolutionaries of Fuzhou decided to support the uprising. With Liu Tong, Zheng Zuyin and Wang Xiaozhen staying in Fuzhou to make necessary arrangements for action once Guangzhou was secured, Lin Sichen moved on to Xiamen to ask Zhang Haishan and Shi Ming to do the same.

Members of the Fujian Branch went southward to Guangzhou in two groups. The first group, including Lin Juemin, Lin Sichen, Feng Chaoxiang, Yan Ji, Liu Liufu, Liu Yuandong and members of the Guo clan, left Mawei by sea on the 9th of April.³⁰ The second group, consisting of twenty-two members of the Lianjiang Guangfuhui who were skilled in martial arts, left Lianjiang on the 23rd of April for Mawei where they set sail for Guangzhou under the leadership of Wu Shi.³¹ Fujianese revolutionaries, primarily made up of members of the 14th and Fujian Branches of Tongmenghui, approximated forty-eight in number. Having arrived in the south, they waited for action in either Guangzhou or Hong Kong.³²

While waiting, Lin Wen assisted Huang Xing and Zhao Sheng in co-ordination duties. At this time, more than thirty-eight secret cells had been established in the city of Guangzhou for accommodating revolutionaries from outside and storage of ammunition and arms.³³ Posing as brides or mourners at funerals, some woman revolutionaries, Fang Junying and Zeng Xing among them, smuggled weapons and explosives into the city from Hong Kong. Fang Xingdong, on the other hand, assisted a Sichuanese revolutionary Yu Peilun (1886-1911) in making bombs. At the same time, Fang called on his former teacher Gao Mengdan, who was a guest at the Governor-General's Office, in an attempt to investigate the daily life of the Governor-General Zhang Mingqi and the layout of his Office.³⁴

On the 23rd of April, Huang Xing stole into Guangzhou with the intention of starting the uprising on the 27th of the month. However, due to the earlier unexpected assassination of the Tartar-General in Guangzhou, Fu Qi, by Wen Shengcai, a Chinese worker and revolutionary from Malaya, the city was heavily guarded and the situation was extremely tense. Moreover, since not all ammunition had arrived, Huang Xing decided to postpone the revolutionary action and informed part of the revolutionaries to retreat to Hong Kong. At this time, however, Yu Peilun got news that the Police were all set to search every household in the city. Fearing for the safety of the revolutionaries and that their ammunition and weapons would be discovered, Yu sought assistance from Lin Wen in suggesting to Huang Xing to start the uprising as scheduled. Simultaneously,

Chen Jiongming (1878-1933) and Yao Yuping came forward with the news that there were revolutionaries among the three battalions of the New Army just transferred to Guangzhou from Shunde. Hoping that those revolutionaries would stand on their side and turn against the government, Huang Xing decided to accept Lin Wen's suggestion to start the uprising as scheduled.³⁵

At 5:30 p.m. on 27th April 1911, Huang Xing led a total of 120 odd revolutionary comrades from Sichuan, Guangdong and Fujian in an attack of the Governor-General's Office. With Lin Wen in front, the revolutionaries marched forward in two columns and invaded the Office of the Governor-General. However, Zhang Mingqi, the Governor-General, was nowhere to be seen and fierce fighting with the guards ensued. Retreating from the Office, they separated into three groups and fought with the army in the streets. Finally, the revolutionaries were defeated. Some were killed in action, some were captured and later executed.³⁶ Huang Xing, managed to escape to Hong Kong. After the uprising, seventy-two revolutionaries were confirmed dead and their bodies were buried together in a common grave and they became known as the 72 Martyrs of Huanghuagang. However, it was later found that a total of eighty-six revolutionary members had died in Guangzhou.³⁷ Of the eighty-six martyrs, the twenty-five from Fujian (See Table 14) attracted most attention because some of them had come from gentry families and were diligent and well-behaved young men. As Huang Xing had said, "The Fujianese comrades were mostly graduates from professional institutes in Japan who were young and talented. Their death really broke our hearts."³⁸ Officials of the Central Government were also shaken by the martyrs from Fujian.³⁹ In memory of his friends from Fujian who were martyred, Zheng Lie, a survivor of the Uprising, wrote a book entitled "Records of Ten Fujianese Heroes of the Huanghuagang" (Huanghuagang Fujian Shijie Jishi). Lin Juemin's "Last Words to My Wife" and Fang Xingdong's "Last Words to My Father" were both widely-read and influential works related to the Guangzhou Uprising which deeply touched the hearts of readers.⁴⁰ The contribution of the revolutionaries from Fujian to the Guangzhou Uprising marked an important involvement of the province in the revolutionary

movement while the fate of the martyrs aroused hostility against the Qing Court both in Fujian and China as a whole. This indirectly contributed to the success of the Wuchang Uprising.⁴¹

Before the Revolution in Fujian

Around the time of the Guangzhou Uprising, the Qing government was beset with both internal and external difficulties. The country was trapped in a state of crisis. As a result, the phenomenon of provincialism which could be traced back to the Hunan Reforms in the 1890's surfaced again in the early 20th Century throughout the nation. In view of the weakness of the Qing Court, the various provinces began to adopt self-protection and consequently a form of separatism took shape.⁴² Despite the failure of the Guangzhou Uprising, the revolutionaries did not lose their desire for revolution. This was most clearly illustrated by the establishment of the Central Branch of the Chinese Tongmenghui (Zhongguo Tongmenghui Zhongbu Zonghui). While mourning over the Fujianese martyrs in the Guangzhou Uprising, the revolutionaries of Fujian also, at the same time, intensified revolutionary activities. Among them, those from Fuzhou were the most active in the province. Two anti-Manchu forces were gradually formed in the provincial capital.

(A) The Formation of a Civilian Militia for Resistance Against Imperialist Invasion - At the time of the Guangzhou Uprising, foreign aggression at China's border area was aggravated. There were Russia's demand for revision of the Treaty of Ili (1881) aiming at special trade and diplomatic interests in Xinjiang (Sinkiang) and Mongolia; Britain sending its troops into the Pianma area in Yunnan for territorial rights and French reinforcement of troops in the Vietnam-China border to claim mining rights. Moreover, there was the fear that the foreign powers were partitioning China. As a result, the Chinese students in Tokyo were spurred to action to save China. The students called for the organization of a civilian militia to resist foreign invasion.⁴³ On the 2nd of February, 1911, students in Tokyo who were members of the Tongmenghui including Xiong Yueshan, Liu Kuiyi and Li Zhaofu called a meeting and initiated the establishment of the

Chinese National Association (Zhongguo Guominhui). They also decided to appeal to the various provinces in China to organize their own national army (Guominjun) to fight against Russian, British and French aggression. They telegraphed to the Chinese provinces and sent representatives back to China to further promote their idea. Eventually, the headquarters of the Chinese National Association was set up in Shanghai on 11th June 1911 and this was followed by the establishment of branches in various provinces. Carrying out activities as a civilian organization to save China from foreign invasion, the Association was in fact an affiliate of the Tongmenghui and later played an important part in the 1911 Revolution.⁴⁴

In respect to Fujian, in April, there were discussions in Fuzhou and Quanzhou to organize a civilian militia and Tiyu Hui to provide military training for the masses and students.⁴⁵ Fuzhou responded most enthusiastically to the idea, so much so that the Qiaonan Gongyi She, Higher School, Normal School, College of Law and Administration, Anglo-Chinese College etc. all organized their own Tiyu Hui to provide their students with physical education and military drills. The Chamber of Commerce also set up the Union of Merchants Volunteer Corps whereby one hundred able-bodied men were selected to undergo military training. At the same time, a Tiyu Hui was also founded in Xiamen with members from Datong School, Xiamen Middle School and so on.⁴⁶

Meanwhile, the student representatives sent back from Tokyo planned to return to their own provinces to promote militarism and advocate the organization of the national army. Of the seven Fujianese student representatives, four were Tongmenghui members namely, Song Yuanyuan, Zhu Tengfang, Xiao Min and Chen Jingsong. On their way back to Fujian, the seven stopped over in Shanghai where they were warmly received by Fujianese residing in the city including Zheng Quan of the Fujianese Student Association, Wang Qi from the Fujianese Clansmen Association and Zeng Zemin who represented the Quanzhou and Zhangzhou Prefectures. Zheng, Wang and Zeng subsequently returned to Fujian with the seven students. In Fujian, they met with the Acting Chairman Chen Zhilin (a constitutionalist) and resident member Zheng Zuyin

(also Chairman of the Fujian Branch of Tongmenghui) of the Provincial Assembly and later, representatives from the gentry class as well as the educational, commercial, industrial and agricultural circles and succeeded in enlisting their support for the organization of the civilian militia. A request to form the militia was then submitted to the Governor-General, however his response was lukewarm. Disappointed, they took matters in their own hands and set up the Fujian Society for Militia Establishment (Fujian Tuanlian Qichenghui).⁴⁷ Revolutionaries such as Zheng Quan, Zheng Zuyin, Song Yuanyuan and Chen Jingsong⁴⁸ had played a key role in the establishment of the civilian militia in Fujian by students returning from Tokyo, the gentry and masses for self-protection. As a result, apart from being a civilian organization set up to resist foreign invasion, the militia also possessed anti-Manchu and revolutionary characteristics.

(B) Involvement in the Yangtze Revolution and Recruitment from New Army and Police - In May of 1911, on top of its inability to resist foreign encroachment thus placing the country in a critical situation, the Qing Court foolishly carried out measures which caused further discontent among the people. First of all, the new cabinet proclaimed in preparation for constitutional monarchy comprised only four Chinese while the other nine were mainly royal Manchus. This was viewed as a royal cabinet and aroused even greater anger and despair. Secondly, the Minister of Post and Communication, Sheng Xuanhuai, announced the nationalization of the Sichuan-Hankou and Hankou-Guangzhou railways. Furthermore, to compensate the people for their losses incurred from the nationalization, Sheng borrowed loans from a consortium of British, American, German and French banks.⁴⁹ The above measures, implemented at the time when the nation was being awakened to ideas of nationalism and constitutionalism,⁵⁰ created tremendous outcry among the Chinese high officials, constitutionalist gentry and all walks of life. The people all rose in protest and the Qing Court found itself in complete isolation.⁵¹ The Yangtze region was the nucleus of the nation amid the tides of anti-government activities. In the upper course of the Yangtze River, there was the Railway Protection League (Baolu Tongzhihui) of Sichuan which was formed by the gentry and supported by the lower classes. Under the leadership of

the League, mass movement against railway nationalization started.⁵² In the middle and lower courses of the Yangtze, revolutionary groups of Wuhan and Shanghai began a series of co-operation and re-organization. In Wuhan, the Mutual Advancement Society (Gongjinhui) and Literary Society (Wenxue She), which had started discussions for co-operation since May, finally reached an agreement in mid-September to establish a joint command to stage uprisings in Hunan and Hubei.⁵³ In Shanghai, with the efforts of Song Jiaoren and Tan Renfeng and the co-operation of Chen Qimei and Pan Zuyi, a Fujianese revolutionary, the Central Branch of the Chinese Tongmenghui was founded on the 31st of July with plans for a revolution in Central China.⁵⁴ The Yangtze region was thus faced with imminent outbreak of revolution.

In June, the revolutionaries in Fujian called a meeting during which they decided to "step up activities in order to repay their martyred comrades".⁵⁵ This coincided with the struggle for railway rights in Sichuan. Lin Sichen and Liu Tong immediately made use of the *Jianyan Bao* to publicize the protesting activities of the Sichuan people and express support for them. Moreover, revolutionary remarks and comments were spread to stir up the people.⁵⁶ Besides, after the failure of the Guangzhou Uprising, the Fujianese revolutionaries felt strongly that the success of a revolution mainly depended on military force. They therefore thought that co-operation of the new army and police was imperative.⁵⁷ The Junjing Tebie Tongmenghui was hence set up by Peng Shousong in July for the recruitment of members from the army and police. Peng had men posted at the various battalions and companies to secretly persuade the rank-and-file to become members. He also sent men to areas along the Min River to give talks and liaise with the army and police. In this way, membership for the Junjing Tebie Tongmenghui increased considerably. A new revolutionary force emerged in Fuzhou.⁵⁸ Seeing that revolution was imminent in the Yangtze region, the revolutionaries of Fujian decided to go up north to show their support. Zheng Zuyin sent Lin Sichen and Peng Shousong to Shanghai and Wuhan to liaise with revolutionaries in the two places to secure their support. The Fujianese revolutionaries thus became drawn to the Yangtze revolutionary movement.⁵⁹

Upon arrival in Shanghai, Lin Sichen consorted with Chen Leisheng, Shi Jialin, Wang Ailu and Pan Zuyi from the Fujianese Student Association. Together, the five of them attended the inaugural meeting of the Central Branch of the Chinese Tongmenghui on the 31st of July and became members of the Branch. With the five of them, Fujian ranked third in membership after Zhejiang's nine and Hunan's seven. Pan Zuyi was elected into the committee and responsible for finance. It was evident that Fujianese revolutionaries had a close relationship with the Central Branch of the Chinese Tongmenghui. Lin Sichen then proceeded to cities such as Hankou in the Yangtze region where he engaged in revolutionary activities and liaison work.⁶⁰ After the Wuchang Uprising, Lin decided the time was ripe to return to Fuzhou to start an uprising there. Before his journey back home, Lin met with Fujianese revolutionaries such as Lin Xiao, Song Yuanyuan and Li Rongguan in Shanghai on the 1st of November. Then, equipped with bombs and ammunition as well as the donation of \$50,000 for funding the Fuzhou uprising,⁶¹ Lin and the others began their journey back to Fujian.

Peng Shousong's activities and influence in the new army and police had in the meantime attracted the attention of the Treasurer of Fujian, Shang Qiheng (1866-?), who in turn tried to win Peng over to his side. Shang also recommended Peng to Duan Fang (1861-1911) of Hubei as his adviser. Making use of this opportunity, Peng went north with a plan to assassinate Duan.⁶² Peng reached Shanghai in July. There, he met with members of the Central China Branch and requested bombs from Tan Renfeng to carry out his assassination plan. Later on, through an introduction from Tan, Peng proceeded to Hankou where he met with Sun Wu, Zhu Zheng and other revolutionaries of Hubei. In Hankou, Peng learnt how to make bombs. As advisor to Duan Fang, Peng was able to lease a house in the French territory in Hankou and the Hubei revolutionaries used Peng's residence as their tenth operation centre to prepare for uprising. Peng went on to Yichang to carry out activities and consequently became a part of the revolution in Hubei.⁶³ It was not until after the Wuchang Uprising, on the 15th of October, that Peng Shousong returned to Fuzhou where he continued his work for the revolutionary movement. When Peng previously left Fujian for Shanghai, he had entrusted his son

Peng Jirong and nephew Peng Yinxiang with the administration of the Junjing Tebie Tongmenghui. Through the efforts of the two, membership of the Tebie Tongmenghui had expanded from just the rank-and-file to include also junior officers of the new army.⁶⁴ In the latter part of October, after the Wuchang Uprising, most members of the army and police had become recruits of the Junjing Tebie Tongmenghui.⁶⁵ Peng therefore concentrated on the recruitment of senior officers of the army. First of all, with the help of his right-hand-man Huang Zhenbai (1878-?),⁶⁶ Peng was able to win the support of Xu Chongzhi who had for a long time harboured thoughts of revolution. Xu became a member of the Tongmenghui on 30th October. The success in winning Xu over to the revolutionary front was mainly due to the fact that Huang was Xu's student at the Fujian Military Preparatory Academy.⁶⁷ Then in early November, Xu and Peng tried to persuade the Commander-in-Chief of the 10th Division of the New Army, Sun Daoren, to join them. At that time Sun had been promoted to Naval Commander-in-Chief on the recommendation of Songshou and was the highest-ranking official in the Army among Chinese.⁶⁸ Meanwhile, through a close friend of Sun's Cai Zhanpang, who was a comprador of a British company as well as a founder of the commercial Research Institute of Fujian,⁶⁹ the Tongmenghui was also endeavouring to win Sun over to their camp. Finally, Sun agreed to secretly become a member of the Tongmenghui. The reasons for Sun's conversion to revolution were threefold. Firstly, the Tartar General was hostile to the New Army and there was a plot against Sun. Secondly, after the Wuchang Uprising, many provinces had declared independence and the Governor of Hunan, Tan Yankai, had repeatedly telegraphed Sun to threaten him and demand his support for Fujian's independence.⁷⁰ Lastly, most of the 10th Division of the New Army were already supporters of revolution. At the same time, after the Wuchang Uprising, the New Army of Hunan, Jiangxi, Shanxi, Shaanxi and Yunnan all turned their coat and joined the revolutionary camp. Consequently, with Sun's conversion, the New Army of Fuzhou became involved in the revolutionary movement.⁷¹ All in all, under the crisis of being partitioned by foreign powers and the impact of uprisings in the Yangtze region, two anti-Manchu forces, mainly made up of revolutionary students, the New Army and

police, began to emerge in the provincial capital Fuzhou. As a result, Fuzhou was one of the first cities in Fujian to witness the outbreak of revolution and a battle being fought between the Han Chinese and Manchus. As a matter of fact, even before the revolution, someone with insight into the affairs of China had already predicted that there was a great possibility that the civilian militia and Tiyu Hui of the various provinces would eventually join in alliance with the New Army to start a revolution in the country.⁷² The recovery of Fuzhou was undoubtedly a testimony to the prediction.

The Recovery of Fuzhou and Adjacent Prefectures

The continuous revolutionary activities of the Fujianese and the emergence of anti-Manchu forces brought out clearly the antagonism between the Han Chinese and Manchus. The then Governor-General Songshou and Tartar-General Pushou (?-1911) were both Manchus. By nature tolerant, Songshou was not harsh in dealing with revolutionaries. Pushou was an honest official and extremely loyal to the Qing Court.⁷³ At the time, the Manchu Banner Forces garrisoned in Fuzhou were responsible for guarding the city entrances and they held the keys of the city gates. After 1900, more than one thousand members of the banner forces were selected to undergo modern military training and the Jiesheng (Victory) Battalion was formed aiming at the improvement of combat capability. Together with the Marine Battalion of the Chinese Banner Forces garrisoned in Yangyu, the Banner Forces in Fuzhou had over 2,000 men.⁷⁴ Pushou's wish was to make use of the military strength of the Banner Forces to maintain the power of the Manchus in Fujian.

