VOLUME II

Notes for Chapters 1 to 8

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4. Ibid.


6. The name 'Chinchew' was best known to the West. It was frequently mentioned in records of Western traders, geographers, missionaries and historians. The origin of this name is uncertain, it was romanized neither according to Southern Fukien dialect (Chuanchew) nor Mandarin (Ch'uan-chou). Owing to its geographical position, it prospered
6. (continued)

7. Increasing immigrants from Southern Fukien Province through the port Amoy was frequently reported in a leading Chinese newspaper, the Lat Pao. (Lat Pao, 14 April 1888; 12 June 1888, p.2) It was reported that a British ship had transported 1003 new immigrants from Amoy in one trip which was considered to be one of the crowdest trips. (Lat Pao, 5 April 1889), After the turn of the present century, Amoy assumed even more important position in the exporting of new immigrants. For instance, a total number of 204,796 Chinese immigrants arrived in Singapore, out of which 70,009 came from Amoy. The rest came from Hong Kong (62,920), Swatow (57,222) and Hoihow (14,645). From this we know clearly that Amoy surpassed other three ports in the traffic of Chinese immigration to Southeast Asia. (See SSADR., 1904, p.111.)

9. Sandhu, K.S., op.cit., p.6


11. Braddell, T., Statistics of the British Possessions in the Straits of Malacca (Penang, 1861), Table 1.


14. Cheng Ch'eng-kung died in 1681, and was succeeded by his son, Cheng K'o-shuang. In September 1683, Formosa fell into the hands of the Ch'ing government, and K'o-shuang surrendered.

15. This story was told by an old Chinese in Java to Huang Nai-shang, an early revolutionary leader who activated in Singapore before 1905. It was said that Huang was also given a book in which all heroic events of resisting the Manchu conquest in South China were recorded. See Ch'en Ch'ün-
15. (continued)
sheng, "Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia and the Chinese Revolution" (original manuscript kept in KMT Archives in Taichung, Taiwan), also see WSNWH., vol.1, pt.11, pp.488-89). It seems difficult for me to verify the authenticity of this story, there was no such story mentioned in Huang Nai-shang's autobiography. But he did mention that he had toured round British colonies and Dutch East Indies after he had gone to Singapore from China to edit a Chinese newspaper in 1894(?) (See Huang Nai-shang, "Fu-ch'engch'i-shih tzü-hsü (autobiography)", manuscript kept in the KMT Archives in Taichung, Taiwan; also see Shih-wu Fu-chou K'ên ch'ang wu-shih chou nien chi nien k'an (Souvenir of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Fu-chou Farm in Sibu, Sarawak) (Sibu, 1951), p.99.

16. Cheng Hoon which was romanized according to Southern Fukien dialect, means 'blue cloud'. This temple is still in existence.


18. During the Ming time, owing to the fact that Admiral Cheng Ho had made seven unprecedented
18. (continued)
expeditions to Southeast Asia and some of the territories around the Indian Ocean (It was claimed that his ships went as far as to the East coast of Africa), most of Southeast Asian ports such as Champa (Hue ?), Java (Djakarta), Malacca, Sumatra (Palembang), were widely known among traders as well as government circles. And there were separate 'chuan' for these ports in the Ming History. See Hsü Yün-ch'iao, "San-pao t'ai-chien hsi-a hsia hsi-yang k'ao" (Note on Cheng Ho's Expeditions to Western Seas", in JSSS, vol.5,pt.1, pp.42-53.; also see Hsü Yün-ch'iao, A History of Overseas Chinese, pp.19-20, in Yu Shu-k'un (ed.) Nanyang Nien Chien (Singapore,1951).

19. It was said that the four Chinese characters, 青云古跡' (The Relic of Cheng Hoon) on a wooden board hung in the hall of the Cheng Hoon Temple were written by the Kapitan Chan Lak Koan himself. Wong, C.S., op.cit.,p.3.

20. Chang Li-ch'ien, A History of Malacca, p.329

21. The Chinese immigrants arrived in the Straits Settlements in 1846 numbered 9,569, and this decreased to 8,205 in 1850. See 'Notes on the
21 (continued)

Chinese in the Straits', in JIA, vol.9, 1855, p.113; Freedman, M., The Sociology of Race Relations in Southeast Asia, with Special Reference to British Malaya (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of London), Table 6; Freedman, M., Chinese Family and Marriage in Singapore, p.22

21a. There is no exact figure of population growth for these two areas in a period before the British intervention and few decades after it. But the growth still can be seen from other indirect indices. For instance, Chinese immigrants arrived in Singapore in 1870 (four years before the Intervention) was 14,000, it increased more than fourteen-fold to 200,000 in 1900 (about two and half decades after the intervention). The growth is even more eminent when its rate in the three decades (1870 to 1900) is compared with the rate of previous three decades (1840 to 1870), the former (fourteen-fold) doubles the latter's (seven-fold). (See Tregonning, K.G., A History of Modern Malaya, p.174.) Although quite a number of them were dispersed to other parts of Southeast Asia, particularly to Java, Sumatra and Borneo, the
21a. (continued)

majority of them seemed to have remained in Singapore and Malaya. Other instance like Chinese population in Singapore increased from 50,098 in 1871 to 164,041 in 1901 can also be taken as part of evidence. (See Freedman, M., Chinese Family and Marriage in Singapore, (London 1957), p.25.; also see Ee, J., "Chinese Migration to Singapore, 1896-1941", in JSEAH., vol.2.no.1, p.50)

22. The term Kheh-tau is the transliteration of '客頭 ' in Southern Fukien dialect. 'Kheh' means guest, and 'tau' means head. In Chinese eyes, immigrants are considered as new guests, thus, the headman who guided emigrants was called 'Kheh-tau'. The term was probably at first referring to those headmen who arranged illegal emigration from Southern Fukien ports. A Ch'ing Imperial statute was enacted in 1740 to punish those Kheh-taus who smuggled illegal emigrants to Formosa and Macao. This suggests that the Kheh-tau system at least existed in the middle of the eighteenth century. See Ch'in-ting ta-ch'ing hui-tien (Laws and Statues of the Ch'ing Dynasty). vol.19, pp.14944-45, or original text vol.775, pp.15-17.
The process of recruiting Chinese immigrants in 1876 was as follows: when demand for labour in Singapore, Malaya and Dutch East Indies was high, steamers were usually chartered by Chinese Supercargoes for a lump sum to go to ports in Southern China. Those Transoceanic Kheh-taus (for the convenience of our study, we divide Kheh-tau into two categories: local Kheh-tau whose function was primarily to supply coolies from China interior to the Treaty Ports; Transoceanic Kheh-tau's main function was to bring coolies from the Treaty Port to overseas) who travelled to and fro between the Treaty Ports and the Straits Settlements became very active, usually they brought goods with them to travel in the chartered ships. When the ships arrived at Hong Kong, Macao or other ports, these Kheh-taus found no difficulty in getting their supply from local coolie-depots. These depots were either run by Chinese or Europeans, and had a very close association with local Kheh-taus who collected coolies from the interior. Apart from this source of supply, notices were given in the port and adjoining villages that ship was going to leave for Singapore. This was to attract some free
23. (continued)

emigrants. See 'Report of Committee Appointed to Consider and Take Evidence Upon the Condition of Chinese Labourers in the Straits Settlements, November 1876', p.l., Appendix II, p.8 (evidence given by Mr. Benjamin Holmberg), CO, 275/19.

24. If a Kheh-tau could not pay off the passages of the coolies he brought along, he usually could get permission from the Supercargo to bring them on credit. He would repay the Supercargo when he let off the coolies on arriving at destination. An agreement was made between them. The agreement is shown as follows:

I, Chiam Ah Tow, from the village of Tiow Peng in the district of Yeo Kow in China, have brought with me six men as passengers for Singapore from Swatow, and I do hereby promise to pay their passages a sum of $103.80 shortly after my arrival at Singapore, to the Chin Chew or Supercargo. This agreement was made to the agent at Swatow upon the understanding that we shall have no dispute whatever hereafter (sd.) Chiam Tow.

In the 2nd Year of Kong Choo (Kuang Hsü), this 22nd day of the 4th moon.

Ibid., Appendix II, pp.7-8 (evidence given by a Chinese Supercargo, Teow Gee-hoh), CO, 275/19.

25. Song Ong Siang, One Hundred Years' History of the Chinese in Singapore, p.96; Wickberg, E., The
25. (continued)
Chinese in Philippine Life 1850-1898, p.172.

26. Campbell, P.C., Chinese Coolie Emigration to
Countries within the British Empire, pp.1-2;
Freeman, M., Kinship, Local Grouping and Migrantin:
A Study in Social Realignment Among Chinese
Overseas, p.101; 'Report of W.D. Barnes, Secretary
for Chinese Affairs', SSADR, 1904, p.106.

27. The Governor-General of Hunan and Hupeh, Chang
Chih-tung strongly recommended to the court to
suppress Kheh-taus. He suggested that those Kheh-
taus who victimized coolie-emigrants should be
beheaded. See Chu Shou-p'eng, Kuang-hsü-ch'iao

28. Ee, J., 'Chinese Migration to Singapore 1896-
1941', in JSEAH., no.1, p.39.

29. Those credited coolies who could not be immediately
disposed of by the Kheh-taus, were usually confined
to coolie-depots in Singapore and Penang until
employment turned up. In depots, coolies were ill-
treated. They were confined in dark, dirty and
unventilated houses where windows and doors were
shut and guarded by samsengs (Chinese fighting men).
29. (continued)
'A Public Letter presented by Chinese Residents in Singapore in Protest Against the Kidnapping of Hsin-kheh (immigrants) and the Poors by the Gangsters', in The Singapore Daily Times, 11 December 1874.


32. Table Percentage and Number of Chinese Female Immigrants arriving in Singapore, 1896-1900

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<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>8,271</td>
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<td>5.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>11,982</td>
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</tr>
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(Source: 'Report of W.D. Barnes, Secretary for Chinese Affairs', SSADR, 1905, p.628.)


35. Hu Hsien-chin, The Common Descent Group in China
35. (continued)
   and its Functions, p.97.

36. Writing in 1838, T.J. Newbold estimated that annual remittance of 3,000 Chinese in Penang was about 10,000 Spanish dollars (See Newbold, T.J., Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca, vol.1, p.11). Siah U Chin, a leading Chinese merchant in Singapore observed in 1847 that remittances were made by all social groups of the Chinese in the Straits. He gave an estimate of annual remittance ranging from 30,000 to 70,000 dollars (Spanish?). See Siah U Chin, 'Annual Remittances by Chinese Immigrants to Their Families in China', in JIA., vol.1 (1847), pp.35-36.)


39. Teochew is very close to Southern Fukien dialect. A Fukien and a Teochew could understand more than fifty per cent if they converse slowly. Whereas
39. (continued) between Fukien and Hainanese, and between Teochew and Hainanese, percentage of intelligibility is lower.

40. More Fukien and Teochew women were foot-bound. We still can observe in overseas Chinese communities in Singapore and Malaya.


43. 'Report of W.D. Barnes, Secretary for Chinese Affairs', SSADR, 1904, pp.121-23.


46. In general, most overseas Chinese were Buddhist and shared the same festivals. See Lat Pao, 5 September 1888, p.1; Anson, A.E.H., About Others and Myself, p.317.

47. Khoo Seok-wan, Wu-pai shih-tung-t'ien hui-ch'en,
47. (continued)
vol.2, p.9; Vaughan, J.D., The Manners and
Customs of the Chinese of the Straits Settlements, pp.49-56; Hsing Pao, 23 February 1894, p.5.

48. Lat Pao, 13 November 1889, p.2, 19 November 1889, p.2, 30 November 1889, p.2; Hsing Pao, 10
October 1895, p.5, 3 December 1895, p.5, 9
December 1895, p.5; T'ien Nan Hsin Pao, 21

49. Lat Pao, 4 April 1890, p.1.

50. Ibid., 13 August 1908, p.8.

51. Song Ong Siang, One Hundred Years' History of

52. The school is located in Amoy Street, Singapore. 
When I visited it in August 1966, I was informed 
that it had ceased to exist a long time ago, but 
the crumbling building is preserved because of 
its historical value. There are three stone 
tables inside the building, the earliest was 
erected in 1854 (the fourth year of the Emperor 
Hsien Feng), on which purposes of founding the 
school and names of the founders were inscribed.
53. In 1889 there was a serious clash between Hakka and Teochew in the China Town in Singapore. In 1899, Hakka and Teochew were engaged in a big fight in Kulim, a town near Penang, many houses were burned down. See Lat Pao, 30 October, 1889, p.1. Singapore Free Press, 21 February 1899, p.2.

54. In nineteenth century China, society was stratified into ruling officialdom, ordinary commoners, and degraded people. Among the commoners, they were sub-divided into Shih (scholar), Nung (farmers), Kung (artisans and craftsmen) and Shang (merchants and traders). See Ho Ping-ti, The Ladder of Success in Imperial China, pp.17-19.


55. Freedman, M., Kinship, Local Grouping and Migration: A Study in Social Realignment among
55.  (continued)

Chinese Overseas, p.104.

56. There were two types of nobility in nineteenth century China. The first type, imperial nobility, was composed of imperial clansmen and relatives. The second type, non-imperial nobility, was created by imperial grace to those who had distinguished service to the dynasty. See Ho Ping-ti, op.cit., pp.23-24.

57. Men like Dr Lim Boon-keng and Dr Wu Lien-tê rose from obscurity, and wielded tremendous influence in the Chinese communities in Singapore and Malaya. But the number of them was very small.


60. Most European scholars in this field agreed that the names of Triad (Three United Society or San Ho Hui in Chinese), the Hung League
(continued)
(or Hung Society) and T'ien Ti Hui (or Thian Ti Hwui) were referred to the same secret society. When Schlegel chose title for his book, he purposely used Thien Ti Hwui: The Hung-League or Heaven-Earth-League to project to the readers that these names are referred to one. Ward and Stirling also used the title of The Hung Society or the Society of Heaven and Earth to imply there was a uniformity of these two names. Further, both books explained clearly the uniformity of the Hung League, T'ien Ti Hui, Triad and Ngee Hin (Schlegel, G., pp.7-8.; Ward, J.S.M. & Stirling, W.G., vol.1, pp.6-7) Dr. Milne, the first European noticed the existence of the Triad in China, offered an explanation the the change of the Triad to T'ien Ti Hui. He said that the society first used the name of San Hoh Hwui (San Ho Hui, or the Society of the Three United, which derived from the three great powers in nature, heaven, earth and man), and it was changed to the Tien Ti Hwui (T'ien Ti Hui) in the earlier part of their reign of Kiaking Emperor (Chia-ch'ing, 1796-1820)(See Dr. Milne, "Some account of a
secret association in China, entitled the Triad Society", in Chinese Repository, vol.14 (1845), p.60). A Chinese author Liu Lien-k'o who was a member of the Triad, offered another version of the change of names. He said that the name Hung League was derived from the founder, Hung Ying who was a military adviser to general Shih K'o-fa, a renowned patriot who fought against the Manchu conquest in Yang-chou in the middle of the 17th century. The five founders mentioned in the Triad's traditional history were his students. According to Liu, the leader of the Hung League during the Yung-cheng reign (1723-1735) changed the name to San Ho Hui (the Triad) or T'ien Ti Hui so as to avoid Manchu government's attention. (Liu Lien-k'o, Three Hundred Year's Revolutionary History of the Chinese Secret Societies, pp.25-40, 71-72). From all these evidence, we can safely suggest that the names Hung League, Triad and T'ien Ti Hui are referred to one secret society. But a leading Chinese historian on Ch'ing history, Professor Ssu-yu Teng seems to be confused by all these names. He put down Hung-League, T'ien Ti Hui and Triad
as separate secret societies, and further falsely identified San Tien (The Three Dots Society) as the Triad. This mistake was made probably because he did not use any of these Western sources. (See Ssu-yu Teng, "Dr. Sun Yat-sen and Chinese Secret Societies", in Studies on Asia, vol. 4 (1963), p. 81).

61. Schlegel, G., Thian Ti Hwui: The Hung-League or Heaven-Earth-League, pp. 2-3.; Wynne, M.L., Triad and Tabut, p. 9.; Ward, J.S.M. & Stirling W.G., The Hung Society or The Society of Heaven and Earth, vol. 1, pp. 2-3.; Comber, L., Chinese Secret Societies in Malaya, pp. 19-20.; Thio, E., "The Singapore Chinese Protectorate: Events and Conditions Leading to its Establishment, 1823-1877", in JSSS., vol. 16 (1960), pts. 1&2, p. 44.; Wong Lin Ken, The Malayan Tin Industry to 1914, p. 41. But Liu Lien-k'ōo claims that the society was purely founded for political purpose, i.e. to overthrow Ch'ing and to restore Ming. Not only he claims that Hung Ying as the original founder of the society, but also asserts that the well known anti-Ch'ing hero, Cheng Ch'eng-kung, was the main sponsor for the founding of the society. (Liu Lien-k'ōo, Three Hundred Year's Revolutionary History of the Chinese Secret Societies, pp. 23-24, 40.)
In that year, according to Newbold and Wilson, the Kongsis (secret societies) in Penang united and set government at defiance, and were only reduced to subjection by the most vigorous measures. See Newbold, A.D.C. & Wilson, C.B., "The Chinese Secret Triad Society of the Tien-ti-huih", in JRAS, vol.6 (1841), p.133. This information seems to be quite authentic, and the 'Kongsis' were probably referred to the Ghee Hin. For according to the allegation made by the headman of the Hghee Hung Khoon (Ghee Hin), Mun Affoh (commonly known as Appoo), a watchmaker of George Town in the presence of the Governor of Penang on 19th May 1825, the society 'has been established about 24 years', The founding year (1801) alleged by the Ghee Hin headman is very close to 1799. Further, none of other secret societies in Penang was alleged to be established earlier than 1809 (Wan Sang in 1809, Hai San in 1821 or 1819). See Wynne, M.L., op.cit., pp.74-77.

When Munshi Abdullah, Raffle's Malay teacher, visited a Tan Tae Hoey's (T'ien Ti Hui, the Triad) lodge in 1824, he was told that here were about 8,000 secret society members in Singapore. This
64. (continued)

figure is obviously exaggerated, for the Chinese population in 1823 in Singapore was only 3,317. However, his estimate of participants of the Triad members in a convention in the Tangling Tuah (500 to 600) appears to be acceptable. Plus absentees and those who scattered in other parts of the island, the members of the Triad in that year could have reached to a thousand or more. See Munshi Abdullah, "Concerning The Tan Tae Hoey in Singapore", translated by T. Braddell, in JIA., vol.6 (1852), pp.545-48.


66. This figure was given by a Chinese who was a member of the Triad. Ibid., 130.

67. On the 8th January 1845, the Hong Kong government declared secret societies as illegal organizations. An ordinance was enacted by the Governor, John Francis Davis with the advice of the Legislative Council that a member or members of the Triad Society or other secret societies, having convicted with guilty of felony, shall be liable to be imprisoned for any term not exceeding three years, with or without hard labour,
and at the expiration of such term of imprisonment that such a person shall be marked on the right cheek in the manner usual in the case of military deserters and be expelled from Hong Kong. See "An Ordinance for the Suppression of the Triad and Other Secret Societies in the Island of Hong Kong and its Dependencies", in *Chinese Repository* vol.14 (1845), pp.58-59. About the suppression of the Triad in the Dutch East Indies can be referred to Comber, L., *Chinese Secret Societies in Malaya*, p.68.

See Anonymous, "Secret Societies among the Chinese in Singapore with Particulars of some of their late Proceedings", in *Chinese Repository*, vol.15 (1846), p.306. This piece of information was originally published in the *Singapore Free Press*.


This estimate was contained in the "Report of Committee Appointed to Consider and Take Evidence
70. (continued)
upon the Condition of Chinese Labourers in the Straits Settlements", p. 4, in CO 275/19.


72. According to an observer, Major Low, Superintendent of Province Wellesley that justice was frequently defeated in Penang by secret society members. Whenever a member was apprehended for crime, however atrocities it may be, whole society would go behind him trying to get him off. Subscriptions were made for hiring counsel, offering bribes of imposing threat to witnesses, false swearing and even resorting to open violence. See Newbold, A.D.C. & Wilson, C.B., op. cit., pp. 133-134.; Newbold, T.J., Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca (2 vols. London, 1839). vol. 1, p. 14.

73. Evidence strongly points to the fact that immigrants always fell prey to secret societies throughout the whole course of immigration. Even before arriving the Straits, those who came through Kheh-taus, were naturally under control of secret societies, because most Kheh-taus
73. (continued) had close connections with them for the purpose of getting and disposing immigrants. Those new immigrants who came as free passengers were always subjected to extortion of secret society members who occupied the deck before embarkation of the immigrants on ships. (See *Lat Pao*, 27 April 1889, p.2.) Upon their arrival in the Straits, new immigrants were forced to join secret societies on pain of death, and if they refused, they would be executed. (See Mills, L.A., op.cit., p.206.; Report of Committee Appointed to consider and take evidence upon the condition of Chinese labourers in the Straits Settlements, pp.3-4.; *The Singapore Daily Times*, 24 November 1874, p.2.)


75. The adoption of this policy was due to the lack of competent staff, incomplete knowledge and apathetic attitude of the officials towards this problem. See Wynne, M.L., op.cit., pp.70, 388.

76. This new policy was based on the 'Ordinance to Provide for the Suppression of Dangerous Societies, No. XIX of 1869'. Extract of this Ordinance was
76. (continued)

77. An attempt on Pickering's life was made in July 1887 by a Teochew Chinese named Chua Ah Sioh. Chua, a member of the Ghee Hok Society and mentally disturbed, was believed to have been instigated by the leaders of the society to action. Later, in the *Report of the Chinese Protectorate for 1887*, Pickering believed that because of his opposition to gambling which jeopardized the interest of the principal headmen of the Ghee Hok Society, that they instigated Chua to get rid of him. See the report quoted by Wynne in his *Triad and Tabut*, p.372.


79. See the main provisions of *The Societies Ordinance, 1889*, reproduced in Comber's *Chinese Secret Societies in Malaya*, pp.264-65. Concerning the burning of ancestral tablets of secret societies in Singapore, the *Lat Pao* had a detailed report. It described as the follows: On the twenty-six day of the first
month of the Chinese calendar (15th February, 1890), all the headmen and officials of the six main secret societies, Ghee Hin, Ghee Hok, Hok Hin, Kwang Hok (or Ghee Khee Kwang Hok), Song Peh Kwang and Kwong Fui Siu (these romanized names were used by Wynne in his work, p.376) gathered at the Ghee Hin headquarters of the Rochore road to burn off all ancestral tablets in the presence of the Protector and Deputy Protector of Chinese and the Inspector-General of Police. After a solemn ceremony, all ancestral tablets were burned. All the headmen were later congratulated by the Protectors and Inspector-general on the ground that already gave up their secret society memberships and became good citizens again. This burning ceremony was confirmed by Mr. Powell, the Protector of Chinese, in his report for 1890. He said that 'a formal renunciation of the membership of the parent Gi Hin (Ghee Hin) - to which all Singapore dangerous societies belonged- was made at the central lodge at Rochore by the burning of original diplomas by the headmen.' He further declared that all secret societies had 'the insignia, registers and seals handed over to the Protectorate'.
79. (continued)

See *Lat Pao*, 19th February, 1890, p.2.; the

80. In giving evidence to the Penang Riot Commission in 1868, the headman of the Toh Peh Kong Society in Penang, Khoo Thean Tek, denied there was the existence of a Sin Fung (Vanguard) position in his organization. In giving evidence to the same Commission, the Penang Ghee Hin's Master, Boey Yoo Kong, stated that the position of recruiters (Tai Ma) were not filled, because whoever brought in new members would get commission for it. (See *Wynne, M.L., op.cit.*, p.256.); Mr. Pickering observed that in 1879 there had no Elder Brother (Pickering used the term 'Toa-Ko' or Grand Master instead of Tai Ko or Elder Brother. Obviously he romanized the title according to Southern Fukien dialect) of the Ghee Hin Society in Singapore, because no person dared to come forward to undertake the onerous and responsible duties of the office. See *Pickering, W.A., "Chinese Secret Societies"* pt.2, in *JSBRAS.*, no.3 (1879), p.2.

82. According to Newbold and Wilson, the three top officials' functions were more than what we have put down. They added 'the swearing in of the new members, and the conducting of the public meetings and religious ceremonies' (Newbold, A.D.C. & Wilson, C.B., "The Secret Triad Society of the Tien-Ti-Huih", in JRAS., vol.6(1841), p.143). But from the evidence given by Ward & Stirling, Pickering and Wynne, it seems that none of the three top leaders conducted swearing in and other religious ceremonies. (See Ward, J.S.M. & Stirling, W.G., The Hung Society or the Society of Heaven and Earth, vol.1, pp.19-107.; Pickering, W.A., op.cit., pp.6-18.; Wynne, M.L., op.cit. pp.114-27) One of the main functions of the top leaders was decision of waging a war or peace which was neglected by Newbold and Wilson, but was revealed clearly in an evidence given by Boey Yoo Kong, the Master of the Penang Ghee Hin to the Penang Riot Commission in 1868. See Extracts from Minutes of Evidence Taken before the Penang Riots Commission, 1868, in Comber, L.,op.cit., Appendix 2, p.276.


86. According to Schlegel and Wynne, the complete Triad Disciplinary Code is composed of 36 oaths, 10 rules or prohibitory laws, 72 articles and 21 regulations. (See Schlegel, G., Thian Ti Hwui: The Hung League or Heaven-Earth-League, pp.152-66.; Wynne, M.L., op.cit., pp.122) But Ward and Stirling only mentioned 36 oaths (Ward, J.S.M. & Stirling, W.G., op.cit., vol.1, pp.64-70) and Newbold and Wilson mentioned 36 oaths and 36 rules (Newbold, A.D.C. & Wilson, C.B., op.cit., pp.137-42). There a great variation of the 36 oaths in all these versions. One satisfactory explanation would be that all of them based on different sources. But I am also struck by a vast discrepancy between English translation and Chinese text appeared in Ward & Stirling's work. For instance, a section of the 36 oaths in Chinese appeared on an illustration between
86. (continued)

pages 66 and 67 has five complete oaths (from number 24 to 28) read as the follows:

24, One (after joining the Hung Society) who stays in brethren's home should behave himself. If he misbehaves and incurs disasters to the said brethren, may he die in sea.

25, One (after joining the Hung Society) must behave, and should not have drunk in the street, and leaked out Hung's secrets to others, if he did, may he die by committing suicide.

Whereas the English translation of Ward & Stirling of the 24 and 25 oaths are:

24, A brother must not misuse his power as a member of the Hung family, or with four or five others start a street fight, cause a riot, or impose on the weak. If any brother dares to do so, and refuses to listen to good advice, may he die by poison.