Since 1680 when the Manchu Banner Forces were garrisoned at Fuzhou,⁷⁵ the Manchus had lived in Qixia Street in the eastern part of the city and there was no mixing of Manchus and Han Chinese. The two races had always been at loggerheads with each other.⁷⁶ Around April of 1911, seeing the frequent activities of the revolutionaries, Songshou decided it was time to do something about the situation. At this time, the various social welfare organizations in Fuzhou such as the Gongyi She were infiltrated by revolutionaries. In order to stop revolutionary activities, Songshou ordered that the

organizations should be disbanded. Unwilling to disband, representatives of the organizations petitioned the Provincial Assembly for support on grounds that local officials were only responsible for maintaining law and order and had no right to order the disbandment of any social body. Responding to the appeal, the Provincial Assembly made a request to Songshou that since the aim of the organizations was to provide community service, they should rightly be protected and not destroyed. Under such circumstance, in order not to go against public opinion, Songshou had to give in.⁷⁷ That the Provincial Assembly should have supported the social organizations was because since their failure in the Parliamentary Petition Movement (1910-11), the constitutionalists in the Provincial Assembly had been disappointed with the Qing Court and subsequently tended to favour the local organizations infiltrated by revolutionaries.⁷⁸

As a great number of Fujianese revolutionaries had been involved in the Guangzhou Uprising, the Fuzhou authorities were extremely concerned and began to keep a close watch on the activities of the revolutionaries. As reported by the *Minli Bao* (People's News), Fuzhou had prepared two name lists of suspected Fujianese revolutionaries which were submitted to the Governor-General Songshou. One of the lists contained the names of ten odd members and staff of the Provincial Assembly, one of them was even a Manchu called Zhuang An. The other list, headed by Peng Shousong, contained over twenty names. Following the submission of the name lists, detectives were sent to every corner of the city for investigation and surveillance.⁷⁹ In mid-September, due to lack of funds for the police, there were plans for imposition of a new Jiao (sedan chair) tax. This caused indignation of the Jiao-bearers who, supported by the Gongyi She and such organizations, began a strike as protest against the new tax. This led to conflict between the police and Jiao-bearers and eventually, the Jiao-bearers' riot in Fuzhou. The New Army of Fuzhou was ordered to suppress the riot. It was not until Songshou agreed to abolish the Jiao tax that the situation was under control.⁸⁰ However, with so many things happening, the people of Fuzhou were already filled with uncertainty and the situation was unstable.⁸¹

Then, after the Wuchang Uprising, there were constant rumours that the revolutionaries were about to rise up in Fuzhou. As a result, the city was in a panic and this was accompanied by "exodus of the people and military reinforcement by the government". To strengthen local defence, Songshou, Pushou and Shang Qiheng decided to adopt three measures. First of all, defence in the Manchu area was to be strengthened. Apart from stationing the Jiesheng Battalion at the offices of the Tartar-General and Lieutenant-General as well as the Manchu area, cannons were put in place for reinforcement. At the same time, arms and ammunition were transferred from Beiku (Ping Shan Arsenal) to the Manchu area in case of need. Able-bodied Manchus were selected to form the Jianzheng Jun (Strong and Victorious Army). All male Manchus over the age of thirteen were provided with guns and bullets and women were given daggers to strengthen their ability for combat and self-protection.

Another measure adopted was to upgrade defence and patrol both inside and outside the city of Fuzhou. Soldiers from the Jiesheng Battalion were posted at the city gate as additional sentries. As the South Gate of the city was an important link between Fuzhou and Nantai, the gate was closed at an earlier hour and climbing up the city wall was strictly prohibited. Barriers were erected in the streets with fixed times of closing and opening as a means to control traffic. Moreover, more than ten night patrol teams each made up of twenty men were organized for non-stop patrolling throughout the city at night.

Finally, there were constant reports of the victories of the Qing army in Wuhan as well as predictions that the rebellion in Hubei would be put down as a means to reassure the public and set their minds at rest.⁸²

Unfortunately, the above-mentioned measures taken by the Fujianese government failed to produce the expected result. On the contrary, the people of Fuzhou were in a state of anxiety and they began moving out of the city or returning to their native villages for their own safety. Commerce and trade in Fuzhou were greatly affected. It was estimated that up to the 4th of November, approximately twenty-five percent of the shops in the city had ceased operation.⁸³ In view of the critical situation, the gentry as

well as representatives from the educational, commercial and other circles began making suggestions to the Governor-General Songshou that he should declare that the Fujian government was remaining neutral in order to prevent bloodshed and bring about a peaceful transition. The Provincial Assembly was particularly supportive of the idea. Songshou was agreeable to the proposal at the beginning but later, when there was news that the Qing army was successful in defeating the revolutionary army in Hankou on 2nd November, he immediately changed his mind. As a result, the outbreak of revolution in Fuzhou was obviously inevitable.⁸⁴

On the 5th of November, the revolutionaries held a secret joint meeting on board a wooden boat on Taijiang. This was the well-known Taijiang Meeting. Some of those who attended the meeting were leaders of the Fujian Branch of the Tongmenghui including Lin Sichen, Zheng Zuyin, Liu Tong, Huang Guangbi and Huang Naichang; Peng Shousong of the Junjing Tebie Tongmenghui as well as Sun Daoren and Xu Chongzhi from the 10th Division of the New Army. The main purpose of the meeting was to discuss the recovery of Fuzhou and final decisions were made concerning pay, ammunition and deployment of the revolutionary army. In respect to the soldiers' pay, Sun Daoren requested that a minimum of \$200,000 should be paid to the army before the uprising. The Tongmenghui in turn suggested that the donation of \$50,000 to Minxin She remitted by the Chinese in Southeast Asia should first be appropriated for paying the army. Then after taking over the Qing Government Bank and upon the success of the uprising, the balance would be paid. Sun Daoren had reservations about the suggestion. However, persuaded and pressurized by Xu Chongzhi, Sun finally agreed.⁸⁵ Regarding ammunition, at that time every soldier of the New Army was equipped with only four to five rounds of ammunition which were obviously not enough. It was therefore decided that Peng Shousong should mobilize the guards at the Ping Shan Arsenal, who were members of the Junjing Tebie Tongmenghui, to steal ammunition from the arsenal by breaking through the walls.⁸⁶ Lastly, in respect to army deployment, it was agreed that the uprising should take place on the 12th of November. The headquarters of the new army was to be located in Hua Xiang (Alley). Sun Daoren would be the Military

Governor while Xu Chongzhi would take up the post of Operations Commander. They planned to, first of all, occupy the Kang Shan (Hill) in the east and Yu Shan (Hill) in the south. Then, in a strategic position overlooking the entire city, separate divisions of the army would advance on the Manchu area from Aofeng Fang (Lane), Gaojie Li (Lane), Qixun Kou (Banner Garrison Entrance), Shi Qiao (Bridge) and Qingcheng Si (Temple). However, for humanitarian considerations, the East Gate entrance would be left open for the Manchus to escape.⁸⁷

Following the meeting, the Fujian Branch of the Tongmenghui set up their own commanding centre at the Qiaonan Gongyi She to give command to the student army, explosives squad and Merchant Volunteer Corps as well as to liaise with the new army and police.⁸⁸ The Fujian Branch also established three temporary operation centres, one at Lin Yushi's residence in Fanchuan Pu, another at Huang Naichang's residence in Dui Hu and the third one at the orphanage in Xiadu run by Li Qifan. The centres were engaged in preparation for the uprising such as getting weapons ready; making bombs, 18-star flags, official seals and arm bands as well as preparing all kinds of notices. Li Qifan was responsible for bomb making. During the uprising, as many as one hundred bombs were produced every hour for use by the Explosives Squad. Li had contributed much to the success of the revolution in Fuzhou.⁸⁹ While getting ready for uprising, the Fujian Branch of Tongmenghui also issued notices and made use of the *Jianyan Bao* to appeal to the Manchus to surrender in the hope of achieving a revolution without bloodshed.⁹⁰

Simultaneously, as the situation at the capital city was becoming increasingly critical, many foreign battleships were being anchored near the Pagoda Island while military reinforcement took place at the various consulates and foreign companies on Cangqian Shan. Since the Fujianese revolutionaries did not want to see foreign intervention, Zheng Zuyin put forward a motion at the Provincial Assembly to protect the foreigners residing in Fuzhou. The various foreign consulates were subsequently notified to move all their missionaries, merchants and others to Cangqian Shan for easier protection. The people of Fuzhou City became even more panicky. To aggravate the

situation, a robbery occurred at the Shuibumen (Gate). The people therefore began a southward exodus to Cangqian Shan to escape danger. Shops also stopped doing business.⁹¹

At this critical moment, the Provincial Assembly decided to make a final attempt at making peace. Upon his return to Fujian from Shanghai, the Vice-Chairman of the Provincial Assembly, Liu Chongyou, immediately called a meeting whereby it was agreed that a new government should be set up to bring about the liberation of Fujian by peaceful means. This was the method generally adopted by constitutionalists during the 1911 Revolution period called "Peaceful Independence" (Heping Duli). By this method, they tried to persuade the Governor-General, Governor or other officials to declare their independence from the central government and to set up a military government in support of republicanism. The constitutionalists' advocacy of "Peaceful Independence" implied their abandoning constitutionalist monarchy, breaking up with the Manchu Court and uniting with the revolution. On the 7th of November, four terms were put forward for Songshou's consideration and requesting that political power should be turned over to the new government. The terms were firstly, the Manchus must obey the new government. Secondly, arms and ammunition of the Banner Forces had to be handed over to the new government. Thirdly, there should be no discrimination between the Han and Manchu races. Finally, the Manchus would continue to be paid their official salaries. The above terms were aimed at avoiding bloody conflict between the revolutionaries and Manchus and were evidently put forward by Fujianese constitutionalists as a final attempt to attain peaceful transition of political power.⁹² Songshou was inclined towards accepting the terms. But the proposal of the constitutionalists was thwarted by the refusal of Pushou, the Tartar-General, who was opposed to the idea and wished to fight the revolutionaries till the end. Under this circumstance, Songsong telegraphed the Commander of Yanping, Jianning and Shaowu, Xu Jingqing, to proceed immediately to the capital city with two battalions of the Reserve Forces. Pushou also ordered a Manchu member of the gentry, Wen Jie, to organize a "Sha Han Tuan" (Kill Han Group) consisting of five hundred men to be

divided into two teams responsible for killing with swords as well as setting fire to targets. At the same time, to strike the first blow, Pushou planned to attack the revolutionaries' commanding centre at Qiaonan Gongyi She and send troops to capture Sun Daoren at his residence on the 9th of November. Getting wind of Pushou's plan, the revolutionaries were forced to advance the date of the uprising from the 12th to the 8th of November.⁹³ The well-known Battle of Yu Shan finally erupted.(See Map 5)

The Battle of Yu Shan could be divided into two phases. The first phase took place between 3:00 p.m. on 8th November and 5:00 a.m. on 9th November and comprised preparation for battle of the revolutionary army as well as sporadic fighting. The second phase, from 5:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. on 9th November, consisted of furious fighting on Yu Shan as well as street fighting in the city until the surrender of the Banner Forces. The entire Battle of Yu Shan lasted one full day.⁹⁴

(A) The First Phase: Preparation for Battle - Steps taken included issuing combat orders, disposition of troops and battle line preparation. At 3:00 p.m. on the 8th of November, Sun Daoren issued an order that firstly, the Commander of the 20th Brigade, Xu Chongzhi was appointed Operations Commander of the uprising,⁹⁵ and the operations command centre was to be located at Dashi Dian (Hall) in Guanyin Ge (Temple of the Goddess of Mercy) on Yu Shan. Secondly, troops were to be disposed in the western part of the Manchu area adjacent to the Han Chinese area at various posts including Qixun Kou, Dawangfu Kou, Aofeng Fang and Guan Xiang (Lane). Thirdly, the commanding centre of the Tongmenghui at Qiaonan Gongyi She should advise students and civilian militia of the various social organizations to step up patrol after 9:00 p.m. on the same day and to keep a close watch at street barriers so that no one would be allowed through without the password - "Zi Nu" (Son and Daughter).⁹⁶

In respect to disposition of the revolutionary army, it was decided that the main combat troops should be the 10th Division of the New Army in Fuzhou. The strength of this division comprised the 3rd Battalion of the 38th Regiment of the 19th Infantry Brigade commanded by Hu Guigao; Temporary Combat Troops formed by officers of the 20th Infantry Brigade directly under the operations command centre; Cadet Troops

made up of fresh graduates of the Fujian Military Preparatory Academy and commanded by Xu Chongzhi; one company of the Cavalry Squadron under the command of Huang Anyuan; two companies of the Artillery Mountain Battalion, commanded by Xiao Qibin, which were equipped with four Krupp Mountain Guns; two companies of the Engineer Battalion led by Lin Wenying as well as one company of the Transport Corps Battalion under Zheng Tan's command. A rough estimate put the strength of this 10th Division in Fuzhou at 1,400 men.⁹⁷ That the Fujianese revolutionary army was later able to gain military superiority in the Battle of Yu Shan was largely attributable to Artillery support.

Apart from the 10th Division, there were also auxiliary troops made up of civilian forces organized by the Fujian Branch of the Tongmenghui and Junjing Tebie Tongmenghui. Of the auxilliary troops, some were formed by students including the Explosives Squad commanded by Pu Kaitai and You Youmin, the Rifle Squad led by Liu Tong as well as the Tiyu Squad and Shangwu (Militaristic) Squad headed by Zheng Zuyin and Lin Sichen. There were also troops formed by the general public and they were the Merchants Volunteer Corps under Feng Jinrong's command, the Fire-Fighting Squad commanded by Lin Yushi and Wang Hongzi as well as the Civilian Militia led by Yang Qi and Fang Yingtuan. Moreover, the secret societies and Hunanese veterans had also formed their own auxiliary troops including the Vanguard Squad and the Dispatch Squad, both commanded by Peng Shousong. These auxilliary troops were mainly responsible for patrolling as well as transporation of ammunition and provisions. They also acted as support units for the main combat troops.⁹⁸ Among all the above-mentioned auxiliary squads, the performance of the Explosives Squad, mainly made up of students from the Anglo-Chinese College, Peiyuan College and Biblical Institute who were greatly influenced by Huang Naichang, was particularly outstanding during the Battle.⁹⁹

Regarding battle line preparation, according to plans, the revolutionary army should start entering the city at 10:00 p.m. Each soldier was to wear a white arm band with the characters "Gong Quan" (Public Rights) printed in red.¹⁰⁰ Leaving the command of the headquarters of the revolutionary army at Hua Xiang to Wang Qi, Sun Daoren

himself proceeded to the garrison at the Jieguan Ting (Official Reception Pavilion) of the West Gate. Simultaneously, led by their instructor Wang Yunyuan, students of the Junior Cadet School marched to the headquarters at Hua Xiang to join in as guards and orderlies.¹⁰¹ The Infantry left their city barracks at 3:00 p.m. and advanced in the direction of the various posts to get ready for fighting.¹⁰² At the same time, Xu Chongzhi and his troops occupied Yu Shan and set up the operations command centre at Dashi Dian as planned. Covered by the Engineer Battalion and Transport Corps Battalion, the Artillery ascended Yu Shan via a gap in the wall of the Southern Drill Ground. They subsequently established gun emplacements on the northern side of the hilltop with muzzles pointing at the Manchu area below.¹⁰³ On the other hand, the Ping Shan Arsenal was also attacked and occupied by revolutionary troops led by Jiang Guobin. Arms and ammunition were taken from the arsenal for use by the revolutionaries.¹⁰⁴

Later on, Wang Qi ordered Wang Yunyuan to assume telephone communication duties. Wang Yunyuan therefore set up a special line connecting the operations command centre on Yu Shan, the headquarters at Hua Xiang and the Jieguan Ting of the West Gate. From midnight to dawn, more than ten calls were made among Xu Chongzhi, Wang Qi and Sun Daoren to keep abreast of the latest situation. The Engineer Battalion was sent to the Manchu area to destroy their communication network as a means to isolate the Manchus. During the last telephone call, Xu said, "Preparation is completed, attack will commence soon!"¹⁰⁵ The main combat troops of the revolutionary army were finally ready for battle.

Before the actual battle was fought, the revolutionary army had occupied Yu Shan and Ping Shan situated in the southern and northern parts of the city. By so doing, they succeeded in gaining a commanding point as well as control of ammunition. Furthermore, through the telephone, the army was kept informed of their own and the enemy's situation and was thus able to create for themselves a favourable condition for defeating the enemy.

Another component of the revolutionary army were the civilian forces which took action in support of the main combat troops one after another. In respect to the Rifle

Squad, while some members stayed behind at Cangqian Shan for garrison duty, others were engaged in taking over various government organizations including the Qing Government Bank, the Likin Office at Zhongzhou and the Telegraph Office at Fanchuan Pu. The Explosives Squad, Vanguard Squad and Dispatch Squad, led by Peng Shousong and his nephew Peng Yinxiang, also left Nantai for the city of Fuzhou. Upon arrival, some of them stole up Yu Shan while others proceeded to the various posts in the Manchu area to join the combat troops.¹⁰⁶ Meanwhile, the civilian militia, under the leadership of Yang Qi, not only took up patrol duty with other squads but later also took part in transportation of ammunition to the front line at Yu Shan.¹⁰⁷

While the revolutionary army was getting ready for battle, at about 4:00 a.m., several hundred Banner soldiers suddenly charged over to the Han Chinese area. Their Fire Setting Team set fire to people's houses by spraying them with fire-hoses filled with kerosene and there were flames everywhere in the area between Qixun Kou and Aofeng Fang.¹⁰⁸ At this time, the Explosives Squad which had entered the city earlier on, encountered the Banner soldiers at Gaojie Li, Guxian Qiao (Bridge) and the Lieutenant-General's Office in Dawangfu. Bombs were thrown at the Manchus. In the street fighting that ensued, the Explosives Squad lost two of their comrades, Wang Yaoxi and Huang Qingquan.¹⁰⁹ At 4:30 a.m. of the same night, the main combat troops had begun fighting with the Banner Forces garrisoned at Shuibumen inside the wall. The Explosives Squad were also involved in attacking Shuibumen and a member of the Squad, the 16-year-old Wang Jiegong, though young, had shown outstanding bravery. Despite being wounded in the course of fighting, Wang still fought on and his courage was highly commended by his comrades.¹¹⁰ The sporadic fighting between the Manchus and revolutionaries mentioned above was a prelude to the Battle of Yu Shan.

(B) The Second Phase: The Battle and Surrender of the Banner Forces - Fighting occurred mainly on Yu Shan and the streets between the Han and Manchu areas. Before dawn at 5:00 a.m. on 9th November, the revolutionary army started their attack. The Artillery on Yu Shan opened fire against the Manchu area and the Tartar-General's Office. The Banner Forces were stunned by this sudden attack and Pushou made an

appeal for peace. However, when due to the shortage of shells, the Artillery had to stop firing,¹¹¹ the Artillery position on Yu Shan immediately became the target of attack by the Banner Forces. At around 9:00 a.m., Pushou and Wen Kai led two teams of the Jiesheng Battalion to close in on the Artillery on Yu Shan from the left and right in order to seize their guns. The left team went up Yu Shan from Luzu Gong (Taoist Temple) passing through Baita Si (White Pagoda Temple) and Taiping Jie (Street) while the right team charged up the hill from Jiuqu Ting (Pavilion).¹¹² At the same time, the Jiesheng Battalion had also occupied the roof of the College of Law and Administration in front of Yu Shan. From there, they fired at the Artillery position thus killing or wounding a number of revolutionaries. The safety of the operations command centre was greatly threatened. In this critical situation, Xu Chongzhi ordered the auxiliary troops present, including the civilian militia which had just arrived with shells and bullets from the Ping Shan Arsenal, to join in counter-attack. Apart from resisting up-hill flank attack of the enemy from the left and right, the revolutionary army also destroyed the position of the Jiesheng Battalion at the College of Law and Administration by the use of Krupp Mountain Guns. The Explosives Squad also took part in the attack by throwing bombs. As a result, the Manchus suffered great casualties. At around 11:00 a.m., the enemy was already showing signs of collapse and at noon they raised the white flag at Shuibumen to signal their willingness to surrender. But the revolutionary army paid no attention for fear that it was just a feigned surrender.¹¹³ At this point, the revolutionary army had evidently gained initial victory and this greatly boosted the morale of the soldiers.