25, If a brother cheats another brother, the matter must be reported to the Society and left for it to judge. If a brother fails to conform to this rule, may he be blasted by lightning.
14a

86. (continued)
(Ward, J.S.M. & Stirling, W.G., op.cit., vol.1, p.68). These two paragraphs of translation seem to have referred to two entirely different things. This discrepancy would lead me to doubt the authenticity of some of Ward & Stirling's translations.

87. According to the evidence given by Boey Yoo Kong, the Master of the Penang Ghee Hin Society, to the Penang Riot Commission in 1868 that punishment for disobedience ranged from flogging, cutting off ears to beheading. See Comber, L., op.cit., p.276.


89. See the oath No.2 and Article No.12 of the complete Triad Code in Schlegel's work. See Schegel, G., op.cit., pp.135, 163.

90. According to Ward and Stirling, there were six categories of secret methods employed amongst members of the Triad Society to recognize each other. There are: hand and body signs; dumb alphabet signs; the peculiar manner in which the
90. (continued) clothing is worn; the peculiar manner in which articles are handled; catch phrases, usually adopted from, or referring to, incidents in the ritual; Triad slang. See Ward, J.S.M. & Stirling, W.G., op.cit., vol.1, pp. 108-131.

91. In the Ten Punishments recorded by Liu Lien-k'o in his book, the Second Punishment is to impose 108 floggings on those who leaked out information of the Hung Society. (See Liu Lien-k'o, Three Hundred Years' Revolutionary History of the Chinese Secret Societies, p. 184). Those who gave clue to the police or showed them the way should be seized and slain. (See Article No.4 of the Ten Prohibitory Laws in Schlegel's work. Schlegel, G., op.cit., p.165).

92. Dr. Milne, the first European to notice the existence of the Triad Society, wrote in 1820's that "in foreign colonies, ... the idle, gambling, opium-smoking Chinese (particularly of the lower class) frequently belong to this fraternity..." (Dr. Milne, "Some Account of a Secret Association in China, entitled the Triad Society", in Chinese Repository, vol.14 (1845), p.60). This impres-
sion was confirmed by an allegation made by four leading Chinese merchants of George Town, Penang in the presence of the Governor and Chief Justice on the 9th June 1825. They declared that the Hai San Society consisted of about 1,000 members of the lower class of Macao Chinese (Cantonese), such as labourers, carpenters, gardeners, and not a merchant or respectable trader amongst them. (See Wynne, M.L., *Triad and Tabut*, p.76.). Mr. W. A. Pickering who had the best knowledge on Chinese secret societies in his time, observed that 'The greater part of the member, consisting of lower orders of the population, are not sufficiently versed in their own language and history, or initiated into the secret of the League, to be able to give any explanation as to the meaning of the symbols.' (See Pickering, W.A., "Chinese Secret Societies and Their Origin", in *JSBRAS.*, No.1 (1878), p.63). Professor L. A. Mills also wrote that "... A large number of the members (Thian Tai Hui, the Triad) were Chinese criminals of the lower class, ...many of the Chinese pirates and robbers who infested Singapore belonged to the League ..." (See Mill, L.A.,
92. (continued)
British Malaya 1824-1867, in JMBRAS., vol.3, pt.2 p. 206.)


94. Yap Ah Loy was the headman of the Hai San Society of Kuala Lumpur from 1868 to 1885. Details of his life, activities can be referred to Middlebrook,S.M., "Yap Ah Loy", in JMBRAS., vol.24, pt.2 (1951), and Wang Chih-yüan, Yeh Teh-lai Chuan (A Biography of Yap Ah Loy)(Kuala Lumpur, 1958) Capitan Cheng Keng Kui, also known as Cheng Ssu-wen (鄭勝輝), was the headman of the Hai San Society of Perak in the second half of the 19th century, and was deeply involved in the Larut War (1872-1874). Details of his life and activities can be seen in a biography written in Chinese by Mr. Kw'ang Kuo-hsiang. See Kw'ang Kuo-hsiang, Pin Ch'eng Shan Chi (Hong Kong, 1958), pp.108-113., also see Comber, L., op.cit., pp.102, 158, 165, 178-79.

95. Capitan Chan was the leader of the Hai San Society of Penang for the year 1886. He was a tin-miner and revenue farmer. He was the successful tenderer
of gambling and pawn-broking farms in Larut for the years 1883 to 1885. See the "List of Chinese Secret Societies Registered Under Section 3 of Ordinance No. XIX of 1869 in Penang for the year 1886", also the Table of Distribution of Revenue Farms in Perak 1883-1885, in Wynne, M.L., Triad and Tabut, pp.344, 382.

Second to the merchants were artisans. 7 out of 21 were artisans (including carpenter, sawyer, shoemaker, tailor and coffin-maker), the rest were guardian of temple, druggist, China physician, geomancer and cargo-boatman. See the three lists of Chinese Secret Society Registrations of 1881, 1886 and 1889, in Wynne, op.cit., pp. 365, 371, 376.

Second to the merchants were artisans (including 3 tailors, 2 bakers, 1 blacksmith, 1 cook and 1 engraver). It is also noticeable that 7 out of 40 leaders whose backgrounds are traceable, were writers. Ibid., pp. 378,380,382,384 and 385.

Unlike Western practice, Chinese traditional way of business contract is mainly based on verbal promise. A transaction of amounting to few thou-
sand dollars could be made just by few words. Disputes arising from such mode of transaction could hardly be prosecuted in court. Thus, secret society influence was conveniently employed to guarantee the fulfilment of contracts.

Wong Lin Ken, op.cit., pp.40-41.; T. Braddell also observed in 1874 that secret society organization was the only effective machinery of government among the miners in the native states of the Malay Peninsula. See Braddell, T., "Report on the Proceedings of Government Relating to the Native States in the Malay Peninsula", in The Singapore Daily Times, 24 November 1874.


Two reasons were given by Pickering in explaining the loss of political objectives in the Straits: the members of secret societies were not so educated to uphold the cherished political aims of the founders; there were no patriotic aims to be attained under a gentle and liberal government.
101. (continued)


103. Ibid., pp.30-46.

104. Ibid., pp.39,40,43,45,47.

105. Ibid., p.48.

106. Ibid., p.50.

107. Ibid., p.57.


109. D. H. Kulp testified at the end of the nineteenth century that filial piety was seriously observed among peasants in the Phenix Village, a village west of Teochew of Kwangtung province. He even suggested that filial piety was one of the main causes for emigration, and filial duties to elders and ancestral worship were the central attitudes of Sib members. See Kulp, D.H., Country Life in South China, pp.XXIV, 49, 135-37.

109a See note 36.
110. Many rich merchants in nineteenth century Singapore and Malaya had possessed Ch'ing titles. Common titles purchased were Kuan Cha, Shu-Ma, T'ung Feng Ta Fu, Tz'ü Cheng Ta Fu, T'ai Shou, Tu Chuan, Tu Jung, Chou Su-Ma, Chou Pieh Chia, Chung Han, Tai Chao, Kung Shih, Sang Shê, Chung Shu, Shou Jung and Ming Fu. See Lat Pao, 31 May 1890, p.2, 5 June 1890, p.1, 13 August 1890, p.2; Hsing Pao, 8 April 1896, p.4, 25 June 1896, p.8, 11 April 1897, p.5, 13 April 1897, p.5; Tien Nan Hsin Pao, 26 May 1900, p.2, 19 June 1900, p.7, 7 August 1900, p.2, 15 August 1900, p.7.

111. Banquet was given in Wu's villa. Among present were the Ch'ing Consul-General, Tso P'in-lung and other dignitaries. See Lat Pao, 5 June 1888, p.1.

112. Tien Nan Hsin-Pao, 26 October 1901, p.9, 29 October 1901, p.2.

113. Lang, O., Chinese Family and Society, p.10.

114. Indoctrination of peasantry was mainly carried out through the operation of a 'Hsiang-Yueh Lecture System' which may have its origin back to the mid-sixteenth century. A hsiang-yueh was appointed in each locality to lecture to the
general public at fixed intervals. Using the imperial maxims (The Emperor Shun-chih has proclaimed his Six Maxims which were later expounded by his son Emperor K'ang-hsi into Sixteen Maxims known as 'Secret Edict') as contents, the hsiang-yueh taught the people to practice traditional values to lead a peaceful life. Detail of the operation of this system can be referred to Hsiao Kung-chuan, Rural China: Imperial Control in the Nineteenth Century, pp.184-205.


118. When Emperor Kuang Hsu ascended to the throne, he was only four years old, and the Empress Dowager Tz'u Hsi acted as regent. After fourteen years (1889), the Emperor was at the age of eighteen which was considered to be the right age to govern.


122. A discussion on these two concepts is undertaken in pp.96-97.
NOTES FOR CHAPTER II

1. After the failure of the first revolutionary uprising in Canton in 1895, the Kwangtung provincial government offered rewards for the apprehension of Sun Yat-sen, one thousand taels, Yang Ch' u-yün, one hundred taels, Ch'en Shao-pai, one hundred taels, etc. HHKM, vol.1, pp.230-31.


3. Féng, ibid.

4. According to a secret society leader from Singapore, Teng Hung-shun, the four rebels went to Kuan Yin hill for a sight-seeing tour. They met a monk named Cheng An who was the secretary of Lin Tse-hsu, and advised them to contact secret societies for preparation of revolution. He gave them the names and addresses of the important leaders at home and abroad. See Huang Fu-luan, 'The Earliest Relations Between The Revolutionaries and Nanyang', in Ta Tung tsa chih, vol.1, pp.53-56.


7. Pai-lang t'ao-t'ien (Miyazaki Torazo), San-shih san-nien lo-hua mông, pp.68-78.

8. After the coup d'état in 1898, the Ch'ing government offered a reward of 140,000 taels (100,000 offered by the Empress Dowager, and 40,000 was offered by the acting viceroy of the Liang Kwang) for the heads of K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. Thus, when K'ang arrived in Singapore in February 1900, he was heavily protected by the local government, and K'ang was very suspicious of any stranger who approached him. According to a story published in the T'ien Nan Hsin Pao, before the departure of Miyazaki Torazo for Singapore, news leaked out that he could acquire a large sum of money after his Singapore trip. It was rumoured in Tokyo that Miyazaki was the assassin sent by the Ch'ing government to harm K'ang, and K'ang's friend in Tokyo had cabled Singapore before Miyazaki's arrival. C.Q. 273/256; The Straits Times, 8 March 1900; The T'ien Nan Hsin Pao, 7 September 1900, p.2.
9. J.A. Swettenham to J. Chamberlain, dated 26 July 1900, C 0 273/257.

10. Wong Siong-ngie (the fifth son of Dr Wong I-ek), interview on 8 October 1966 at his residence in Ipoh.


12. In that year, six leaders of the Triad and Ko Lao societies (the former had strong influence in Kwangtung and Fukien, and the latter was influential in the Yangtze valley) came to Hong Kong to join the Hsing Chung Hui for an uprising in south China, Sun was elected as their head (龍頭). Ch'en Shao-Pai, 'Hsing Chung Hui ko-ming shih yao', HHKM, vol.1, p.61; Feng Tzu-yu, ko-ming shih, vol.1, p.159; Feng Tzu-yu, i-shih, vol.1, p.110.


14. J.A. Swettenham to J. Chamberlain dated 26 July 1900, C 0 273/257, no.266.

15. Huang Nai-shang was born in 1848 in Min-ch'ing district of Fukien province. At a young age, he
became very fond of studies, but he had to help his father on the farm. He was converted to Christianity at the age of eighteen. In 1894 he passed the provincial examination and obtained his Chü-jên degree at forty-six. (*Hsing Pao*, 24 October 1894, p.5; 25 October 1894, p.8). Although he succeeded in the provincial examination, he did not become engrossed in Chinese classics. On the contrary, his attention was diverted to the political convulsion and foreign invasions of the nation. Later he was involved in the reform movement. He submitted eight petitions for reform when the movement was at its peak. After the coup d'état in 1898, he fled from Peking to Singapore. When Dr Sun came to Singapore to confer with K'ang Yu-wei, Huang visited Sun four times and was deeply impressed. Huang Nai-shang, *Autobiography*, Lin Sen, 'Biography of a Former Friend - Huang Chêng-Ch'ên', published in *The Souvenir of the Fiftieth Anniversary of Fuchow Farming of Sibu*, pp.96-100.

Huang was once the chief editor of the *Hsing Pao* in 1894, and he was the father-in-law of Dr Lim Boon-keng, and was the class-mate of Khoo Seok-wan, two leading intellectuals in Singapore during that time.
16. (continued)


18. Details of the Waichow Uprising can be seen in *WSNWH*, vol.1, pt.9, pp.550-92.

19. These leaders were Huang Foo, Huang Yao-t'ing, Têng Tzŭ-yü, Song Shao-tung, P'an-ên monk and Su Ping-yung. See Feng Tzu-yu, *i-shih*, vol.3, p.59; *A Directory of Waichow Chinese in Malaya*, pp.17-18; Kui Yün-chang, 'Biography of Têng Tzŭ-yü', *KMHLHCC*, pp.625-26; *WSNWH*, vol.1, pt.9, pp.484-86.

20. Huang Foo was an important leader of the Triad Society, and Huang Yao-t'ing was a member of it. Têng Tzŭ-yü had close relations with the secret societies in South Kwangtung. See Feng Tzu-yu, *i-shih*, vol.3, p.59; *A Directory of Waichow Chinese in Malaya*, pp.17-18.

21. According to the 1901 census of the Straits Settlements, Singapore had 164,041 Chinese out of total 228,555 population, which accounted for 71.8 per cent. Among the Chinese, 30,729 were Cantonese
21. (continued)
which was only second to the Fukien (59,117). See SSBB, 1907, pp.'p.13'; 1908, pp.'p.13'.

22. Fêng Tzŭ-yu, Hua-ch'iao ko-ming k'ai-kuo shih (thereafter k'ai-kuo shih), pp.72, 73, 75.


24. Ibid., p.41.

25. Chung Ho T'ang originated in Yokohama, Japan where a group of Chinese workers and members of the lower social group formed it as a club. It provided recreation and living quarters for the members. After Yu's arrival in Japan, he contacted the leaders of the club, Pao T'ang, Yang Shao-chia, to reform the club into a revolutionary affiliated organization. Fêng Tzŭ-yu, k'ai-kuo shih, pp.44-45.

26. K'ang arrived in Singapore at the beginning of February. See The Straits Times, 3 February 1900, p.3.

26a. About Khoo's life and his involvement in the Reform Movement in China can be referred to this volume p.50 and volume 2, pp.38-39.

26b. Three sources vary their dates of Lim Boon Keng's
26b. (continued)


26c. The Queen's Scholarships were founded by Sir Cecil C. Smith, then the Governor of the Straits Settlements, in 1885. Two scholarships were given every year from 1886 to 1905 (only one from 1906 to 1909) to those young British subjects in the Straits to further their university education in Britain. See Makepeace, W., Brooke, G.E. & Braddell, R.J.(ed.), One Hundred Years of Singapore (London, 1921), vol. 1, p.369.

26d. Several factors made him quite different from other English educated Straits-born Chinese and a willing reformist. According to one of his biographers, he
26d. (continued)

was embarrassed by two incidents which forced him to learn Chinese language and culture. One was that he was refused to be considered as a Chinese in Edinburgh by those Chinese students from China on the ground that he did not know Chinese language. The second was that he was embarrassed by a lecturer who asked him to translate a Chinese scroll, and he had to admit his ignorance of Chinese language. After returning to the Straits in 1893, Lim made effort to learn Mandarin and Cantonese, as well as Chinese culture. His China orientation was further consolidated by his marriage with Huang Tuan Chiung, daughter of Huang Nai-shang who was a reformist leader and the editor of the Hsing Pao in Singapore. Detail of Huang's life and his support to the reform movement can be referred to this volume pp. 21-22. See Khor Eng-hee, 'The Public Life of Dr. Lim Boon Keng' (an unpublished B.A. Honours thesis of the University of Singapore, 1958), pp.4,21-22.


26g. Both Lim Boon Keng and Khoo Seok-wan were members of the Board for the founding of Confucius' temples and modern Chinese schools. See 'A List of Founding Members of the Board for the Founding of Confucius' Temples and Modern Chinese Schools in Singapore', in the T'ien Nan Hsin Pao, 19 March 1902, p.1.; A Chinese
girl school named The Singapore Chinese Girl School was founded in 1899 under the initiative of Dr. Lim, Song Ong Siang, Tan Boo Liat and few other Straits-born Chinese leaders. Khoo Seok-wan donated S$3,000 to the funds of the school. See Khor Eng-hee, ibid., p.26.; Song Ong Siang, One Hundred Years' History of the Chinese in Singapore, pp.101, 236.


28. On the arrival of K'ang Yu-wei in Singapore at the beginning of February 1900 he was given full police protection. The house of Khoo Seok-wan in which he stayed was heavily guarded. The government of the Straits Settlements, on the instructions of the British Colonial Office in London, rejected the demand of the Acting Ch'ing Consul-General in Singapore, Lo Tsong-yao for his deportation. See Sir J. A. Swettenham to Chamberlain dated 7 February 1900; Despatch from C O to F O dated 13 March 1900. C O, 273/256.

29. In a notice issued by the Protector of Chinese of
29. (continued)

the Federated Malay States, Chinese merchants and gardeners were reminded not to harbour any revolution ary refugees of the Waichow Uprising. They were obliged to inform the protectorate or nearby police station of those suspects. See the T'ien Nan Hsin Pao, 15 April 1901, p.2.
30. Têng was born in the Kui Shan district of Kwangtung. He was an important figure in the Waichow Uprising. Because of his close relations with the local secret societies in Waichow, he was appointed by Dr Sun as the liaison officer between the Hsing Chung Hui and the secret societies. See Fêng Tzu-yu, i-shih, vol. 4, p.182; A Director of Waichow Chinese in Malaya, pp.17-18; Kui Yûn-chang, 'Biography of Têng Tzu-yü', KMHLC, pp.625-26.


32. It seemed that Huang did not get along with his partners very well in later years, for he advertised in a local Chinese newspaper to sell his share in March 1904. See the T'ien Nan Hsin Pao, 10 March 1904, p.3.

34. Chua Hui-seng, interview on 25 February 1965 at the T'ung Tê Reading Club, Singapore. When Yu founded a lecture hall in his clinic to preach Confucianism in March 1904, he addressed himself as the 'Owner of I Yeh Lou'. The T'ien Nan Hsin Pao, 1 March 1904, p.3.

35. According to Li Chung-chueh, there were more than three thousand registered prostitutes in China Town at the end of the nineteenth century. See Li Chung-chueh, The Topography of Singapore, p.12. Lat Pao, the leading Chinese newspaper in Singapore, reported the prevalence of armed fighting between secret societies in China Town. See Lat Pao, 30 October 1889, pp.1-2.

36. Huang Yao-t'ing was from Hsin An, Song Shao-tung from Nan Hai, Pan Ch'i monk from Ch'ing Yüan, Shu Ping-yung from Fan Yü, and Yu Lieh from Shun Tê. See Feng Tzŭ-yu, i-shih, vol.1, p.40; vol.3, p.59; WSNWH, vol.1, pt.9, p.476, 484-85.

37. Feng Tzŭ-yu, i-shih, vol.1, p.46.

38. Ibid., pp.41-42.

39. Feng Tzŭ-yu, k'ai-kuo shih, p.73.
40. In 1845, the Dutch authorities in the East-Indies took strict measures to suppress the 'Tantae Hue' (the Triad Society) which resulted in the substantial increase of secret society members in Singapore. Leon Comber, Chinese Secret Societies in Malaya, p.68.

41. Early in 1849, a Singapore Chinese, Ch' en Cheng-ch' eng who was employed in a British firm in Amoy, established a branch of the Triad Society to which he gave the name of The Dagger Society (剑会). The organization was soon joined by several thousand people and grew rapidly in strength. Although Ch'en was executed by the government in 1851 and was succeeded by a local Chinese named Huang Wei, the senior officers of the organization mainly came from Singapore. In 1853, a quarrel with the local officer sparked off a large-scale uprising, the rebels captured Amoy city and nearby districts. In the course of their uprising, the rebels received considerable supplies from Singapore. See Hsü K'o, Ch'ing-p'ai lei-ch'iao, p'ai 66, pp.13-14; Gustave Schlegel, Thian Ti Hui-The Hung League, p.6; Buckley, C.B., An Anecdotal History of Old Times in Singapore, Vol.2, p.580.

43. Yu, under the name of The Owner of I Yeh Lou, published a notice in the newspaper that a lecture hall was attached to his I Yeh Lou (A Lief Building) to preach Confucianism; speakers were to be invited to expound Confucius' teachings embodied in the Four Books. Lectures to be held twice a week (Sunday, 2.00-4.00 p.m., Wednesday, 7.00-9.00 p.m.) See the T'ien Nan Hsin Pao, 1 March 1904, p.3.


45. Ch' an Chan-mooi, 'A Brief Biography of Mr Too Nam', p.9, in Ch' an (ed.), Obituaries on Mr Too Nam.

46. The Chung Ho T'ang in Kuala Lumpur was called the Chung Ho Chiang T'ang. Ibid.

47. Fêng Tzŭ-yu, k'ai kuo shih, p.73.

48. Huang Po-yao and Huang Shih-chung were born in Fan Yü district of Kwangtung. They were brothers; Po-yao was the elder. After spending their youth in China, they left for South East Asia to earn their living.
They arrived in Kuala Lumpur where they took up appointments as clerks of gambling houses. When Khoo Seok-wan published the *T'ien Nan Hsin Pao* in Singapore for propagating the reformist cause, they were drawn into the movement. Fêng Tzŭ-yu, *i-shih*, vol.2, p.46. In May 1903 Huang Po-yao was promoted as one of the three assistant editors of the *T'ien Nan Hsin Pao*. Both of them contributed several articles to the reformist cause: such as 'On the Changeable Situation of the Chinese Reform', 'On the progress of People's Ideas' and 'On Disaster' by Shih Chung; 'On The Best Way to Remedy Calamities Is to Carry Out Reform', 'The Formula For China's Reform' and others by Pa-yao. See *T'ien Nan Hsin Pao*, 4 December 1902, 14 January, 18 May, 2 July, 10 July, 30 September, 2 October, 6 November 1903, p.2.

49. Fêng Tzŭ-yu, op. cit., p.73.

50. Sim was born in Chin Chiang district of Fukien province in 1873. Before he came to Malaya his brother had already established himself in business. This had laid a good foundation for his future success. Sim Mok-wu (son of Sim Hung-pek), interview on
50. (continued)
2 October 1966 at Pin Min School, Malacca; Shen Shih-lin, 'A Brief Biography of Mr Sim Hung-pek', p.1.


52. Tan's father, Tan Tai, came from Amoy, Fukien, whereas Teo's grandfather came from Jao P'ing district of Kwangtung. Fêng Tzŭ-yu, i-shih, vol.3, p.183; P'an Hsing-lung, A Directory of the Teochew in Malaya, p.158.

53. Tan was born in 1884 in Singapore. He inherited a large fortune from his father who was a successful businessman in the Straits Settlements. Tan also inherited a shop named Hup Chuan located at 327 Beach Road, dealing in timber and groceries. Teo was born in 1872 in Singapore. He was second generation Straits-born Chinese, for his father, Teo Lee, was born in Singapore too. Teo also inherited a considerable sum from his father. Tan Chor-nam, interview on 7 August 1966 at his residence in Singapore; Fêng Tzŭ-yu, i-shih, vol.3, p.183; P'an Hsing-lung (ed.), A Directory of the Teochew in Malaya, p.158; Song Ong Siang, One Hundred Years' History of The Chinese in Singapore, pp.33-34.


57. In a book list published in the *T'ien Nan Hsin Pao*, forty nine out of seventy four books for general reading were related to 'self-strengthening' and 'western knowledge' which the reformists had strongly advocated. See the *T'ien Nan Hsin Pao*, 2 September 1898, p.6; *Jih Hsin Pao*, 5 October 1899, p.2.


61. Lin Shou-chih was born in Teo An district, Kwangtung in 1876. His father went to Singapore when he was a youth, and was very successful in commercial ventures. Lin was brought up in China and, with two friends, was able to visit Hong Kong in 1894. He was introduced to Ch'en Shao-pai, one of the revolutionary leaders of the Hsing Chung Hui branch in Hong Kong. It is possible that he became devoted to revolution
61. (continued)

by this association. In 1895 he followed his father to Singapore. In 1902 his father died and left a considerable fortune to him. With wealth, Lin was able to purchase many revolutionary publications and later on took part in revolutionary activities. It was said that he was so deeply impressed by the famous revolutionary pamphlet - 'The Revolutionary Army' - that he could not read it without shedding tears. Anonymous, 'A Brief Biography of Mr Lin Shou-chih' (original manuscript), pp.1-2; 'A Biography of Mr Lin Shou-chih' in P'an Hsing-lung (ed.), A Directory of the Teochew in Malaya, p.107.

62. Lim, the nephew of Teo Eng-hock, was born in 1879 in Singapore. His father came to Singapore from his native district Ch'en Hai of Kwangtung, and ran a grocery shop at Beach Road. Lim became an orphan at the age of eight, and was brought up by his maternal grandparents (Teo Eng-hock's parents). He was both Chinese and English educated and this proved to be very valuable in his revolutionary activity. He worked as a shop assistant in Tan Chor-nam's shop at the age of seventeen. By his close associations with Teo and Tan, his revolutionary outlook was
62. (continued)
shaped and later became one of the important leaders of the T'ung Meng Hui in Singapore. See Chu Po-wei, A Biography of Lim Ngee-soon, pp.2-3; Feng Tzu-yu, i-shih, vol.1, p.249, KMHLHCC, p.629.

63. Other members of this small group of revolutionaries were Koh Soh-chew (Hsu Hsueh-ch'iu), Ch'en Yün-sheng and Shen Lien-fang. This group of revolutionaries either used their homes or a club known as 'Haiao T'ao Yuan' to discuss revolution. See Anonymous, 'A Brief Biography of Mr Lin Shou-chih' (original manuscript), p.2; Tan Chor-nam, 'Wan-ch'ing-yüan and the Chinese Revolution' (original copy), pp.1-2, also see WSNWH, vol.1, pt.11, p.534.

64. The imprisonment of Tsou and Chang for their writings was known as 'Su Pao Case'. From 27 May 1903 the Su Pao, a revolutionary newspaper in Shanghai, had continuously published Chang's 'In Refutation of K'ang Yu-wei' (康有為書) and Tsou's 'The Revolutionary Army'. The appearance of these two seditious revolutionary articles infuriated and frightened the Ch'ing authorities. With permission of the foreign powers, the government arrested Tsou
and Chang in the foreign concessions in Shanghai, and tried by all means to have them executed. The Ch'ing Government's attempt aroused strong criticism from local English and Chinese newspapers and was further complicated with infringement of the powers' extraterritorial rights in the foreign concessions. The Ch'ing Government eventually accepted the suggestions of the British Minister in Peking that the accused would be leniently punished. Thus, Tsou and Chang were convicted in the Shanghai court under the Shanghai Magistrate, Wang Mou-k'un on the 21st May 1904 and given sentences of two and three years' imprisonment respectively. Tsou died in prison on 3rd April 1905 after much sufferings. Chang was released on 29th June 1906 after slightly more than two years confinement. He was then escorted by the T'ung Meng Hui members from Shanghai to Tokyo where he took up the chief-editorship of the Min Pao. See Chang Huang-hsi, 'Su-pao-an shih-lu', and Chang Hsing-yen, 'Su-pao-an shih-mo chi-hsu', in HHKM., vol.1, pp.367-90.; Man-hua(T'ang Tseng-pi), 'T'ung-meng-hui shih-tai Min-pao shih-mo chi', in KMWH., vol.2, pp 79-81, see also HHKM. vol.2. pp.439-41.