In the meantime, street fighting was taking place at the various posts between the Han and Manchu areas.¹¹⁴ After the initial firing of shells by the Artillery on Yu Shan at daybreak, Zheng Zuyin and Huang Naichang marched into the city with more than three hundred members of the Rifle Squad, Tiyu Squad, Merchants Volunteer Corps and education circle, holding up the yellow victory flag and 18-star flag of the revolutionaries. On the way, they were cheered by the people of the city. They subsequently went to the Hua Xiang headquarters and later to the Fujian Military Preparatory Academy where they stayed. Immediately afterwards, they joined in the street fighting. As the fighting

between the revolutionaries and Manchus became increasingly furious, the leaders of the Fujian Branch of Tongmenghui were forced to retreat from the city and return to the commanding centre at Qiaonan Gongyi She.¹¹⁵

On the other hand, as mentioned earlier, the revolutionaries at Yu Shan were gaining the upper hand and with their initial victory, the situation appeared more and more favourable to the revolutionary army. Ignoring the Manchus' surrender signal, the Artillery continued shelling the Manchu area. Furthermore, an order was issued for the revolutionary army to start a general attack against the enemy. The commander of the Changmen Fort, Chen Endao, was also ordered into the city with his men and guns to join in action.¹¹⁶ Of great significance was the conversion to revolution of the two Reserve Battalions led by Xu Jingqing previously summoned to the city by Songshou for support. Under the persuasion of Sun Daoren's son, Sun Kexiu, and a senior member of the Xiang Army, He Guichun, both sent by Sun Daoren, Xu Jingqing finally consented to joining the revolutionary front. Xu's men, totalling six hundred odd, entered the city through the West Gate and set upon the Manchu area. For a time, war-cries filled the air. The Reserve Battalions also raided and occupied the Tartar-General's Office. Simultaneously, the various revolutionary troops smashed the resistance of the enemy and the Manchu area fell into the hands of the revolutionaries. Losing all willpower to continue fighting, the Banner Forces in the Manchu area ran away through the East Gate.¹¹⁷

At 2:00 p.m., the Banner Forces left fighting once again begged to surrender. Xu Chongzhi eventually ordered a cease-fire and sent men to the Manchu area to make the necessary arrangements. The Manchu captives were taken to the Southern Drill Ground. At the same time, the Deputy Lieutenant-General of the Banner Forces, Sheng En, submitted an official surrender to the operations command centre of the revolutionary army. Later, the defeated Manchus were allowed to return to their original place of residence. In respect to the Manchu officials, while Songshou had committed suicide by swallowing gold, Pushou was taken to Yu Shan and later killed by Peng Shousong's men because of his unbending attitude. The Treasurer Shang Qiheng and Judicial

Commissioner Lu Xueliang, on the other hand, were permitted to leave the city.¹¹⁸ On 11th November, the Chinese Banner Force garrisoned at Yang Yu also surrendered to Wang Yihu sent by Xu Chongzhi.¹¹⁹ Hence, the Banner Forces of Fuzhou were completely crushed by the revolutionaries. As a result of the Battle, the revolutionary army suffered a loss of sixteen men while two hundred and eighty odd Manchus were killed.¹²⁰ Fuzhou finally succeeded in gaining liberation and putting an end to Manchu rule in the province of Fujian.¹²¹

The victory of the revolutionary army in the Battle of Yu Shan could be attributed to two factors - military and social. From the military point of view, the revolutionary forces possessed a strong will to fight. Their battle plan as well as deployment of troops were comprehensive and carefully thought out. Not only were they equipped with guns with greater fire-power, but the revolutionaries' performance in the battle was also superior to that of the Banner Forces. Moreover, when, at the crucial moment, Xu Jingqing and his Reserve Battalions turned against the Manchus and joined the revolutionary camp, the morale of the revolutionary army was greatly boosted and this accelerated the defeat of the Manchus.¹²² From the social point of view, although the revolutionaries were not able to gain the support of the local gentry and constitutionalists, the general public were all for the uprising. The revolutionaries were greeted with cheers throughout the city and were never short of food and drinks provided by the crowd.¹²³ That the people were so supportive of the revolutionaries was probably a result of the success of the revolutionaries' strategy in providing community services and social welfare to the public which greatly enhanced their social status. Conversely, the comparative isolation of the Manchus due to lack of public support had rendered their final defeat inevitable. In a word, the victory of the revolutionaries in the Battle of Yu Shan had laid the foundation-stone for the recovery of Fujian.

On the 11th of November, following the success of the uprising, the Fuzhou revolutionaries established the Provisional Military Government of Fujian based on the Outline of Military Government (Dudufu Dagang) drafted by the Fujian Branch of

Tongmenghui. It was stipulated that the Military Government should be made up of the Governor (Dudu) and the Committee of Counsellors comprising ten Counsellors (Canshiyuan).¹²⁴ Sun Daoren was appointed Governor while the ten Counsellors, recommended by the Fujian Branch of Tongmenghui, were Peng Shousong, Zheng Zuyin, Lin Sichen, Liu Tong, Huang Guangbi, Li Hui, Chen Chengze, Lin Xiao, Song Yuanyuan and Chen Jingsong. Later, Song Yuanyuan and Li Hui were asked to assume other duties and their posts were taken over by Lin Hengke and Qiu Renyuan. Peng Shousong was the Chairman of the Committee of Counsellors which was responsible for assisting the Governor in administration as well as discussing and deciding on provincial affairs.¹²⁵ As Li Guoqi pointed out, the nature of the Committee was that it was an organization performing the functions of both an assistant to the Governor as well as the Legislative Assembly. It was thus evident that the Committee did not as yet possess the complete form and functions of representative democracy. This also showed that the revolutionaries did not have a thorough understanding of democracy.¹²⁶ At the same time, under the Governor were ten departments - Military Command (headed by Xu Chongzhi), Military Affairs (Lin Zhixia), Military Advisory (Wang Qi), Internal Affairs (Gao Dengli), Foreign Affairs (Chen Nengguang), Finance (Chen Zhilin), Judiciary (Zheng Lie), Education (Huang Zhanyun), Communications (Huang Naichang) and Police (Weng Hao). The ten departments were responsible for all military and civil affairs of the province and were under the direct supervision of the Governor.

On 11th December of the same year, the Military Government was re-organized and the Committee of Counsellors became the Government Administration Council (Zhengwu Yuan). Peng Shousong was appointed Director of the Council while Zheng Zuyin and Lin Sichen took up the positions of Deputy Directors. Under the Council were four bureaus and six departments headed by more or less the same individuals as the former departments.¹²⁷ Different from the former Committee of Counsellors, the re-organized Government Administration Council was entirely an administrative body. Among the above-mentioned government personnel, apart from Gao Dengli of the Internal Affairs Department and Chen Zhilin of the Finance Department who were both

members of the Provincial Assembly, all the others had been leaders of the Fujian Branch of Tongmenghui, Junjing Tebie Tongmenghui¹²⁸ and the 10th Division of the New Army. This clearly showed that the new government of Fujian was in fact a "Revolutionary-Military Coalition" and not a "Gentry-Military Coalition" as some scholars have called it.¹²⁹

In response to the "recovery" of Fuzhou, the adjacent prefectures Funing, Xinghua, Yanping, Jianning and Shaowu also gained independence one after the other, but by peaceful means. The Military Government then sent officials to the various prefectures to calm the people as well as imbue them with ideas of revolution and republicanism. At the same time, a number of local officials were replaced in order to strengthen the revolutionary regime.

After the recovery of Fuzhou, Funing telegraphed the Military Government requesting it to take over control of Sandu Ao.¹³⁰ The Prefect of Funing, a Manchu named Zhi Ge, on hearing the news of Fuzhou's liberation, immediately fled. Fuzhou subsequently sent Zhuang Zhaoran, a member of the Explosives Squad, and others to the prefecture to soothe the people and conduct propaganda. In the year 1912, Hu Guigao was appointed Prefect of Funing.¹³¹

On the other hand, the Military Government designated Peng Yinxiang as Intendant of Yanping, Jianning and Shaowu to be responsible for calming the people in the three prefectures. At the same time, Xu Jingqing and his Reserve Forces were sent back to Jianning to take up garrison duty. Stationing in Yanping himself, Peng Yinxiang had his men take up official posts at the various prefectures and districts. However, Peng's administration was severely criticized.¹³²

In respect to Xinghua, the revolutionaries of Putian had already been in contact with Wan Guofa, Battalion Commander of the New Army garrisoned in Putian, and conspired to start an uprising. Then upon hearing about Fuzhou's uprising plans, the Chairman of the Xinghua Division of the Tongmenghui, Lin Shizhou, immediately went north with other Putianese revolutionaries including Lin Yishan, Lin Li, Ye Sheng and others. Eventually, they all took part in the Battle of Yu Shan. Wan Guofa also

proceeded to Fuzhou to meet with Peng Shousong. Later, on the 12th of November, after the recovery of Fuzhou, Wan Guofa's younger brother Wan Pengcheng declared the independence of Xinghua and the Prefect of Xinghua, Han Fangpu, ran away. The Military Government subsequently sent Wan Guofa and Lin Shishao back to Xinghua to calm the masses. Yu Wenzao, a Hunanese, was appointed Prefect of Xinghua while Wan Guofa was promoted to the position of Regiment Commander.¹³³

The spontaneous response of the above-mentioned prefectures to Fuzhou's recovery had resulted in their own peaceful transition to independence.

The Recovery of Xiamen and Adjacent Prefectures

Since it was opened as a treaty port in 1842 up to the early 20th Century, Xiamen had been a major city in Southern Fujian as well as a port of entry and exit for Overseas Chinese. The Overseas Chinese originated from Southern Fujian had played an important role in the revolutionary movement, both in Fujian and overseas.¹³⁴ A typical example was the Minnan Chinese from Semarang, Wang Zhenbang and Jiang Yilin, playing a significant role in the revolution of Xiamen and Quanzhou. Also, during the recovery of Fujian, Anhui, a well-known birthplace of Overseas Chinese in the Quanzhou Prefecture, started an uprising for independence on the 7th of November, two days earlier than Fuzhou and the first in the entire province. It could thus be seen that the Minnan region had a place in the 1911 Revolution in the province of Fujian.¹³⁵ The Revolution of Southern Fujian centred around Xiamen, Quanzhou and Zhangzhou and the three cities were closely connected. Later, following the recovery of Xiamen, Quanzhou and Zhangzhou immediately responded by seeking their own independence. This greatly facilitated the "recovery" of the entire province of Fujian.

In Xiamen, the Fujian Branch of Tongmenghui and the Guangfuhui had initiated their own revolutionary activities as early as 1905 and both were just waiting for the right moment to start the uprising. As a matter of fact, during the Guangzhou Uprising in 1911, both groups had plans for participation in action as well as a positive response at the success of the revolutionaries in Guangzhou. Unfortunately, their plans fell through

due to failure of the uprising. But one positive outcome was that Xiamen's revolutionary strength was reserved. Like their counterparts in Fuzhou, the Xiamen revolutionaries were filled with grief and indignation over the loss of Fujianese comrades in the Guangzhou Uprising and vowed to avenge their comrades' sacrifice. They called a secret meeting during which the revolutionaries discussed plans for strengthening their organization and staging the uprising.¹³⁶

After the Wuchang Uprising, the Xiamen revolutionaries stepped up their activities. Besides reporting news in the *Nansheng Ribao* of the recovery of various places throughout the nation, they also posted leaflets all over the city to spread revolutionary ideas. The situation in Xiamen became increasingly tense and chaotic, and the merchants were filled with anxiety. The General Chamber of Commerce therefore called a meeting and all the gentry and merchants present decided that the Chamber should telegraph the Governor-General, Songshou, to declare the independence of Xiamen in the hope of attaining a peaceful transference. This was no different from what was done by the constitutionalists in Fuzhou. The day after the General Chamber meeting, the Circuit-Intendant of Xinghua, Quanzhou and Yongchun, Qingfan, and the Sub-Prefect Wang Zhilian, sensing the situation was not favourable, fled Xiamen. This resulted in a void in the local administration and the Zizhi Hui (Self-Governing Society) of Xiamen, which was formed by the gentry, therefore assumed responsibilities for the local government. They also organized the Baoan Hui (Public Security Society) to maintain order.¹³⁷

Meanwhile, the revolutionary groups in Xiamen underwent new changes. The Xiamen Tongmenghui and Guangfuhui contacted each other and conspired to stage a joint uprising in the city. That the two groups were willing to co-operate was because of the efforts of Qi Xuan who acted as a go-between. Qi Xuan was then the Manager of the Jingxing Bao and Minxin Bao and he was trying to raise funds for uprising from Overseas Chinese.¹³⁸ On 29th October, just before the "recovery" of Fuzhou, Qi Xuan came to Xiamen from Fuzhou to meet with Wang Zhenbang with the purpose of obtaining donations for the Fuzhou uprising. At that time, the Guangfuhui in Semarang

had already sent Wang Shaowen and Jiang Yifang to Hong Kong with a large sum of money to be used for revolution. As Wang Zhenbang had also received some of the money, he immediately gave to Qi Xuan \$2,000. Later, after the recovery of Fuzhou, Wang again remitted \$5,000 to Fuzhou. While in Xiamen, Qi Xuan introduced Wang Zhenbang to Zhang Haishan, Shi Ming and Huang Yunshan. Together, they discussed the co-operation of the two groups. Two meetings were held at the Tianxian Chayuan (Opera House) to discuss plans for gaining independence of Xiamen.¹³⁹ After the "recovery" of Fuzhou on 9th November, the two groups sent Wang Zhenbang, Qiu Ruming and others to meet with Chen Ziting, Chairman of the Xiamen Zizhi Hui, to talk about ways to gain independence of Xiamen. Chen's way of thinking was that Xiamen did not need any armed uprising. What should be done was just to wait for Fuzhou to take over control of the city. However, the revolutionaries were opposed to Chen's views and no agreement was reached.¹⁴⁰ After the meeting, the revolutionaries decided to act independently and stage an armed uprising for the "recovery" of Xiamen from the Manchus.

On the 14th of November, the Xiamen revolutionaries submitted a request to the various consulates, the Commissioner of Customs and the Post Office that they remain neutral at the time of uprising. The revolutionaries then assembled at the Tianxian Chayuan where Zhang Haishan gave a speech on revolution. Afterwards, divided into two teams, the revolutionaries advanced towards the Naval Commander-In-Chief Yamen (Office) from the West Gate and South Gate. They were able to occupy the Yamen without any resistance from the staff. In fact, the Naval Commander-In-Chief and all the officials had already escaped before the arrival of the revolutionaries. In the meantime, Qiu Ruming and some others got ready to attack the Police Station; Chen Pixian and his team were responsible for taking over control of the forts; Lin Hengke, Shi Ming, Huang Yunshan and other revolutionaries were all set to occupy the other government offices. Getting wind of the imminent attacks, the Qing officials and army either ran away or stayed behind to hand over power to the revolutionaries. The recovery of Xiamen was thus completed without one single gunshot. The next day, the

revolutionaries established the Branch Military Government with Zhang Haishan designated as Head and Jiang Deqing as Deputy Head.¹⁴¹

On 17th November, recognizing the importance of Southern Fujian in the province, Sun Daoren sent Song Yuanyuan to the south to take up the task of calming the Minnan people. Song's arrival in Xiamen coincided with a bloody conflict occurring between the Fuzhou revolutionaries and the Guangfuhui in Xiamen which resulted in two dead and twenty-eight wounded, mostly Fuzhou revolutionaries. Less than one month after they decided to join in alliance, the two groups broke with each other. During this internal strife, the leaders of the two groups, Wang Zhenbang and Zhang Haishan, chose to stay in the background in Gulang Yu to avoid being drawn directly into the conflict. With both leaders away, Song Yuanyuan had to take charge of the matter. Song called a meeting of representatives from all circles and suggested that in view of the conflict with the Branch Military Government, the Circuit-Intendant System (Daoyin Zhi) should be temporarily adopted as a means to restore order. Subsequently, Fuzhou sent Yuan Hongkui and Cao Chunfa to Xiamen to take up the posts of Circuit-Intendant and Commander respectively. After this, a degree of stability was regained in Xiamen.¹⁴² Zhang Haishan subsequently resigned from his position as Head of the Branch Military Government while Wang Zhenbang, for health reasons, also withdrew from the political arena and practised medicine in Xiamen until his death.

The conflict between Zhang Haishan and Wang Zhenbang was attributable not only to their difference in background in that they had come from different native places and joined different revolutionary groups, but also to the Guangfuhui's resentment of the fact that Wang Zhenbang's importance and contribution were neglected to such an extent that after the recovery of Xiamen, he was not awarded any position in the Branch Military Government.

To go further into incidents that aroused the Guangfuhui's resentment, first of all, when the two groups were having joint discussions on the uprising and arrangements to be made after the recovery of Xiamen, Wang Zhenbang had suggested that firstly, after the recovery, Xiamen's military and diplomatic affairs should be looked after by a joint

revolutionary organization while local administration should be the responsibility of the newly appointed Circuit-Intendant, Zhang Gongbei; secondly, the new government of the independent Xiamen should be formed by Overseas Chinese from Southeast Asia and named Southern Branch Government (Nanbu Fenfu). However, neither suggestions were accepted by the Fuzhou revolutionaries who even sent men to threaten Zhang Gongbei into fleeing to Hong Kong without assuming his official post. Signs of discordance between the two groups could be detected even at the very early stage of their alliance.¹⁴³

Secondly, during the uprising, the Tongmenghui were obviously in control of the military force. The Guangfuhui, on the other hand, played the subdued role of provider of funds. The different roles played by the two groups were reflected in the roster of the revolutionary army which listed Zhang Haishan as Commander with Shi Ming responsible for military affairs and Jiang Yifang looking after finance. Why was it that the Guangfuhui did not have enough military support when previously its leader Wang Zhenbang had been in contact with local influences? Perhaps this could be explained by the fact that the three major families in Xiamen who had pledged their support before were, at the time of the uprising, involved in a Xiedou of their own.¹⁴⁴ On the contrary, before the uprising, Shi Ming, Qiu Ruming and Huang Yunshan of the Tongmenghui were successful in mobilizing the railway workers and police. The military superiority of the Tongmenghui during the uprising gave it the power to gain control of the new government.

Finally, as Head of the Branch Military Government, Zhang Haishan did not make any proper arrangement for Wang Zhenbang. This greatly angered the members of the Guangfuhui. Before the uprising, Zhang Haishan had promised that all participants would be given a reward of \$5 after the recovery of Xiamen. However, when the time came for giving out the money, the police force, who were mostly members of the Tongmenghui, were given \$10 instead. Using this unfairness of the Branch Military Government as an excuse, the members of the Guangfuhui started making trouble. This resulted in conflict between the Tongmenghui and Guangfuhui.¹⁴⁵

The internal conflict between the Tongmenghui and Guangfuhui in Xiamen was not unique. As a matter of fact, there had been more furious struggles between the two groups in Shanghai and Guangdong.¹⁴⁶ All these conflicts had been the unfortunate result of the fact that the revolutionaries, in carrying out a selfless national salvation movement, was not able to forget their own regional differences and desire for power.

In respect to the recovery of Xiamen, the Tongmenghui and Guangfuhui had established a total of thirteen revolutionary organizations between them. However, as the two groups had developed their strength separately, Xiamen's revolutionary force was dispersed and relatively weak. Although the two groups had joined in alliance before the uprising, internally there was discordance between them. But despite all this, the revolutionaries still succeeded in gaining independence of Xiamen. The reason, as Sir J. Jordan had pointed out in his report, was that, "At Amoy the Taotai (Circuit-Intendent) and other officials took refuge on a Chinese cruiser and left the revolutionaries a clear field."¹⁴⁷ The success of the Xiamen revolutionaries evidently owed much to the Manchu officials' timidity, and flight.