The cable was published in the Kuo Min Jih Jih Pao,
65. (continued)
a revolutionary newspaper in Shanghai. See Kuo
Min Jih Jih Pao, 7 August 1903; Teo Eng-hock,
Nanyang and the founding of the Chinese Republic,
p.7; Tan Chor-nam, 'Wan-ch'ing-yüan and the Chinese
Revolution', WSNWH, vol.1, pt.11, p.53; Feng Tzu-yu,
tsù-chih shih, p.73.

66. After the coup d'état in 1898, the Chinese in
Singapore and Kuala Lumpur petitioned the Ch'ing
court (through the Tsungli Yamen) for the restora-
tion of the Emperor Kuang Hsü in November 1899.
The cable was sent by way of honouring the birthday
of the Empress Dowager Tz'ü Hsi (10 October in lunar
calendar), and, on the ground of her age, pressed
for the restoration of the Emperor. The petition
was not so radical as described by Song Ong Siang
as '... to the Tsung-li yamen intimating that the
reform party would do their best to bring the restoration
66. (continued)
of the Emperor. Later injudicious telegrams were to
the effect that the Chinese of Singapore would defend
the Emperor with their lives...'. See Jih Hsin Pao,
11 November, 13 November, 15 November, 17 November
1899, p.4; T'ien Nan Hsin Pao, 15 November, 16
November 1899, p.2; Song Ong Siang, One Hundred Years' History of The Chinese in Singapore, p.313.

67. Tan Chor-nam, interview on 7 August 1966 at his
residence in Singapore. Fêng Tzu-yu, ko-ming shih,
vol.2, p.105; Fêng Tzu-yu, i-shih, vol.1, p.129.

68. Ch'in was born in Changsa of Hunan province. Like
many other Chinese youths, he was first involved in
reform and then revolution. When the Shih Wu Hsueh
T'ang was founded by the reformists in Changsa in
1898, he was one of the prominent students of Liang
Ch'i-ch'iao, the lecturer of the Institution. Later,
Ch'in became a strong advocate of the reform movement.
After the coup d'état, Ch'in went to Japan to join
Liang in running the reformist organ - Ch'ing I Pao.
When China was in the turmoil of the Boxer Uprising,
Ch'in, with T'ang Ts'ai-ch'ang and other friends
planned an uprising in the Yangtze Valley known as
the Hankow Uprising. See Fêng Tzu-yu, i-shih, vol.1
p.128.
69. Ibid., p.131.

70. Letter from Ch'in Li-shan to Tan Chor-nam dated 21 June (lunar calendar?) 1905, in Fêng Tzu-yu, ko-ming shih, vol.2, pp.108-120.

71. Khoo was born in Hai Cheng district, Fukien in 1874. His father, Khoo Cheng-tiong came to Singapore with meagre means and gradually advanced to become one of the best known rice merchants in the settlement. Seok-wan was first left with his aunt in Macao, and later came to Singapore at the age of seven. He received private tuition at home, mainly on the Confucian classics. He went back to China to attend imperial examinations, and obtained his Chü-jen degree in 1894. When Khoo came back to Singapore in 1895 after his disillusionment with the Chinese bureaucracy, he became a prominent figure in the Chinese community in Singapore. He was one of the most renowned literary figures of his time in Southeast Asia, and became a leading personality in the literary circles in Singapore, and was invited to be the judge in the monthly literary competitions. In 1896, when Khoo escorted his father's body back to China for entombment, he toured widely in central
and north China where he met some prominent reformist leaders. When he returned to Singapore again in 1897, he was deeply committed to the reform movement. With the help of other progressive intellectuals like Dr Lim Boon-keng, he founded in 1898, the T'ien Nan Hsin Pao (Lim was the English editor of the newspaper) to advocate the movement. He contributed S$250,000 for the reformist uprising in Hankow in 1900. See Khoo Seok-wan, Wu-pai shih-tung-t'ien hui ch'en, vol.10, pp.18-19; Letter from Ho Tung to Khoo Seok-wan dated 2 January 1900 (original); Letter from K'ang Yu-wei to Khoo Seok-wan dated 18 October 1900 (lunar calendar?) (original); Khoo Ming-kuan (daughter of Khoo Seok-wan), interview on 4 and 9 September 1966 at her residence in Singapore; Feng Tzu-yu, ko-ming shih, vol.2, p.105.


73. In an article entitled 'On K'ang Yu-wei', which appeared in the T'ien Nan Hsin Pao, Khoo publicly denied he was a reformist, and denied he had once enjoyed close relations with K'ang. See the T'ien Nan Hsin Pao, 22 October 1901, pp.1-2.
The desertion of Khoo from the reformist camp had an inner story. After the failure of the Hankow Uprising in 1900, the Ch'ing government came to realize that some wealthy overseas Chinese merchants like Khoo, were supporting the rebellion. To discourage this development, the government put some of Khoo's relatives in China in jail, and instructed the Consul-General in Singapore to warn Khoo and Dr Lim Boon-keng of their involvements. Disillusioned with K'ang Yu-wei and threatened by the Manchu, Khoo finally gave way to government pressure, and confessed. By way of repentance, Khoo donated 10,000 taels for relief funds. Khoo's action was not only rewarded by a reprieve from the Ch'ing court, but also brought him the official title of 'Chu-shih' with fourth rank (宦部四級). See 'Despatch from the Viceroy of Liang-Kwang to the Consul-General Lo in Singapore' (this despatch was reprinted in the T'ien Nan Hsin Pao on 4 April 1901); 'Letters from Khoo Seok-wan to the Viceroy of Liang-Kwang, T'ao Mu' (reprinted in the T'ien Nan Hsin Pao on 13 April, 23 October 1901); Ta-ch'ing tê-tsung ching-huang-ti shih-lu, vol.486, pp.6-7; Khoo Ming-kuan, interview on 4 September 1966 at her residence in Singapore.
These few pamphlets were "The war record of the Taiping army", "Ten days of Yang Chou" and "Yüan-chūn yüan-ch'én". The first pamphlet was published in Tokyo in 1894, the year when the first revolutionary party—the Hsing Chung Hui was founded. The other two were actually reprints of two banned works written by Wang Hsiu-ch'u (about him and his 'Ten days of Yang Chou' can be referred to pp.56-57) and Huang Tsung-hsi, a well-known Ming loyalist and a leading political thinker of his time. These reprints were produced in Yokohama by Fêng Ching-ju, the chairman of the local Hsing Chung Hui branch and a proprietor of a printing shop. They were published after the failure of the Canton Uprising in 1895, and became the most important propaganda material of the Hsing Chung Hui. The Pamphlet of 'Yüan-chūn yüan-ch'én' was only selection of part of Huang Tsung-hsi's Ming-yi tai-fang-lu (A Plan for the Prince) and its name is a combination of titles of two articles, Yüan-chūn (On Monarch) and Yün-ch'én (On Minister), in the Ming-yi tai-fang-lu. In these articles, Huang launched fierce attack on the prevailing autocratic system. Like other Confucian scholars, he used the legendary and ideal political system under
the ancient sages like Yao and Shun to disapprove the prevailing system. Huang argued that the main source of trouble between the ruler and the ruled was selfishness of monarch who considered whole nation and populace were his property to be inherited by his descendants, and worked to the utmost to his own interest at the expense of his subjects. His emphasis on the ruler's responsibility to the interests of people is certainly not new to the Confucian tradition. Both Mencius and Hsun-tzū, two great exponents of Confucius' teaching, emphasized very much on people's right (Mencius had said: 'The people are the most important element in the nation; the spirits of the land and grain are next; the Prince is the last'. Hsun-tzū had made an interesting analogy that 'The Prince is the boat, and the people are the water. The water can support the boat or capsize it.'

Huang's reassertion of this democratic element of Confucianism was important when it was no longer observed by the Ming monarchs. Nevertheless, the revolutionaries drew upon Huang's ideas to the support of their activities (this is very similar to the use of Confucius as the Reformer
These few pamphlets were 'The War Record of the T'áip'ing Army' (太平軍戰紀), 'Ten days of Yang Chou' and 'Yüan-ch'ün yüan-ch'ên'. All of them were published in Japan. See Fêng Tzŭ-yu, i-shih, vol.3, p.150.

Ibid., p.147.

Ibid., pp.152-54.


Chou not only classed the Manchu as barbarians who were uncivilized and savage, and an inferior race, but also described the Manchu emperors as villains and rascals. The Empress Dowager Tz'ŭ Hsi was likened to a prostitute. Ibid., pp.343-48.


Chen Mong Hock, The Early Chinese Newspapers of Singapore, 1881-1912, p.82.
83. According to Tan Chor-nam, most Chinese in Singapore were very conservative at that time. Whenever they heard of 'Ko Ming' (revolution), they regarded those who preached it or adhered to it as traitors. Tan thus felt that one of the most urgent tasks was to publish a newspaper to awaken the general public. See Tan Chor-nam, 'Wan-ch'ing-yüan and the Chinese Revolution', WSNWH, vol.1, pt.11, p.534.


85. The original paper of the Thoe Lam Jit Poh appears no longer to exist. I have been searching for it in Singapore, Malaysia, England, America, Hong Kong and Taiwan, but all attempts have proved unsuccessful. This proclamation was fortunately reproduced in the T'ien Nan Hsin Pao; it was written by Yu Lieh under a pen name 'Wu Hsing Chi Tzu'. See the T'ien Nan Hsin Pao, 21 January 1904, p.2.

86. Teo gave an example that Ch'en Kang, the holder of a Chin-shih degree, came to Singapore to seek financial aid from his relatives and friends because he was interested in a Tao-t'ai post for which he had to pay more than ten thousand taels. See Teo Eng-hock, op. cit., pp.105-106.

88. Tan Chor-nam, interview on 7 August 1966 at his residence in Singapore; Fêng Tzŭ-yu, k'ai-kuo shih, p.76.

89. In old Chinese society, those who disregarded the traditions or rebelled against the established order were usually referred to as "君父無 " (no respect for the Emperor and for their fathers). They often suffered ostracization and victimization.


91. In his memoir, Teo Eng-hock put the figure of initial circulation up to 10,000. This may not be reliable, for no Chinese newspaper published in Singapore and Malaya before 1911 exceeded 2,000 circulation. In an interview with Tan Chor-nam, he recalled that there were 2,000 copies printed in the first three days, whereas Tan in his memoirs put the figure at 1,000. It seems quite likely that the newspaper printed 2,000 copies for a few days, and then reduced to 1,000. Ibid., Tan Chor-nam, interview on 7 August 1966 at his residence in Singapore; 'Wan-ch'ing-yüan and the Chinese Revolution', WSNWH, vol.1, pt.11, p.534; SSBB, 1911, GG2.
92. Teo Eng-hock, op. cit., p. 87.

93. Some couplets and poems were connected with the spread of revolutionary ideas. For instance, the topic of the first couplet contest was 'Let us boldly plan a restoration to pacify North and South (China), while we struggle to read in the evening papers of the Russo-Japanese War'. (壯圖光復安南北，晚報爭著門日俄). Ibid., p. 90.

94. See the illustration; Feng Tzu-yu, k'ai-kuo shih, p. 76.

95. Ibid.

96. According to Teo, when the floating capital of the newspaper ran out, its only assets were the printing machines and account books. The manager, Lin Ts'ai-ta, avoided the staff because he was unable to pay their salaries. Tan Chor-nam in his memoir declared that they had spent more than thirty thousand dollars (Straits) within the two years on the newspaper. See Teo Eng-hock, op. cit., p. 89; Tan Chor-nam, 'Wan-ch'ing-yüan and the Chinese Revolution', WSNWH, vol. 1, pt. 11, p. 536.

97. The youths were Wu Chin-ming, Liu Ling-ts'ang, Wu Tung-shêng, Wu Chin-piao and Hsiao Chu-i. See Lin
97. (continued)


98. Members of secret societies who joined the organization were Yü T'ung, Yü Chi-cheng, Yü I-yan, Ch'en Yung-po, Hsueh Chin-fu, Wu Huan-chang and Lin Hsi-hsia. These people later became the main figures in the First and Second Ch'ao Chou Revolts in 1907. Ibid.; Lin Fêng-wên and Liu Po-ch'iu, 'The Huang Kang Uprising in 1907 and the Chinese Revolutionaries in Southeast Asia', WSNWH, vol.1, pt.13, p.60; also see the original manuscript kept in K.M.T. Archives in Taichung; Fêng Tzŭ-yu, i-shih, vol.3, pp.265-75.


100. In 1884, America enacted an Exclusion Law against Chinese coolies for ten years. When the law expired in 1894, it was extended for another twenty years. When the third expiry in 1904 was ended, instead of abolishing it, more rigid regulations were adopted to restrict Chinese activities in America. These
consecutive acts provoked ill-feeling among the Chinese in America. In September 1904 a meeting of representatives from various Chinese communities throughout America was held in San Francisco, resolutions were passed to send petitions to Tsungli Yamen (Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Ministry of Commerce and the Ch'ing Consul-General to the United States seeking intervention. But all these attempts met with failure. The American government, instead of giving way, sent a new consul, Mr Rockhill to exert pressure on the Ch'ing government. This infuriated the Chinese people both at home and abroad to such an extent that clamouring crowds shouted for boycott against American goods.


102. There were two letters left by Feng; one was for the American Consul-General in Shanghai, and the other for the public. In the latter, he urged all Chinese to boycott American goods until the unreasonable Exclusion Law was abolished. He said he sacrificed
102. (continued)

himself in order to show to the Americans that
Chinese people were determined to rise against it.
See Ting Yu, 'The 1905 Anti-American Movement in
Kwangtung', in CTSTL, no.5, p.32.

103. This official action of requiring Yu's absence
in the meeting is not found in the Annual Report
(1905) of the Protector of Chinese, W.D. Barnes.
But in the Governor's despatches to the Colonial
Office in London, Sir John Anderson mentioned that
the leaders of the movement were warned that they
would be held responsible for any violence as result
of their agitations. See Fêng Tzŭ-yu, k'ai-kuo shih,
p.76.; Report of W.D. Barnes, Secretary for Chinese
Affairs, in SSADR (1905), p.633.; Sir John Anderson
to the Earl of Elgin of the Colonial Office dated
26 December 1905, in SSGD. 122/1905.

104. There is a great discrepancy concerning this event
between Chinese and English records. According to
Chinese (mainly Fêng Tzŭ-yu), there was a British
cargo ship carrying American goods arrived in
Singapore at the end of 1905. The Chinese dockyard
coolies who were in sympathy with the movement,
refused to unload it. The Protector of Chinese
approached Ho K'uan, an interpreter of the Chinese Protectorate to tackle the problem. Ho told him if he could get Tan and Teo to mediate, the problem would be solved. Thus, the Protector invited them to his office to sign a notice persuading the coolies to go back to work. (See Feng, k'ai-kuo shih, pp.76-77) This event of Chinese dockyard coolies refusing to unload American goods from a British cargo ship is not found in English sources. In his Annual Departmental Report for 1905, the Protector of Chinese, W.D. Barnes, only briefly mentioned that 'An attempt was made to induce the Tanjong Pagar hands to refuse to work upon the repairs of an American ship but collapsed immediately upon my interviewing the fore-men' (See Report of W.D. Barnes, Secretary for Chinese Affairs, in SSADR, 1905, p.633). The same record is found also in Song Ong Siang's work (See Song Ong Siang, One Hundred Years' History of Chinese in Singapore, pp.375-76).

After comparing and analysing the conflicting records, I incline to accept the English records, for the report of the Protector of Chinese was written in the year when the event was occurred,
104. (continued)
and Song Ong Siang's work was based mainly on the English newspapers published in that period. However, Feng Tzü-yu's work was written in 1944-45 nearly forty years after the event, and was based mainly on interviews of those revolutionary leaders who participated in the event. It is possible that these persons may have made mistakes in details of events and dates.


NOTES FOR CHAPTER III

1. In the spring of 1902, when rumour spread that the Manchu government would cede Kwangtung Province to France, a group of Cantonese students in Japan led by Chêng Kuan-i, Wang Ch'ung-hui and Feng Tzŭ-yu took the initiative to form the organization which was strongly supported by Dr Sun Yat-sen. See Feng Tzŭ-yu, i-shih, vol. 1, p.146.

2. In the winter of 1903, a group of radical students led by Yeh Lan, Chang Chi and others formed the organization to preach nationalism and destruction. See Feng Tzŭ-yu, tsu-chih shih, p.61.

3. This organization was the successor of the 'Ch'ing Nien Hui'. The founders were Yeh Lan, Tung Hung-wei and others. It was strongly anti-Manchu in its outlook. See Feng Tzŭ-yu, i-shih, vol. 1, pp.162-66.

4. This organization was founded by Chang Ping-lin, Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei and Wu Ching-hêng, the three famous revolutionary writers and educationists of the time. The purpose was to reform Chinese educational system and to supply appropriate text books. Ibid., p.170.
5. In 1903, there was a student movement in the Nanyang School at Shanghai in protest against the prohibition on students in discussing politics. The leaders of the movement who were dismissed, sought help from the 'Chung Kuo Chiao Yü Hui'. As a result, a new school 'Ai Kuo Hsueh Shê' was set up for these students. Ibid., pp.170-75.

6. Jih Chih Hui was one of the two main revolutionary organizations founded in Wuchang. It paid all its attention to spreading revolutionary ideas among armies. See Chang Nan-hsien, 'Jih-chih-hui shih-mo', in HHKM, vol. 1., p.555.

7. This organization was originally founded by a group of Hunanese students in Japan in the spring of 1904. The leaders were Huang Hsing, Liu K'uei-i and Ch'en T'ien-hua. In the summer of the same year, most of these leaders went back to Hunan and set up their headquarters in Changsha, the capital of the province. See Fêng Tzǔ-yu, Tsu-chih shih, pp.85-86.

8. Kuang Fu Hui was the successor of the Ch'ing Nien Hui and the Chun Kuo Min Chiao Yü Hui, and mainly composed of the members from the Chekiang and Anhwei Provinces. Later, it became one of the component parts of the
8. (continued)
T'ung Meng Hui in 1905. Its leaders were Chang Ping-lin, Ts'ai Yuan-pei and T'ao Ch'eng-chang. See Fêng Tzü-yu, i-shih, vol.5, pp.61-75, see also HHKM, vol.1, pp.515-20.


9a. It seems obvious that the year of extinction of Chinese rule reckoned by these revolutionaries was 1662, the year when the regime of last king of Ming royal family, Kuei Wang (this should be differenciated from the last Ming emperor Ch'ung Chen) fell, rather than 1644 which is commonly accepted as the year of Manchu conquest in China. This discrepancy arises from the fact that several regimes were established by Ming princes in South China to offer resistance to the Manchu conquest after the fall of Peking in 1644. The first regime under Fu Wang was installed at Nanking in June 1644 to claim succession to the befallen dynasty, but it only lasted for a year. Soon after the fall of the Nanking regime in June 1645, three other Ming princes were installed respectively in Chekiang (Nu Wang), Fukien (T'ang Wang) and Kwangtung (Kuei Wang) provinces. Kuei Wang's regime seemed to be
9a. (continued)
the most successful, it mobilized a large number
of people behind it, and controlled a great part
of South-west of China at its zenith. Owing to
the lack of well-trained troops, arms and ammunition
and co-operation, these regimes were wiped out by
Ch'ing troops one after another. Eventually, Kuei
Wang's regime fell and he was put to death in 1662.
See Meng Shen, Ch'ing-tai shih (A History of Ch'ing,

9b. Feng Tzu-yu, op.cit., vol.1, pp.84-89.

10. Some historians suggested that Hung was not the
nephew but the third younger brother of Hung Hsiu-
ch'uan, the leader of the Taiping Rebellion. It
was said Ch'üan-fu followed the Taiping troops
fighting through Kwangsi, Hunan, Hupei, Kiangsi
to Nanking, the capital of the Taiping regime. He
was bestowed by Hung Hsiu-ch'üan with one of the
highest titles, 'Ying Wang'. After the overthrow
of the Taiping regime, he fled to Hong Kong where
he became a cook in a European ship for nearly
forty years. See Ch'en Ch'un-sheng, 'Jen-yin
Hung Ch'üan-fu kwang-chow ch'i-i chi', HHKM, vol.1,
pp. 315-17., see also CKYK, vol. 5, pt.2.

13. The T'ung Meng Hui was created from the Hsing Chung Hui, the Hua Hsing Hui, the Kuang Fu Hui and others. See Chun-tu Hsueh, Huang Hsing and The Chinese Revolution, pp.45-46.

14. The six principles of the T'ung Meng Hui were: to overthrow the present evil government, to establish a republican form of government, to nationalize the land, to maintain the peace of the world, to promote cooperation between the people of China and Japan, and to urge other nations to support China's renovation. In the statute of the T'ung Meng Hui, the basic ideas of Dr Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles: nationalism, democracy and socialism were adopted as the party's main platforms. See Hu Han-min, 'Six Main Principles of the Min Pao', in Min Pao, No. 3, pp.7-21; Woo, T.C., The Kuomintang and the Future of the Chinese Revolution, p.26; 'The Statute of China's T'ung Meng Hui', KMWH, vol. 2, p.98.


18. Teo Eng-hock in his memoir recalled that when the calendar printed by the *T'ien Nan Jih Pao* reached Honolulu, Dr Sun was struck by this new venture and its beautiful design. Sun sent $US20.00 to obtain twenty copies of it. See Teo Eng-hock, *Nanyang and the Founding of the Chinese Republic*, pp.2-3, 8; Tan Chor-nam, 'Wan-ch'ing-yüan and the Chinese Revolution', *WSNWH*, vol. 1, pt.11, p.535.


21. In the letter, Dr Sun stated that he would first find out the situation in Japan to decide the direction. Once a correct direction was adopted, he would come to Singapore to enlist comrades. See 'Letter from Dr Sun Yat-sen to Tan Chor-nam dated 7 July 1905', *KFCGS*, pp.362-63; see also Feng Tzŭ-yu, *ko-ming shih*, vol. 2, p.115.

22. Better known as Bin Chan House at the Tai Gin Road off Balestier Road in Singapore.

24. There is some controversy about the founding date of the Singapore T'ung Mêng Hui. Most records place it at the end of 1905, these include Fêng Tzŭ-yu's works, and also the memoirs of the two leaders of the branch, Teo Eng-hock and Tan Chor-nam. But in recent years, a list of the members of the branch for 1905 to 1906 came to light. It shows that most of the earliest members were registered on 6 April 1906 (13 March in the lunar calendar). In their memoirs, Teo Eng-hock claimed that the branch was founded in the middle of July of the I Ssu year (乙未年, middle of August 1905) and Tan Chor-nam put it at the end of 1905. We may point out here that the date given by Teo is mistaken, for the branch in Singapore could not have been established earlier than the headquarters in Tokyo (20 August 1905). Tan did not give concrete evidence to support his claim of the date, and his recollection of this event was after approximately thirty-five years (on the 1 January 1941, Tan gave a speech in Singapore about the Wan Ching Yüan and the Chinese Revolution, and it was recorded as his memoir) thus, he probably made a mistake. Moreover, it seems unlikely for Tan and Teo to have founded the branch at the end of 1905 and register their names on 6 April 1906. Therefore
24. (continued)

it is reasonable to accept 6 April 1906 as the founding date of the Singapore T'ung Mêng Hui branch. See Teo Eng-hock, op.cit., p.10; Tan Chor-nam, op.cit., \textit{WSNWH} vol. 1, pt.11, p.537; 'A List of the Members of the Early Period of the China's T'ung Mêng Hui', in \textit{KMWH}, vol. 2, pp.73-74.

25. Both Tan Chorn-nam and Teo Eng-hock claimed that the founders were only three, they themselves and Li Chu-ch'ih. But according to the list, twelve more members were registered on the same date with them. \textit{Ibid}.


27. This remark was made by Yü Chün and Wang Yung-ho, the two Chinese emissaries who toured Southeast Asia in 1887. See 'Memorial of Chang Chih-tung to the Court dated 8 December 1887' (based on the report of Yu and Wang) in Wang Chin-ch'ing (ed.) \textit{Chang Wên-hsiang kung ch'üan-chi}, vol. 1, pp.471-72.

28. Compared with other revolutionary newspapers in Southeast Asia, the \textit{Thoe Lam Jit Poh} was apparently the earliest. Although the \textit{Yang Kuang Hsin Pao} was
28. (continued)

also published in the same year, it did not become a revolutionary organ until 1905. In Thailand, the Hua Hsuan Jih Pao was published in 1905. In Dutch East-Indies, the earliest revolutionary newspapers, Min To Pao and Ssu Ping Jih Pao appeared in 1908.

See Feng Tzu-yu, k'ai-kuo shih, pp.52, 96; Feng, i-shih, vol. 3, pp.142-44.

29. See Chapter II.

30. The accusation was made by Teh Lay-seng, a prominent revolutionary leader, and the Chairman of the T'ung Meng Hui branch in Perak. See Teh Lay-seng, 'Hua-ch'iao ko-ming chih ch'ien-yin hou-kuo', in Huang Ching-wan (ed.) Nan-yang p'ili hua-ch'iao ko-ming shih-chi, p.3.


32. Ibid.

33. The Federated Malay States consisted of Perak, Selangor, Pahang and Negri Sembilan, all of them were British Protectorates.

34. See Chapter II.
35. Too had been in Honolulu for three years teaching Cantonese and Chinese to local American officers. During that time, Dr Sun Yat-sen was also in Honolulu, studying in a local English school. Sun knew Too quite well, and used to consult Too on Chinese classics. It was said that Too advised Sun either to become a good statesman or be a good medical practitioner (不為良相則為良医). See Ch'an Chan-mooi, 'A Short Biography of Mr Too Nam', pp.2-3, in Ch'an Chan-mooi (ed.), Obituaries on Mr Too Nam; Miss Too, T.M. (granddaughter of Too Nam) interview on 7 October 1966 in Kuala Lumpur.

36. Too was a tuitor of the Protector of Chinese of the Federated Malay States, and his son, Too Kwun-hung also taught the local officers Cantonese. Miss Too, T.M., interview on 7 October 1966 in Kuala Lumpur.

37. Ch'en Ch'i-yüan, 'Mr P'êng Tsê-min and the Revolutionary Activities of the Overseas Chinese in Kuala Lumpur before and after the 1911 Revolution', in HHKMHIL, vol.1, p.395.

38. Têng Mu-han, 'Dr Sun Yat-sen's visit to Kuala Lumpur in 1906' (original text kept in the KMT Archives in Taichung, Taiwan) p.1.
39. This league was founded on 28 March 1905 by a group of Chinese Christians under the leadership of P'eng Tse-min. It was attached to the church, but its main purpose was to spread revolutionary doctrines. See The Sun Pao, 8 April 1910, p.7; Ch'en Ch'i-yu'an, op.cit., in HHKMHIL, vol. 1, pp.392-93.

40. See 'A List of the Members of the Early Period of the China's T'ung Meng Hui' in KMWH, vol. 2, pp.70-72; Ch'an Chan-mooi, 'A Short Biography of Mr Too Nam', pp.6-10, in Ch'an (ed.) The Obituraies on Mr Too Nam; Miss Too, T.M., interview on 7 October 1966 in Kuala Lumpur; Yuen Si-foon (son of Yuen Hing-wan) interview on 6 October 1966 in Kuala Lumpur.

41. Ch'an was born in 1875 in his native district of Shun Te. His grandfather, Ch'an Siu-shi committed suicide after the failure of a revolutionary movement in 1854. His father, Ch'an Sing-cheong first fled to America, and then settled in Kuala Lumpur to engage in tin-mining. Ch'an came to join his father at the age of seventeen. After his father's death, he inherited a fortune and carried on mining ventures. When Yu Lieh came to Kuala Lumpur to set up the Chung Ho T'ang branch, Ch'an joined it as an important member. From then on, he closely associated with the revolutionary
41. (continued)

movement. See 'A Brief Biography of Mr Ch'an Chan-mooi', pp.3-12, in Ch'an Chan-mooi (ed.) The Obituaries on Mr Too Nam, Appendix.

42. Loke was born in Penang in 1871. He was a Shun Te Cantonese, and was both Chinese and English educated. He went to Kuala Lumpur and worked as a supervisor of mining. He was a successful merchant. Loke Yaik-chee (son of Loke Chow-thye, age 71) interview on 6 October 1966 in Kuala Lumpur. Regarding Wang Ch'ing, Teo Eng-hock claimed that Wang was the chairman of the branch. See Teo Eng-hock, Nanyang and the Founding of the Chinese Republic, p.15.

43. In 1905, the population of Perak was 400,000, 200,000 of them were Chinese, and approximately 160,000 were Malays. The Chinese mainly stayed in the urban areas. See 'Reports on the Federated Malay States for 1905', CD, 3186, p.30.

44. Teo Eng-hock, op.cit., p.15.

45. Foo Chee-choon, alias Hu Kuo-lien, was born in the Yung Ting district of Fukien province. At the age of thirteen, he followed his father to Malaya, and was educated in Penang. Later, he went into tin-mining
ventures, and was very successful in the business. He established his headquarters at Lahat (a town approximately five miles from Ipoh) where he found a very rich tin deposit. He was so successful in the tin-mining that he was addressed as the 'King of Tin-mining', and was appointed as a member of Perak State Council to represent the Chinese mining community. Like other rich Chinese merchants, Foo had close relations with the Ch'ing government. He held an important title 'Yen Yun Shih with Feather' (花翎運使). In 1906, in expressing his loyalty to the Manchu, he donated S$10,000 to the 'National Fund', and was recommended by the Governor-General of Liang-Kwang for an award. Foo Yin-fong (grandnephew of Foo Chee-choon) interview on 9 October 1966, at his residence in Ipoh; Anonymous, 'A Short Biography of Foo Chee-choon', in K'ê Chia, p.570; 'Report on the Federated Malay States for 1905', CD., 3186, pp.25, 30; Lat Pao, 16 April 1906, p.3.

Goh was born in 1875 in Penang. His grandfather was a native of Hai Ch'eng district of the Fukien province, and came to Penang to engage in commercial activities. His father, Goh Yu-chai was born in Penang, and ran a shop named Swee Hock manufacturing flour and matches. Thus, when his father passed away, Goh inherited a large fortune at a young age. Mrs Goh Say-eng, interview on 14 October 1966 in Penang; Wu Tee-jen, 'In Memory of an Old Comrade-Goh Say-eng' (manuscript), p.3.

Fêng Tzŭ-yu, k'ai-kuo shih, p.87.

'Letter from Dr Sun Yat-sen to Tan Chor-nam dated 30 September 1905', in KFCS, p.399.

Ibid.

Ch'en Ch'i-yüan, op.cit., in HHKMHTL, vol. 1, p.396.

In 1907, when Dr Sun paid his third visit to Malaya, he sent Wang Ching-wei to Ipoh to found the T'ung Mêng Hui branch. See Teo Eng-hock, op.cit., p.15.

The Kuala Pilah branch was founded on 21 December 1907 by Wang Ching-wei and Têng Tzŭ-yu. Têng Tsê-ju was elected as the Chairman of the branch. See Têng Tsê-ju, Chung-kuo kuo-min-tang erh-shih nien shih-chi, pp.1-2.
54. The Kuantan branch was founded in April 1908 with twelve members. Loke Chow-lo, a tin miner, was elected as the chairman, and Huang Ta-kuan was his deputy. "Report of the Kuantan branch of the T'ung Meng Hui dated 21 April 1908" (see the original report kept by Mr Lim Eng-kuan, grandson of Lim Ngee-soon).


56. After the demise of the Thoe Lam Jit Poh, printing machines and other equipment left were worth approximately $S10,000. Using these as their capital, Tan Chor-nam and Teo Eng-hock partnered with Tan Hun-ch'iu, Chu Tzu-p'ei and Shen Lien-fang to start the Union Times. See Feng Tzu-yu, k'ai-kuo shih, p.78.

57. The Union Times, under the influence of Tan Chor-nam and Teo Eng-hock, maintained publishing editorials criticising the Manchu government despite the warnings given by Tan Hun-ch'iu. At the beginning of 1906, only several months after the first appearance of the newspaper, Tan suggested to separate the partnership by drawing lots. As a result, Tan and Chu controlled the newspaper and refunded Tan and Teo's shares. See Feng Tzü-yu, ko-ming shih, vol. 2, p.121.


60. Fêng Tzu-yu, k'ai-kuo shih, p. 84.

61. It implied that the Chinese would restore their rule in China.

62. Hu Han-min (recorded by Chang Chen-chih) 'Nanyang and the Chinese Revolution' (original text kept in the KMT Archives in Taichung, Taiwan) pp. 1-2; see also WSNWH, vol. 1, pt. 11, p. 458.

63. Chung Hsing Jih Pao, 20 August 1907, p. 2.

64. Ibid., 29 August 1907.

65. Chü Cheng, a revolutionary leader of the T'ung Meng Hui, spent fifty days in Singapore helping the Chung Hsing Jih Pao to fight against the Union Times. The position he held was assistant editor. Shortly afterwards, he left Singapore for Rangoon to take up a new appointment as the chief editor of the Kuang Hua Jih Pao, the revolutionary organ in Burma. See Chü Chêng, Mei-ch'uan p'u-chieh, p. 42.

66. T'ien T'ung, alias T'ien Tzŭ-ch'in, was a native of Hupei. He was educated in the Hupei Ordinary School (湖北普通学堂) and was revolutionary orientated during
his school days. He had a close relationship with the Hunanese revolutionary leader, Sung Chiao-jen. He went to Japan to pursue further studies after he was expelled from his native province, and became active among the students. T'ien was one of the foundation members of the T'ung Meng Hui in August 1905, and was elected to the Censor Committee. He was also active in revolutionary propaganda activities, he contributed many articles to the Min Pao and other revolutionary newspapers and magazines. In 1907, he was recommended to fill the chief editorship of the Chung Hsing Joh Pao in Singapore. See Hsia Ching-kuan, 'A Brief Biography of T'ien T'ung', in KSKKK, vol. 1, no. 13; Feng Tzu-yu, i-shih, vol. 2, pp.159-70.

67. Wang Fu, alias Wang Fu-chûn, was a native of Kwangtung. He was born into a rich and bureaucratic family. In 1901, he acquainted himself with revolutionary leaders in Hong Kong, and joined the T'ung Meng Hui at the end of 1905. He devoted most of his time in publishing revolutionary newspapers and magazines. See Chou Lu, 'A Brief Biography of Wang Fu', in KMHLHCC, pp.636-37.

69. See Chapter VI, note 39.


71. Lung-tâng, 'Yang Shih-ch'i is not yet the First Class Traitor', ibid., 16 January 1908, p.2.

72. Ibid., 6 September 1907, p.2.

73. Ibid., 7 September 1907, p.2.


76. Hundreds and thousands of this petition were printed by local revolutionaries for free circulation in Perak. See Chung Hsing Jih Pao, 9 January 1908, p.2., 10 January 1908, p.2.

77. Min Pao, No. 19, pp.61-66.

Since the destruction of the Chinese Fleet (北洋艦隊) in the Sino-Japanese War in 1895, China had been vulnerable in its coastal defence. In July 1909, the Manchu government decided to re-equip her navy with modern warships, and appointed Tsai Hsün and Sa Chênping, two high-ranking officials, as the ministers responsible for re-establishing a navy. It also decided that an estimated expenditure of 18,000,000 taels and annual maintenance of 2,000,000 taels on the navy should be shared by the provincial governments. These decisions invited strong attacks from the revolutionaries. The authors in the Sun Pao attacked that the expenditures on the navy would become the source of poverty of China and Chinese people, for the provincial governments would levy heavy taxes on the people. Ibid., 15 September 1909, p.2., 22 October 1909, p.2., 25 October 1909, p.2; Anonymous, Chung-kuo chin-tai-shih shih-chi, p.330.

In August 1909, the Japanese government took the unilateral action to construct the An-Feng Railway and to change the railroad which had infringed the Treaty with China. This action flared up a nation-wide
81. (continued)
boycott movement against the Japanese goods. But it was suppressed by the Manchu government. This capitulating policy was under fierce attack in the revolutionary newspapers in Singapore. See The Sun Pao, 21 September 1909, p.2., 22 September 1909, p.2; Kuo T'ing-yü, Chung-kuo chin-tai shih-shih jih-chih, vol. 2., p.1335.


83. Ibid., 19 November 1908, p.1.


85. The Sun Pao, 13 October 1909, p.2.

86. Ibid.

87. See Note 37.

88. Tang Wu was the founder of the Shang Dynasty, who rose against the tyrant of the Hsia Dynasty, Emperor Chieh (桀). Tang Wu's revolt had been considered by Chinese historians as the first revolution ever to occur in Chinese history.
85. **The Sun Pao**, 13 October 1909, p.2. The analogy of a nation to a share-company was also employed by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in his speech in Kuala Lumpur in 1906 (see volume 1, p.82 and note 37). This analogy may indicate certain degree of Chinese merchants' awareness of the nature of Western share-company.


88. T'ang was the founder of the Shang dynasty, who rose against and succeeded in overthrowing the tyrant Emperor Chieh of the Hsia dynasty. T'ang's revolt had been considered by many Chinese historians as the first revolution ever to occur in Chinese history.
89. Yo Fei was a famous general fighting against the Chin (金) the invaders from the Northeast. Yo had been a popular image among the Chinese as a national hero.


94. Ibid., pp.150-54.

96. I have been unable to read the original pamphlet of the Revolutionary Martyr Feng. Checking through names of revolutionary martyrs in pre-1911 period contained in full exhaustive collection of biographies on revolutionary martyrs entitled Ko-ming hsien-lieh hsien-chin chuan (Biographies of Revolutionary Martyrs and Leaders), I can not find any martyr by the surname of Feng either. I suspect this may be referred to Feng Hsia-wei, the Philippino Chinese who committed suicide in front of the American Consulate in Shanghai in 1905 in protest against the Exclusion Law imposed by the government of the United States on Chinese immigrants. His action aroused considerable nationalistic and anti-foreign feelings among his compatriots. Thus, he might be considered by revolutionaries as one of their martyrs although he did not die for the revolutionary cause.

97. Ch'en, with another student, Yang To-sheng, founded two magazines to introduce Western political philosophy and democracy. See Sun Chih-fang, 'The Patriotic and Revolutionary Ideas of Ch'en T'ien-hua', in HHKMLWC, vol. 2, p.376.

98. In October 1903, when Russia refused to withdraw
98. (continued) her troops from Manchuria, Ch'en was furious with
grief that he used his blood (bitten from his
fingers) to write an open letter to call for
resistance. See Tsou Lu, 'A Brief Biography of
Ch'en T'ien-hua, in _KMHLHCC_, pp.30-31; Feng Tzŭ-yu,
_i-shih_, vol.2, p.129.

99. Ch'en T'ien-hua, 'Sudden Awakening', in _HHKM_,
vol.2, pp.144-45; see also _WSNWH_, vol.1, pt.16,
p.172.

100. According to Ch'en, British authorities in
Australia used a trick to eliminate the aborigines.
Fifty cents reward was offered to any aborigine
who could bring a head of his tribesmen. See Ch'en
T'ien-hua, op.cit., in _HHKM_, vol.2, p.156; _WSNWH_,
vol.1, pt.16, pp.182-83.


103. K'uang Kuo-hsiang, _Ping Ch'eng San-chi_, p.112.

104. Apart from a party given by the Ch'ing Consul-
General in Admiral Ting's honour, Chinese leaders
in Singapore, such as Tan Meng-wan, Chang Fang-
ling, and Hu Hsin-ts' un also gave magnificent
104. (continued)
banquets to entertain the Admiral and his subordinates, in which they pledged their loyalty to the Emperor. See *Lat Pao*, 10 April 1890, p.2, 14 April 1890, p.2, 15 April 1890, p.5, 16 April 1890, p.2.


105a There were two massacres of Chinese in Philippines. The first took place in 1603. Before that year, there were mutual fear and suspicion existed between Chinese traders and Spanish administrators. The massacre was precipitated when a mission of three Chinese mandarins were sent by the Ming Emperor to investigate an alleged unclaimed gold hill in Philippines. The mandarins behaved as if they were in China and flogged any Chinese they considered deserving of it. This absurd mission inflamed the already active suspicions of the local authorities who expected that the arrival of the mandarins forecasted a Chinese attempt to oust them from the Philippines. The Chinese on their part were afraid of being attacked. On the eve of St. Francis's Day, the Chinese of Parian numbering about 10,000 to 12,000 revolted. They burned houses and orchards and killing of about hundred
105a (continued)

Spaniards, and further advanced to attack the city. But their assault was thrown back by government's troops, and a general slaughter ensued. About 23,000 Chinese were said to have been killed.

A high-handed policy was adopted by the Spanish authorities in Philippines in dealing with Chinese following the massacre in 1603. Chinese were not allowed to travel in the islands, nor to go two leagues from the city without a written licence, nor could they remain overnight in the city after the gates were closed on penalty of their lives. These restrictive measures had undoubtedly heightened the ill-feelings already existed among the Chinese, and resulted in another revolt against the Spanish authorities in 1639. The revolt took place in Luzon, and lasted for about four months. The Chinese insurgents armed themselves with spears, knives and bamboo sticks hardened by fire, but it was soon suppressed by the government. It was estimated that 22,000 Chinese were killed, and almost the whole Chinese population in Luzon was wiped out. See Purcell, V., *The Chinese in South-
105a (continued)


105b There had been a rather lenient policy adopted by the Dutch East India Company's government towards Chinese since its conquest of Jacatra (later changed name to Batavia) in 1619. But towards 1740's, there was a general feeling among local officials that the rise of the Chinese community in Batavia in wealth and importance, as well as to the turbulence of secret society members, was a threat to Dutch rule. In 1740, the government decided to deport those undesirable Chinese to Ceylon as slaves. This sparked off an unrest among Chinese inhabitants. A number of them armed themselves and roamed the countryside using sugar plantations as their rallying-places. Fearful of a general Chinese attack, the government in Batavia decided to use troops to suppress the 'rebellion'. A horrible massacre known in Dutch colonial history as the 'Batavian Fury' followed, in which more than 10,000 Chinese were reported killed. See Purcell, V., op.cit., pp.395-406.
106. The burning of China Town by the American authorities in Honolulu in 1899 received wide publicity in the Chinese newspaper in Singapore. An accusation written by a Honolulu Chinese was reproduced in detail in the Jih Hsin Pao, a reformist newspaper. The ill-treatment of the Chinese labourers by the government of the United States of America was fiercely attacked in the Lat Pao, a conservative newspaper. See Jih Hsin Pao, 13 March 1900, p.7, 14 March 1900, p.4,7, 15 March 1900, p.4, 16 March 1900, p.4; Lat Pao, 27 May 1908, pp.1,10.
107. The Thai government's extortionate taxation of the Chinese was criticised in the *Jih Hsin Pao* and *The Sun Pao*. See *Jih Hsin Pao*, 16 June 1900, p.1; *The Sun Pao*, 11 July 1910, p.6.

108. The discontent was particularly shown when an Indian attempted to rape two Chinese female immigrants at the quarantine station in 1906. See *Jih Hsin Pao*, 24 May 1900, pp.6-7; *Lat Pao*, 30 May 1906, p.3, 7 September 1908, p.3.

109. The anti-Japanese movement in 1909 was not confined to boycotting goods, but other things connected with Japan as well. The most interesting fact was the boycott of Japanese prostitutes who operated in urban areas and the mining centres. A number of workers who lacked female companionship pledged to boycott the Japanese prostitutes, and some of the fanatics even guarded the surroundings of Japanese brothels to prevent any Chinese going in. A few Chinese in Raub, Pahang, who went to Japanese brothels were beaten. See *Chung Hsing Jih Pao*, 15 October 1909, p.2, 26 October 1909, p.1.

110. See 'Letter from Wen Sheng-ts'ai to Li Hau-cheong and Others dated 17 February 1911 (19 January in
110. (continued)
the Lunar calendar)' (original letter kept in the
KMT Archives in Taichung, Taiwan). See also
KMHLLHCC, p.192.

111. Teo Eng-hock, Nanyang and the Founding of the
Chinese Republic, pp.91-92.

112. Ibid., p.91.

113. Two well known leaders among them were Li Ching-jên
and Lu li-peng. Ibid., pp.91-92.

114. The opening ceremony was held on 6 November 1907
at 7.00 p.m. and was attended by several hundred
people. In the opening speech, the founders
declared that the weakness of China was due to
the ignorance of its people. The founding of the
club was to promote knowledge and make China strong.
See Chung Hsing Jih Pao, 7 November 1907, p.5.

115. See 'Revolutionary Movement in Singapore before
the Founding of the Chinese Republic' (original
manuscript kept in the KMT Archives).

116. Yang Han-hsiang, 'Chung-hua min-kuo k'ai-kuo ch'ien-
hou chih pên-shê ko-ming shih', in Yang (ed.)
The Souvenir of the 24th Anniversary of the Penang
Philomatic Society, p.8.
117. Big reading clubs like the Penang Philomatic Society had such organization. See The Sun Pao, 31 January 1910, p.6, 16 February 1910, p.7.

118. Teo Eng-hock, op.cit., p.93. See also WSNWH, vol.1, pt.11, p.531.

119. Chung Hsing Jih Pao, 20 February 1908, p.5.


121. Ibid., 5 October 1907, p.3, 7 October 1907, p.3.

122. This act was apparently aimed at winning the support of the lower class, for the majority of them could not afford to pay bills for private medical consultation. In a notice published in the newspaper, the club announced that three famous Chinese physicians, Ho Hsin-t'ien, Liu T'ien-min and Teng T'ien-ch'u were employed to give free prescriptions. Ibid., 2 January 1908, p.6.

124. The Singapore Reading Club and the Penang Philomatic Society were the two eminent examples. One of the important functions of the Penang Philomatic Society was to persuade its members to join the T'ung Meng Hui. The procedure was very simple. Those who intended to join were required to swear in front of a referee on the oath of the T'ung Meng Hui, and then their names were sent to the headquarters in Tokyo for record. Ibid., pp.9-10.

125. Two mass rallies held in Singapore in 1908 were organized by the Chung Hsing Jih Pao, another one held in Seremban in the same year was sponsored by the local T'ung Meng Hui. See Chung Hsing Jih Pao, 13 January 1908, p.5, 16 March 1908, p.5, 19 November 1908, p.2.

126. Ibid., 13 January 1908, p.5, 16 March 1908, p.5.

127. Ibid., 14 August 1908, p.5, 19 November 1908, p.2.


129. Chêng Ch'eng-kung was a Fukien, and Hung Hsiu-ch'üan was a Hakka. Wang used to refer to Hung as the hero
129. (continued)


130. See 'Wang Ching-wei's speech delivered at the San Shan Club in Penang in 1908' in The Souvenir of the 24th Anniversary of the Penang Philomatic Society, p.148.

131. Ibid.

132. Chung Hsing Jih Pao, 6 August 1908, p.4.

133. All Chinese traditionally regard themselves as the descendants of the Yellow Emperor.

134. Emperor Ch'ung Chên committed suicide on 19 March 1644 (the Lunar calendar). Therefore, the date to be commemorated was counted according to the Lunar calendar.

135. See Note 9a.

136. The circular reads as follows: 'The day of 19th of March was the day the Emperor Ch'ung Chên hung himself on the Coal Mount, in order to save his people from ruthless slaughter by the Rebel Chuang.
136. (continued)

(Li Tzü-ch'eng). His sacrifice should be remembered by all of our compatriots. From that day onwards, our country fell into the hands of the Manchu barbarians. In order to remind our compatriots of this event, we decided to hold a gathering at the 'Ch'eng Chi Restaurant at 2.00 p.m. in memory of the fall of our nation ...'. See The Sun Pao, 3 May 1910, p.7.

137. Ibid.

138. Ibid., 29 July 1910, p.6.


140. Ibid., 13 January 1908, p.5, 16 March 1908, p.5, 19 November 1908, p.2.


145. New plays were all with strong revolutionary flavour, such as 'Revolution in Hell' (地府革命) 'The Yellow Emperor's Expedition against the Barbarian Chief - Ch'ih-Yu' (黄帝征蚩尤) 'The National Martyr-Wên T'ien-hsiang' (文天祥殉國) etc. Ibid., p.243.

146. Chung Hsing Jih Pao, 13 December 1907, p.2.

147. In June 1908, serious flood broke out in Southern Kwangtung, more than eight districts were affected. In Hong Kong, a flood relief organization named 'Committee of Flood Relief For the Eight Districts' (籌赈八邑水災公所) was established. 'Chên T'ien Shêng' was sent by this organization to Southeast Asia for fund-raising. See the Union Times, 3 July 1908, p.1; Feng Tzu-yu, i-shih, vol. 2, p.245.


150. 'Letter from Dr Sun Yat-sen to Chuang Yin-an dated 8 March 1909', KFCS, p.414.

151. The attacks on the 'Chên T'ien Shêng' will be fully discussed in the next chapter.

153. When the troupe was invited to perform in Singapore by the Singapore Anti-Opium Society, a working committee was set up by the Society to manage the performances. Twenty seven of the fifty seven committee members were revolutionaries. Ibid., 25 March 1909, p.2; Lim Ngee-soon, 'Chung-hua min-kuo k'ai-kuo ko-ming shih chih i-yeh' (original text kept in the KMT Archives in Taichung, Taiwan) p.1.

154. There was a typhoon havoc in Northern Fukien in October 1909. It seriously affected several districts (including Min district, Lien Chiang, Ch'ang Lo, Fu Ching, Hsien Yu, P'u T'ien, Fu An, Ning Te). When help was sought by some of the welfare organizations in China, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce in Singapore took steps to raise relief funds. See Minutes of the Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce, vol.1, p.178; Lat Pao, 26 October 1909, p.6.

155. Lin and Wang were particularly important. See Chung Hsing Jih Pao, 25 March 1909, p.2.

156. They were Lin, Wang and Chêng, all of them were the important members of the working committee. Ibid.

158. Lat Pao, 26 October 1909, p.6.

159. The actual amount raised was $4,973.10 - it was made up to $5,000 by Mrs Lu Shih-ju. The Sun Pao, 12 November 1909, p.3.

160. After accepting Lin's proposal of setting up a drama troupe for raising funds for the forthcoming anti-opium conference, the Singapore Anti-Opium Society set up a working committee to put the proposal into practice. Twenty six out of fifty one members of the committee were attached to the Singapore T'ung Meng Hui branch. See The Sun Pao, 28 December 1909, p.3; Lim Ngee-soon, op.cit., p.1.

161. According to Chinese traditional practice, ornamental banners with auspicious words were usually given by supporters to greet inaugural ceremonies of all dramatic performances.

162. The Sun Pao, 29 December 1909, p.3, 30 December 1909, p.3.

163. Ibid.

164. The troupe was well entertained by local revolutionaries. Ibid., 7 May 1910, p.3.
165. The shows were designed to raise funds for establishing a hospital. Ibid., 22 June 1910, p.3, 23 June 1910, p.3.

166. The Chinese name for the place was called 'Mou Sheng Kang' (a prosperous port) instead of 'Feng Sheng Kang' (Mersing) which is in common use today. I presume that Mou Sheng Kang was a transliteration of Mersing, and is identical with Feng Sheng Kang.

167. The Sun Pao, 29 July 1910, p.6.

168. The school was run by the local revolutionaries. Ibid., 19 August 1910, p.7, 29 August 1910, p.7.

169. The Union Times, 18 June 1910, p.2; The Sun Pao, 28 December 1909, p.2.


171. The publishing of the Thoe Lam Jit Poh in 1904, for instance, invited fierce attack from the conservatives who tried to frustrate the publishers and to destroy the paper by all means. See Chapter II.

172. This was the most popular play during that time. It was frequently performed by the 'Yung Shou Nien' and 'Tan Shan Feng' in February-March 1908 in Singapore; by 'Ch'iung Shan Yü' in December 1909 in Singapore;
172. (continued)
by 'Ching Shih Pan' in January 1910 in Penang;
by 'Min to She' in August 1910 in Pontianak. See
Chung Hsing Jih Pao, 24 February 1908, p.4,
21 March 1908, p.4, 31 December 1909, p.2, The Sun Pao,
24 January 1910, p.6, 29 August 1910, p.7.


174. The Sun Pao, 29 August 1910, p.7.


176. This play was also very popular and was often
performed by the 'Chen T'ien Sheng' and 'Min To She'.
See Lat Pao, 15 March 1909, p.6; Chung Hsing Jih Pao,
27 December 1909, p.1; The Sun Pao, 28 December 1909,

177. All these plays were mainly performed by the 'Min
To She' and the 'Anti-opium Drama Troupe'. See
The Union Times, 18 June 1909, p.2; The Sun Pao,
1 March 1910, p.3, 23 June 1910, p.3, 29 July 1910,
p.6, 29 August 1910, p.7.