The recovery of Zhangzhou was basically staged by the Tongmenghui. The emergence of Zhangzhou's revolutionary force had originated from the activities of students who had returned from Japan as well as the efforts of Overseas Chinese. Famous revolutionary leaders such as Chen Zhaolong (1875-1951), Wang Zhaopei (1890-?), Zhu Runqing (1872-1912) and Lin Zheren (1881-1949) had mostly graduated from the Zhangzhou Sino-Western School (Zhangzhou Zhongxi Xuetang).¹⁴⁸ Most of them had either studied in Japan or spent time in Southeast Asia and were thus influenced by the Tongmenghui. Upon his return to Zhangzhou from Vietnam, Chen Zhaolong set up the Zhangzhou Tongmenghui and carried out revolutionary activities.¹⁴⁹ Moreover, another Overseas Chinese from the Philippines, Zhuang Yu, was sent back to Zhangzhou by Sun Yatsen in 1909. After his return, Zhuang became acquainted with Song Shanqing, Correspondence Secretary of the Office of the Circuit-Intendant of Tingzhou, Zhangzhou and Longyan. Together, Zhuang and Song founded the Special Technical School (Jishu Zhuanxiu Xuexiao) to secretly engage in revolutionary activities

and recruitment of comrades.¹⁵⁰ After the Wuchang Uprising, Chen Zhaolong and others began liaising with the various social groups for the establishment of a civilian militia in preparation for uprising.¹⁵¹ At the time Fuzhou succeeded in gaining independence, the Brigade Commander of Zhangzhou, Ma Jinxi, was in Beijing and it was during this period that He Chenghao, the Circuit-Intendant of Tingzhou, Zhangzhou and Longyan, was forced to leave by Song Shanqing. With the Intendant gone, Chen Zhaolong, Wang Zhaopei, Lin Zheren and other comrades conspired to start the uprising and they took the initiative in contacting the head of the Gelaohui in Zhangzhou, Zhang Yi, with the aim of obtaining military support as many members of the local army forces had joined the Gelaohui. Two revolutionaries Su Yuwen (1888-1943) and Qiu Zengsan also came to Zhangzhou from Xiamen to assist in the recovery of Zhangzhou. Meanwhile, Chen Zhaolong and the others managed to persuade Chen Liang, the Vice-Chairman of the Longxi Chamber of Commerce, to take part in the uprising. Finally, on the 11th of November, as a result of the endeavours of the revolutionaries, the independence of Zhangzhou was declared.¹⁵²

The recovery of Quanzhou was mainly the joint efforts of the Overseas Chinese and the revolutionaries of Quanzhou and Xiamen. Among the Overseas Chinese, the most outstanding was Jiang Yilin who came back to Quanzhou from Semarang to take part in revolutionary activities.¹⁵³ Of the Xiamen revolutionaries, Xu Zhuoran was the most famous; and Huang Zhongliu was the most important Quanzhou revolutionary. In early 1911, under the cover of carrying out activities of the Tiyu Hui and Wushu Guan (Martial Arts Centre), the Quanzhou revolutionaries secretly built up the revolutionary force. The Tiyu Hui was set up by Xu Zhuoran while Huang Zhongliu was the founder of the Wushu Guan. Moreover, Huang Zhongliu was a renowned practitioner of Western Medicine in Quanzhou and he was also a Christian as well as an important member of the Gelaohui. He had a very close relationship with both the civil and military officials in Quanzhou. According to Huang's son, he joined the Tongmenghui in Hong Kong in 1906.¹⁵⁴

The Guangzhou Uprising had such a great impact on the revolutionaries of Quanzhou that in May of the same year, Jiang Yilin invited ten revolutionaries including Xu Zhuoran and Ye Qingyan of Xiamen as well as Wu Kun, Chen Zhongjin and others of Quanzhou to attend a secret meeting at Cien Si (Grace Bestowing Temple) on Qingyuan Shan outside the East Gate to discuss plans for an uprising in Quanzhou. It was decided during the meeting that Jiang was to provide funds for the purchasing of arms and ammunition as well as the formation of a Dare-to-Die Corps. They also planned to win over to their side Tang Wansheng, the Brigade Commander of Quanzhou.¹⁵⁵ The meeting signified the alliance of different revolutionary factions in Quanzhou which led to the establishment of the Quanzhou Tongmenghui.

After the Wuchang Uprising, the outlying area of Quanzhou was constantly plundered by members of the Baiqi Hui. The revolutionaries and the local gentry therefore joined together to set up the Baoan Hui (Public Security Society) by recruiting men from the Yanling Village outside the city for maintenance of order. In this way, the revolutionaries began gaining control of the security force of Quanzhou.¹⁵⁶ In late October, the Quanzhou Tongmenghui was officially established with Jiang Yilin and Huang Zhongliu taking up the posts of Chairman and Vice-Chairman respectively. They also started making preparations for uprising. On the 14th of November, news of Xiamen's recovery reached Quanzhou and the revolutionaries decided to respond. Very soon, a small military group was formed and bombs were made. At the same time, Huang Zhongliu, Jiang Yilin and the others tried to make a final attempt to persuade Tang Wansheng to co-operate with them in the hope of gaining independence without bloodshed. During this period, the Prefect of Quanzhou, Guan Yuanshan, had escaped. On the 17th of November, Tang Wansheng finally agreed to the revolutionaries' request. Then, on the 19th of November, Quanzhou was declared independent and the Branch Military Government was subsequently established headed by Tang Wansheng.¹⁵⁷

Tingzhou, a peripheral prefecture of Western Fujian situated in a remote mountain area and inhabited mainly by Hakka, was isolated from Xiamen and Fuzhou. With the Ting River running through the prefecture from north to south and linking it to

Eastern Guangdong, Tingzhou had Shantou (Swatow) as its entrepot in the late Qing period. These geographical factors resulted in a close relationship between the revolutionaries in Changting, Shanghang and Yongding of Tingzhou and their counterparts in Dapu of Eastern Guangdong. Hence, the revolution of Western Fujian was in fact the revolution of the Ting River area.¹⁵⁸

The revolution of Western Fujian originated from modern schools. In 1904, the Tingzhou Prefecture Middle School (Tingjun Zhongxuetang) was founded in Changting. Later in 1909, two members of the Tongmenghui of Eastern Guangdong, Liu Aishi and Qiu Huanshu, came to teach in the school and spread revolutionary ideas. In respect to Shanghang, a local gentry there, Qiu Fu, was a member of Nan She (Southern Society) and imbued with racialism. In the year 1906, Qiu founded both the Normal Institute (Shifan Chuanxisuo), which was also called the Private Normal Institute (Minli Shifan), in the city as well as the Liben Junior/Senior Primary School (Liben Liangdeng Xiaoxuetang) in Lanxi Village with the aim of imparting new knowledge. Tu Yanfan, a Dapu revolutionary employed as a teacher at the Liben Primary School, also advocated revolution.¹⁵⁹ In 1911, students who had returned from Japan promoted the idea of organizing a civilian force to resist imperialist invasion. Under such impact, Qiu Fu set up the Tiyu She (Physical Education Society) in Renxi and recruited Li Zongyao from Shandong as an instructor. Many students of Lanxi and Renxi joined the society which was secretly engaged in revolutionary activities. Hence, "although Tingzhou was a mountainous prefecture, most of the students were full of revolutionary thoughts."¹⁶⁰ At the same time, Li Zongyao secretly liaised with revolutionaries in Dapu, Yongding and Fengshi in a conspiracy to initiate an uprising. In the same year, members of the Tongmenghui in Eastern Guangdong such as He Jiwu also set up the Tiyu Yanjiusuo (Research Institute of Physical Education) somewhere between Shanghang and Yongding as well as a militia in Dapu. Under the cover of the promotion of physical education, they were involved in the training of civilian force for the recovery of the Ting River area.¹⁶¹

After the Wuchang Uprising, a Hakka comrade in Chaozhou, Xiao Wen, arrived in Dapu where he contacted He Jiwu. Meanwhile, Li Zongyao had also come to the city from Shanghang. Together the three of them organized the civilian army (Minjun) chiefly made up of members of the Tiyu Yanjiusuo and the militia. Finally on 12th November, they brought about the independence of Dapu. After this, they appointed Li Zongyao as Commander of the civilian army and advanced in the direction of the upper course of the Ting River in order to promote the recovery of Western Fujian. On the way, they succeeded in gaining independence of Yongding on 18th November and Shanghang on the 24th of November.¹⁶² In regard to Changting, when news of the recovery of Fuzhou reached this capital city on 19th November, Liu Aishi led his students from the Tingzhou Prefecture Middle School in a parade in the streets to celebrate the founding of the Provisional Military Government in Fuzhou. Liu also became involved in discussions with the gentry, merchants and army on the recovery of Changting. Feeling that the field was lost, the Prefect of Tingzhou, a Manchu named Lai Xiu, committed suicide by swallowing opium. At the same time, another Manchu official, the Brigade General of Tingzhou and Shaowu, Song Yu, shaved his beard and fled. Subsequently, on the 30th of November, the independence of Changting was declared.¹⁶³ Finally, with the independence of Changting, the recovery of the entire province of Fujian was completed.

Notes

1. Edward J.M. Rhoads pointed out that the revolutionary situation began to emerge between November 1910 and May 1911. He also made a comparison between the revolutionary situations in 1900 and 1911 and concluded that the situation in 1911 was far more critical. See Edward J.M. Rhoads (1975), *op.cit.*, PP.204-205 & 209; also see Edmund S.K. Fung (1981), *op.cit.*, P.194.
2. Zhang Zhenkun, "Issues on History of the Relationship between China and Foreign Nations in the Last Decade of the Qing Dynasty" (Qingmo Shinianjian Zhongwai Guanxishi Di Jige Wenti), *Jindaishi Yanjiu*, 2(1982), PP. 180-186 and 189-191; Shi Nan, "On the First Russo-Japanese Agreement" (Guanyu Diyici Rie Miyue), in *Modern Chinese Relationship with Foreign Nations* (Jindai Zhongguo Duiwai Guanxi), (Sichuan: Renmin, 1985), PP. 220-224; Ding Mingnan et.al., *History of Imperialist Invasion (of China)* (Diguo Zhuyi Qinlue Shi), (Beijing: Renmin, 1986), Vol. 2, PP. 280-294; Immanuel C.Y. Hsu, "Late Ching Foreign Relations 1866-1905", in the *Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 11, Part 2, PP. 130-141.
3. Werner Levi, *Modern China's Foreign Policy*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1953), PP.108-109.
4. Quoted from Ernest P. Young, *The Presidency of Yuan Shi-k'ai: Liberation and Dictatorship in Early Republican China*, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1977), P.42.
5. Edmund S.K. Fung (1981), *op.cit.*, PP.195-197; Donald S. Sutton (1980), *op.cit.*, PP.88-90.
6. Zhang Pengyuan (1969), *op.cit.*, PP.63-77; Zhang Yufa (1971), *op.cit.*, PP.445-449.
7. "Selected Chronicle of Mr. Shen Manyun" (Shen Manyun Xiansheng Nianpu Xuanlu) in *Selected Historical Materials on the 1911 Revolution in Shanghai* (Xinhai Geming Zai Shanghai Shiliao Xuanji), (Shanghai: Renmin, 1981), P.982.
8. Zhang Pengyuan (1969), *op.cit.*, PP. 63-77; Geng Yunzhi, "On Parliamentary Petition Movement of Constitutionalists in Late Qing" (Lun Qingmo Lixianpai Di Guohui Qingyuan Yundong), *Zhongguo Shehui Kexue*, 5(1980), PP. 41-62.
9. For the causes of "mass actions" in Fujian, see Fan Qilong, "Fujian Before and After the 1911 Revolution" (Xinhai Geming Qianhou Di Fujian), *FWZ*, 27(1991), PP.144-170. For the Yangtze area, see Edmund S.K. Fung (1981), *op.cit.*, PP.145-147. For causes of "mass actions" nationwide, see Zhang Kaiyuan and Lin Zengping eds., *History of the 1911 Revolution* (Xinhai Geming Shi), (Beijing, 1980), Vol. 1, PP.204-254; also see John Lust (1972), *op.cit.*, PP.166-167.
10. Zhang Zhenhe and Ding Yuanying, "Chronology of Mass Uprisings in Late Qing 1902-1911" (Qingmo Minbian Nianbiao 1902-1911), *Jindaishi Ziliao*, 3(1982), PP. 109-181 and 4(1982), PP. 77-121, according to the article, there were 75 uprisings in 1902 (10 in Fujian), 50 uprisings in 1903 (1 in Fujian), 98 in 1904 (6 in Fujian), 101 in 1905 (2 in Fujian), 190 in 1906 (6 in Fujian), 186 in 1907 (5 in Fujian), 105 in 1908 (5 in Fujian), 139 in 1909 (2 in Fujian), 250 in 1910 (1 in Fujian), and 117

from January to August 1911 (4 in Fujian); also see Hu Xianli, "A Brief Account of the Spontaneous Struggle of the Masses during the 1911 Revolution" (Luelun Xinhai Geming Shiqi Di Qunzhong Di Zifaxing Douzheng), *Zhengzhou Daxue Xuebao*, 4(1981), P. 104.

11. Zhang Kaiyuan and Lin Zengping eds. (1980), *op.cit.*, Vol. 2, PP.314-374; for detailed studies in the Changsha Rice Riot, see Joseph W. Esherick (1976), *op.cit.*, PP.123-138; for the Laiyang Anti-Tax Riot, see Chang Yu, "On the Laiyang Riot" (Lun Laiyang Minbian Shi) in *Guofeng Bao*, 1:18(1910), P.35, Chang pointed out that the riots of 1910 were comparable to those that occurred in the Late Qin Dynasty (221-207 B.C.), the Late Sui Dynasty (581-618 A.D.) and the Late Daoguang Period (1821-1850 A.D.).
12. Edward J.M. Rhoads (1975), *op.cit.*, P.206.
13. For armed uprisings instigated by the Tongmenghui after 1907, see Hsueh Chun-tu, *Huang Hsing and the Chinese Revolution*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961), PP.56-57.
14. On intra-party disputes and split of the Tongmenghui, see Zhang Yufa (1975), *op.cit.*, PP.358-363; Yang Tianshi and Wang Xuezhuan, "Split of the Tongmenghui and Reorganization of the Guangfuhui" (Tongmenghui Di Fenlie Yu Guangfuhui Di Chongjian), in *AHR*, Vol. 1, PP.425-463. K.S. Liew, *Struggle for Democracy: Sung Chiao-jen and the 1911 Chinese Revolution*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), PP.68-84; Yen Ching-hwang (1976), *op.cit.*, PP.212-219.
15. Xu Shishen, *Origin of Dr. Sun Yatsen's Revolution* (Guofu Geming Yuanqi Xiangzhu), (Taipei: Zhengzhong, 1947), P. 150.
16. Yao Huaimin ed., *Works of Liu Kuiyi* (Liu Kuiyi Ji), (Wuchang: Huazhong Shida, 1991), P. 16.
17. Luo Jialun ed., *Chronicle of Dr. Sun Yatsen* (Enlarged Edition) (Guofu Nianpu), (Taipei: Dangshihui, 1985), Vol. 1, PP. 319-347.
18. Huang Jilu, "Dr. Sun Yatsen's Military Advisor - General Homer Lea" (Guofu Junshi Guwen - He Mali Jiangjun), *AMCCH*, Book 18, PP. 1308-1317; that Charles B. Boothe and Homer Lea tried to persuade some businessmen and military officers in U.S.A. to support China's revolution, see Key Ray Chong, *Americans and Chinese Reform and Revolution, 1898-1922* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1984), PP. 125-136; Eugene Anschel, *Homer Lea, Sun Yatsen and the Chinese Revolution*, (New York: Praeger 1984), PP. 133-150.
19. Yen Ching-hwang (1976), *op.cit.*, PP. 219-231.
20. Xu Shishen, *op.cit.*, PP. 155-156.

21. In respect to fund raising by Sun Yatsen and other revolutionaries, see Zou Lu, *History of the April 27 Guangzhou Uprising* (Guangzhou San Yue Ershijiu Geming Shi), (Taipei: Pamier, 1953), PP. 5-18; Shelley H. Cheng, (1980), op.cit., PP. 238-247, according to Cheng's estimation, funds raised for the Uprising in Guangzhou approximated HK\$230,000.
22. Since 1907, source of armed force for revolutions had been switched from secret societies to the New Army, see Shen Yiju, "On the Armed Uprising at the South-western Frontier led by Dr. Sun Yatsen" (Lun Sun Zhongshan Qinzi Lingdao Di Xinan Bianjing Wuzhuang Qiyi) in *A Collection of Articles on Sun Yatsen 1949-1984* (Sun Zhongshan Yanjiu Lunwenji, 1949-1984), (Sichuan : Renmin, 1986) Vol. 1, PP. 260-261; Liu Fenghan, "On The New Army and the 1911 Revolution" (Lun Xinjun Yu Xinhai Geming) in CASR, PP. 167-172.
23. Huang Xing, "Report on the Defeat of the April 27 Guangzhou Uprising" (Baogao Guangzhou San Yue Ershijiu Ri Zhi Yi Shibai Jingguo Shu) in *Complete Works of Mr. Huang Xing* (Huang Keqiang Xiansheng Quanji), (Taipei: Dangshihui, 1968), PP. 154-155; Liu Kuiyi, "Biography of Huang Xing" (1929) in Yao Huaimin ed., op.cit., P. 179; Li Yunhan, "Tongmenghui and the 1911 Revolution" (Tongmenghui Yu Xinhai Geming), in CASR, PP. 205-209.
24. Zheng Lie (1953), op.cit., P. 12; also see Tan Renfeng, Poems of Shi Sou (Shi Sou Paici), (1913) in Shi Fangqin ed., *Works of Tan Renfeng* (Tan Renfeng Ji), (Hunan: Renmin, 1985), P. 364, according to Tan, Huang Xing and Zhao Sheng had summoned him and Lin Wen to Guangzhou in late 1910.
25. Zheng Lie, ibid., P. 13; Shelley H. Cheng (1980) op.cit., P. 244; Zheng Zhenwen, "The 1911 Revolution and the Fujianese" (Xinhai Geming Yu Fujian Dangren), FWZ, 6(1981), P. 44; Chen Sanjing, "Taiwanese and the 1911 Revolution" (Taiwan Zhishi Yu Xinhai Geming), in Chen's *History and Characters of Modern Taiwan* (Taiwan Jindai Shishi Yu Renwu), (Taipei: Shangwu, 1988), PP. 102-104, Chen indicated Lin Xiongzhen had long been a member of the Fujianese Student Union in Shanghai and was inclined to revolution.
26. Xiong Kewu, "My Experience in the Guangzhou Uprising" (Guangzhou Qiyi Qinli Ji) in *Remembering the 1911 Revolution* (Huiyi Xinhai Geming), (Beijing: Wenshi Ziliao, 1981), P. 190.
27. Zheng Lie (1953), op.cit., PP. 13-14; Wang Ying, "In Memory of Xingdong" (Yi Xingdong) in MOR, Bk.1, P. 620, Wang remembered that she was pregnant at that time, Xingdong received a telegram from Wu Yuzhang (1878-1966) asking him to smuggle ammunition back to China, before Xingdong's departure, the whole family had their last photo taken together; on Fang Xingdong and Zheng Lie smuggling ammunition back to China, see Wang Zixian, "Record of Revolutionaries Purchasing and Smuggling Ammunition from Japan before the Guangzhou Uprising in 1911" (Xinhai Guangzhou Zhiyi Qian Dangren Zai Riben Goumai Junhuo Di Jingge) in MOR, Bk.1, PP. 529-530.