178. The famous play 'The Bell after the Dream' described
vividly the disaster brought to a family of addicts
of opium-smoking and superstition. Chung Kuo-hsing,
the opium-smoker and his wife, a worshipper of a local magician, Huang Ta-hsien, were the two central figures of the play. The story told that Madam Chung was kidnapped when she was on her way to consult Huang Ta-hsien, and was sold to a brothel. Failing to find his wife after he came home from the opium-smoking den, Chung went out to search for his wife in a cold winter night, and fell on the road because of the effect of the opium. He was nearly frozen to death, but fortunately was saved by a gentleman, Wan Nien-ch'ing. Upon the persuasion of Wan, Chung determined to give up his addiction. After many vicissitudes, the family reunited again. Chung and his wife gave up these social evils and started new lives. See Lat Pao, 15 March 1909, p.6; Chung Hsing Jih Pao, 27 December 1909, p.1.


Notes For Chapter IV

1. (continued)


1a. The best example is the case of K'ang Yu-wei. K'ang had written a famous political treatise entitled 'Ta T'ung shu' (Universal Commonwealth) in which he expounded his idealistic political philosophy of a classless world without racial and sexual discrimination and national boundaries. Instead of working to its realization, he fought with all his might to suppress it, for he considered it was his duty to maintain the status quo in the society. See Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, translated by Immanuel C.Y. Hsu, Intellectual Trends in The Ch'ing Period
According to Fêng Tzŭ-yu, Sun first attempted to meet K'ang in 1893 when he was practicing in Canton. Knowing K'ang was interested in Western learning, Sun expressed his intention to meet K'ang through a friend, but K'ang turned the request aside with the remark that Sun should approach him as a student. Although Fêng Tzŭ-yu does not offer an explanation of K'ang's attitude, we can speculate with some certainty that it was partly due to K'ang's ego-centricism and partly of Sun's lack of an imperial degree. The contempt for those without an imperial degree by old intellectuals can be further illustrated by the case of Wu Ch'ih-hui, a reformist who later became a revolutionary leader. According to Wu, his contempt for Sun and refusal of meeting him stemmed from the fact that Sun did not hold an imperial degree, and his belief that Sun was illiterate. See Fêng Tzŭ-yu, i-shih, vol.1, p.71.; Wu Ch'ih-hui (Ching-heng), "Wo i i chiang Chung-Shan hsien-sheng" (I also Talk about Dr. Sun Yat-sen), in Wang Yün-wu and others, How Did I Come to Know Dr. Sun Yat-sen, p.88.
lc. It has been pointed out by a modern scholar that although K'ang had evidently obtained a considerable amount of informations relating to mathematics, astronomy, geology and world geography through Chinese translations, his reading only gave him facts rather values, and his knowledge of the West does not appear to have profoundly effected his basic moral and political views. See Howard, R.C., "K'ang Yu-wei (1858-1927): His Intellectual Background and Early Thought", in Wright, A.F. & Twitchett, D. (ed.), Confucian Personalities, p.311.

ld. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, one of the two most brilliant disciples of K'ang, seemed to have claimed that K'ang's Ta T'ung idea was solely developed from the Chinese Classics. But a more acceptable theory by modern scholars is that K'ang's Ta T'ung idea originated in the Book of Rites, and had incorporated ideas from Mahayana Buddhism, Mohism and Western learning. See Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (trans. by C. Y. Hsu), Intellectual Trend in the Ch'ing Period, p.97.; Hsiao Kung-ch'uan, "K'ang Yu-wei and Confucianism" in Monumenta Serica, vol.18 (1959) pp. 113-5.; Howard, R.C., "K'ang Yu-wei (1858-1927):
ld. (continued)


lf. Ibid., pp.180-2

lg. Ibid., p.172

lh. Ibid., pp.23,53.

li. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (trans. by C.Y. Hsu), Intellectual Trend in the Ch'ing Period, p.97.

lj. In tracing origins of K'ang's radical ideas contained in his early writings, R.C. Howard argued quite convincingly that K'ang's advocacy of sexual equality and abolition of family system was possibly a reaction against the existing social systems based on his own family experience. K'ang was keenly
aware of the hardships endured by his sisters
when their feet were being bound and the tribulations of his mother, and later his sisters, who
were left as widows to support their children.
See Howard, R.C., "K'ang Yu-wei (1858-1927): His
Intellectual Background and Early Thought", in
Wright, A.F. & Twitchett, D. (ed.), Confucian
Personalities, pp. 315-6.

Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (trans. by C.Y. Hsu), op.cit.,
p.92.

Anonymous, Chung-kuo li-tai chê-hsueh wen-hsuan-
Ch'ing Period, vol.2, p.249.

Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (trans. by C.Y. Hsu), op.cit.,
p.94.

San-shih or theory of Three Ages was a theory of
movement of history through stages—Chü-luan shih
(Chaos or Age of Disorder), Sheng-p'ing shih (Peace
or Age of Increasing Peace) and T'ai-p'ing shih
(Great Peace or Age of Complete Peace). "In the
first stage, primitive civilization is just arising
from chaos, and the social mind is still very rude...;
in the second stage, there is a distinction only
between all the civilized countries and the barbarians...; in the third, there is no distinction at all.... the whole world is an one unit, and the character of mankind is on the highest plane..."

This explanation of the theory was given by one of K'ang's followers, Ch'en Huan-chang who was the founder of the National Confucian Association and was active in trying to carry out K'ang's proposal to make Confucianism the state religion under the Republic. According to this explanation, it is obvious that K'ang had a clear concept of historical evolution from disunity to unity and from bad to good.

It is suggested that K'ang found elements of this theory in the Li Yün chapter of the Book of Rites, the writings of the Former Han Confucianist, Tung Chung-shu (179-104 B.C. ?) and the commentary on the K'ung Yang Chuan by the Later Han scholar Ho Hsiu (129-182 A.D.), and expounded this theory elsewhere in his teachings and writings. This theory also had strong bearing on Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's thinking and had permeated in most of his writings.

In short, the San-shih theory served as the found-
ln. (continued)


lo. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (trans. by C.Y. Hsu), op.cit., p.93.


1r. Sun said: "We cannot say in general that ideas, as ideas, are good or bad. We must judge whether, when put into practice, they prove useful to us or not. If they are of practical value to us, they are good; if they are impractical, they are bad. If they are useful to the world, they are good; if they are not useful to the world, they are not good." See d'Elia, Paschal M., S.J., *The Triple Demism of Sun Yat-sen* (Wuchang, 1931), pp.130-1.; also see Hsu, Leonard Shihlien, *Sun Yat-sen, His Political and Social Ideals* (Los Angeles, 1933), pp. 210-1.


1t. In the first lecture of his Three People's Principles which was delivered on the 27th January 1924 at Canton, Sun explained why he considered them as principles of national salvation. It was because they would elevate China's political, economic and international status on the equal footing with other powers, and would enable her to exist eternally in the world. See Sun Yat-sen,
lt. (continued) "San-min chu-i", in Selected Works of Dr. Sun Yat-sen (Hong Kong, 1962), vol. 2, p. 589.

lu. Ibid.

lv. One of Sun's biographers, Mrs. Lyon Sharman seemed to have claimed that Sun's Three People's Principles were derived from the principles stated by President Lincoln—Government of the people, by the people and for the people. See Sharman, L., Sun Yat-sen: His Life and Its Meaning (Reissued edition. Stanford, 1968), pp. 92, 271.

lw. The question of source of Sun Yat-sen's thoughts (ssu-hsiang) is still open to controversy. Tai Chi-t'ao, one of the foremost exponents of Sun's political philosophy, claimed that Sun's thoughts were mainly based on Chinese orthodox philosophy—Confucianism. He further emphasized that Sun's thoughts were the revival of Chinese traditional civilization based on teachings of the ancient sages, such as Yao, Shun, Yü, T'ang, Duke of Chou and Confucius. Ch'ien Mu, a leading Chinese scholar, and Chiang Kai-shek, the successor of Sun Yat-sen, also asserted that main body of Sun's


For example, the publication of Peter Kropotkin's Mutual Aid-- A Factor of Evolution in 1902 had
1z. (continued)

considerable impact on Sun's modification of
acceptance of Darwin's theory. From 1912 onwards,
he became critical of the Evolutionary Theory
and its application to human society. See Wu

2a. In formulating his own Five Powers' Constitution,
he did not hesitate to incorporate the Three
Powers' Constitution of the United States of
America (Legislative, Executive and Judicial
Powers). See Sun Yat-sen, "Wu-ch'uan hsien-
fa" (Five Powers' Constitution), in Selected
Works of Sun Yat-sen, vol.2, pp. 572-76.; see
also a speech given by him at the anniversary of
the Min Pao in Tokyo on 17th October 1906,
entitled "San-min chu-i yu chung-kuo chih ch'ien-
t'u" (The Three People's Principles and the

2b. The concept of the combination to the three types
of revolution was later expounded by Hu Han-min.
See Hu Han-min, "San-min chu-i te jen-shih"
(The Understanding of the Three People's Principles),
in Wu Chün-man (ed.), Hu Han-min hsuan-chi
2b. (continued)

(Selected Works of Hu Han-min, Taipei, 1959), pp. 7-16.

2c. See Sun Yat-sen, "Min-tsu chu-i", in Selected Works of Sun Yat-sen, vol.2, p.590.; see also a detailed discussion on this concept by P.M.A. Linebarger in his Political Doctrines of Sun Yat-sen, p.62.

2d. Sun Yat-sen, ibid.

2e. Sun Yat-sen, "Chung-kuo pi ko-ming erh-hou neng ta kung-ho chu-i" (China's Attainment of Republicanism must be after the Revolution) (A Conversation with Miyazaki Torazo and others in 1898 in Japan), in KFCS., p.366.

2f. In the T'ung Meng Hui's Manifesto published in August 1905, Sun did mention that Ming and the Taiping regimes only aimed at restoring Chinese rule, and made no changes in political system. This point was later expounded by Hu Han-min that Taiping's failure was partly due to its inability to change the autocratic system which was against democracy. See "T'ung-meng-hui hsuan-yen" (Manifesto of the T'ung Meng Hui), in Selected
2f. (continued)


2h. Linebarger, P.M.A., Political Doctrines of Sun Yat-sen, p.99.


2m. Tai Chi-t'ao explained that Min-sheng chu-i was the core of Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles, and was the cause and aim of Sun's revolution. He further emphasized that the other two principles were only the means to achieve such ultimate aim. Hu Han-min also explained that the scope of Sun's Min-sheng chu-i was wider which can include socialism and communism and was quite different from them. He emphasized that the understanding of the Min-sheng chu-i should be based on nationalism and democracy, otherwise it would degenerate to capitalism or totalitarianism. Chiang Kai-shek seemed to have accepted Tai Chi-t'ao's interpretation. Whereas P.M.A. Linebarger interpreted Min-sheng chu-i as the most important declaration of China's industrialization. See Tai Chi-t'ao, "Sun Wen chu-i chih chê-hsueh tê chi-ch'u", in Tai Chi-t'ao and others, Sun Wen chu-i lûn-chi, pp. 9-11, also see same article published in WSNWH., vol.1, pt. 11, pp.27-9.; Hu Han-min,
2m. (continued)
"San-min chu-i tê ching-shen" (The Spirit of the Three People's Principles), in Wu Chün-
yü min-sheng chê-hsûeh chih yao-i" (Social Construction and Principles of Philosophy of
People's Livelihood), in Chiang Tsung-t'ung chi, vol.1., p.49.; Linebarger, P.M.A., Political
Doctrines of Sun Yat-sen, p.132.


2q. The reformists only attempted once to use force in 1900 when China was thrown into chaos by the Boxer Uprising. This resort to the use of force was obviously a deviation from reformists' political means. It was probably the result of emergency arising from the Empress Dowager's
2q. (continued)

conspiracy of forcing the Emperor Kuang Hsü to abdicate in 1899. In that year, K'ang Yu-wei had strong association with the Tzǔ Li Hui which pledged to overthrow the Manchu rule. Although there was a gap between the reformists' motivation and that of the Tzǔ Li Hui, K'ang intended to make use of it to achieve his own political aim. Thus, K'ang and Liang toured widely among overseas Chinese communities collecting funds for the proposed uprising in Hankow, and financed the leaders of the Tzǔ Li Hui, T'ang Ts'ai-ch'ang, Pi Yung-nien and Lin Kuei. The revolt took place both in Ta T'ung and Hankow in August 1900, because of the delay of remittance of overseas funds, lack of coordination and the failure of gaining the support of Chang Chih-tung, the Governor-General of Hunan and Hupeh, it failed completely. See several letters written during this period by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao to K'ang Yu-wei and other reformist leaders in Ting Wen-chiang (ed.), Liang Jen-kung hsien-sheng nien-p'u ch'ang-p'ien chü-kao, pp. 102-34.; Chang Huang-hsi, "Chi Tzū-li-hui", in HHKM., vol.1, pp.253-7.; Ku-kung tang-an kuan
2q. (continued)

(Bureau of Ch'ing Archives) (ed.), "T'ang Ta'ai-ch'ing Hankow ch'i-i Ch'ing-fang tang-an" (Ch'ing Archives on the T'ang Ts'ai-ch'ang's Hankow Uprising), in HHIKM., vol.1, pp.258-79.

2r. This can be proved by the fact that the revolutionaries had staged ten major revolts against the Ch'ing dynasty from 1895 to 1911. But occasionally, the revolutionaries attempted to achieve their aims through peaceful means. For example, the revolutionaries approached Li Hung-chang, the Governor-General of Kwangtung and Kwangsi, indirectly in 1900 in an attempt to persuade Li to declare independence of his provinces from the Ch'ing government and to form a new government of China. See Ch'en Shao-p'ai, "Hsing Chung-hui ko-ming shih-yao", in HHIKM., vol.1, pp. 65-7.; Hsueh Chün-tu, Huang Hsing and the Chinese Revolution, pp.32-3.

2t. See note 2q.


3. Ibid., p.53; Feng Tzũ-yu, i-shih, vol.1, pp.50-52.


5. Ibid., pp.47-48.

6. 'Letter from Liang Ch'i-ch'ao to K'ang Yu-wei dated 13 and 20 March 1900'. See Ting Wên-chiang, Liang-jên-kung hsien-shêng nien-pu chang pien ch'u kao, pp.102, 106; Feng Tzũ-yu, k'ai-kuo shih, p.33.

7. Sun Yat-sen, 'Sun Wen Hsueh Shuo', KFCS, p.34.


10. The letter was sent to Huang Tsung-yang, a revolutionary leader in Shanghai. Apart from informing Huang about the progress in fighting against the reformists, Sun urged Huang and other comrades in Shanghai to send revolutionary publications there for spreading revolutionary doctrines. See 'Letter from Dr. Sun Yat-sen to Huang Tsung-yang', KFCS, pp.361-62.


11a. Chih Kung T'ang was an offspring of the Hung League or Triad (T'ien Ti Hui) which is more widely known among Western readers. It mainly prospered among Chinese in North America. Like its counterpart in Southeast Asia, known as Ngee Hin, its origin can be traced to the end of the 17th century after the Manchus successfully conquered South China. Some of the Ming loyalists who escaped persecution took refuge in North America, and found the Chih Kung T'ang to preserve
ll.a. (continued)

anti-Manchu tradition. The adoption of a new name for the Hung League or Triad was probably designed to avoid interference of local authorities. Its original objective of 'overthrowing the Ch'ing and restoring the Ming' gradually gave way to other activities. It assumed new responsibilities of the protection and the social welfare of Chinese in North America. As a consequence it became one of the most influential organizations in these Chinese communities. Its headquarters was located in San Francisco where a largest Chinese community in North America existed. As the original purpose was lost, its members has a great deal of freedom in giving their political allegiance. Some of them had strongly supported the reformist who pledged to preserve the Manchu rule in China. See Fêng Tzŭ-yu, KMS., pp.54-6.; see also WSNWH., vol.1, pt.12, pp.464-66.


13. 'Letter from Dr Sun Yat-sen to Huang Chung-yang dated 10 June 1904', KFCS, p.362.
14. No definite date was given for K'ang Yu-wei's arrival in Singapore. He must have arrived either on the 1 or 2 February, 1900, because news of his arrival was published in the Straits Times on the 3rd of that month. See The Straits Times, 3 February 1900, p.3.

15. T'ien Nan Hsin Pao, 7 October 1899, p.5, 11 October 1899, p.8, 21 October 1899, p.5.

16. According to Hu Han-min, K'ang was boasting to overseas Chinese that he had been a tutor of the Emperor Kuang Hsü, and claimed that he possessed a secret edict which he never showed to anyone. but as pointed out by Hu, K'ang was actually using his relationship with the Emperor to cheat overseas Chinese for financial support. (See Hu Han-min, 'Nanyang and the Chinese Revolution', in WSNWH., vol.1, pt.11, p.478). In fact, K'ang was not a tutor of the Emperor, and his claim of possession is open for doubt. There are two secret edicts extant. The first one of 96 characters is the text claimed by K'ang in 1898 to be the one he actually received through the Emperor's messenger, Yang Jui (one of the Six Reformist Martyrs who were put to death after
16. (continued)
the coup d'état of 1898). The second one of 289 characters was said to have been presented to the Ch'ing government in 1908 by Yang Jui's son and was first published in 1913. After a close study on both texts and other related evidence, Professor Fang Chao-ying argues that both texts could have been forgeries. He further suggests that there was a secret edict given to K'ang by the Emperor, but the wording was quite different and without hint of urgency. To suit his purpose, K'ang, or men in his confidence, manufactured the two secret edicts extant and fabricated other stories around them. See Fang Chao-ying, 'Review on Wu-hsü pien-fa (The Reform Movement of 1898)', in JAS., vol.17, no.1, (November, 1957), pp.102-5

16a. On the 24th day of the 12th moon of the 25th year of the reign of Kuang Hsü (24 January 1900) the Manchu court suddenly proclaimed that the Emperor's nephew P'u Tsuen should be the true heir to Mu Tsung, the Emperor Kuang Hsü. This was the first step of Empress Dowager's conspiracy to despose the Emperor. See Wu Hsien-tzü, 'Kang Yu-wei and Nanyang Chinese', in Wang Gungwu's Chinese Reformists and Revol-
16a. (continued)

Appendix B.

17. Both T'ien Nan and Jih Hsin gave full publicity of it. See The T'ien Nan Hsin Pao, 10 February 1900, p.1; Jih Hsin Pao, 10 February 1900, p.6.

19. A local reformist under a pen name of 'Kung pi tzu' suggested that each of the four hundred million Chinese contributed one dollar (amount to $400,000,000) to insure the life of the Emperor. With the backing of such a sum of money, the Emperor would be safe. See The T'ien Nan Hsin Pao, 26 April 1900, p.1.

20. According to Wu Hsien-tzu, number of signatures from Tahiland was 80,000. This figure may be mistaken. See Jih Hsin Pao, 3 March 1900, p.4; The T'ien Nan Hsin Pao, 8 March 1900, p.2, 23 March 1900, p.2; Wu Hsien-tzu, op.cit., in Wang Gungwu's Chinese Reformists and Revolutionaries in the Straits Settlements. Appendix B.


22. Ibid., p.15.

23. Ying Hsin school was founded on 5 May 1905 by the Ying Ho Association (Hakka) in Singapore. See Hsheh Pin fêng, 'A Brief History of The Ying Hsin School', The Souvenir of 24th Anniversary of the Ying Ho Association in Singapore, p.15.

24. Yang Cheng School was founded in April 1906 by the Cantonese community in Singapore. See Lat Pao, 19 April 1906, pp.8, 10.
25. Tuan Meng School was founded in September by the Teochew community in Singapore. See Lin Kuo-chang, 'A Brief History of the Tuan Meng School', in The Souvenir of 30th Anniversary of the Tuan Meng School in Singapore, p.11.

26. Tao Nan School was founded in the middle of 1907 by the Singapore Fukien community. See Lat Pao 16 April 1907, p.8., 23 April 1907, p.3., 2 May 1907, p.8.

27. Confucian School was founded by a group of wealthy Cantonese merchants under the encouragement of Liu Shih-chi. The rich tin-miner, Loke Yaw who was the chairman of the Managing Board of the school, donated S$30,000 to the fund. K'un Ch'eng School was founded in 1908. See 'A History of the Confucian Middle School', in Souvenir of the Senior and Junior Middle Graduation of the Confucian Middle School, 1965, p.6. The Straits Budget, 15 October 1908, p.8.

29. Chu Tzŭ-p'ei, a member of the Managing Board of the Yang Chêng School, Tan Hun-ch'iu, the Vice-chairman of the Managing Board of the Tuan Mêng School, were two of the reformist leaders in Singapore. Wu Shou-chên, the chairman of the Managing Board of the Tao Nan School, was the Ch'ing Acting Consul-General in the Straits Settlements from January to May, 1902. See T'ien Nan Hsin Pao, 22 January 1902, pp.1-2, 4 June 1902, p.1; Lat Pao, 19 April 1906, p.8.

30. Li Ah Chai in his *Policies and Politics in Chinese Schools in the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States 1786-1941* corrected the mistake in *Tuan Mêng School 30th Anniversary Souvenir* that Liu was sent by the Viceroy of Liang-Kwang, Chang Jên-chên (張鎮臨). See Li Ah Chai, op.cit., pp.21-24.

31. Lin Kuo-chang, 'A Brief History of Tuan Meng School' in *The Souvenir of 30th Anniversary of Tuan Mêng School in Singapore*, p.11; *Souvenir of the Senior and Junior Middle Graduation of the Confucian Middle School*, 1965, p.6.

32. The appointments of the headmaster and teachers of the Confucian School were recommended by the Ch'ing Consul-General, Sun Shih-ting. See Chung Kuo Jih Pao 11 April 1907, p.2.

34. These eight teachers were Ma Nai-t'ang, Ch'en Hsi-t'ung, Wang Yü-jo, Yang Tan-wu, Yüan Shou-min, Yang Tz'ü-hêng, Li Mu-fu and Wêng Shao-shan. See *The Souvenir of 30th Anniversary of the Tuan Mêng School in Singapore*, p.198.

35. These schools were Yang Cheng, Ying Hsin, Tao Nan, Tuan Mêng and Ch'ung Chêng. See *The Union Times*, 11 September 1909, p.3; *Lat Pao*, 22 September 1909, p.1, 23 September 1909, p.1; Li Ah-chai, op.cit., pp.32-33.

36. *Lat Pao*, 1 April 1908, pp.1,10.

37. There was a night school mentioned in an editorial of the *Chung Hsing Jih Pao* in January 1908. One was founded in May 1908, and the other in August of the same year. See *Chung Hsing Jih Pao*, 3 January 1908, p.2, 18 May 1908, p.5, 3 August 1908, p.6.
37a. A substantial time was assigned to learn the classics and stories of ancient sages. See Hsia Ping-yen and Others, The Amended Constitution of the Singapore Ying Hsin School, pp.3-7.

38. Chung Hsing Jih Pao, 14 May 1908, p.5.

39. Publicity was given to the founding of the Chen I Night School. Ibid.

40. The chief patrons of the school were Ling Yu-t'ang, Teng Yu-ling, Hsieh Ai-t'ang, Liang Li-sheng, Yeh Chi-yun, Liang Yun-hsi, Chang Chen-tung, Teng Tzu-yu, Hu Po-hsiang, Lin Hang-wei, Ho Te-ju, Teo Eng-hock, Lu Yao-t'ang and Huang T'ing-kuang. The last nine were all the members of the Singapore T'ung Meng Hui branch, ibid., 18 May 1908, p.5; Lim Ngee-soon, A List of the T'ung Meng Hui Members in Singapore (original).

41. The Sun Pao, 2 May 1910, p.7.

42. Ibid., 31 August 1910,p.1.

43. The school was founded and named after a revolutionary leader in Kuala Lumpur, Too Nam. Chung Hsing Jih Pao, 26 June 1909, p.1; Ch'an Chan-mooi, 'A Short Biography of Mr Too Nam', p.6, in Ch'an Chan-mooi (ed.) Obituaries on Mr Too Nam.
44. Other students were Chiang Huai-han (to love the Han race) Chiang Tz' u-chien (to stab traitors) Chang P'an-yao, Ch' iu Chien-hu (to eliminate the barbarians) Chêng Tang-shan (to exterminate the barbarians) Chiang Ssu-han (to long for the Han race) Wang Hanchieh (the hero of the Han race) Chêng Shih-hu (to gnaw the barbarians) Chiang Chu-i (to drive out the barbarians) Huang Kuo-wei, Li Ssu-hua (to long for the Chinese) Chêng Chu-ch'ing (to drive out the Manchu) Chiang Ai-ch'ünn (to love the masses) Liu Kuang-hua (to glorify the Chinese) and Wang Han-ying (the hero of the Han race). Chung Hsing Jih Pao, 27 November 1909.


46. Ibid., 29 December 1909, p. 1.

47. Ibid., 18 October 1909, p. 2.

48. Apparently, the revolutionaries intended to spread the ideas of patriotism and unity among the general public. In the Chinese communities in Singapore and Malaya, where national feeling was lacking, these ideas would undoubtedly foster it and pave the way for revolution. Ibid., 26 June 1909, p. 1. cf. the drama troupes and the plays on pages 135 and 137(Vol. 1) show the link between the anit-opium movement and radicalism.
49. The Sun Pao, 2 May 1910, p.7.

50. Chua Hui-seng, interview on 27 February 1965 at the T'ung Tê Reading Club, Singapore; The Souvenir of 30th Anniversary of the Tuan Meng School in Singapore, p.198.

51. Chung Hsing Jih Pao, 14 August 1908, p.5.

52. The cable was sent on 23 July 1908 (25th June in the lunar calendar), The cable ran as follows: '... the date for constitutional government is still not set, doubts and rumours spread widely in China as well as overseas. Please transmit to the court for introducing a parliament, otherwise crises will develop without curb.' See The Union Times, 25 July 1908, p.1.


54. Two representatives, Huang and Liang were sent to Seremban to convince the Mining Association of Seremban with an official letter from the Chamber. The appeal obtained partial success. Ibid., 19 August 1908, p.5.

55. Ibid., 14 August 1908, p.5.

56. Mrs Au Nai-sun (daughter-in-law of Au Shen-kang) interview on 10 October 1966 at her residence in Ipoh.
57.  **Lat Pao**, 7 June 1909, p.5.


60.  Ch'en Ch'i-yuan, 'Mr P'êng Tsê-min and the Revolutionary Activities of the Overseas Chinese in Kuala Lumpur Before and After the 1911 Revolution', **HHKMHIL**, vol.1, pp.395-96.

61.  The Association was an organization cutting across dialect line in the Chinese community in Penang.


63.  When the Chamber received a letter from the 'Pa I Kung So' stating the date of arrival of the Chên T'ien Shêng, several representatives were sent to welcome the group at the railway station. See **The Union Times**, 8 July 1908, p.1; **Lat Pao**, 9 July 1908, p.1.
64. The story told of the heroic event of the General Hsiung Fei's resistance of the Mongol conquest. Hsiung, a native of Tung Kuan district of Kwangtung province, organized volunteers to fight against the alien aggressors who had swept through North and South China. He was ambushed by the enemy and fought to the death in the Liu Hua Pagoda. See Lat'Pao, 18 March 1909, p.6.