28. Geng Yi, "Guangxi during the 1911 Revolution Period" (Xinhai Geming Shiqi Di Guangxi), *Jindaishi Zhiliao*, 4(1958), PP. 68-97; Zheng Lie (1953) op.cit., P. 13; Wu Yiwu, "The Fang Xingtao that I know" (Wo Suo Zhidao Di Fang Xingtao), *FWZ*, 12(1986), P. 71; Zou Lu (1965), op.cit., P. 802.
29. He Sui, "My Experience of the 1911 Revolution" (Xinhai Geming Qinli Jishi), *MOR*, Bk.1, PP. 469-470, He Sui and Chen Gengxin had known each other way back in Fuzhou, when they met again in Guilin and were sleeping on the same bed, He tried to relieve tension by saying half jokingly to Chen that since he was weak and newly married, he'd better withdraw from the uprising; Zheng Zhenwen, *FWZ*, 6(1981), op.cit., P. 43, Zheng was told by Chen Gengxin's wife, Wang Bi, that when Chen left home in late 1910, he had told her he was going to Beijing but later she received his letter from Shantou.
30. Liu Tong, "Reminiscences of the Recovery of Fujian", *FWZ*, 6(1981), P. 71; another saying was that they left Mawei on 17 April, see Zheng Quan, in *DFRC*, Vol. 2, Series 4, P. 316.
31. Wu Shi, "Participation and Capture in the Guangzhou Uprising of 1911" (Canjia Xinhai Guangzhou Qiyi Ji Beibu Jingge) in *MOR*, Book 7, P. 235; another saying was that the second group set sail on 19 April, see Zheng Quan, *ibid.*, P. 316.
32. Chen Zuntong, *Chronicle of Fujian* (Fujian Biannianshi), Vol. 10, P. 47; Zheng Lie (1945), op.cit., PP. 11-12, pointed out only forty-seven Fujianese took part in the Guangzhou Uprising.
33. Zou Lu (1953), op.cit., PP. 24-28.
34. Zheng Zhenwen, *FWZ*, 6(1981), op.cit., P. 44; Wu Yuzhang, *The 1911 Revolution* (Xinhai Geming), (Beijing: Renmin, 1961), PP. 101-113, recorded co-operation of comrades from Sichuan, Guangdong and Fujian in making bombs, purchasing of weapons and carrying out assassinations etc.; in respect to Fang Junying's revolutionary activities, see Li Youning (1981), op.cit., PP. 16-19.
35. On first postponing and then starting the uprising as scheduled, see letters from Huang Xing and Hu Hanmin to Sun Yatsen, in Huang Yan and Li Boxin eds., *Selected Items on Sun Yatsen Archives* (Sun Zhongshan Cangdang Xuanbian), (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1986), PP. 21-22 and 28-29; "Autobiography of Hu Hanmin" (Hu Hanmin Zichuan), *Geming Wenxian*, Book 3, P. 411.
36. Huang Xing's Report to Overseas Comrades on Defeat in the April 27 Guangzhou Uprising (Huang Xing Zhi Haiwai Tongzhi Baogao Guangzhou San Yue Ershijiu Zhiyi Shibai Jingge Shu) in *Complete Works of Huang Xing*, PP. 150-153; Zheng Lie (1953), op.cit., PP. 15-25; for study of the April 27 Guangzhou Uprising with emphasis on Guangdong revolutionaries, see Edward J.M. Rhoads (1975), op.cit., PP. 197-203.
37. Zou Lu (1953), op.cit., PP. 86-93; Zheng Lie (1953), op.cit., P. 30, held a different opinion that the total number of martyrs should be 92 and pointed out the three

most outstanding martyrs were Lin Wen of Fujian, Yu Pelun of Sichuan and Li Wenfu of Guangdong.

38. Letters from Huang Xing and Hu Hanmin to Sun Yatsen, in Huang Yan and Li Boxin eds., *op.cit.*, P. 31.
39. Memorial of the Provincial Censor, Wen Su, of 1 September 1911 (Yushi Wen Su Zouzhe) in XHGM, Book 4, PP. 326-327.
40. Tian Xiaosheng (Zheng Lie), *Records of Ten Fujianese Heroes of the Huanghuagang*, (Huanghuagang Fujian Shijie Jishi) (1911), (Taibei, Wenhai, Reprint), PP. 857-904. Chen Xiqi, "April 27 Uprising of the 72 Martyrs of Huanghuagang in 1911" (Xinhai Sanyue Ershijiu Ri Huanghuagang Qishier Lieshi Zhiyi) in AHR, Vol. 1, PP. 504-505.
41. Tian Xiaosheng (1911), *op.cit.*, P. 857, after surviving the Guangzhou Uprising, Zheng said, "A great number of Fujianese were martyred. I am really sorry that I could not kill the (Manchurian) bandits until I died and follow my comrades to the grave..... hastily escaping to Japan, I lived in loneliness and was filled with grief and indignation"; DFRC, Vol. 2, Series 4, P. 316, according to Zheng Quan, survivors of the Uprising Lin Sichen and Yan Ji swore to kill all wicked Manchurians and the spirits of the revolutionaries were high and they were all ready to try again; according to Sun Yatsen, "after the Guangzhou Uprising, anti-Manchu feelings hidden in people's hearts were greatly aroused..... in less than six months, they succeeded in the great revolution in Wuchang", see *Complete Works of Sun Yatsen* (Sun Zhongshan Quanji), Vol. 6, P. 50.
42. Hu Chunhui, "Regionalism Before and After 1911" (Xinhai Qianhou Di Difang Fenquan Zhuyi), CASR, PP. 47-54, the article gave a very concise account of the historical background of regionalism and its changes in Late Qing. Most Western scholars use the term provincialism instead, especially for early 20th Century, see Ernest P. Young, *The Presidency of Yuan Shih-K'ai: Liberalism and Dictatorship in Early Republican China*, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1977), PP. 19-25. For the continued development of provincialism after the 1911 Revolution, see Jean Chesneaux, "The Federalist Movement in China, 1920-23" in Jack Gray ed., *Modern China's Search for a Political Form*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), PP.96-137.
43. Ding Mingnan et al. (1986), *op.cit.*, PP. 284-295; Donald S. Sutton, *Provincial Militarism and the Chinese Republic: The Yunnan Army 1905-25*, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1980), PP. 88-90; "Important Correspondence from Yunnan" (Yunnan Jinyao Tongxin), in *Minli Bao*, 31 March 1911, P. 3. Edmund S.K. Fung (1981), *op.cit.*, PP.195-197.
44. "Unprecedented General Meeting of Overseas Chinese Students" (Liuxuejie Kongqian Dahui) in *Minli Bao*, 4 May 1911, P. 3; for the establishment of the Shanghai Headquarters of the Chinese National Association (Zhongguo Guomin Hui), see "The General Meeting Zhangyuan" (Zhangyuan Zhi Fengyun Dahui) in *Minli Bao*, 12 June 1911, P. 5; on detailed research on the establishment of the

Chinese National Association initiated by Chinese students in Japan, see John Fincher, *Chinese Democracy: Statist Reform, The Self-Government Movement and Republican Revolution*, op.cit., PP. 191, 196-198 and "Debates on the Nationalist Budget and Frontier, Defence: Constitutionalist Groups and China's National Democratic Revolution" (Gengshu Xinhai Nianjian Quanguo Yusan Yu Bianfang Di Bianlun: Lixian Tuanti Yu Minzu Minzhu Geming), 70th CACAR, Vol. 3, (1983), PP. 2250-2252; see Kojima Yoshio, *The 1911 Revolution of the Chinese Students in Japan* (Ryu-nichi gakusei no Shingai Kakumei), (Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 1987); also see Kojima Yoshio, "The Chinese National Association and the 1911 Revolution" in Eto Shinkichi and Harold Z. Schiffin ed., *The 1911 Revolution in China*, (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1984), PP. 175-192.

45. "Patriotic Sentiments of the Fujianese" (Minren Baoguo Zi Fengyun) and "Anti-Foreign Sentiments of the Fujianese" (Minren Duiwai Zhi Fengyun) in *Minli Bao*, 31 March 1911, P. 3 and 23 April 1911, P. 3 respectively; also see Ding Xiancheng (1981), op.cit., P. 65.
46. "Military Citizenry" (Junguo Min) and "The World-Shaking Military Citizenry" (Junguo Min Hongtian Zhendi) in *Minli Bao*, 2 May 1911, P. 4 and 7 July 1911, P. 4 respectively; Lu Yuebo, FWZ, 6(1981), P. 100.
47. "The Fujianese Representatives Coming Back South Together" (Min Daibiao Lianmei Nangui), "Fujian Correspondence" (Fujian Tongxin) and "Fuzhou Correspondence" (Fuzhou Tongxin) in *Minli Bao*, 10 May 1911, 1 June 1911, 2 June 1911, 7 July 1911 and 18 July 1911; also see Kojima Yoshio, "On the Chinese National Association III" (Chugoku kokumin kai ni tsuite III), *Shingaikakumei Kenkyu*, 4(1984), PP. 57-60.
48. Zheng Quan, in DFRC, Series 2, Vol. 4, P. 317; Lu Yuebo (1981), op.cit., PP. 100-102; on how Song Yuanyuan became a revolutionary, see Huang Wenbiao, "Song Yuanyuan and the Constitution-Protection Army of Fujian" (Song Yuanguan Yu Fujian Hufajun), FWZ, 19(1988), PP. 152-154.
49. The policy of suppressing the Han officials in favour of the Manchus with central power held by the Manchu royalty started in 1907 at the time of the Empress Dowager, see Guo Weidong, "On the Political Struggle in 1907" (Lun Dingwei Zhengchao), *Jindaishi Yanjiu*, 5(1989), PP. 71-92; Quan Hansheng, "The Issue of the Nationalization of Railway and the 1911 Revolution" (Tielu Guoyou Wenti Yu Xinhai Geming), AMCCH, 17b, PP. 1319-1340.
50. Liu Dai, "The Sichuan Railway Disturbances - Torch of Revolution before the Wuchang Uprising" (Chuanlu Fengchao - Wuchang Qiyi Qian Di Yiba Geming Huojun), AMCCH, 17b, PP. 1379-1397.
51. Li Kan, "Observations on the Political Situation During the Xuanton Period" (Dui Xuanton Zhengju Di Ruogan Kaocha), in *Li's Articles on Modern Chinese History* (Zhongguo Jindaishi Sanlun), (Beijing: Renmin, 1982), PP. 250-274, the article discussed the alienation of the ruling class from the royal Manchus which led to the downfall of the Qing Court.

52. Wei Yingtao, "The Railway-Protection Movement in Sichuan" (Sichuan Baolu Yundong), 50th CACAR, Vol. 2, PP. 485-495; Zhang Penyu (1969), op.cit., PP. 132-139; Charles H. Hedtke, "The Szechwanese Railway Protection Movement: Themes of Change and Conflict", BIMH, 6(1977), PP. 355-404.
53. Yang Yuru, *An Account of the Beginnings of the 1911 Revolution* (Xinhai Geming Xianzhu Ji) (1957), (Hong Kong: Xianggang Wenhua, Reprint, 1978), PP. 37-45; Zhang Yufa (1975), op.cit., PP. 617-655; Edmund S.K. Fung, "The Kung-chin-hui: A Late Ching Revolutionary Society", *Journal of Oriental Studies*, XI : 2(1973), PP. 193-206.
54. The Hunanese revolutionaries, headed by Tan Renfeng, were also dissatisfied with Sun Yatsen's revolutionary strategy at the southern frontier region and had long harboured the desire to form their own revolutionary organization. In mid 1910, Tan started discussing with Song Jiaoren, Zhao Sheng and Lin Wen about the establishment of a Central China Branch of the Tongmenghui. After the Guangzhou Uprising the Branch was eventually set up, see Tan Renfeng (1913), op.cit., PP. 352, 359-360 and 372-374; Wang Yujun, "The Central China Branch of the Tongmenghui and the 1911 Revolution" (Zhongbu Tongmenghui Yu Xinhai Geming), CASR, PP. 231-243; K.S. Liew (1971), op.cit; PP. 91-101.
55. Liu Tong, in DFRC, Vol. 2, Series 4, P. 310.
56. Lin Xuanzhi, "On Mr. Lin Sichen" (Ji Lin Sichen Xiansheng), FWZ, 6(1981), P. 173; DFRC, Vol. 2, Series 4, PP. 328-329.
57. Shen Laiqiu, "Peng Shousong Before and After 1911" (Xinhai Qianhou Di Peng Shousong), FWZX, 1(1981), P. 40.
58. In respect to the time Peng Shousong set up the Junjing Tebie Tongmenghui, there were two different versions, while some thought it was in the sixth month of the lunar calendar, others held it was in the ninth month. The former version is more reasonable as the ninth month was too close to the time of the uprising in Fuzhou, see Guo Gongmu (1981), op. cit, P.85; "Biography of Peng Shousong" (1983), op. cit; PP. 235-237
59. "A Brief Account of Mr. Zheng Zuyin" (Zheng Zuyin Xiansheng Shilue), mimeographed copy stored in the Library of Xiamen, (undated and author unknown).
60. DFRC, Vol. 2, Series 1, PP. 2-10 and Vol. 2, Series 4, P. 328.
61. "Biography of Mr. Lin Wenru (Sichen)" (Lin Wenru Xiansheng Chuan), Fujian Wenxian, 11(1970), P. 20; Lin Xiao, "Monument at the Hall of Recovery in Fujian" (Fujian Guangfulou Bei), in HMRF, P. 343; Song Yuanyuan, "An Account on Participation in the Revolution of Fujian" (Minsheng Canjia Geming Jingli Jiyao), in DFRC, Vol. 2, Series 4, P. 367, Song described how he himself was sent back to Fujian by the 14th Branch to take part in the revolution after the Wuchang Uprising.

62. Zheng Quan, in DFRC, Vol. 2, Series 4, P. 316.
63. Biography of Peng Shousong (1983), op.cit., P. 237; Anonymous, "History of Peng Yinxiang" (1983), op.cit., P. 243; Tan Renfeng (1913), op.cit., P.375; K.S. Liew (1971), op.cit., P. 112.
64. Zou Lu (1965), op.cit., P. 906.
65. Guo Gongmu (1981), op.cit., P. 85.
66. Anonymous, "History of Peng Yinxiang" (1983), op.cit., P. 245, Huang Zhenbai was then posted at the Advisory Department of the Junjing Tebie Tongmenghui,
67. Ray Huang, "Chiang Kai-shek's Place in History" (Jiang Jieshi Di Lishi Diwei) in *Huang's China: A Macro History* (Fangkuan Lishi Di Shijie), (Taibei: Yunchen, 1988), P. 225, Huang Zhenbai was Ray Huang's father and he was the one who told Ray Huang that his own relationship with Xu Chongzhi had influenced Xu into joining the revolutionary front.
68. Guo Gongmu (1981), op.cit., PP. 87-88; Anonymous, "History of Peng Yinxiang" (1983), op.cit., P. 249.
69. The Commercial Research Institute of Fujian was set up to resist tax increase by the government and was closely connected with revolutionaries, see DFRC, Vol. 2, Series 4, PP. 304-305.
70. Sun Daoren, "Memoirs of Tui An" (1988), op.cit., P. 143; Pan Shouzheng (1981), op.cit., P. 179; Zi Xuzi, "On Hunan Affaris" (Xiangshi Ji) in XHGM, Book 6, P. 158, according to the writer, Tan Yankai's telegraph to Sun Daoren read, " (We) Hunanese would like you to know, if you do not turn round, we will occupy your home and destroy your ancestral grave".
71. Guo Gongmu (1981), op.cit., P. 88.
72. "The Russian Democratic Party's Discussions on China" (E Mindang Zhi Lun Zhongguo) in Minli Bao, 4 June 1911, P. 3.
73. For Biographies of Songshou and Pushou, see Shang Binghe, *The Spring and Autumn of 1911-1912* (Xinren Chunqiu) (1924), (Hong Kong: Xianggang Wenyi, Reprint, 1970), PP. 289-290, according to Shang, Songshou and Pushou were on very good terms with each other and though Pushou was also in charge of the Fujian Customs House, he led a very simple and modest lifestyle; besides, Pushou had become suspicious of Sun Daoren's loyalty and had plans to kill him.
74. *District Gazetteer of Minhou* (Minhou Xianzhi) (1933), op.cit., Vol. 50, P. 168; in regard to the Banner garrison in Fuzhou and the Jiesheng Battalion, see Yi Tongfu, "The Manchu Banner Garrison in Fuzhou" (Fuzhou Manzu Qiying), FWZX, 1(1981), PP. 116-129.

75. *Draft of Qing History* (Qingshi Gao), op.cit., Vol. 130, P. 3869.
76. For examples of hostility between the Manchu and Han races, see *District Gazetteer of Minhou* (1933), op.cit., Vol. 68, P. 236, there was evidence of the Banner Forces garrisoned at the eastern part of the city killing Chinese people with sword in broad daylight; Guo Gongmu, "How Fuzhou Dealt with the Banner Forces at the 1911 Revolution" (Xinhai Geming Fuzhou Chuli Baqi Guanbing Jingge), FWZX, 1(1981), PP.51-53; Yi Tongfu (1981), ibid., P.129; Shang Binghe (1924), op.cit., P.264.
77. DFRC, Vol. 2 Series 4, PP. 324-327; Chen Zuntong, *Chronicle of Fujian*, op.cit., Vol. 10, PP. 39-41.
78. Zhang Pengyuan (1969), op.cit., P. 165.
79. "Fuzhou In Panic" (Fuzhou Fengsheng Heli); "Fuzhou In Curfew" (Fuzhou Jieyan Ji); "Unrest in Fuzhou" (Fuzhou Zhi Jingfeng Guaiyu) and "Improper Arrest of the Innocent by the Governor-General of Fujian" (Mindu Zhi Wangna Wugu) all in *Minli Bao*, 1 June 1911, P. 4; 2 June 1911, P. 3; 3 June 1911, P. 4 and 20 June 1911, P. 4 respectively; "Arrest of Revolutionaries by the Governor-General Songshou" (Song Du Chuna Gedang) in *Zonghui Xinbao*, 6 May 1911, P. 5.
80. "From Sun Daoren to Ministry of War" (Sun Daoren Zhi Lujunbu Cheng), in *A Collection of Documented Materials on History of Republican China* (Zhonghua Minguoshi Dangan Ziliao Huibian), (Jiangsu: Renmin, 1979), Vol.1, PP. 86-87; Shuntian Shibao, No.2893 (30 September 1911); Ono Shinji, "On a Jiao-Bearers' Riot in Fuzhou" (Fukushu kyofa boto ni tsuite), *Shingaikakumei Kenkyu*, 2 (1982), PP. 13-16.
81. Shuntian Shibao, No.2900 (10 October 1911); moreover, between August and September, the increase in night-soil tax led to a shopkeepers' strike and this clearly revealed social unrest in Fuzhou, see Chen Shibin, "The Revolution of Fuzhou in 1911" (Xinhainian Fuzhou Geming Zhiyi) in *Dangshihui*, No.356/42, collected on 8 February 1960.
82. HMRF, P. 44; Shang Binghe (1924), op.cit., P. 88; Guo Xiaocheng, "On the Recovery of Fujian" (Fujian Guangfu Ji), in XHGM, Book 7, P. 280; Shuntian Shibao, No.2929 (14 November 1911); Wang Xunyuan and Wang Yihu, "Participating in the 1911 Revolution of Fujian" (Canjia Fujian Xinhai Geming), FWZ, 6(1981), P. 95.
83. *Shuntian Shibao*, No.2926 (10 November 1911) and No.2931 (16 November 1911); Pan Shouzheng (1981), op.cit., P. 8.
84. *Shi Bao*, 7 November 1911, quoted from Bohai Shouchen ed., *The Whole Story of the 1911 Revolution* (Xinhai Geming Shimo Ji), (Taipei: Yunhai, Reprint, 1969), P. 341; *Minli Bao*, 1 November 1911, P. 3 and 7 November 1911, P. 2; on activities of the Provincial Assembly of Fujian, see Shang Binghe (1924), op.cit., P. 88.