65. The revolutionary members in the Chamber were Too Nam, Yuen Tak-sam and Loke Chow-kit.


68. The inaugural meeting of the Chêng Wên Shê was held on 17 October 1907 in Tokyo. The meeting was attended by more than a thousand guests and a number of Japanese dignitaries. Before the inauguration, a group of revolutionaries led by Chang Chi and T'ao Ch'eng-chang also attended the meeting prepared to sabotage it. When Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, the founder of the Chêng Wên Shê, explained the Ch'ing government's proposed constitution and appealed for support, Chang Chi stood up to refute him. Following
the heated debate, revolutionaries resorted to force, and many reformists were beaten up. The meeting broke up in confusion. See T'ai-yen (Chang Ping-lin) 'The Ruin of the Inaugural Meeting of the Cheng Wen Shê', in Min Pao, No. 17. Both Ting Wên-chiang and Fêng Tzŭ-yu mistakenly placed the date of the inauguration as 17 November (Ting) and 17 July (Fêng) 1907. See Ting Wên-chiang, Liang-jên-kung hsien-shêng nien-p'u ch'ang p'ien ch'u kao, p.250; Fêng Tzŭ-yu, ko-ming shih, vol.l, pp.202-03.

69. Chung Hsing Jih Pao, 9 June 1908.


71. Ibid., Song Ong Siang, One Hundred Years of the Chinese in Singapore, p.434.

72. Chung Hsing Jih Pao, 9 September 1907, p.3.

73. 'Letter from Dr Sun Yat-sen to Lim Ngee-soon dated 8 September 1908 (13 August in the lunar calendar)'. See original letter kept by Lim Eng-kuan, grandson of Lim Ngee-soon; same letter could be seen in Kuo Fu Ch'üan Su, p.409; T'ien T'ung, the chief editor of Chung Hsing Jih Pao, also had a paragraph
on this episode in his memoir. But he mistakenly
gave the year as 1907. See T'ien T'ung, Ko-ming
hsien-hua, p.36.

74. Chung Hsing Jih Pao, 27 July, 1909; The Sun Pao,
19 August 1909, p.4; 24 and 26 August 1909, p.5;
31 August 1909, p.5; 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 14, 15, September
1909, p.5; 16, 18, 24, September 1909, p.4.

75. Ta-ch'ing tê-tsung ching-huang-ti shih-lu, vol.597,
pp.10-11; Chu Shou-p'êng, Kuang-hsü-ch'iao tung-hua lu,
vol.5, pp.6021-22.

76. Lat Pao, 18 November 1908, p.8.


78. Ibid., 24 November 1908, p.1.

79. In a letter to Têng Tsê-ju before he left Singapore
for Bangkok, Dr Sun Yat-sen said that the death of
the Ch'ing rulers provided the best opportunity for
revolutionary action. But he expressed his regret
that the party could not take advantage of the
situation because of financial difficulties. See
'Letter from Dr Sun Yat-sen to Têng Tsê-ju and Others
dated 20 November 1908', in Têng Tsê-ju, Sun Chung-
shan hsien-shêng nien-nien lai shou-cha, vol.2, p.1;
also see KFCS, p.412.
80. KFNP, vol.1, p.256.


82. The original text of *The Straits Times*, 27 November 1908, p.8.

83. The other leaflet produced in Court stated:

'Unhappily, since the entry of the Manchurians, our people of Han are still living at the conquered places. Their fierceness and cruelty must be known by everybody. Now as God is helping our decendants of Han, everybody has the mind to recover our former Empire. Therefore, revolutions followed year after year. Now as both Kwang Hsù and the Empress Dowager have happened to die one after the other, this is the real happiness of our people of Han. Everyone of our people of Han who has warm blood ought to be cheerful. What sorrow is there? Those of our brethren of Han who stop business and mourn on 26th instant (Chinese reckoning) are those who are willing to recognize a thief as father and to give up their parents in order to serve their enemies. These all are the slaves of slaves.' Ibid.


86. Teo Eng-hock, op.cit., p.100.

87. Those school children were from the five Chinese primary schools in which the reformists had predominant influence. They were Tuan Mêng, Ch'i Fa, Tao Nan, Ying Hsin and Yang Chêng schools. The students numbered to about one hundred and sixty-five and were led by their teachers. See Lat Pao, 20 November 1908, p.3.

88. Ibid; Singapore Free Press, 20 November 1908, p.8.

89. Teo Eng-hock, op.cit., p.100.


92. The Straits Times, 19 November 1908, p.7.


95. In a letter to his comrade, Dr Sun stated that he was approached by the Official Administrating Government of The Straits Settlements to restrain his followers from further clashes. Circulars were issued to revolutionaries calling for peace under the name of Teo Eng-hock, for Dr Sun was about to leave Singapore for Bangkok. See 'Letter from Dr Sun Yat-sen to Tāng Tsê-ju and Others dated 20 November 1908', in Tāng Tsê-ju, op.cit., vol.2, pp.4-5; **KFCS**, pp.412-13.

96. **Lat Pao**, 18 November 1908, p.8.

97. The reformists were led by Liang Chao-ch'en. See **Chung Hsing Jih Pao**, 27 November 1908, p.1.

98. This group of revolutionaries was led by Ch'an Chan-mooi, Su Yao-t'ing, K'ang Ch'u-k'uang, Too Kwun-hung, Yeh Yin-t'ang. And the two pamphlets they distributed were entitled 'Do Not Falsely Identify Yourselves as the Filial Sons' and
98. (continued)
'Congratulation of Condemnation' (恭賀天討).
Ibid., 24 November 1908, p.2.

99. Ibid.

100. Apart from the parade, the revolutionaries in Kuala Lumpur also convened at the Ju Yün Restaurant on the mourning night to celebrate the occasion. The restaurant was beautifully decorated, and music and wine were provided to help create an atmosphere of rejoicing. Ibid., 24 November 1908, p.2, 27 November 1908, p.1.

101. Ibid., 24 November 1908, p.2.

102. In Ipoh, when the Chinese Chamber of Commerce received the telegram from the Ch'ing Consul-General, the same pamphlets calling all Chinese in Perak to close their shops on the 19 November for a national mourning, were distributed. Those who were loyal and faithful were called upon to attend a ceremony which was to be held at Yü Ts'ai Primary School where two tablets of the deceased Ch'ing rulers were to be installed. See Lat Pao, 26 November 1908, p.3; Penang Hsin Pao, 20 November 1908; The Times of Malaya, 21 November 1908, p.5.
103. 'Report of the Secretary for Chinese Affairs of the Straits Settlements,' in *SSADR*, 1908, p.121.
NOTES FOR CHAPTER V

1. K'ang Yu-wei completed his famous thesis entitled 'K'ung-tzu kai-chih kao' (Confucius as a Reformer) in 1897, the year before the Hundred Days' Reform. In this thesis, he expounded Confucius' reform ideas which he used as legitimate weapons to launch his reform programme. See K'ang Yu-wei, K'ung-tzu kai-chih kao, pp. 1-495; also see Chung-kuo li-tai chê-hsueh wen-hsüan, Vol. 2, pp. 249-51.

2. In 1881, a group of Chinese merchants in Singapore founded a club 'Lo Shan Shê' to lecture and to expound the Holy Edicts of the Manchu Emperors (The six maxims of the Emperor Shün-chih and sixteen maxims of the Emperor K'ang-hsi. All these maxims emphasized filial piety, respect to elders and superiors, and maintenance of peace and order, etc.). Lecture rooms were established throughout Singapore, and lecturers were employed to meet this purpose. The rich merchants supported these activities through a form of regular donation. See Hsing Pao, 15 February 1895, pp. 5, 8, 18 February 1895, p. 5, 5 March 1896, p. 5, 25 January 1897, p. 5, 26 January 1897, p. 8, 6 March 1897, p. 5; Hare, G.T. (ed.)
2. (continued)


3. Ou Chü-chia was one of the important disciples of K'ang Yu-wei. He was a lecturer in the Shih Wu Hsueh T'ang founded in Hunan in 1897, and contributed numerous articles to the Shih Wu Pao and the Chih Hsin Pao to support the reform programme. After the coup d'état in 1898, he fled to Japan to help Liang Ch'i-ch'ao to publish the Ch'ing I Pao. Later, he went to San Francisco and befriended the local Chinese secret societies. He founded the Ta T'ung Jih Pao and became its chief editor. After the newspaper was taken over by Dr Sun Yat-sen and his supporters, Ou went to Singapore to join the local reformists. See T'ang Chih-chün (ed.), Wu-shu pien-fa jên-wu chüan kao, Vol. 1, pp. 84-86.

4. Dr Sun had written two articles refuting the reformist theory that revolution would result in partition. The first article entitled 'Those who fear revolution would lead to partition are ignorant
4. (continued)
of world affairs' (論懼革命召瓜分者乃不識時務也) appeared on 12 September 1908. The second, which appeared three days later in the Chung Hsing Jih Pao, was entitled 'P'ing-shih still does not admit his errors' (平實尚不肯認錯).


6. An article 'A comparison between reformists and prostitutes' (保皇黨與妓女比較) appeared in the 'Interesting Notes' column on 17 and 18 February 1908, in the Chung Hsing Jih Pao. A similar article entitled 'The difference and similarities between prostitutes and revolutionaries' (妓女與革命黨異同政) was published on 13 August 1908 in the Union Times.
7. The Union Times had brought two lawsuits against the Chung Hsing Jih Pao: one was on 8 August 1908, the other on 13 July 1909. The manager of the Chung Hsing Jih Pao, Wu Wu-sou, and one of the managing directors, Têng Tzu-yu, filed a counter-claim against the Union Times for deliberate defamation. See The Union Times, 8 August 1908, 13 July 1909; Chung Hsing Jih Pao, 20 October 1909, 25 October 1909.


9. The fourteen articles are listed in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Newspaper</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yün</td>
<td>Rebuttal of K'ang Yu-wei's false theory that Chinese and Manchu share the same fate</td>
<td>14, 16 September 1907</td>
<td>Chung Hsing Jih Pao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lung-t'êng</td>
<td>Refutation of Chêng Wen She's declaration</td>
<td>2-11 December 1907</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wang Ching-wei</td>
<td>The revolutionary radicalism</td>
<td>24, 26, 27 December 1907</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P'i-wei</td>
<td>Review of Wang's 'The radical revolution'</td>
<td>21-22 January 1908</td>
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9. (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Newspaper</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K'un-lun</td>
<td>The most shameless are those who hope for a constitutional monarchy</td>
<td>10-11 February 1908</td>
<td>Chung Hsing Jih Pao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsing-huang</td>
<td>On revolution</td>
<td>17-18 March 1908</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hên-hai</td>
<td>Hearty advice to those who hope for a constitutional monarchy</td>
<td>20-21, 23-26, 31, March 1908</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzü-chu</td>
<td>Comparison of simplicity and difficulty between revolution and constitutional monarchy</td>
<td>22 May 1908</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hên-hai</td>
<td>The psychology of revolution</td>
<td>5 June 1908</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wang Ching-wei</td>
<td>The determination of staging a revolution</td>
<td>4 Sept-ember 1908</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yeh-shih</td>
<td>Revolution is impracticable at the present time</td>
<td>29 June; 1-2, 4, 6-7, 9, 11, 13, 16-18, 20 July 1908</td>
<td>The Union Times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P'ing-shih</td>
<td>The only means to save China is a constitutional monarchy, not revolution</td>
<td>5 Sept-ember 1908</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Revolution could not be forced through</td>
<td>9, 11 September 1908</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'u</td>
<td>Rejection of revolution could save China</td>
<td>16, 19, 23-24 October 1908</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
10. K'ang strongly defended Manchu rule in China. He repeatedly quoted Chinese and European history to prove that alien rulers were not really harmful to the people. Chinese ancient saints like Shūn and Chou Wên-wang were of barbarian stock, but they ruled the country with justice and wisdom. Thus, K'ang emphasized that good rulers should not necessarily be Chinese by race, but Chinese by culture and tradition. He further declared that since the Manchu conquest in 1644, the ruling class fully accepted Chinese political institutions and preserved Chinese culture and tradition. Most of the Manchu rulers were wise, able and enlightened. The recent cession of lands and indemnity to the foreign powers should be attributed to the Empress Dowager Tz'u Hsi herself, but not to the Manchu as a whole. See K'ang Yu-wei, 'Pien Ko-ming shu', Hsin Min Tsung Pao, Vol. 16 (16 September 1902); Chang Nan and Wang Jên-chih (ed.), Hsin-hai ko-ming ch'ien shih-nien chien shih-lun hsüan-chi, Vol. 1, Pt. 1, pp. 212-15.


12. Ibid.
13. Ibid., 16 September 1907, p. 2.

14. Chêng Wên Shê was planned and founded by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and other reformist leaders like Hsü Ch'in, Chiang Chih-yu (alias Chiang Kuan-yün), Hsü Kung-mien, Mê Meng-hua and Ma Liang. Although Liang Ch'i-ch'ao was the master-mind of the movement, his name did not appear in the Executive Committee of the Chêng Wên Shê. That was probably due to the fact that as he was a political refugee wanted by the Ch'ing government, his formal association with the organization would jeopardize its standing. See Ting Wên-chiang, Liang-jên-kung hsien-shêng nien-pu chang pien ch'u kao, pp. 214-17, 230-31; 'List of the Executive Members of the Chêng Wên Shê', HHKM, Vol. 4, pp. 119-20.


18. Ibid., 2 December 1907, p.2.

19. Ibid., 6 December 1907, p.2.

20. Ibid., 4 December 1907, p.2.

21. Yeh-shih, 'Revolution is impracticable at the present time', The Union Times, 13 July 1908, p.1.

22. To accommodate some ex-Ming generals who helped Manchus to conquer China, the Ch'ing government created four feudatories in South China, namely Wu San-kuei in Yunan, K'ung Yu-teh in Kwangsi, Shang K'o-hsi in Kwangtung and Kêng Ching-chung in Fukien, among them Wu was most powerful. After the collapse of the regime of the last king of the Ming royal family, Kuei Wang (also known as the Yung-li Emperor) in 1662, Wu was promoted to Ch'in-wang, with his jurisdiction extending to Kweichow. He also extended his influence to Hunan, Szechwan, Shensi and Kangsu. Apart from increase in power, Wu also sought to enhance his wealth; he increased taxes, established monopolies on salt wells, gold and copper mines, and trade in ginseng and rhubarb. The increase of
22. (continued)

power and wealth of Wu San-kuei and, to less extent, other three feudatories, threatened the security of the empire. The Ch'ing government under its able leadership of Emperor K'ang-hsi, sought to reduce their influence by cutting military funds and other provisions. Thus, the conflict between the court and its feudatories began. In 1673, Shang K'o-hsi memorilized the throne of his desire to pass his last days in Liaotung, Manchuria, his request was granted, and his feudatory in Kwangtung was abolished. Threatened by the court's move of abolishing feudatories, Wu San-kuei revolted against the Ch'ing government in December 1673, and founded his own new dynasty, Chou. At the outset, Wu was quite successful in his military operation, his troops occupied Kweichow and Hunan at the beginning of 1674. His victory won the support of other feudatories who joined him against the Manchus. This united front has almost controlled most provinces south of Yangtze (except Chekiang). At the zenith of his power Wu made a strategic mistake of not marching his troops northward to central China, the key region to control of
the North. This gave Manchus an opportunity to gather their forces in Hupeh. In 1677, the tide took a sharp turn. Shang Chih-hsin, son of Shang K'o-hsi, surrendered to the Manchus, and Wu himself suffered several defeats in Kiangsi and Hunan. Retreating to Heng-chou, Hunan, he proclaimed himself Emperor of the Chou dynasty on March 23, 1678 with the reign-title of Chao-wu. But he could hardly win the support of gentry class and the Ming loyalists, and the situation grew increasingly unfavourable. Five and half months later, he died of dysentery, and was succeeded by his eldest grandson, Wu Shih-fan who carried on his military operations. But the rebels' influence was only confined to Yunan, Kweichow and parts of Hunan, Szechwan and Kwangsi. Late in 1679 Kwangsi went over to the Ch'ing side, and early 1680 Szechwan was also taken by a Ch'ing general. In 1681, the capital of the rebels in Yunan was beseiged for several months, Wu Shih-fan committed suicide on December 7 of the same year, thus ending the nine years' rebellion. This war was mainly conducted by three of the Four Vassals: Wu San-kuei, Shang Chih-hsin (son of Shang K'o-hsi) and Kêng
22. (continued)

23. This religious sect had been active in the late Yuan and Ming periods. It became widespread in Central China in the Chia-ch'ing and Tao-kuang reigns.

24. The Rebellion of the Three Vassals resulted in the occupation of more than six provinces and lasted for nine years; the White Lotus five provinces and nine years: and the Taiping Rebellion sixteen provinces and sixteen years. See The Union Times, 16 July 1908, p.1.

25. Historical examples such as the British Revolutions in 1642 and 1688, the French Revolution in 1789
25. (continued)
the Han Kao Tsu's occupation of the capital of the
Ch'in Dynasty, the Ming T'ai Tsu's success in
driving out the Mongol Emperor, and the Li Tzü-
ch'eng's capture of Peking proved that the success
of a revolution or a rebellion should come from
revolts in the capital. See Yeh-shih, 'Revolution
is impracticable at the present time', ibid.

26. What the author implied was peasant revolution.
The typical example he gave was the peasant
uprising led by Ch'en Shê and Wu Kuang at the end

27. Yeh-shih, op. cit., The Union Times, 18 July 1908,
p. 1; 20 July 1908, p. 1.

28. Ch'u, 'Rejection of revolution could save China',
ibid., 23 October 1908, p. 1.

29. Wang Ching-wei, 'The determination of staging a
revolution', in Chung Hsing Jih Pao, 4 September
1908, p. 2.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

34. According to Wang Ching-wei, there were two causes of revolution: Revolutionary Radicalism and Revolutionary Universalism. The former emphasized action irrespective of existing conditions, whereas the latter stressed the spread of the cause in enlisting popular confidence in revolution. These two causes should not be carried out at different stages, but should be enforced in unison. See Wang Ching-wei, 'The revolutionary radicalism', ibid., 24 December 1907, p. 2.

35. The revolutionaries gave several historical facts to prove their points. The French Revolution, the Unification of Italy and the Greek Independence took only a matter of months. The longest, like the American Independence War, lasted only eight years. Turning to Chinese history, the founder of the Han Dynasty spent twelve years in overthrowing the Ch'in Dynasty, and the founder of the Ming Dynasty, took only seven years to end the Mongols' rule in China. See Tzü-chu, 'Comparison of simplicity and difficulty between revolution and constitutional monarchy', ibid, 22 May 1908, p. 2.
36. Ibid.

37. K'un-lun, 'The most shameless are those who hope for a constitutional monarchy', ibid., 10 February 1908, p. 2.

38. Ibid.

39. In a memorial to the throne, a high-ranking Manchu officer, Tuan Fang, proposed to end the prohibition of intermarriage between Chinese and Manchu, and to give more opportunities to Chinese in entering imperial bureaucracy. Apparently, these proposals were aimed at easing the growing tension between the two races. As a result, an edict permitting intermarriage and promising racial equality was proclaimed in August 1907. See Tuan Fang, 'A Memorial to the Throne dated August 1906', HHKM, Vol. 4, pp. 39-47; Huang Hung-shou, Ch'ing-shih chi-shih pên-mo, Vol. 73, WSNWH, Vol. 1. Pt. 8, p. 476.

40. Hên-hai, 'Hearty advice to those who hope for the constitutional monarchy', Chung Hsing Jih Pao, 21 March 1908, p. 2.

41. Ibid., 24 March 1908, p. 2.
42. Hsiung was a junior officer in Hunan. After his return to China from Japan, where he completed a university course, he petitioned for the early adoption of a constitution. Thereupon, he was considered as a subversive element and ordered to be arrested. Hsiung fled without trace. Ibid., 21 March 1908, p. 4.


45. In the edict on the proposed constitutional monarchy, the Empress Dowager stressed '...In view of frequent contact with other nations, China has to change its traditional systems for survival. Therefore, ministers have been sent out to learn about other nations. According to them, those nations became wealthy and powerful because of adopting a constitution within which political, judicial and financial administrations of the nation are shared by the people... However, the present conditions in China are not yet suitable for the introduction of a constitution. In order to lay a solid foundation for the ultimate introduction
45. (continued)

of a constitution, we have to reform the official system first, and then the laws, education, finance, military organization and police. I therefore order all ministers, governors and high-ranking officers to direct all their efforts to this object. The time for the introduction of the proposed constitution will depend on the results of all these preliminary reforms....' See the original text in Ta-ch'ing tê-tsung ching-huang-ti shih-lu, Vol. 562, pp. 8-9; Chu Shou-pêng, Kuang-hsü-ch'ao tung-hua lu, Vol. 5, pp. 5563-5564; Shên Pao, 3 September 1906.

46. In November 1906, the cabinet was reorganized, the traditional six boards were expanded to ten ministries. In April 1907, it began political programmes with provincial governments, the old governor-generalship of Fêngtien was reorganized into the viceroyalty of the three Manchurian provinces. See Cameron, M.E., The Reform Movement in China, 1898-1912, pp. 105, 108.

47. In Singapore, the Imperial Edict was published on 13 September 1906 in the Lat Pao. The proposals to revise the official system and the cabinet were
47. (continued)

48. In a letter to K'ang Yu-wei, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao stated that the promulgation of the Edict had provided the reformists with their best opportunity to win support. See 'Letter from Liang Ch'i-ch'ao to K'ang Yu-wei written in December 1906', Ting Wên-chiang, Liang Jên-kung hsien-shêng nien-p'u ch'ang-p'ien ch'u kao, pp. 215-18.


50. See footnote 14.


52. Ibid, p. 265.
53. 'Letter from Chang Chia-sên to Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and others dated 25 March 1908', ibid., pp.273-74.

54. Shen Pao, 3 July 1908.


56. Ibid.


58. Chia, 'An appeal to the people to demand with all their effort for a parliament', ibid., 8 July 1908, p.1.


60. Ibid.

61. Yung, 'Fixing a time for the establishment of a Parliament is the foundation of China's self-strengthening', The Union Times, 26 September 1908, p.1.

62. The article was written under the pen name of Ch'i-fei, and appeared continuously in the Chung Hsing Jih Pao from 10 to 21 August 1908.
63. This article was written by a revolutionary under the pen name of Chê-jên. It appeared in the editorial column of the Chung Hsing Jih Pao from 16 to 24 September 1908. But the editor of the Chung-hua min-kuo k'ai-kuo wu-shih nien wên-hsien mistakenly gives the date from 15 to 24 September 1908. See Chung Hsing Jih Pao, 16 September, 19 September, 24 September 1908, p. 2; WSNWH, Vol. 1, Pt. 15, pp. 223-29.

64. Chü-fei, 'Refutation of the Union Times on the trend to Parliament', Chung Hsing Jih Pao, 10 August, 17 August 1908, p. 2.


68. This remark was made by an influential Manchu noble, Kang-i. See Li Chien-nung, Tsui chin san-shih nien Chung-kuo chêng-chih shih, p. 126.

70. The author claimed that since the petitions of the reformists failed to restore the Emperor Kuang Hsü in 1899 and 1900, the same result could be predicted, ibid., 18 August 1908, p. 2.

71. The Sun Pao had eleven agencies throughout Southeast Asia. They were Liu Sung-t'ing in Batu Pahat, Liu Ching-shan in Muar, Ch'an Chan-mooi in Kuala Lumpur, Fêng Tzŭ-yün in Lembing, Hsü Hui-chih in Kuantan, Ch'en Tsêng-po in Ipoh, the Penang Philomantic Society in Penang, Hua Hsüan Jih Pao in Bangkok, Kuang Hua Pao in Rangoon, Yu Tso-chhou in Batavia and Chiang Ch'ing-shui in Pontianak. There were five more in Hong Kong, Canton, Honolulu, San Francisco and Paris. See The Sun Pao, 17 February 1910, p. 1.

72. The pen names used were many, such as Tz'u-p'ing, Chung-kuo-min, Kung-shêng-ming, Chên-hsing-t'ang Chê-jên, Tzŭ-kung, Ping-ch'êng yu-kê, I-hsiu, P'ing-liang-hsin etc. But some of them used their real names, such as Liu Yün-t'ing, Ch'en Ch'i-shih, Ch'en Hsin-chêng, Li Chieh and others. See Chung Hsing Jih Pao, 28 July, 30 July, 3 August, 4 August, 8 August 1908, p. 5.
73. In December 1907, an imperial edict prohibited students from interfering in political affairs. In the same month, the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications issued regulations for the general public and overseas Chinese who intended to cable and petition the government. In July 1908, a member of the Chêng Wên Shê, Ch'ên Ch'ing-jên, who was concurrently the Secretary of the Ministry of Jurisdiction, was dismissed because of his petition for the early introduction of the proposed parliament. See Li Chien-nung, *Political History of China, 1840-1928*, p. 218; *Lat Pao*, 3 January 1908, p. 9; Chu Shou-pêng, *Kuang-hsü-ch'ao tung-hua lu*, Vol. 5, p. 5951.

75. Hu Han-min, the editor of the Chung Hsing Jih Pao, wrote a long article entitled 'What the Manchu call a constitution' (鳴呼滿洲所謂憲法大綱), which appeared intermittently in the newspaper from 21 September to 9 October 1908. In the article, Hu compared the Manchu Constitution with those of Britain, Prussia and Japan, and then fiercely attacked the Manchu Constitution. See Chung Hsing Jih Pao, 21 September, 23 September, 24 September, 26 September, 28 September 1908, p. 2, 29 September, 30 September, 1 October, 2 October, 5 October, 7 October, 8 October, 9 October 1908, p. 1.

76. Shên Pao, 14 August 1908.
Notes for Chapter VI

1. In a letter to the Governor of Hong Kong, Sir Henry A. Blake, Dr. Sun urged the British government to help reform China. See 'Letter from Dr. Sun Yat Sen to the Governor of Hong Kong written in 1900', KFCS, p.358; 'The True Solution of the Chinese Question' (an article written for an American newspaper published in 1904), ibid., pp. 369-71; Hu Han-min, 'Min Pao chih liu ta chu-i', Min Pao, no.3, pp. 19-21.


4. Due to personal ties with their provincial heads, rank-and-file members were closer to their own leader than to any other T'ung Meng Hui officials.
4. (continued)

Also, because they were sworn into the T'ung Mêng Hui by their provincial heads, these men would certainly feel they owed allegiance more to their leaders than to anyone else. In other words, party obligation seemed to be less important to them than friendship with their 'big brothers', the heads of their provincial branch offices in Tokyo. See Chêng, S.H., The T'ung Mêng Hui: Its Organization, Leadership And Finance, 1905-1912 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Washington, 1962), p.118.

5. In early 1907, the Japanese government asked Dr Sun Yat-sen to leave Japan at the request of the Ch'ing government. Fifteen thousand yen were given to Sun by the Japanese government and a Japanese merchant in token of compensation with which Sun left 2,000 to finance the Min Pao. Chang Ping-lin, the chief editor of the Min Pao, felt dissatisfied about the amount left, and started a campaign to topple Sun's leadership. With the support of some leaders of the Hunanese group, Sung Chiao-jên, T'an Jên-fêng and Chang Chi, he planned to call a general meeting to elect Huang Hsing (the leader of the Hunanese group) to replace Sun as the party's leader. Their attempt
5. (continued)
was unsuccessful because the proposal was rejected by Huang. A second attempt to oust Sun as the chairman of the party occurred in the same year. In June, 1907, when Chang Ping-lin learned that a Japanese confidant of Dr Sun, Kayano Chochi had bought obsolete weapons for the Ch'in-Lien Uprising, he took the opportunity to accuse Dr Sun for purposely endangering the lives of the revolutionaries. Having obtained some support from other leaders, this anti-Sun group went to force the Acting Chief of the Executive Section, Liu K'uei-i, to call a special meeting to expel Dr Sun. Things had gone so far that Liu was hit by Chang Chi, an anti-Sun leader, when he refused to do so. See Liu K'uei-i, Huang Hsing chuan-chi, p.16; Hu Han-min, Autobiography, p.27, in KMWH, vol.3.


11. T'ao had shown his enthusiasm in advocating the T'ung Mêng Hui during his short stay in Singapore and Penang. T'ao wrote several articles under the pen name of Ch'iao in the *Chung Hsing Pih Pao* to attack the reformists when the newspaper was engaged in a heated polemics with the *Union Times*. But he still did not succeed in both aims. See Chang Huang-hsi, op. cit., *HHKM*, vol. 1, p. 525.

12. These leaders were Koh Soh-chew, Ch'en Yün-shêng and Ch'en I-t'ao from Singapore; Li Chu-chung (Li Hsieh-ho), Wang Wên-ching, and Shên Chün-yeh from Dutch East-Indies. Both Koh and Ch'en were Teochew, Li, Wang and Shên were Hunanese. See Feng Tzŭ-yu, *i-shih*, vol. 2, pp. 199, 234, Koh Han-hui, *The Biography of A Revolutionary Martyr-Koh Soh-chew*, p. 6.


15. Anonymous, 'T'ao Ch'eng-chang' Fund-raising Regulations in Southeast Asia'. See original article kept in the KMT Archives, Taichung, Taiwan, pp. 1-2.

16. Military bonds were specifically stated to be used in the uprisings in the five provinces (Chekiang, Kiangsu, Anhwei, Kiangsi and Fukien). See Feng Tzū-yu, tsu-chih shih, p. 165.


19. The original letter is no longer available. Fortunately, it was reproduced by the Union Times, the reformist organ in Singapore, to frustrate the revolutionaries, and thus it comes to light. But its title was changed to 'A Circular of Declaring the Crimes of Sun Yat-sen by the Revolutionaries in Southeast Asia' (南洋革命黨人宣佈孫文罪狀之傳單). See the Union Times, 11 November, 27 November, 29 November, 1909, p. 2.

20. The letter gave many examples to prove their points: after the defeat of the Hok'ou Uprising in 1908,
20. (continued)

some revolutionary refugees from Yunnan could hardly earn a living in Singapore. They tried to mortgage themselves to the coolie-depots, but Dr Sun did not try to help them although he knew it. Sun, so the letter alleged, was so evil that he tried to poison some of his comrades whom he disliked. Further, he was supposed to have asked the British colonial authorities in Singapore to arrest some of his comrades who were under some suspicion of committing crimes. Sun was further accused of spreading personal influence among the overseas Chinese. He gave special favour to the Chung Hsing Jih Pao, and the Chung Kuo Jih Pao in Hong Kong over the party's main organ - Min Pao in Tokyo. He was accused of giving special authorities to the T'ung Meng Hui Southeast Asia Headquarters in Singapore, which was put under the control of his faithful follower - Hu Han-min. Moreover, Sun was charged with being corrupt. It was said that he had HK$200,000 in his bank account in Hong Kong, and that his elder brother had built a new house in Kowloon with Sun's financial support. See 'A Circular of Declaring the Crimes of Sun Yat-sen by the Revolutionaries in Southeast Asia', ibid.
21. Ibid.

22. This statement was widely circulated in Japan and overseas. The Union Times reproduced it on 6 November 1909. It was reproduced too in the Jih Hua Hsin Pao in Japan in January 1910 and was quoted in the New Century, no.117 (30 January 1910). See the Union Times, 6 November 1909, p.2; also see Chêng, S.H., T'ung Mêng Hui: Its Organization, Leadership and Finance, chapter 3, note 42.


25. Fêng Tzü-yu, i-shih, vol.5, p.73, also see HHKM, vol.1, p.518.


27. 'Letter from Dr. Sun Yat-sen to Wu Ching-hêng dated 12 November 1909', ibid., pp.419-20.


30. This statement was entitled as 'A Reply to Those
30. (continued)
Slanderers Who Sent the Anonymous Letters in

31. Two editorials were written by Ho Tê-ju, the chief
editor of the newspaper. The first one was entitled
'Condemn Chang Ping-lin and Those Who Sent Anonymous
Letters'; the second was entitled '0! The Small
Clown'. Ibid., 6 December, 7 December 1909, p.1,
3 January 1910, p.1.

32. In this attack, the author produced Ch'en's letters
to Ch'iu Ts'ang-hai, the leader of the T'ung Meng
Hui branch of Lembing, as evidence. Ibid., 3

33. Ibid., 7 December 1909, p.1.

34. In Chung Kuo Jih Pao, the editorial was entitled
'To Reply Readers Concerning the Defection of Chang
Ping-lin from the Party'. The article in Kung I Pao
was entitled 'A Letter to Chang Ping-lin'; in the
Jih Hua Hsin Pao the article was 'Concrete Proof of
Chang Ping-lin's Betrayal of the Party'. Ibid.,
30 November, 2 December 1909, p.1, 18 January 1910,
p.7.

35. Ibid., 18 January 1910, p.7.
36. Têng, throughout his life, was proved to be one of the most faithful followers of Dr Sun Yat-sen. He was the chairman of the T'ung Mêng branch in Kuala Pilah, and had close connections with the Seremban and Malacca T'ung Mêng Hui. See T'an Hui-ch'üan, 'A Brief Biography of Têng Tsê-ju', in KMHLHCC, pp.811-12; Têng Tsê-ju, Chung-kuo kuo-min-tang êrh-shih nien shih-chi, pp.1-2.

37. See 'Letter from Dr Sun Yat-sen to Teo Eng-hock and Tan Chor-nam dated 29 August 1908', 'Letter to Wu Wu-shou dated 20 October 1908', 'Letter to the Comrades of Thailand dated 7 April 1909', in KFCS, pp.409-11, 415-16.

38. 'Letter to Teo Eng-hock and Tan Chor-nam dated 29 August 1908', ibid., pp.409-10.


41. The newspaper closed down in February 1910. See Chung Hsing Jih Pao, February 1910; Feng mistakenly put it in the summer of 1910. Feng Tzu-yu, k'ai-kuo shih, p.85.

42. The Union Times, 6 November 1909, p.2, 11 November 1909, p.2.

43. Sun Yat-sen, 'Sun Wen hsueh-shuo', KFCS, p.36; 'Letter from Dr Sun Yat-sen to Têng Tsê-ju and Others dated 17 March 1909', in Têng Tsê-ju (ed.), Sun Chung-shan hsien-shêng nien-nien lai shou-châ, vo.2, p.10, same letter appeared in KFCS, p.415, but the date was put to 17 May which must be a mistake.

44. 'Letter From Dr Sun Yat-sen to Wu Ching-hêng dated 25 November 1909', KFCS, p.420.


46. The old oath of the T'ung Mõng Hui consists of four important sentences, i.e. '...to work for the expulsion of the Manchu, the restoration of Chinese sovereignty, the establishment of the Republic and equalization of land right...'. The new oath cut down to three sentences and differs slightly in wording, i.e. '...to work for the expulsion of the
46. (continued)
Manchu, to found a Chinese Republic and to carry out the principle of People Livelihood....' See 'Letter from Dr Sun Yat-sen to Wang Yueh-chou dated 10 November 1910', KFCS, pp.430-31.


48. 'Letter From Dr Sun Yat-sen to the Comrades in Honolulu in 1910', 'Letter to the Comrades in New York dated 22 June 1910', KFCS, pp.426-27.


50. 'Letter From Dr Sun Yat-sen to the Comrades in Ipoh dated 14 July 1910', photostat of this original letter appeared in Huang Ching-wan (ed.), Nan-yang p'ili hua-ch'iao ko-ming shih-chi, p.23; also see KFCS, p.427.


52. Yang Han-hsiang, 'Chung-hua min-kuo k'ai-kuo ch'ien-hou chih pên-shê ko-ming shih', in The Souvenir of the 24th Anniversary of the Penang Philomatic Society, p.21; Feng Tsŭ-yu erroneously put the date of shifting to April 1909. See k'ai-kuo shih, p.87, ko-ming shih, vol.2, p.140.
52a. The major cities in the Federated Malay States did not have such service. Although a Telegraphic line was extended from Singapore to Kuala Lumpur in 1909, it subjected to frequent breakdown. (See Makepeace, W., Brooke, G.E. & Braddell, R.J. (ed.), One Hundred Years of Singapore, London, 1921), vol.2, pp. 151-52.

52b. Soon after its inception in 1910, Kuang Hua Jih Pao's three chief editors were all expatriate revolutionary leaders, they were Lui T'ieh-yai (Szechwanese), Fang Shih-kang (Cantonese, born in P'u Ling District, Kwangtung) and Tai T'ien-ch'ou (chi-t'ao). A number of other staff members were also expatriate revolutionaries, such as Fang Ch'iu, Lin Fu-ch'uan, Hsieh San-ti, Hsieh Tz'ü-p'ien, and Chang Tu-chuan. (See Yang Han-hsiang, 'Chung-hua min-kuo k'ai-kuo ch'ien-hou chih pên-shê ko-ming shih', in The Souvenir of the 24th Anniversary of the Penang Philomatic Society, p.20.; Feng Tzǔ-yu, 'A Reporter of the Nanyang Kuang Hua Jih Pao--Fang Nan-kang', in i-shih, vol.3, pp.276-80.; see also two historical photographs of Kuang Hua Jih Pao's editorial board and staff members in Liu Wên-chü (ed.), This Half Century: Souvenir of the Golden Jubilee of the Kuang Hua Jih Pao,
52b. (continued)  
pp. 282-83.

52c. In 1908, the Chung Hsing Jih Pao accommodated some of revolutionary refugees. See 'Letter of Sun Yat-sen to Wu Wu-sou dated 20 October 1908', in KPCS, p. 411.

54. There was no particular statute for the T'ung Meng Hui Southeast Asia Headquarters when it was first set up in Singapore in 1908. The statute it adopted was mainly based on the statute of the Singapore T'ung Meng Hui branch. This new statute for the Headquarters in Penang was reproduced in Yang Han-hsiang 'Chung-hua min-kuo k'ai-kuo ch'ien-hou chih pên-shê ko-ming shih' See Teo Eng-hock, *Nanyang and the Founding of the Chinese Republic*; Yang Han-hsian, op. cit., p.22.

55. See the Statute, ibid.

56. Ibid.


58. Ibid.

60. In explaining the change of the name of the party to some of his important followers, Dr Sun said that most colonial governments in Southeast Asia strictly banned secret societies, and the British and French had already recognized Chinese revolutionary organization as a political party. If the party still appeared under the name of T'ung Mêng Hui, it probably would be mistakenly regarded as a Chinese secret society rather than a political organization. Therefore, the change of name to Chung Hua Ko Ming Tang (The Chinese Revolutionary Party) was desirable and would avoid any possible interference. See 'Letter from Dr Sun Yat-sen to Têng Tsê-ju dated 24 August 1910', in Têng Tsê-ju (ed.), Sun Chung-shan hsien-shêng nien-nien lai shou-cha, vol. 2, pp. 46-47. Also see KFCS, p.428.


63. This uprising was popularly known as the 'Huang Hua Kang Revolt'. It was because all the seventy-two
63. (continued)
martyrs of the Revolt were buried in the Huang Hua Kang (Mount of Yellow Flowers) near Canton.


65. 'Letter from Dr Sun Yat-sen to Chao Kung-pi dated 20 January 1910', KFCS, p.422.


68. In March 1910 Wang Ching-wei and another revolutionary leader, Huang Fu-shêng, who failed to assassinate the Manchu Regent, were arrested. Realizing that execution of these two assassins would provoke more violence at home and abroad, the Manchu government imprisoned them for life. See Feng Tzû-yu, ko-ming shih, vol.2, pp.230-54, also see WSNWH, vol.1, pt.13, pp.651-68; Anonymous, 'Huang Fu-shêng ko-ming hui-i-lu', WSNWH, vol.1, pt.13, pp.668-77.
69. In 1908 and 1909 revolutionary leaders in Singapore and Malaya generally faced financial difficulty caused by the drop of tin price. Enthusiastic leaders like Loke Chow-kit in Kuala Lumpur, Goh Say-eng and Ng Kim-keng in Penang were unable to contribute large sums of money to save the party's main organ, the Chung Hsing Jih Pao. See Chung Hsing Jih Pao, 5 June 1908, p.4, 4 February 1909, p.1, 16 August 1909, p.2; 'Letter From Dr Sun Yat-sen to Têng-Tsê-ju dated 3 November 1908', 'Letter to Têng Tsê-ju and Others dated 10 November 1908', 'Letter to Wang Fu dated 2 March 1909', in KFCS, pp.412-13; Chou Lu, op. cit., p.3.

70. See 'The Address of Dr Sun Yat-sen to the Comrades in Panang', KFCS, p.482.

71. Ibid.


73. The reason for this assignment was because Huang had been organizing revolts in Hunan, and had close contact with the revolutionary leaders in Hupei, and...
73. (continued)
was in the best position to do so. Whereas Chao had been the commander of the New Army in Nanking, and had good relations with its leaders. See T ê ng T s ê -j u, op. cit., Tsou L u, op. cit., p. 4.

74. Tsou L u, op. cit., p. 3.

75. Many books and memoirs did not mention this meeting, even not in the memoirs of T ê ng T s ê -j u and Hu H an- m i n, the two important participants of the Penang Conference. But it was recorded in Yang H an-h s i a n g's work. It seems Yang's record is acceptable, for he based his writing on the archive of the T 'u ng M ê ng H ui's Southeast Asia: Headquarters in Penang. See Yang H an-h s i a n g, op. cit., in The Souvenir of the 24th Anniversary of the Penang Philomatic Society, p. 35.

76. Ibid.; Ch'en H s i n-ch ê ng, H u a-ch'i a o k o-m i n g h s i a o- s h i h, p. 23, also see Ch'en H s i n-ch ê ng, 'H u a-ch'i a o k o-m i n g s h i h', in Ch'en H s i n-ch ê ng i-c h i, vol. 2, p. 12.

77. Yang H an-h s i a n g, op. cit., in The Souvenir of the 24th Anniversary of the Penang Philomatic Society, p. 35.

78. Sir John Anderson to the Secretary of State for the Colonies dated 29 December 1910, GD (confidential), 110/1910.
79. In his speech, Dr Sun called upon his fellow-countrymen to support the Chinese revolution, for the success of it would also serve their interests. He urged them not always to depend on the benevolence of the British colonial government, and, according to his analysis, they would be expelled from Singapore and Malaya when the colonies grew with enough white population. He further pointed out that all overseas Chinese were temporarily used by the white men to develop colonies, but the fruits were not to be shared by them. He gave the cases in America and Australia as concrete examples to support his argument. See 'The Speech Delivered by Dr Sun Yat-sen at the Ch'ing Fang Ko Club, Penang', in The Souvenir of the 24th Anniversary of the Penang Philomatie Society, pp.143-44.

80. Anonymous, 'The Deportations of Dr Sun Yat-sen from Singapore and Penang', p.1. (Original manuscript kept at the KMT Archives, Taichung, Taiwan); Chou Lu, A History of the 'Canton March 29 Revolution', p.5.

81. In an editorial entitled 'Dr Sun Yat-sen' in which the newspaper ridiculed Sun as '...a revolutionary who does not revolute....' It also reproduced the main points of Sun's speech. See Straits Echo, 2 November 1910, p.4.
82. Tsou Lu, op. cit., p. 5; Ch'en Hsin-cheng, Hua-ch'iao ko-ming hsiao-shih, p. 29.

82a. After the abortive uprising in Canton in 1895, Dr. Sun Yat-sen and some of his followers took refuge in Hong Kong. But their presence has been considered by the local government as a source of public disorder in the Colony. In order to safeguard the peace and stability of Hong Kong, as well as appeasing the Canton authorities which had constantly urged to extradict the rebels, the Hong Kong government decided to banish Sun from the Colony for five years. The order of exile of Sun was issued on 4 March 1896. See Mary Chan Man-yee, "Chinese Revolutionaries in Hong Kong 1895-1911" (an unpublished M.A. thesis of the University of Hong Kong), pp. 63-64.

82c. Sun was deported from the Straits Settlements in 1900 for five years. See p. 30 and Chapter 2, note 14.

82c. Four public speeches (this excluding those talks and speeches given to members of the T'ung Meng Hui) which the writer has traced were given by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in Malaya before 1910. None of
82c. (continued)

them had touched on British colonial rule. See
the table below:

Table Public Speeches Delivered by Dr. Sun
Yat-sen in Malaya (1906-1908)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. July 1906</td>
<td>Grand Theatre</td>
<td>Republicanism &amp; Unity</td>
<td>Sun used modern company to compare with a republic, and emphasized importance of unity among Chinese in Kuala Lumpur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kuala Lumpur</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. July 1906</td>
<td>Youth League</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>Manchus massacred and oppressed Chinese. Manchus gave away Chinese territories and brought China to the brink of partition by the Powers. Manchus should be driven out so as to save China.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Club, K.L.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. March or</td>
<td>P'ing Chang</td>
<td>Anti-Manchuism &amp; Nationalism</td>
<td>Manchus enslaved Chinese. Manchus were frequently defeated by foreign powers and were quite prepared to hand over China to foreigners. The only means of China's salvation was the overthrow of Manchu rule.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1907</td>
<td>Asso. Penang</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. 1908</td>
<td>Hsiao Lan T'ing</td>
<td>Anti-Manchusim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Club, Penang</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
82c. (continued)

(Sources: Têng Mu-han, 'Record of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen's visit to Kuala Lumpur in 1906' (Manuscript kept in KMT archives in Taichung), p.1; Ch'en Chi-yuan, 'Mr. P'eng Tsê-min and the Revolutionary Activities of the Overseas Chinese in Kuala Lumpur before and after the 1911 Revolution', in HHKMHIL, pp.395-96; Ch'en Hsin-cheng, Hua-ch'iao ko-mining hsiao-shih (manuscript), p.2; Yang Han-hsiang (ed.), The Souvenir of the 24th Anniversary of the Penang Philomatic Society, pp. 141-43; Wang Gungwu, 'Sun Yat-sen and Singapore', in JSSS, vol.15, pt.2, pp.59-62; Lo Chia-lun, Kuo-fu nien-p'u ts'u-kao, pp. 161-209; Chang Ch'i-yûn (ed.) KFCS, pp. 482-83.)
82d. This can be seen from the fact that Sun planned to go to Singapore to speed up the fund-raising campaign. See the following note 84.

82e. Anonymous, "The Deportation of Dr. Sun Yat-sen from Singapore and Penang" (original manuscript), p.1.

82f. Quoting a Hong Kong newspaper (Hua Tzü Jih Pao ?) dated 24 September 1910, the Lat Pao in Singapore noted that Dr. Sun's eldest brother Sun Mei was banished from Hong Kong. (see Lat Pao 3 October 1910, p.2.) I have been unable to check with the Hong Kong government's archives concerning this action. The event was mentioned in Dr. Sun's correspondences with his close comrades of this period. But Yang Han-hsiang, a revolutionary leader of the T'ung Meng Hui Southeast Asia Headquarters in Penang, did mention the participation of Sun Mei in the Penang Conference (see page 242). Judging from the fact that Sun Mei was never an important revolutionary leader (although he had constantly supported his younger brother with money and encouragement), his presence in the conference may be the result of his taking refuge in Penang after his exile from
82f, (continued)

Hong Kong. See Yang Han-hsiang, "Chung-hua min-kuo k'ai-kuo ch'ien-hou chih pên-shê ko-ming shih', in Yang Han-hsiang (ed.), The Souvenir of the 24th Anniversary of the Penang Philomatic Society, pp. 32-33; Chang Ch'i-yün (ed.), KFCS, pp. 427-31.

83. It was said that Dr. Sun was summoned by the Resident Councillor of Penang to his office and was informed that his further stay would be undesirable. But there was no definite date of this event taking place. According to my tentative judgement based on indirect evidence, this could have happened between 20 and 26 November 1910. For on 20 November Sun promised Li Guan-sui, a revolutionary leader in Ipoh, to go to Singapore to step up the fund-raising campaign, but in the letter dated 26 November, he told Li that he had to go to Europe and America because something happened unexpectedly. See 'Letter from Dr. Sun Yat-sen to Li Guan-sui and Teh Lay-seng dated 26 November 1910', see photostats of the original letter in Huang Ching-wan (ed.), Nan-yang p'ili hua-ch'iao ko-ming shih-chih, p.25; also see KFCS, P.431.
84. Ibid.

85. 'Letter From Dr. Sun Yat-sen to Li Guan-sui and Teh Lay-seng dated 26 November 1910', in Huang Ching-wan (ed.), op. cit., p.25; KFCS, p. 431.

87. Yang Han-hsiang, 'Chung-hua min-kuo k'ai-kuo ch'ien-hou chih pên-shê ko-ming shih', in The Souvenir of the 24th Anniversary of the Penang Philomatic Society, p.42.


90. 'Letter From Dr Sun Yat-sen to Têng Tsê-ju dated 28 November 1910', see Têng Tsê-ju (ed.), op.cit., vol.2, p.66, also see KFCS, p.432.

91. 'Letter From Hu Han-min to Têng Tsê-ju dated 14 December 1910 (13 November in the lunar calendar)', see WSNWH, vol.1, pt.14, p.85.

92. 'Letter From Dr Sun Yat-sen to Têng Tsê-ju dated 28 November 1910', see Têng Tsê-ju (ed.), op. cit., vol.2, p.66.

94. In this meeting, Shen Lien-fang, one of the leaders of the T'ung Meng Hui branch in Singapore, donated S$1,000. He was elected as the cashier in charge of the fund-raising of the branch. Although Dr Sun did send a letter to the branch to appeal for generous donations on his way to Europe, it seems that the letter was brushed aside. Ibid., pp. 8-9; 'Letter From Dr Sun Yat-sen to the Comrades of the Singapore T'ung Meng Hui branch', in KFCS, p. 433, also see WSNWH, vol. 1, pt. 14, pp. 71-72.

95. Têng Tsê-ju, op. cit., p. 41.

96. 'Letter From Hu Han-min to Têng Tsê-ju dated 31 December 1910 (30 November in the lunar calendar)', WSNWH, vol. 1, pt. 14, p. 85.


98. Ibid., Têng Tsê-ju, op. cit., pp. 42-43.

99. Ibid.

100. When the news of Wang's imprisonment was known in Singapore and Malaya, Hu Han-min (one of the closest friends of Wang) and Ch'en Pi-chün (later became the wife of Wang) started a campaign to raise funds for
100. (continued)
saving Wang and his colleague. The campaign was quite successful, some leaders were touched by Wang's action and donated large sums of money. Several thousand dollars (Straits) were collected. See Ch'en Hsin-chêng, Hua-ch'iao ko-ming hsiao-shih, pp.18-20; Hu Han-min, Autobiography, pp.34-35, in KMWH, vol.3; Yang Han-hsiang, op. cit., in The Souvenir of the 24th Anniversary of the Penang Philomatic Society, pp.16-18.


102. 'Letter From Huang Hsing to Li Guan-sui, Teh Lay-seng and Li Hau-cheong dated 10 January 1911' in Huang Hsing, Huang K'o-ch'iang hsien-shêng shu-han mo-chi, pp.33-34, also see Huang Ching-wan (ed.), Nan-yang p'ili hua-ch'iao ko-ming shih-chi, p.27.

103. 'Letter From Huang Hsing to Li Guan-sui and Others dated 21 January 1911 (21 December of the Kên-shû year in the lunar calendar)', Huang Hsing, op. cit., pp.41-42, also see WSNWH, vol.1, pt.14, p.83.

104. See Chapter VIII, table 5.


107. Ibid.

108. The cable received from Wuchang reads as follows:

'Wuchang has been occupied, transmit money immediately, inform other branches.' The cable from Shanghai was sent by Ch'en Ch'i-mei, the famous revolutionary leader and general. This cable mainly asked for financial help. See ibid., p.62; Ch'en Hsin-chêng, Hua-ch'iao ko-ming hsiao-shih, p.32, also see the same author, 'Hua-ch'iao ko-ming shih', in Ch'en Hsin-chêng i-chi, vol.2, pp.15-16.

109. On 14 November 1911 Ch'en Ch'i-mei acknowledged the receipt of S$20,000. See The Souvenir of the 30th Anniversary of the Penang Philomatic Society, p.29.


112. Different figures of the attendants were given. In the Penang Hsin Pao, a reformist newspaper in Penang, the figure was only four hundred. But in the revolutionary organ in Singapore, the Nan Ch'iao Jih Pao, the figure was more than a thousand. Apparently, both had some bias in their own estimates. See Penang Hsin Pao, 3 November 1911; Nan Ch'iao Jih Pao, 7 November 1911, p.9.

113. Foo Chee-choon, the prominent reformist leader in Ipoh, changed side to the revolutionary camp after the Wuchang Uprising. The analysis of his change of loyalty will be discussed in Chapter VII.

114. At the meeting, Foo Chee-choon was the chairman. He made a very important speech in which he called upon his compatriots not to stand aloof from the national struggle against the Manchu. He emphasized that what the revolutionaries had done was not for any individual, but for the interests of all Chinese and China. And he declared to put his support behind the revolutionaries. After the speech, he donated S$5,000 to set a good example for the fund-raising. See Penang Hsin Pao, 6 November 1911, p.6; Nan Ch'iao Jih Pao, 7 November 1911, p.9.
115. See Chapter VII.

116. This rumour was entirely unfounded. It might have been spread by the local revolutionaries to enliven the sentiment of the general public. It stimulated more Chinese to cut their queues off and burn the Ch'ing flags. See the Straits Times, 7 November, 1911, p.9.


118. The sponsors were Tan Chor-nam, Teo Eng-hock, Shen lien-fang, Tan Kah-kee, Ch'en Tzŭ-ying and Ch'en hsien-chin and Ho Tê-ju. See Nan Ch'iao Jih Pao, 13 November 1911, p.5.

120. The sum donated by the audience was only S$1239. But add to the amount collected from the things sold on the spot, the funds raised in the meeting came to several thousands; see Nan Ch'iao Jih Pao, 13 November 1911, p.5.