85. Lu Yuebo, FWZ, 6(1981), op.cit., PP. 100-101; Guan Lingling (1989), op.cit., P. 358; in regard to funding for the uprising, apart from the \$50,000 from Minxin She, there were \$50,000 which Lin Sichen had raised in Shanghai and an additional \$100,000 which Lin had asked Li Hui to borrow from the Central China Branch of the Alliance, see Lin Xuanzhi (1981) op.cit., P. 174, and Liu Tong, FWZ, 6(1981), op.cit., P. 73.
86. Liu Tong, ibid., PP. 73-74; also see HMRF, P. 149, it was pointed out that morale of the new army was boosted when the revolutionaries started breaking through the walls of the Ping Shan Arsenal to steal ammunition for the various battalions.
87. HMRF, PP. 354-355.
88. DFRC, Vol. 1, Series 12, P. 70.
89. Zheng Quan, in DFRC, Vol. 2, Series 4, P. 317; HMRF, PP. 48-52.
90. HMRF, P. 48.
91. HMRF, PP. 43-45; Zheng Lisheng, "An Eye-Witness Record of the Recovery of Fuzhou" (Fuzhou Guangfu Di Yibian Dangshi Jianwen Jilu), FWZX, 1 (1981), P. 95.
92. Guo Xiaocheng, op.cit., P. 281; Minli Bao, 10 November 1911, P. 3; "Telegram from the Japanese Vice-Consul in Fuzhou, K. Tsuchiya, to the Foreign Minister, Yasuya Uchida" (Tugu Zhu Fuzhou Fulingshi Zhi Neitian Waiwu Dachen Dian) (7 November 1911) in *Selected Translation of Archives of Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs - On the 1911 Revolution* (Ribei Waijiao Wenshu Xuanyi - Guanyu Xinhai Geming), (Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan, 1980), P. 17; Wang Laidi, "The 'Peaceful Independence' of the Constitutionalists and the 1911 Revolution", *Chinese Studies in History*, XVIII: 3-4 (1985), PP.3-32.
93. Zheng Quan, in DFRC, Vol. 2, Series 4, P. 317; Liu Tong, FWZ, 6(1981), op.cit., P.75; *Shuntian Shibao*, No.2925 (9 November 1911); Bohai Shouchen ed. (1969), op.cit., P. 492.
94. Most of the first-hand historical materials on the Battle of Yu Shan were either provided by participants in the Battle or newspaper reports, this part had been written mainly using information provided by participants including members of the Fujian Branch of the Tongmenghui such as Liu Tong, Zheng Quan, Huang Naichang, Lu Yuebo (Explosives Squad), Yang Qi (Civilian Militia) and Ding Xiancheng (Rifle Squad) as well as the New Army. However, Sun Daoren had not mentioned this Battle in his autobiography and neither was there any record of the Battle from Xu Chongzhi. Fortunately, there were records from Wang Xunyu and Wang Yihu of the New Army. For information provided by participants in the Battle, see DFRC, Vol. 2, Series 4; FWZ, 6(1981) and 19(1988); FWZX, 1(1981) and HMRF.

95. Sun Daoren's original plan was for Wang Qi, the 19th Brigade Commander, to take up the position of Operations Commander, however, due to objections from the leaders of the Tongmenghui and secret societies, the position was given to Xu Chongzhi, see Wang Xunyuan and Wang Yihu (1981), op.cit., P. 96; Guan Lingling (1989), op.cit., P. 359.
96. Yang Qi, "The Battle of Yu Shan in Fuzhou"(Fuzhou Yu Shan Zhanyi), FWZ, 6(1981), P. 84.
97. Yang Qi (1981), ibid., P. 88; in respect to the military strength of the revolutionary army, the estimation was based on the research by Edmund S.K. Fung on the strength of a division, see Fung's *The Military Dimension of the Chinese Revolution: The New Army and Its Role in the Revolution of 1911*, (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1980), PP. 21-22.
98. On the auxilliary troops, see Yang Qi (1981), op.cit., PP. 83-84; DFRC, Vol.2, Series 4, PP. 306-307.
99. Yang Qi (1981), ibid., PP. 83-84, there was a name list of forty-three members of the Explosives Squad; Ding Xiancheng (1981), op.cit., P.64; "Notes of Mr. Huang Naichang" (Huang Naichang Xiansheng Biji), in HMRF, PP. 344-345.
100. Orders from the Hanzu Duli Hui had always been issued bearing the seal "Gong Quan", see HMRF, P. 50.
101. Wang Xunyuan and Wang Yihu (1981), op.cit., P. 97.
102. Zheng Lisheng (1981), op.cit., P. 95.
103. For the Artillery's ascent of Yu Shan, see Zheng Quan, in DFRC, Vol. 2, Series 4, P. 318; also see Yang Qi (1981), op.cit., P. 84; Chen Shiliang, "Recollection of my Late Father's Contribution to the Battle for the Recovery of Fuzhou During the 1911 Revolution" (Huiyi Xianfu Zai Xinhai Geming Guangfu Fuzhou Di Zhanyi Zhong Ligong Jiankuang), FWZX, 1(1981), PP. 77-78, the article described how his father Chen Zheng and his colleague Chen Haijin provided cover for the Artillery, led by Xiao Qibin, during their ascent of Yu Shan; also see HMRF, P. 355, there was information on Putianese revolutionaries such as Lin Shizhao, Li Yishi and Lin Li assisting in the transportation of Krupp Mountain Guns up Yu Shan.
104. Liu Xiaoxun, "Occupation of the Ping Shan Arsenal in Fuzhou" (Zhanling Fuzhou Ping Shan Huoyaoku), FWZ, 6(1981), PP. 92-93, Liu recorded that his father Liu Dunhe was at the time an official at the arsenal, he escaped in the night of the 8th of November thus the New Army was able to occupy the arsenal; Wang Xunyuan and Wang Yihu (1981), op.cit., P. 96, pointed out that the New Army grabbed whatever ammunition they could lay hands on and it was not until the arrival of Jiang Guobin that order was restored.
105. Wang Xunyuan and Wang Yifu (1981), op.cit; P. 97.

106. Ding Xiancheng (1981), op.cit., PP.66-67, Ding gave an account of how the revolutionaries took over government organizations; Liu Tong, FWZ, 6(1981), op.cit., PP.75-76, stated that Peng Shousong set up an office for the Junjing Tebie Tongmenghui on Yu Shan; Anonymous, "History of Peng Yinxian" (1983), op.cit., P.250; Lu Yuebo, "The Student Explosives Squad which Participated in the 1911 Revolution" (Canjia Xinhai Geming Di Xuesheng Zhadandui), FWZX, 1 (1981), P.36, the article pointed out that after entering the city with the Explosives Squad, Peng Shousong did not go to the battle front but instead stayed in front of the Drum Tower (Gulouqian) to wait for news of the battle and soon afterwards he returned to the Qiaonan Gongyi She; Lu therefore had reservations about Peng being appointed Director of the Government Administration Council after the recovery of Fuzhou.
107. Yang Qi (1981), op.cit., PP.84-85.
108. Shang Binghe (1924), op.cit., P.88; Guo Xiaocheng, "On the Recovery of Fujian", op.cit., P.281; "On the Battle of the Fujian Revolution" (Minsheng Geming Zhan Ji), *Minli Bao*, 21 November 1911, P.3; Zheng Lisheng (1981), op.cit., P.96; HMRF, PP.53-54, it was recorded that the fire burnt furiously until 5-6:00 P.M. on the next day and the Manchu Fire Setting Team was later captured and executed by the revolutionaries.
109. Yang Qi (1981), op.cit., P.85; Chen Zuntong, *Chronicle of Fujian*, op.cit., Vol. 10, P. 52.
110. "On a Remarkable Child" (Qitong Ji) in *Jianyan Bao*, quoted from HMRF, PP.351-352, Wang Jiegong's father was Wang Hongzi who was in charge of general affairs of the Tongmenghui commanding centre. At the time of the uprising, Wang Jiegong's participation was at first refused due to his young age. However, Wang said, "Rather than dying under the oppression of the Manchus, it is better to die under the flag of the Republic...." and was finally allowed to join the Explosives Squad.
111. HMRF, P. 355; Liu Tong, FWZ, 6(1981), op.cit., P.76; Yang Qi (1981), op.cit., PP. 85-86, all mentioned that the Tartar-General's Office was actually hit by gunfire; however, another source of information pointed out that as it was still dark, the Artillery failed to hit their target, most of the shells had fallen onto the field outside the Tang Gate, see Chen Zuntong, *Chronicle of Fujian*, op.cit., Vol.10, P.52.
112. Liu Tong, FWZ, 6(1981), op.cit., P.76; Chen Zuntong, *ibid.*, P.52; Wang Xunyu and Wang Yihu (1981), op.cit., P.98.
113. Yang Qi (1981), op.cit., PP.85-86; Lu Yuebo, FWZX, 1(1981), op.cit., PP.35-36; HMRF, PP.52-53, Xu Chongzhi and Xiao Qibin were highly commended for their bravery in fighting to safeguard the operations command centre on Yu Shan.
114. Yang Qi (1981), *ibid.*, P.85, while transporting ammunition from the Ping Shan Arsenal to Yu Shan, Yang witnessed street fighting taking place; Pan Shouzheng (1981), op.cit., P.11.

115. Zheng Quan, in DFRC, Vol.2, Series 4, P.318, Pan Shouzheng (1981), *ibid.*, P.10; "Notes of Mr. Huang Naichang", HMRF, *op.cit.*, P.344.
116. Liu Tong, in DFRC, Vol. 2, Series 4, P.311; HMRF, P.53.
117. Wang Xunyu and Wang Yihu (1981), *op.cit.*, P.98; "History of Sun Daoren" (Sun Daoren Zhi Lishi) in HMRF, P.295; Guo Gongmu (1981), *op.cit.*, PP.88-89.
118. Yang Qi (1981), *op.cit.*, P.86; Liu Tong, in DFRC, Vol.2, Series 4, P.311; Lu Yuebo, FWZ, 1 (1981), PP.102-103; HMRF, PP.60-61, contains letter of official surrender from Sheng En; *Death of Officials in the 1911 Revolution* (Xinhai Xunnan Ji), (Tianjin, 1916), Vol.1, P.2 and Vol.4, P.14.
119. Wang Xunyu and Wang Yihu (1981), *op.cit.*, P.99; Guo Gongmu, "How Fuzhou Dealt with the Banner Forces at the 1911 Revolution", *op.cit.*, P.55.
120. Pan Shouzheng (1981), *op.cit.*, P.12; "List of Casualties of the Revolutionary Army" (Guominjun Zhenwang Yilanbiao), HMRF, PP.135-136, total number of casualties was sixteen with three from the Explosives Squad and thirteen from the New Army; for casualties of the Manchu Army, see *Death of Officials in the 1911 Revolution*, *op.cit.*, Vol.6, PP.1-2.
121. "Telegram from the Circuit-Intendant of Zhangzhou, He Chenghao, and Others to the Grand Secretariat" (Fujian Zhangzhou Dao He Chenghao Deng Zhi Neige Dian) in XHGM, Book 7, P.286, the telegram indicated that Fuzhou fell on 10 November; FO405/205, No.425, Sir J. Jordan to Sir Edward Grey (16 November 1911), P.334.
122. Liu Tong, in DFRC, Vol.2, Series 4, P.311.
123. As observed by the Customs Commissioner of Fujian, P. Von Tanner, the local gentry were not enthusiastic about the uprising, see *The Chinese Customs and the 1911 Revolution* (Zhongguo Haiguan Yu Xinhai Geming), (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1964), P.180; Huang Naichang, "Autobiography at the Age of Seventy" (1918), *op.cit.*, P.200; Lu Yuebo, FWZX, 1 (1981), PP.35-36; Wang Bing and Zheng Junhua, "Mass Movement of Fuzhou During the 1911 Revolution" (Xinhai Geming Qijian Di Fuzhou Qunzong Yundong), FWZX, 6 (1986), P.5.
124. Song Yuanyuan in DFRC, Vol.2, Series 4, P.367, the Outline was drafted by Song Yuanyuan based on the system of responsible cabinet; for the Outline of the Military Government, see DFRC, Vol.2, Series 4, PP.342-345.
125. HMRF, PP.62-69; "On the Recovery of Fujian" (Fujian Guangfu Ji), *Minli Bao*, 20 November 1911, P.4.
126. Li Guoqi (1981), *op.cit.*, P.209.
127. Pan Shouzheng (1981), *op.cit.*, PP.15-17; Zheng Lie (1953) *op.cit.*, PP.38-39.

128. The Fujian Branch of Tongmenghui and Junjing Tebie Tongmenghui merged to form the Fujian Branch of the Chinese Tongmenghui (Zhonghua Tongmenghui Fujian Zhihui) on 21 November 1911 after the recovery of Fujian with Peng Shousong taking up the post of Chairman, see HMRF, PP.149-151.
129. Chen Zhirang (Jerome Chen), *Gentry-Military Coalition: The Warlord Period in Modern China* (Junshen Zhengquan: Jindai Zhongguo Di Junfa Shiqi), (Hong Kong: Sanlian, 1979), P.22; Zhang Pengyuan (1969), op.cit., PP.165-166; Zhang Kaiyuan and Lin Zengping, *History of the 1911 Revolution* (Xinhai Geming Shi), (Beijing: Renmin, 1981), Vol.3, P.143, the two latter works indicated that the Provisional Military Government of Fujian was mainly controlled by constitutionalists.
130. Letter of the Customs Commissioner of Sandu Ao, G.F.H. Acheson, in *The Chinese Customs and the 1911 Revolution*, op.cit., P.183.
131. HMRF, PP.71-72; Fan Qilong, "Events in Fujian in 1911" (Fujian Xinhai Fengyun), in *The 1911 Revolution in Various Places* (Xinhai Geming Zai Gedi), (Beijing: Zhongguo Wenshi, 1991), P.216.
132. HMRF, PP.78-80 and 83-84; also see Anonymous, "History of Peng Yinxian" (1983), op.cit., PP.251-253, the article affirmed the achievements of Peng Yinxian during his term of office as Intendant of Yanping, Jianning and Shaowu.
133. Zhu Huanxing and Lin Junhan (1981), op.cit., PP.1-6; Lin Qifeng, "Materials on the Revolution of the Putianese Before and After 1911" (Xinhai Qianhou Puren Geming Ziliao), FWZ, 6 (1981), PP.131-138; others said that Wan Guofa had already returned to Putian to oversee the recovery of Putian, see Lin Chaihe and Cai Chunting, "The 1911 Revolution in Putian and the Civilian Army" (Putian Xinhai Geming Yu Minjun Shimo), PWZ, 3 (1982), P.46.
134. Fan Qilong, "Overseas Chinese of Fujian and the 1911 Revolution" (Fujian Huaqiao Yu Xinhai Geming), *Fujian Shifan Daxue Xuebao* (philosophy and Social Science), 4 (1991), PP.86-92.
135. Chen Zengrong and others, "Revolutionary Activities and Mass Revolt in Anhui in 1911" (Xinhai Anhui Di Geming Huodong Yu Qunzong Baodong), QWZ, 9 (1981), PP.69-75; Zhang Jiayu, "The 1911 Revolution in Anhui" (Xinhai Geming Zai Anhui), QWZ (New Edition), 1 (1986), PP.25-36.
136. HMRF, P. 73; Qiu Jinjing (1963), op.cit., P.9.
137. Chen Zuntong, *Chronicle of Fujian*, op.cit., Vol.10, P.56; HMRF, P.73; Qiu Jinjing (1963), ibid., PP.9-10; Fang Wentao, "The 1911 Revolution in Xiamen" (Xinhai Geming Zai Xiamen), *Xiamen Ribao*, 5 October 1981.
138. Li Hanqing (1968), op.cit., P.21; Ding Xiancheng (1981), op.cit., PP.65-66.
139. Wang Zhenbang (1911), op.cit., PP.37-38; Qiu Jinjing (1963), op.cit., P.9.

140. Qiu Jinjing (1963), *ibid.*, P.10.
141. Wang Zhenbang (1911), *op.cit.*, P.39; Qiu Jinjing (1963), *ibid.*, P.11.
142. Song Yuanyuan in DFRC, Vol.2, Series 4, P.368; Wang Zhenbang (1911), *op.cit.*, P.40.
143. Wang Zhenbang (1911), *ibid.*, P.38.
144. Lin Song and Yang Jibo, "Xiamen Chronicle" (Xiamen Dashi Ji), XWZ, 5 (1983), P.128.
145. Qiu Jinjing (1963), *op.cit.*, P.11; Wang Zhenbang (1911), *op.cit.*, P.39.
146. Zhang Yufa (1975), *op.cit.*, PP.485-488.
147. FO 405/205, No.423, Sir J. Jordan to Sir Edward Grey (16 November 1911), P.334.
148. Yin Caiyun, "A Brief History of the Zhangzhou Sino-Western School" (Zhangzhou Zhongxi Xuetang Shilue), ZWZ, 1 (1979), PP.130-132, the school was regarded as the breeding ground of revolutionaries in Zhangzhou; "Biographies of Revolutionaries in the Recovery of Zhangzhou During the 1911 Revolution" (Xinhai Geming Zhangzhou Guangfu Zhishi Chuanlue), ZWZ, 6 (1984), PP.30-40.
149. Zhuang Shoufu, "Before and After the Recovery of Zhangzhou in 1911" (Xinhai Zhangzhou Guangfu Qianhou), ZWZ, 1 (1979), PP.2-3.
150. Zheng Zhihan, "Before and After the Recovery of Zhangzhou" (Zhangzhou Guangfu Qianhou), MOR, Book 8, PP.136-138.
151. HMRF, P. 74.
152. "Before and After the Recovery of Zhangzhou in 1911" (Xinhai Zhangzhou Guangfu Qianhou), FWZ, 6 (1981), PP.121-122; Zheng Zhihan, "Zhangzhou During the 1911 Revolution" (Xinhai Geming Shiqi Di Zhangzhou), ZWZ, Vol.2 (undated), PP.1-5; Chen Jiarui, "Supplement to Historical Facts of the Recovery of Zhangzhou in 1911" (Xinhai Zhangzhou Guangfu Shishi Buji), ZWZ, 6 (1984), PP.20-29, contains official documents and notices issued at the time of the recovery of Zhangzhou.
153. Zhang Jiayu and Wang Lianmao, "The 1911 Revolution in Quanzhou" (Xinhai Geming Zai Quanzhou), *Fujian Shifan Daxue Xuebao* (Philosophy and Social Science), 1 (1982), PP.84-85, according to the writers, Overseas Chinese who returned to Quanzhou were mainly from Singapore, Malaysia, Semarang and the Philippines and among them, the most important was the Jiang family from Semarang.
154. Wu Kun, "A Brief History of the Recovery of Quanzhou During the 1911 Revolution" (Xinhai Geming Quanzhou Guangfu Shishi Gaishu); Huang Hezhi (oral

- account), "In Remembrance of Huang Zhongliu's Participation in the 1911 Revolution" (Huang Zhongliu Canjia Xinhai Geming Di Zhuiyi) and "The Biography of Xu Zhuoran" (Xu Zhuoran Chuan), all in QWZ, 9 (1981) PP.26-27, 56-59 and 85-86.
155. Jiang Yilin (1981), op.cit., PP.5-6.
 156. Wu Dahuang (oral account), "In Remembrance of Quanzhou's Public Security Society in the 1911 Revolution" (Yi Xinhai Geming Quanzhou Baoan Hui), QWZ, 9 (1981), PP.78-80.
 157. Jiang Yilin (1981), op.cit., PP.13-18; Tang Yongsheng, "Remembering my Father Tang Wansheng" (Huiyi Fuqin Tang Wansheng); and Su Tianci (oral account), "Recollection of the Recovery of Quanzhou" (Quanzhou Guangfu Huiyi), both in QWZ, 9 (1981), PP.81-82 and 46-47; also see Zhang Jiayu and Wang Lianmao (1982), op.cit., PP.80-83.
 158. Wu Meilin, "The Fall of the Civilian Army of Shanghang in the 1911 Revolution" (Xinhai Geming Shanghang Minjun Beixian Ji), FWZ, 6 (1981), P.139; "Revolutionary History of the Ting River Region" (Tingjiang Liuyu Gemingshi) in Taipingyang Bao, XHGM, Book 7, PP.283-286; also see Fan Qilong, "The 1911 Revolution in the Ting River Region" (Xinhai Geming Zai Tingjiang Liuyu), *Fujian Shifan Daxue Xuebao* (Philosophy and Social Science), 1 (1982), PP.108-113.
 159. HMRF, P.83; Liu Yazhi, *An Account of the Southern Society* (Nanshe Jilue), (Shanghai: Renmin, 1983), P.185; Wu Meilin (1981), *ibid.*, P.140.
 160. HMRF, P.83.
 161. "Revolutionary History of the Ting River Region" in Taipingyang Bao, op.cit., P.284; in regard to Li Zongyao, see Fan Qilong, "Posthumous Work of Xiao Wen - The Recovery of Dapu, Yongding and Shanghang and the Failure of the Revolutionary Army in Changting - Problems of Xiao's Work in Respect to Historical Facts of Fujian" (Xiao Wen Yigao "Dapu Yongding Shanghang Di Guangfu He Gemingjun Zai Changting Di Shibai" Yiwenzhong Youguan Fujian Shishi Di Wenti), *Xinhai Gemingshi Congkan*, 1 (1980), PP.108-110.
 162. Wu Meilin (1981), op.cit., P.141; Fan Qilong (1982), op.cit., PP.109-110.
 163. HMRF, PP.80-83; Fan Qilong (1982), *ibid.*, PP.110-112; in respect to the date of the recovery of Changting, see Zou Lu in XHGM, Book 7, P.227.

TABLE 14
THE 25 FUJIANESE MARTYRS OF THE GUANGZHOU UPRISING

	NATIVE PLACE	FAMILY BACKGROUND	AGE	EDUCATION & OCCUPATION	COURSE OF SACRIFICE	PLACE OF SACRIFICE	DATE OF DEATH
1. Lin Wen	Houguan	Grandfather Lin Hongnian obtained First Place at the Metropolitan Examination of 1826; Father Lin Zheng was a Juren and gained reputation as one of the 10 gifted scholars of Fujian	25	Law Student of Nihon University	Shot on the head by the Reserve Force while retreating from the Governor-General's Office after the attack	East Gate of the Governor-General's Office	27 April 1911
2. Fang Xingdong	Houguan	Uncle Fang Jiashu was a Jinshi	26	Medical Student of Chiba Igaku Semmon in Japan	Shot by the Reserve Force	Shuangmendi near the city's South Gate	27 April 1911
3. Lin Jiemin	Min	Foster father (also his uncle) Lin Xiaoying was a Linsheng and a teacher at the Higher School of Fujian; Natural father and uncles were all famous poets	25	Arts Student of the Keio University in Japan	Injured and captured during the attack of the Governor-General's Office, later executed	---	---
4. Lin Yinmin	Min	Father Lin Xiaoxun was a Jinshi	25	Medical Student of Daiichi Koto in Japan	Shot on the chest while attacking the Governor-General's Office	Governor-General's Office	27 April 1911
5. Chen Yushen	Min	Father was a Xiucai; mother was the elder sister of Sa Zhengbing, a Naval Admiral	24	Law Student of Waseda University in Japan	Injured and captured during attack of the Governor-General's Office, later executed	---	1 May 1911
6. Chen Kejun	Houguan	Orphaned at a young age, raised by elder sister	24	Student of Kobun Gakuin in Japan	Injured and captured during attack of the Governor-General's Office, later executed	---	29 April 1911

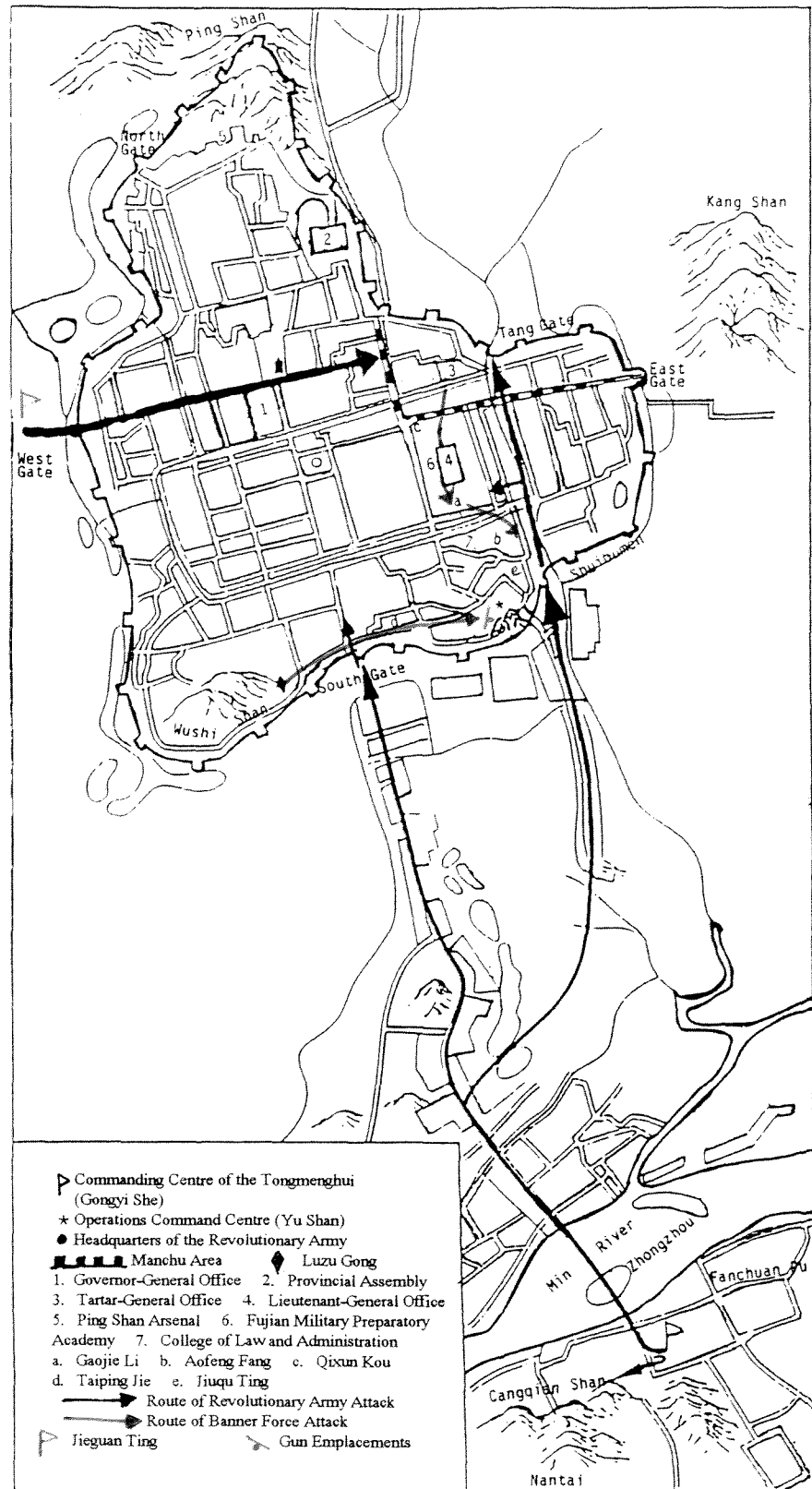
7. Chen Gengxin	Houguan	Orphaned at a young age, raised by elder sister	22	Overseas student in Japan in 1905; Graduate of the Artillery Academy at Changmen	Captured during attack of the Governor-General's Office and executed	---	1 May 1911
8. Feng Chaoxiang	Hougan (Originally from Yanping)	Father Feng Bao was a Sub-Lieutenant in Yanping	32	Graduated from the Artillery Academy at Changmen; Posted at the Changmen Fort	Died in action while retreating from the Governor-General's office after the attack	Eastern Gate of the Governor-General's Office	27 April 1911
9. Liu Yuandong	Min	Father was a shop owner	27	Chairman of the Fire-Fighting Society in Nantai	Shot on the head while retreating from the Governor-General's Office	Eastern Gate of the Governor-General's Office	27 April 1911
10. Liu Liufu	Changle	Grandfather Liu Dewei was a Juren; Father Liu Shi was a Gongsheng who later became a well-known herbal doctor	25	Graduate of the College of Law and Administration in Fujian; Sergeant of Fujian's New Army	Injured and captured while retreating from the Governor-General's Office, later executed	---	1 May 1911
11. Huang Zhongbing	Lianjiang	---	45	Farmer and Master of Martial Art	Captured and executed the day after attacking the Governor-General's Office	---	28 April 1911
12. Wang Candeng	Lianjiang	---	36	Farmer and master of Martial Art	- ditto -	---	28 April 1911
13. Zhuo Qiuyan	Lianjiang	---	30	Master of Martial Art	Shot on the head during invasion of the arsenal after attacking the Governor-General's office	Arsenal	27 April 1911
14. Hu Yingsheng	Lianjiang	---	40	Farmer and Soldier	Captured and executed the day after attacking the Governor-General's Office	---	28 April 1911
15. Wei Jinlong	Lianjiang	---	32	Master of Martial Art	Died in action during the attack of the Governor-General's action	Governor-General's Office	27 April 1911

16. Chen Qingchou	Lianjiang	---	30	Master of Martial Art	Died in action during a street fight after attacking the Governor-General's Office	---	27 April 1911
17. Chen Fayan	Lianjiang	---	31	Farmer and Master of Martial Art	Died in action during a street fight after attacking the Governor-General's Office	---	27 April 1911
18. Luo Nailin	Lianjiang	---	32	Xiucui; Primary School teacher	Died in action during a street fight after attacking the Governor-General's Office	---	27 April 1911
19. Lin Xihui	Lianjiang	---	27	Farmer and Master of Martial Art	Died in action during a street fight after attacking the Governor-General's office	---	27 April 1911

* According to Zheng Lie, apart from the above, there were six others under the lead of Liu Yuandong who died during the Guangzhou Uprising thus making a total of 25 martyrs. The six were Guo Dawang, Guo?, Guo Zengxing, Guo Yanli, Guo Tiancai and Guo Tianguan.

Sources: Zheng Lie, Poetry on Characters of past Dynasties and Biography of General Lin, (Taipei: 1953), PP. 20-22; FWZX, 6(1986), PP. 90-176.

MAP 5 BATTLE OF YU SHAN



CHAPTER VII CONCLUSION

In the field of research on the 1911 Revolution, provincial studies have yielded the most significant results. Through the efforts of historians in the study of reforms and revolution in the various provinces in late Qing, our understanding of the political, economic, social and cultural changes in the provinces during the 1911 Revolution period becomes more profound. This deeper understanding of a diverse China in turn gives us a much clearer picture of the 1911 Revolution. This thesis also follows the direction of provincial studies in the 1911 Revolution.¹

The emergence of the revolutionary movement in Fujian in the late Qing period was the result of China's humiliation in the Sino-Japanese War. Not only was the Beiyang Fleet which was largely made up of Fujianese defeated by the Japanese but after the War, Taiwan, which had a very close relationship with Southern Fujian, was also ceded to Japan. Nationalism thus bred in the province of Fujian. Against this background, the province saw the appearance of its first revolutionaries including Yang Quyun, Lin Sen, Lin Sichen, Zheng Quan, Weng Hao and Zheng Xiancheng. As a matter of fact, these Fujianese revolutionaries had begun becoming involved in revolution at around the same time as Sun Yatsen. In the early 20th Century, with the educational, military, economic and political reforms promoted by the Fujian officials and gentry for the purpose of modernization, great social and cultural changes were brought about in Fujian's urban areas. This led to the emergence of political dissidents and among them, the students from modern schools were the most radical and later became the daring vanguards of the revolutionary movement in Fujian. For further education, migration, employment or other reasons, some of the dissidents moved to Nanjing and Shanghai or overseas to Tokyo and Southeast Asia where they subsequently became acquainted with revolutionary leaders such as Sun Yatsen, Huang Xing, Cai Yuanpei, Zhao Sheng, Tao Chengzhang and Zhang Binglin and were influenced by revolutionary ideas. Seeing the inability of the Qing Court in protecting the country from foreign invasion and the fact that Fujian had become a target of partitioning by foreign powers, the Fujianese patriots were filled with frustration and indignation. Their mounting dissatisfaction with the Qing

government finally gave rise to the establishment of revolutionary groups inside and outside Fujian since 1902 with the aim of overthrowing the Manchu rule. The more important revolutionary groups included the 14th Branch of the Tongmenghui in Tokyo; the Fujianese Student Association in Shanghai; Yiwen She; Hanzu Duli Hui; the Fujian Branch of the Tongmenghui and the Qiaonan Gongyi She in Fuzhou as well as the Guangfuhui in Xiamen. As a result of the interaction among Fujianese revolutionaries in Tokyo, Semarang, Shanghai, Fuzhou and Xiamen, the revolutionary force in Fujian was greatly strengthened. As the Overseas Chinese, mostly from British and Dutch Southeast Asia, had played a significant role in the promotion of revolution, the "overseas factor" was undoubtedly important in the making of the Fujianese revolution. The 1911 Revolution in Fujian was evidently different from that in Hunan and Hubei as well as the inland provinces. But Fujian did share one similarity with Guangdong in that the revolutionary movement in both provinces was initiated and greatly supported by their fellow provincials who had migrated to Southeast Asia and North America. The most significant contributions of the overseas Chinese from Fujian and Guangdong lay in financial support and dissemination of revolutionary ideas.²

A comprehensive look at the development of the revolutionary movement in Fujian will show that the hub of the revolution was in Fuzhou and Xiamen. Fuzhou was particularly significant in that it was the birthplace of important revolutionary leaders and groups as well as the commanding centre of revolutionary activities throughout the province. The revolution in Xiamen, though greatly influenced by Overseas Chinese, was also initiated by Fuzhou revolutionaries. Moreover, the uniqueness of the Fujian revolution was manifested by the activities and strategy of Fuzhou. In 1907, following the failure of the Huanggang Uprising, the revolutionaries of Fuzhou took the unprecedented step of abandoning the commonly used tactics of overthrowing a regime by violent means and switching to the milder strategy of promotion of social welfare to gain recognition and prestige as a means to achieve their revolutionary aims.

In the period 1910 to 1911, the situation was ripe for revolution. Sun Yatsen and the Tongmenghui again appealed to all revolutionaries to support the uprising in

Guangzhou. The response from Fujian was most enthusiastic with a total of forty-eight revolutionaries, among them the elite of the province, joining in action. Although the Uprising was eventually suppressed and resulted in twenty-five Fujianese being killed, ranking second next to Guangdong, the selflessness and bravery of the Fujianese martyrs such as Lin Wen, Lin Juemin and Fang Xingdong succeeded in gaining the nation's recognition and respect for the province of Fujian. At the same time, determination of the Fujianese revolutionaries to overthrow the Qing rule was greatly strengthened.

After the Wuchang Uprising, the political situation in Fujian was tense. The constitutionalists therefore advocated a "peaceful independence" for the province. However, their request was rejected by the local Manchu officials. Meanwhile, the revolutionaries had completed the organization of the revolutionary army including the new army and civilian force formed by students as well as members of Merchants Volunteer Corps and secret societies. Consequently, with their military superiority and the support of the urban masses, the Fujianese revolutionaries succeeded in defeating the Manchu Banner Forces in the Battle of Yu Shan and gaining the independence of Fuzhou. Xiamen and the other prefectural capitals also declared their independence one after another. In this way, the political power of Fujian fell into the hands of the revolutionaries.

Historians have conducted studies on comparison between similarities and differences in the revolution of 1911 in various provinces. Particular attention is paid to who initiated the revolution; how independence was achieved and who led the revolutionary government in the different provinces.³ A comparison between Fujian and other provinces will lead to a better understanding of the position of Fujian in the 1911 Revolution.

Since the Wuchang Uprising (10 October, 1911) and the establishment of the provisional government in Nanjing (3 January, 1912), a total of fifteen provinces, making up two-thirds of the entire country, declared their independence one after another and the Qing regime collapsed. The declaration of independence of the various provinces took place in two phases. Hubei, Hunan, Shaanxi, Shanxi, Yunnan and Jiangxi became

independent in October 1911. In November, nine other provinces including Guizhou, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Guangxi, Anhui, Fujian, Guangdong, Shandong and Sichuan declared their independence. However, Shandong's state of independence lasted only twelve days. Among the other fourteen provinces, Hubei was the first to declare its independence. The independence of Shaanxi and Shanxi posed a threat to the capital while the independence of Jiangsu and Zhejiang, the most prosperous economic areas in China, was a determining factor in the success of the 1911 Revolution. Fujian was the twelfth province to declare its independence, on the same day as Guangdong. The liberation of Fujian and Guangdong resulted in the Qing government losing its ruling power in South China and increased the revolutionary momentum throughout the country.⁴

The revolution of 1911 occurred mainly in the provincial capitals and major urban centres.⁵ Apart from Shanghai of the Jiangsu province which was unique in that the armed uprising was initiated by the revolutionaries and gentry-merchants,⁶ the independence of the other provinces could be classified into three patterns. The first pattern was the initiation of armed uprisings by the new army followed by their coalition with constitutionalists or members of secret societies to establish a revolutionary regime. Provinces which followed this pattern were Hubei, Hunan, Shaanxi, Shanxi and Yunnan. As Hubei was the first province to declare its independence under this pattern, we may call this the "Hubei-pattern".⁷ Some other provinces - Jiangsu, Guangxi, Anhui, Guangdong and Sichuan - adopted another pattern whereby the constitutionalists advocated a peaceful independence which was accepted by the governor-generals or governors. The revolutionary government thus established was controlled by constitutionalists and local officials. This pattern, first seen in the province of Jiangsu, will be called the "Jiangsu-pattern".⁸ The third pattern, followed by Jiangxi, Guizhou, Zhejiang and Fujian, was one by which the revolutionaries and new army initiated armed uprisings after the constitutionalists' request for peaceful independence failed to gain the support of governor-generals and governors. This pattern may be called the "Jiangxi-pattern".⁹ A comparison will show that though Fujian should basically be categorized under the "Jiangxi-pattern", it was also distinctly different from the provinces of Jiangxi,

Guizhou and Zhejiang in that the Battle of Yu Shan staged by the revolutionaries and new army of Fujian resulted in a bloody revolution while in the other provinces the local officials surrendered without bloodshed.¹⁰ Fujian was also different from the other provinces under the "Hubei-pattern" and "Jiangsu-pattern". As mentioned in a previous chapter, the revolution in Fujian was initiated by the revolutionaries and new army with the revolutionaries finally gaining control of the revolutionary government whereas in the other provinces, the revolutionary government mostly fell into the hands of constitutionalists and local officials. Although the theory of the Orthodox school which emphasizes the significant role played by the Tongmenghui and the revolutionaries has been challenged by Revisionist scholars, the Fujian case does provide strong evidence in support of the Orthodox theory.

Despite their success in setting up the revolutionary regime after the 1911 Revolution, the Fujianese revolutionaries were unable to maintain their political power. In less than two years, the military government of Fujian set up by the revolutionaries and new army was replaced by the Beiyang clique of Yuan Shikai and the province was in a state of turmoil.¹¹ It was unfortunate that the political power gained through "iron and blood" by Fujianese revolutionaries had changed hands so easily.

The reason why the Fujianese revolutionaries failed to hold on to their control over the republican regime was twofold. Firstly, a newly established revolutionary regime should carry out reform measures to gain support of the people and consolidate its rule. The Fujianese revolutionary government did issue new decrees and carry out certain reforms right from the start.¹² However, as the revolutionaries in power "lacked both comprehensive re-construction planning as well as political experience, most of their measures were based on impractical wishes".¹³ To take financial reforms as an example, immediately after the declaration of independence, the military government ordered the abolition of *likin* without any alternative measures to find new sources of income and cut down existing expenses. As a result, due to financial difficulties, the levy of *likin* had to be reinstated. This inconsistency of the military government was extremely unpopular with the people.¹⁴ Secondly, there was the internal dissension

among the revolutionaries. After the revolution, there was first of all the bloody strife in Xiamen between Zhang Haishan of the Tongmenghui and Wang Zhenbang of the Guangfuhui in their contest for a government post. This was followed by the "Min-Chu (Hunan) conflict" in the military government in Fuzhou which was a deciding factor in the collapse of the revolutionary government. The conflict originated from Peng Shousong of Hunan origin who acted stubbornly and arbitrarily when he was the Director of Government Administration Council. He was at first at loggerheads with Sun Daoren and Xu Chongzhi of the Fujianese new army¹⁵ and later, to increase political rights of settlers from other provinces, especially Hunan, Peng decided that an additional number of ten provincial councillors should be appointed from among the settlers. The latter aroused strong opposition from the local Fujianese as well as their fellow provincials in Shanghai who attacked Peng through the press and public lectures. To stop public criticism, Peng ordered the assassination of his most fierce opponents Jiang Yun, Chief Editor of *Minting Bao* (People's Hearing News), and Huang Jiacheng, Assistant Manager of *Min Xin*, who were both Fuzhou revolutionaries. Peng also closed down the office of *Qun Bao* which was most critical of his performance and arrested the chief editor of the newspaper Su Yuwen who was a Zhangzhou revolutionary. The local Fujianese were outraged and this led to the "Min-Chu conflict". Meanwhile, Peng organized an assassination team to hunt down and get rid of his opponents. Fuzhou was shrouded in terror. Peng had become so domineering that Sun Daoren broke with him and there were also rumours of military intervention by foreign powers. In view of the critical situation, the Provincial Council of Fujian sent representatives to Beijing to petition mediation from the central government. To expand his influence in the south, the President Yuan Shikai decided to appoint Cen Chunxuan (1861-1933) Commissioner of Pacification of Fujian. Cen led his troops into Fujian and under pressure from all sides, Peng was finally forced to resign and leave the province.¹⁶ In the following year, a second revolution broke out in opposition to Yuan Shikai. Held under duress by Xu Chongzhi, Sun Daoren declared Fujian's independence from the central government. However, the second revolution of 1913 was a failure. Yuan Shikai sent Li Houji (1869-

1942) and his troops to Fujian. Xu fled to Hong Kong and later went to Japan. Sun was transferred out of the province to Beijing and the Fujianese new army was disbanded. From then on, Fujian fell into the hands of Beijing warlords. The efforts of the Fujianese revolutionaries for "recovery" of the province had come to nothing.¹⁷ The unhappy sequence of events in Fujian following the declaration of independence in 1911 can be best summed up by words given to an Algerian rebel organizer in Gillo Pontecorvo's film, *The Battle of Algiers*, "To begin a revolution is very difficult. To sustain it is even more difficult. To win it is almost impossible. But once you have won, then your troubles really begin."¹⁸

Traditionally, popular rebellions in China had always taken place in rural areas. It was not easy to initiate subversive activities in the cities due to firstly, their being seats of government and symbols of central authority, and secondly, the mobility of their inhabitants. However, since the late Ming and early Qing period, the situation began to change with the emergence of various urban riots and disturbances.¹⁹ In 1911, there was the outbreak of revolution throughout the country, mainly in urban areas. In the province of Fujian, it was also the revolutionaries in treaty ports and cities who rose in rebellion against the Manchus. We can therefore conclude that the 1911 Revolution was an urban-based revolution and its success had undoubtedly turned a new page in Chinese revolutionary history.²⁰ The occurrence of the Patriotic Movement of 4 May 1919 as well as the Democratic Movement of 4 June 1989, both in China's urban areas, virtually increased the historical significance of the 1911 Revolution as an urban-based revolution.

Notes

1. Paul Cohen (1984), *op.cit.*, P. 167; Michael Gasster, "The Disappearance of the 1911 Revolution" (Xinhai Geming Zhi Xiaoshi), Paper presented at the Conference in Commemoration of the 80th Anniversary of the 1911 Revolution in Wuhan, 1991, PP. 1-5.
2. Yen Ching-hwang (1987), *op.cit.*, PP.31-34..
3. Joseph W. Esherick (1976), *op.cit.*, PP.178 & 212-215, Esherick compared the roles played by civil and military elites in Hunan and Hubei and other provinces; Edmund S.K. Fung (1980), *op.cit.*, PP.212-216, Fung compared and analysed the initiators of revolution in various provinces and emphasized the significant role played by the New Army; Samuel Y. Kupper (1973), PP.208-211, Kupper discussed the parts played by the gentry and new intelligentsia in the revolution of the different provinces. For the most recent publication of research on the issue, see *The 1911 Revolution in Various Places*, *op.cit.*; Wang Laidi, "The 'Peaceful Independence' of the Constitutionalists and the 1911 Revolution", *Chinese Studies in History*, XVIII:3-4 (1985), PP.1-31, and "On the Evaluation of the 1911 Revolution" (Guanyu Xinhai Geming De Pingjia Wenti), *Jindaishi Yanjiu*, 1(1985), PP.275-299, Wang discussed and compared measures adopted by revolutionaries and constitutionalists in achieving independence in various provinces in 1911; Jin Chongji, "A Bird's Eye View of Independence in Various Provinces After the Wuchang Uprising" (Wuchang Qiyi Hou Ge Sheng Duli Di Niaokan), *Jindaishi Yanjiu*, 6(1991), PP.15-23, Jin analysed the characteristics of independence of different provinces in 1911.
4. Jin Chongji, *ibid.*, PP.15-23.
5. Mark Elvin (1976), *op.cit.*, P.195.
6. Mark Elvin (1984), *op.cit.*, PP.151-157; also see Jin Chongji (1991), *op.cit.*, P.20, Jin pointed out that compared with their counterparts in other provinces, the gentry-merchants in Shanghai played the most outstanding role in the 1911 Revolution.
7. Edmund S.K. Fung (1980), *op.cit.*, P. 211. Also see Joseph W. Esherick (1976), *op.cit.*, PP.178-186 & 198-212, according to Esherick, the new army in Hubei had initiated the armed uprising and political power later fell into the hands of officers of the new army and constitutionalists; in Hunan, members of secret societies had responded to the armed uprising initiated by the new army but political power was eventually taken by constitutionalists. Lin Nengshi, "Revolutionary Activities in the Northern Region During the 1911 Revolution" (Xinhai Geming Shiqi Beifang Diqu Di Geming Huodong), AMCCH, Book 18, PP.860-861, in Shaanxi, the new army and Gelaohui jointly set up the new regime; in Shanxi, after their uprising, the new army got the support of the Provincial Assembly. In Yunnan, after the new army's uprising, Cai E (1882-1916), who had a close relationship with the constitutionalists, was appointed

Governor. The revolution in Yunnan was therefore regarded as the result of co-operation between the new army and constitutionalists. For Yunnan, see Zhang Pengyuan (1969), *op.cit.*, PP.187-190; Donald S. Sutton (1986), *op.cit.*, PP.90-96; Wang Laidi, "The 'Peaceful Independence' of the Constitutionalists and the 1911 Revolution", *op.cit.*, PP.3-4.

8. Wang Laidi, *ibid.*, PP.4, 6-12, 15-18, 21 & 23-24, Wang pointed out that the revolutionary regime of the four provinces of Jiangsu, Guangxi, Anhui and Sichuan was formed by the coalition of the constitutionalists, gentry and local officials; also according to Wang, the constitutionalists had adopted the policy of peaceful independence mainly for maintaining law and order as well as controlling the provinces. For the Jiangsu province, also see Wong Yong-tsu, "The Revolution of 1911 in Kiangsu" in *Rejuvenating a Tradition: The Reform and Revolution in Modern China*, (New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 1990), PP.151-176. In Guangdong, after the declaration of independence, political power fell into the hands of the revolutionaries after the departure of the Governor-General, see Edward J.M. Rhoads (1975), *op.cit.*, PP.214-230.
9. Wang Laidi, *ibid.*, P.4. After the declaration of independence, the political situation in Jiangxi was unstable, the post of Governor changed hands three times and it was not until the appointment of Li Liejun (1882-1946) that the situation became stable and a regime made up of revolutionaries was set up, see Samuel Y. Kupper (1973), *op.cit.*, PP.166-170 & 215-217. In Zhejiang, both the revolutionaries and constitutionalists had been actively involved in the 1911 Revolution but it was the revolutionaries who played a leading role in the new regime, see Mary Backus Rankin (1971), *op.cit.*, PP.214-218; also see Wang Laidi, "On the Evaluation of the 1911 Revolution", *op.cit.*, PP.283-285. For Guizhou, the Self-Governing Society (Zizhi Xueshe) had contributed most to the independence of the province. There has been much controversy as to whether the society was a constitutionalist or revolutionary group, but I am inclined to regard them as revolutionaries, see Zhang Pengyuan (1969), *op.cit.*, PP.181-187; William R. Johnson, *China's 1911 Revolution in the Provinces of Yunnan and Kweichow*, (Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Washington, 1962), PP.150-159; Wang Laidi, "The 'Peaceful Independence' of the Constitutionalists and the 1911 Revolution", *op.cit.*, PP.19-21.
10. Cao Rong, *A New Approach to the History of Independence in Various Provinces* (Ge Sheng Dulishi Biecai), (1912), (Taipei: Wenhai, Reprint, 1966), PP.19-20 & 27-28; Zhang Pengyuan (1969), *op.cit.*, P.185.
11. Li Guiqi, "Political Turmoil and Drastic Changes of Leaders in the Provinces of Fujian and Zhejiang Between 1912 and 1926" (Minyuan - Shiwunian Jian Minzhe Diqu Di Zhengju Dongdang Yu Lingdao Jiecheng Di Jiju Bianqiang) in *A Collection of Articles on the History of Republican China* (Minguoshi Lunji), (Taipei: Nantian, 1990), PP.74-86.
12. HMRF, PP.85-139; on reforms, see Pang Shouzheng, FWZX, 1(1981), PP.18-25.
13. Liu Tong, FWZ, 1(1981), P.78.

14. Fan Qilong, "Fujian Before and After the 1911 Revolution" (Xinhai Geming Qianhou Di Fujian), FWZ, 27(1991), PP.176-182, Fan pointed out problems in financial and economic measures as well as illegal activities of the local officials under the military government.
15. Liu Chunhai, "Political and Personnel Changes in Fujian After the Declaration of Independence" (Guangfu Hou Fujian Di Zhengzhi Renshi Bianqian), MOR, Book 8, PP.133-134, according to Liu, Sun Daoren and Peng Shousong, though friendly on the surface, were actually opposed to each other; HMRF, P.281; Liu Tong, FWZ, 1(1981), PP.78-79, Liu thought that the hostility between Peng Shousong and Xu Chongzhi had originated from Xu taking money away from the provincial treasury during the battle for independence.
16. HMRF, PP.299-313 & 339-341; Chen Kongli (1962), op.cit., PP.776-778; Li Guoqi (1981), op.cit., PP.216-217; Guan Lingling (1989), op.cit., PP.363-364.
17. DFRC, Vol.2, Series 4, op.cit., PP.313-314; Guan Lingling, ibid., PP.364-365; Zhu Zongzhen and Yang Guanghui eds., *Political Struggle in the Early Republican Period and the Second Revolution* (Minchu Zhengzheng Yu Erci Geming), (Shanghai: Renmin, 1983), Vol.2, PP.772-776.
18. Thomas H. Greene, *Comparative Revolutionary Movements*, (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1990), P.65.
19. Yuan Tsing, "Urban Riots and Disturbances" in Jonathan D. Spence and John D. Wills Jr. eds., *From Ming to Ching: Conquest, Region and Continuity in Seventeenth-Century China*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), PP.280-320.
20. Mark Elvin (1976), op.cit., P.195; Shen Jicheng, "On Urban Uprisings During the 1911 Revolution Period" (Xinhai Geming Shiqi Chengshi Qiyi Chuyi), Huazhong Shiyuan Xuebao (Philosophy and Social Sciences), 4(1984), PP.59-67.

ABBREVIATIONS

- AHR Selected Articles on the History of the 1911 Revolution (*Xinhai Geming Shi Lunwenxuan* 辛亥革命史論文選), (Beijing, Sanlian, 1981), Book 1-2.
- AMCCH A Collection of Articles on Modern and Contemporary Chinese History (*Zhongguo Jindai Xiandai Shi Lunji* 中國近代現代史論集) (Taibei, Shangwu, 1985), Book 1-35.
- BIMH Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica (*Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Jindai Shi Yanjiusuo Jikan* 中央研究院近代史研究所集刊), Taibei.
- BOR Biography of Revolutionaries (*Geming Renwu Zhi* 革命人物誌), 1969-1979, Book 1-20.
- 50th CACAR A Collection of Articles on the Conference in Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the 1911 Revolution (*Xinhai Geming Wushi Zhounian Jinian Lunwenji* 辛亥革命五十週年紀念論文集) (Beijing, Zhonghua, 1962), 2 vols.
- 70th CACAR A Collection of Articles on the Conference in Commemoration of the 70th Anniversary of the 1911 Revolution (*Jinian Xinhai Geming Qishi Zhounian Xueshu Taolunhui Lunwenji* 紀念辛亥革命七十週年學術討論會論文集) (Beijing, Zhonghua, 1983), 3 vols.
- CASR A Collection of Articles of the Symposium on the 1911 Revolution (*Xinhai Geming Yantaohui Lunwenji* 辛亥革命研討會論文集) (Taibei, Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1983).
- DFRC Compilation of Documents on the 50th Anniversary of the Founding of the Republic of China (*Zhonghua Minguo Kaiguo Wushinian Wenxian* 中華民國開國五十年文獻), (Taibei, 1961).
- DFZ *Dongfang Zazhi* 東方雜誌, Shanghai.
- DMPC Documented Materials on the Preparation for Constitution in Late Qing (*Qingmo Choubai Lixian Dangan Shiliao* 清末籌備立憲檔案史料) (Beijing, 1979), 2 vols.

- FWZ *Fujian Wenshi Ziliao* 福建文史資料, edited by Fujiansheng Zhengxie Wenshi Ziliao Bianjishi 福建省政協文史資料編輯室, (Fujian: Renmin, 1962-).
- FWZX *Fuzhou Wenshi Ziliao Xuanji* 福州文史資料選輯, edited by Zhongguo Renmin Zhengzhi Xieshang Huiyi Fujiansheng Fuzhoushi Weiyuanhui Wenshi Ziliao Gongzuozu 中國人民政治協商會議福建省福州市委員會文史資料工作組, Vol. 1(1981)-
- HCMD A Collection of Articles on the History of Chinese Maritime Development (*Zhongguo Haiyang Fazhan Shi Lunwenji* 中國海洋發展史論文集), (Taibei, Institute of the Three Principles of the People, Academia Sinica), vol. 1-
- HMRF Historical Materials on the 1911 Recovery of Fujian (*Fujian Xinhai Guangfu Shiliao* 福建辛亥光復史料), edited by Fuzhou Sili Guangfu Zhongxue Bianji Weiyuanhui 福州私立光復中學編輯委員會), (Liancheng, 1940).
- HRTNU Bulletin of Historical Research, National Taiwan Normal University (*Guoli Taiwan Shifan Daxue Lishi Xuebao* 國立臺灣師範大學歷史學報), Taibei.
- IMH Institute of Modern History (*Jindai Shi Yanjiusuo* 近代史研究所).
- JAS *Journal of Asian Studies*.
- JICUHK The Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong (*Xianggang Zhongwen Daxue Zhongguo Wenhua Yanjiusuo Xuebao* 香港中文大學中國文化研究所學報), Hong Kong.
- MOR Memoirs of the 1911 Revolution (*Xinhai Geming Huiyilu* 辛亥革命回憶錄), (Beijing, 1981-1982), Book 1-8.
- NGGB Neige Guanbao (內閣官報), 1911 (Taibei, Reprint, 1965).
- PWZ *Putian Wenshi Ziliao* 莆田文史資料, edited by Zhengxie Fujiansheng Putianxian Weiyuanhui Wenshi Ziliao Yanjiu Weiyuanhui 政協福建省莆田縣委員會文史資料研究委員會, Vol. 1 (1981)- .

- QWZ *Quanzhou Wenshi Ziliao* 泉州文史資料, edited by Zhongguo Renmin Zhengzhi Xieshang Huiyi Fujiansheng Quanzhoushi Weiyuanhui Wenshi Ziliao Yanjiu Weiyuanhui 中國人民政治協商會議福建省泉州委員會文史資料研究委員會, Vol. 1-18 (1961-1985); new edition Vol. 1 (1986)-.
- ROTR Feng Ziyou (馮自由), *Reminiscences of the Revolution (Geming Yishi 革命逸史)*, (Taipei, Reprint, 1968), 5 vols.
- SPMG Secret Palace Memorials of the Guangxu Period (*Gongzhongdang Guangxuchao Zouzhe 宮中檔光緒朝奏摺*) (Taipei, Palace Museum, 1973-75), 26 vols.
- SWGB *Shangwu Guanbao* (商務官報), 1906-1911 (Taipei, Reprint, 1982).
- XBGB *Xuebu Guanbao* (學部官報), 1906-1911, (Taipei, Reprint, 1980).
- XHGM Chinese Historical Association, (Zhongguo Shixuehui 中國史學會) ed., *The 1911 Revolution (Xinhai Geming 辛亥革命)*, (Shanghai, 1957), Book 1-8.
- XWZ *Xiamen Wenshi Ziliao* 廈門文史資料, edited by Zhongguo Renmin Zhengzhi Xieshang Huiyi Fujiansheng Xiamenshi Weiyuanhui Wenshi Ziliao Yanjiu Weiyuanhui 中國人民政治協商會議福建省廈門市委員會文史資料研究委員會, Vol.1 (1963)-
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GLOSSARY

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Qiu Renyuan	丘任元	Shuikou	水口
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