121. The committee consisted four cashiers, two each from the Kwangtung and Fukien communities, and several fund-raisers. Ibid.

122. Ibid.

123. Penang Hsin Pao, 13 November, 14 November 1911, p.3.

124. One hundred and three members of the committee were elected from the audiences. These members included representatives of each street in Penang. Ibid.

125. The temple was founded by the Fukien community in Singapore. Although it was primarily built for religious purposes, it also provided a place for other social functions of the community.

126. Nan Ch'iao Jih Pao, 14 November 1911, p.5.

127. Nine out of the twenty members of the committee were revolutionaries. They were Tan Kah-kee, Teo Eng-hock, Tan Chor-nam, Ch'en Hsien-chin, Yeh Tun-jên, Ch'en Chên-hsiang, Tan Boo-liat, Liu Hung-shih, and
127. (continued)

Ch'en Tzŭ-ying. Tan Kah-kee was elected as the chairman. Ibid., 17 November 1911, p.5; Lim Ngee-soon, 'Chung-hua min-kuo k'ai-kuo ko-ming shih chih i-yeh' (original paper kept in the KMT Archives).


129. Nan Ch'iao Jih Pao, 21 November 1911, p.5.

130. Although the chairman, Lo Cho-fu and the vice-chairman Liao Chêng-hsing were non-revolutionaries, four out of the ten members of the standing committee were revolutionary leaders. They were Shên Lien-fang, Wang Pang-chieh, Teo Eng-hock, and Tan Chor-nam. It is noticeable that Tan Chor-nam, a Fukien, was included in this committee, and Teo Eng-hock, a Teochew, was included in the committee of the 'Fund-raising for Fukien Security'. Apparently, both Tan and Teo were elected in their capacity as leaders of the Singapore T'ung Meng Hui branch rather than communal leaders. Ibid., 23 November 1911, p.5.

131. The women representatives held a meeting at the Thong Chai Medical Institution on 29 November to work out
131. (continued)

ways and means to raise funds for the Kwangtung province. A committee under the same title of 'Fund-raising for the Security and Relief of Kwangtung Province' was set up. Ibid., 4 December 1911, p.2; Penang Hsin Pao, 4 December 1911, p.6.

132. A group of mechanical workers in Singapore gathered in the Chêng I Night School to discuss ways to support the revolution; more than three hundred dollars was donated. The students in the Tuan Mêng school started to raise funds to finance the revolutionary army in Hupeh. The Fu Chêng Chûn drama troupe in Singapore gave charity performances to raise money for 'Fund-raising for the Security and Relief of Kwangtung Province'. See Nan Ch'iao Jih Pao, 2 December, 11 December, 12 December, 14 December 1911, p.5.

133. Chou Hsien-jui, 'A History of the Singapore Public Speaking Group', p.1 (original text kept in the KMT Archives); also see WSNWH, vol.1, pt.11, p.555.

134. The regular speakers were mostly members of the Tung Tê Reading Club and the Singapore Reading Club, the two revolutionary organizations. The better known
134. (continued)
figures were Ho Hsin-t'ien, Kuo Yüan-ku, Wu Fêng-ch'ao, Hsieh K'un-lin, Chang Jen-nan and Li Chao-chi. Chou Hsien-jui, Ibid., pp. 4-6.

135. Ibid.

136. Ma Fu-i was a native of Hsiang T'an district of Hunan province, and was a member of the Ko Lao secret society which had strong influence in the provinces along the Yangtze valley. After the death of Wang Shin-chüeh, Ma succeeded him as head of the Ko Lao in Hunan in 1900. Ma was introduced to Huang Hsing by Liu Kuei-i, a Hunanese revolutionary leader, and joined the revolutionary front for the purpose of overthrowing the Manchus. With the combined effort, a secret semi-military organization named T'ung Ch'ou Hui was established with Huang Hsing as its Chief Commander, Liu Kuei-i and Ma Fu-i his deputies. The society drew its membership mainly from Huang's Hua Hsing Hui and Ma's Ko Lao Hui, and its main function was to prepare a revolt in Changsha, Hunan in November 1904 on the occasion of Empress Dowager's sixtieth birthday. The plot was revealed to
local officials and suppressed. Huang and Liu escaped to Shanghai, while Ma took refuge in Kwangsi province. In March 1905, another plot was planned by Huang, Liu and Ma, but failed again. Ma Fu-i was captured and executed by the Governor of Hunan, Tuan Fang. See "A Biography of Ma Fu-i", in KMHLHCC, p. 87-88.

137. The Straits Times, 23 October 1911, p. 7; the Times of Malaya, 30 October 1911, p. 9.

138. The only revolutionary newspaper existing during that period was the Kuang Hua Jih Pao in Penang which thus served as the main organ of the revolutionary movement in Singapore and Malaya. See Yang Han-hsiang, 'Chung-hua min-kuo k' ai-kuo ch' ien-hou chih pên-shê ko-ming shih', in The Souvenir of the 24th Anniversary of the Penang Philomatic Society, pp. 19-21.
139. All of them were members of the Singapore T'ung Meng Hui branch. See Feng Tzu-yu, k'ai-kuo shih, pp.86-87; Lim Ngee-soon, 'Chung-hua min-kuo k'ai-kuo ko-ming shih chih i-yeh', (original text in the KMT Archives); Nan Ch'iao Jih Pao, 16 November 1911, p.2.

140. Feng Tzu-yu mistakenly put the date of publishing in April 1911, the time after the Canton March 29 Uprising. Actually, the newspaper was first published on 27 October 1911, about a fortnight after the outbreak of the Wuchang Uprising. See Feng Tzu-yu, op. cit., pp.86-87; Nan Ch'iao Jih Pao, 27 October 1911.

141. See the notice of the Nan Ch'iao Jih Pao issued by Lu Wei-hang on 14 November 1911. Nan Ch'iao Jih Pao, 16 November 1911, p.2.

142. Ibid., 14 November, 14 December 1911, p.5; Penang Hsin Pao, 6 December, 25 December 1911, p.3.

143. All these revolutionary dramas were aimed at stirring up the feeling of the audiences. For example, a drama troupe in Singapore presented a play of the assassination of the Ch'ing Admiral in Canton, Li Chun, by a revolutionary. The object was apparently to agitate the audiences and to glorify the
143. (continued)

martyrdom of the assassin. See Nan Ch'iao Jih Pao, 14 December 1911, p.5; Penang Hsin Pao, 25 December 1911, p.3.
NOTES FOR CHAPTER VII

1. Such as Teo Eng-hock (chairman) Tan Chor-nam (deputy) in Singapore; Loke Chow-tyhe (chairman) Wang Ch'ing (deputy) of Kuala Lumpur branch; Goh Say-eng (chairman) Ng Kim-keng (deputy) of Penang branch; and Têng Tsê-ju (chairman) of Kuala Pilah branch. See Chapter III.

2. Loke was born in a peasant family in 1846 at his native district Ho Shan of Kwangtung province. During his childhood, his native district suffered harassment from the T'ai-ping rebels, and its economy was ruined to a large extent. Thus, Loke was forced to go overseas as a coolie. He worked in Singapore for eleven years, and moved to Larut in 1868. His aim of moving to Larut was to try his luck for finding fortune, for Larut was by that time the most important tin mining centre in Malaya. It appeared that Loke failed to achieve his goal after struggling for fifteen years. He moved to Kuala Lumpur in 1883, and found his way in tin mining, planting and other commercial ventures. After two decades struggle, he rose as one of the most prominent commercial magnates.
2. (continued)


4. 'Letter from Dr Sun Yat-sen to Têng Tsê-ju in 1908', see Têng Tsê-ju (ed.) Sun Chung-shan hsien-shêng nien-nien lai shou-cha, vol.1, pp.42-43; see also KFCS, p.407.

5. Hu Han-min (recorded by Chang Chên-chih) 'Nanyang and the Chinese Revolution' (original text kept in the KMT Archives in Taichung, Taiwan). See also WSNWH, vol.1, pt.11, pp.479-80.


7. Hu Han-min's words. See Hu Han-min (recorded by Chang Chên-chih) op.cit., (original), also WSNWH, vol.1, pt.11, pp.479-80.

9. Hu Han-min (recorded by Chang Chên-chih) op. cit. (original). See also WSNWH, vol. 1, pt. 11, p. 482.

10. This policy was clearly spelled out by Chang Chih-tung, the Governor-General of Hunan and Hupeh in 1887. It was practised throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. See Wang Chin-ch'ing (ed.) Chang Wên-hsiang kung ch'Han-chi, vol. 1, pp. 473-75.

11. The best example was the case of Chang Chên-hsun (Chang Pi-shih). Chang was a native of Ta P'u district of Kwangtung. He went to Batavia to try his fortune at the age of eighteen. After many years' struggle, he emerged as one of the wealthiest Chinese merchants in Southeast Asia. His numerous tin mines, factories, coconut and coffee estates spread throughout Malaya and the Dutch East Indies. In 1890, he was appointed as the first Chinese Consul in Penang, after four years, he was promoted to Acting Consul-General in the Straits Settlements. In 1898, he was appointed to take charge of preparatory work for the construction of the Canton-Hankow Railway. In 1903, he became the
11. (continued)

Minister in charge of Mining and Railways in the Fukien and Kwangtung provinces. Next year, he was again honoured as the Minister for Investigating Commercial Affairs in Southeast Asia. Apart from his several positions held in China, Chang was also involved in economic developments in China. He invested large amounts of money in planting grapes and set up wineries in Shangtung province, and in coal and gold mines in Kwangtung province. See K'uang Kuo-hsiang, 'A Short Biography of Chang Pi-shih', in Ping-ch'eng san-chi, pp. 97-107; Hsing Pao, 15 July 1895, pp. 4-5; T'ien Nan Hsin Pao, 5 September 1898, pp. 3-4; 28 February 1899, p. 2; 1 and 2 March 1899, p. 2; 29 December 1899, 2 and 4 January 1900, p. 2; 7 November 1903, p. 2; K'uang Wu Tang, vol. 5, pp. 3005-006.
12. Foo’s investment in China can be seen in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Nature of Enterprise</th>
<th>Capital ($)</th>
<th>Partner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fan Yü, K.T.</td>
<td>July 1907</td>
<td>Coal Mining</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>Ou Chao-jên</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Hsi, F.K.</td>
<td>July 1907</td>
<td>Coal, iron &amp; others</td>
<td>2,000,000</td>
<td>Wu Tzü-ts'ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hainan, K.T.</td>
<td>Dec. 1907</td>
<td>Tin</td>
<td>400,000</td>
<td>Ou Chao-jên</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amoy, F.K.</td>
<td>Aug. 1908</td>
<td>Fukien Railway</td>
<td>6,000,000</td>
<td>Ch'en Pao-shên</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


13. See Chapter III, Note 45.


15. Nan Ch'iao Jih Pao, 7 November 1911, p. 9; Hua Tzǔ Jih Pao, 15 November 1911, p. 2.

16. Full text of Foo’s speech in the rally was published in the local newspapers. See Penang Hsin Pao, 6 November 1911, p. 6.

17. In his suggestion, Foo spelled out details of purpose, organization, fund raising and other functions of the Security Council. He further suggested how to organize local militia and to help to establish
17. (continued)
revolutionary governments in the three territories. See *Nan Ch'iao Jih Pao*, 20 November 1911, p.9.

18. 'Letter from Hu Han-min to Foo Chee-choon', in *Hua Tzü Jih Pao*, 12 December 1911, p.2.

19. Chua Hui-seng, the vice-chairman of the T'ung Tê Reading Club, Singapore, accused Teo Eng-hock to be opportunistic. According to Chua, Teo became indifferent to revolution after series of defeats of the revolutionary uprisings in South and Southwest China, because he saw no prospect for revolution. Chua further stated that after the overthrow of the Manchu government in 1912, Teo went to Nanking to urge Dr. Sun Yat-sen to make him the Administrator of Hainan Island, or as the Minister for Railway. But he was rejected. Chua Hui-seng, interview on 27 February, 1965 at the T'ung Tê Reading Club Singapore

19a. Before the defeat of China in the First Sino-Japanese War in 1895, many Chinese still viewed
Japan with contempt. Their image of Japan was a tiny island kingdom, inhabited by 'dwarfs', and was culturally inferior and politically subordinate to China. To a large extent, this image reflects partial truth of the Sino-Japanese relations in the pre-Ming period. Culturally, Japan borrowed extensively from China, particularly in the Sui (590-618) and T'ang (618-906) periods. Politically, Japan also became one of China's tributary states. The image of Japan as a tiny kingdom was relatively true when compared with China. Since the middle of the 16th century (mid-Ming period), there was substantial change in Japan's political and cultural relations with China. After 1551, Japan ceased to send tributary missions to the Ming court and there was a trend to borrow Western culture after a period of contact with foreign traders and missionaries. This trend was intensified in the mid-19th century when the country was engaged in such massive reform under the Meiji Emperor. It soon emerged as a formidable power in East Asia in 1880s. All these rapid changes of Japan's ascendancy to power did not substantially alter its image in
the minds of majority of Chinese. The overseas Chinese in Malaya and Singapore who were as ignorant as their countrymen, inherited such old image of Japan which was, in their eyes, a tiny, inferior and contemptible nation. In some editorials published on the eve and in the progress of the Sino-Japanese War, the editor of the Hsing Pao (which was one of the two Chinese newspapers in Singapore) strongly advocated war against Japan on the ground that 'the greed of such tiny island kingdom should be curbed'. In another editorial after the defeat of China in the war, the same editor considered that 'the defeat of China, the biggest nation on earth, by the dwarfs of kingdom of several islands was the humiliation unprecedented in Chinese history'. All these remarks reflect high degree of ethnocentrism of some of overseas Chinese intellectuals. See Hsing Pao 11 July, 20 and 28 December, 1894, p.1.; Fairbank, J.K. & Teng, S.Y., "On The Ch'ing Tributary System", in the same authors, Ch'ing Administration: Three Studies, pp. 107-246.; see also Fairbank, J.K., The Chinese World Order (Mas-
19a. (continued)
sachusetts, 1968).

20. The ill-treatment of Chinese in Dutch East
Indies, Thailand and America particularly the
Chinese in Honolulu, received wide publicity
in Chinese newspapers in Singapore. The Lat
Pao had several editorials commenting on the
Dutch policy towards the Chinese. Jih Hsin Pao
which was published by Dr. Lim Boon Keng for
advocating the reform movement reproduced a
long open letter written by a Chinese in Hon­
olulu who witnessed the so-called 'The White-
men's atrocity--the burning of China Town in
Honolulu' at the beginning of 1900. The news­
paper also strongly criticized the restrictions
imposed by the East Indies government on new
Chinese immigrants, on physical checking at
quarantine in Semarang, and the proposed head-
tax on Chinese by the Thai government. The
Union Times and the Chung Hsing Jih Pao (the
reformist and revolutionary organs in Singapore)
also frequently drew their readers' attention
to the maltreatment of Chinese in the Dutch
East Indies, and to issues such as quarantine
checking on Chinese female (in nude?), labour

20a. For instance, the open letter written by a witness of the so-called 'The Whitemen's atrocity' wrote that Chinese in Honolulu were treated worse than criminals and slaves. He quoted an example the way Chinese were treated during an epidemic of black death. The were in large number confined to compounds, forced to remove and give up their clothing and possessions which burned while they were forced to bathe in pools disinfectant. Added to this humiliating treatment, the writer reported that more than a thousand Chinese shops and houses were burned down, and a loss was estimated to US$4,000,000. He argued that because of weakened China, the Chinese overseas were subject to such disgraceful treatment. See the Jih Hsin Pao, 13-16 March, pp.4 & 7.


24. I have been unable to find more biographical informations of Yen Ying-yüan in available sources. He was known as a district Gaol-Warden (Tien-shih). He was captured after the fall of the district fortress, and was persuaded to surrender to the Manchus who promised to reward him with high rank. He bluntly rejected such offer, and was cooped up in a monastery where he committed suicide. Ibid.


26. Hsü was executed on 6 July 1907 (26 May in the Lunar calendar). The day 13 July 1909 (26 May in the Lunar calendar) was the second anniversary of Hsü's sacrifice.

27. This sentence prevailed in the seventeenth century when the Manchu first conquered China. At that time, the Manchu conqueror required all
27. (continued)

Chinese to shave off half of their hair to make a queue in token of submission. Those who refused were regarded as loyalists of the toppled dynasty – Ming – and were to be beheaded. Thus, those who wished to preserve their heads had to sacrifice their hair, and vice versa.

29. Under the instructions of Dr Sun Yat-sen and Wang Ching-wei, these revolutionary activists made public speeches in the evening. Their propagation not only drew many audiences, but also attracted the attention of the local government. Some of them were detained and charged with agitation. See Lat Pao, 13 and 20 May 1908, p.5.


31. Too Nam and his son, Too Kwun-hung, founded a circuitous movie troupe named 'The Great Chung Hua' (大中華巡迴電影) in 1910. It toured extensively throughout Malay Peninsula. Movies with strong revolutionary orientation, such as 'The Revolutionary History of Napoleon Bonaparte', 'The Revolutionary History of George Washington' etc. were shown. See Ch' an Chan-mooi, 'A Brief Biography of Mr Too Nam', p.6; Ch' an Chan-mooi (ed.) Obituaries on Mr Too Nam, illustration 7.

32. Lin was often invited to make speeches in reading clubs, mass rallies and Chinese Christian
32. (continued)

Associations. See Chung Hsing Jih Pao, 13 January 1908, p.5; 16 March 1908, p.5; 10 June 1908, p.2; The Sun Pao, 6 and 9 November 1909, p.2.


34. Chou was a reporter of the Chung Hsing Jih Pao, and was a clerk of the T'ung Mêng Hui Southeast Asian Headquarters in Singapore, later in Penang. See Tsou Lu, 'A Biography of Chou Hua' in Zhou Lu, A History of the Canton March 29th Revolution, p.163. See also KMHLHCC, p.150.

35. Lin performed the main actor of Chung Kuo-hsing, and T'an acted as the Madam Chung in the famous play 'The Bell After the Dream'. See The Sun Pao, 28 December 1909, p.3.

36. See Chapter III.

37. The Sun Pao, 21 October 1910, p.3.

38. Ibid., 20 October 1910, p.3.


40. In the Canton March 29th Uprising, nine martyrs from Singapore and Malaya belonged to the middle class.
40. (continued)

They were Lo Chung-huo (teacher) Kuo Chi-mei (student) Yü Tung-hsiung (student) Lin Hsiu-ming (student from Japan) Chou Hua (reporter) Lao P'ei (reporter) Lo K'Un (trader) Ch'en Wen-pao (petty trader) and Li Ping-hui (missionary). Apart from these martyrs, another patriot, Ch'en Ching-yo (teacher) who failed to assassinate the Admiral of Kwangtung, was also from the middle class. See WSNWH, vol.1, pt.11, pp.564-67; KMHLHCC, pp.150, 154, 156-57, 163-64, 167-68, 195-98.

41. Hu Han-min (recorded by Chang Chên-chih) 'Nanyang and the Chinese Revolution' (original text kept in the KMT Archives, Taichung, Taiwan). See also WSNWH, vol.1, pt.11, p.

42. See Chapter IV.

43. See Chapter 1, Note 20.

44. At the end of the nineteenth century, a large number of new Chinese immigrants were kidnapped by rascals and secret society members. The kidnapping was so rife in the eighteen eighties that there was an outcry in the Chinese community. In 1871 and 1873, Chinese merchants petitioned the Governor of the
Straits Settlements to take action to deal with the secret societies. (See Eunice Thio, 'The Singapore Chinese Protectorate: Events and Conditions Leading to its Establishment, 1823-1877', *JSSS*, vol. XVI, pts. I & II, pp. 63-64). Most of the victims were cooped up and tortured by the members of the secret societies if they showed any resistance. For instance, Chuarig To-k'an, a new immigrant from Ch'üan-chow, Fukien, was trapped by three gangsters when he arrived in Singapore harbour. When he resisted to be sent to Deli in Sumatra, he was cooped up and tortured. His skin was burned by acid. See Hare, G.T., *The Text Book of the Documentary Chinese*, Singapore, 1894, pt. 1, vol. 1, pp. 4-5.

A form of resistance by those ill-treated new immigrants was escape. It was recorded that a large number of new immigrants jumped into the sea before the coolie-ship anchored at the Singapore harbour. For instance, when a coolie-ship from Hong Kong arrived at Singapore in December 1887, five Cantonese immigrants jumped into the sea before the ship entered the Singapore harbour. See *Lat Pao*, 3 December 1887, p. 5; 12 December 1888, p. 2.

47. It was said that Huang Yang would like to mortgage his house for S$10,000 which he intended to contribute to the uprising. This seems unreliable, for a worker was only able to earn S$5 to $10 per month. Thus, this figure is not used in my text. Ibid., p.394; salary scale for workers during 1906-1907 can be seen in SSBB, (1906-1907) p.X3.

48. Chung Hsing Jih Pao, 25 November 1909, p.2;
14 December 1909, p.2.

49. Ibid., 2 February 1910, p.2.

50. When Wên was caught and was put on trial after the assassination, he alleged to be a native of Shûn Tê district of Kwangtung. But later the Ch'ing officers found out that he was a native of Chia Ying Chou. See 'Cable from the Governor of Kwangtung to the Wai Wu Pu' in WWPC, 1911; Hua Tzû Jih Pao, 12 April 1911, p.2.

51. See 'The Allegation of Wên Shêng-ts'ai', Hua Tzû Jih Pao, 11 April 1911, p.2.
52. 'The Allegation of Wen Sheng-ts'ai', reproduced in the Penang Hsin Pao, 27 April 1911, p.2.


54. Ibid., p.190.

55. Evidence shows that Wen was strongly influenced by revolutionary speeches, he might have listened to speeches of Dr Sun Yat-sen, Wang Ching-wei and other leaders. See Hua Tzü Jih Pao, 12 April 1911, p.2; 'Cable from the Governor of Kwangtung to the Wai Wu Pu dated 13 April 1911', in WWPC, 1911; 'Allegation of Wen Sheng-ts'ai' reproduced in the Penang Hsin Pao, 27 April 1911, p.2.

56. In his letter to Li Hau-cheong (one of the T'ung Meng Hui leaders) in Perak, Wen declared that he would follow Hsü's and Wang's steps, because there was no other assassin to uplift the spirit of martyrdom after the failure of their attempts. See Wen Sheng-ts'ai, 'Letter to Li Hau-cheong and Others dated 17 February 1911 (19 January in the Lunar calendar)' (original letter kept in the KMT Archives in Taichung, Taiwan). See also CKYK, vol.5, pt.6, illustration; KMHLHCC, p.192; Hsiao P'ing, Hsin-hai ko-ming lieh-shih shih-wên hšün, pp.160-61.

58. On 8 April 1911 (10 March in the Lunar calendar) the general went to inspect the display of aeroplane flying. After that, he returned home by sedan chair escorted by his bodyguards. But he was shot dead by Wên who was hiding at the road side. See 'Cable from the Acting Governor of Kwangtung to the Wai Wu Pu dated 9 April 1911', WWPC, 1911.

59. Min Li Pao, 18 April 1911, p.3.

60. Ibid., 22 April 1911, p.3.

61. They were Li Wên-k'ai (printing worker) Li Wan (tailor) Lo Kan (tailor) Huang Ho-ming (mechanic) and Tu Fêng-shu (mechanic). See WSNWH, vol.1 pt.11, pp.564-67; KMHLHCC, pp.158, 160-61, 165-66.

62. South China Morning Post, 29 April 1911, p.7.

63. Singapore Free Press, 9 November 1911, p.6; Nan Ch'iao Jih Pao, 14 November 1911, p.9.

64. Ibid.

65. At the turn of the present century, tin-mining workers in Malaya could earn S$5 to $8 per month. In 1911,
65. (continued)
agricultural workers could get $5 to $9 in Singapore, 
$6 to $12 in Penang. Domestic workers could get $6 
to $15 with food in Singapore, $8 to $18 with food in 
Penang, and $5 to $12 with food in Malacca. See 
Jackson, R.N., Immigrant Labour and the Development of 

66. In 1911, prices of the daily necessities in Penang 
were as follows: fish 8 to 35 cents (per kati) 
pork 24 to 32 cents (per kati) rice 24 to 32 cents 
(per gantang) sugar 7 to 10 cents (per kati). If a 
worker had to consume 6 gantang of rice, two kati 
of pork and fish respectively, he had roughly spent 
$3 for his food, add up the clothes, wine, opium and 
other entertainments, at least he had to spend $4 
to $5 per month. See SSBB 1911, p. W6-7.

67. Hu Han-min (Chang Chên-chih recorded) 'Nanyang and 
the Chinese Revolution', WSNWH, vol. 1, pt. 11, p. 482.

68. Purcell, V., The Chinese in Southeast Asia, p. 294.

69. Nan Ch'iao Jih Pao, 4 December 1911, p. 5.

70. Ibid., 1 December 1911, p. 9.

71. Ibid., 11 December 1911, p. 5.

73. See Chapter II.

74. The involvement of the revolutionaries in this movement was apparent that the chief editor of the Chung Hsing Jih Pao, T'ien T'ung, was summoned to question by the Protector of Chinese of the Straits Settlements. See Chung Hsing Jih Pao, 12 October 1909, p.1.


76. After the Manchurian Incident, there was a protest meeting held in Singapore, chaired by Tan Kah-kee, the famous Chinese merchant. The meeting cabled the League of Nations in Geneva and the President of the United States to maintain justice and peace. Apart from this, there was a surge of boycotting Japanese goods in Singapore. See Tan Kah-kee, *Autobiography*, vol.1, p.31.

77. After the outbreak of the Japanese invasion in China in 1937, all Kuomintang organizations, Chinese guilds, associations and schools were mobilized to support the resistance. Thousands of youth went back to China
77. (continued)

to take up arms, and about S$146 million was remitted
to China between July 1937 and November 1940 from
Singapore and Malaya. See Peng Poh-seng, 'The
Kuomintang in Malaya, 1912-1941', in JSA, vol.2,
no.1, pp.27-28.

78. Têng Mu-han, 'Dr Sun Yat-sen's Visit to Kuala Lumpur
in 1906', (original manuscript kept in the KMT
Archives in Taichung, Taiwan), p.1; Kuomintang's
historians even claim that Dr Sun's speech in 1906
had eased factional clashes in the local Chinese
community. See Committee of Kuomintang Historical
Records (ed.) 'Historical Records of Dr Sun Yat-sen',
in Pao Tsûn-p'êng (ed.) Chung-kuo chin-tai-shih

79. Among 32 first batch members of the Singapore T'ung
Mêng Hui branch, 15 were Cantonese, 11 Fukien, 4
Teochew and 2 from Chekiang province. In Kuala
Lumpur branch, 27 were Cantonese, 3 Fukien and
1 Teochew. See 'A List of the Members of the Early
Period of the China's T'ung Mêng Hui', in KMWH,
vol.2, pp.70-75.
80. See Chapter IV, Note 43.

81. The content of the 'Song of Unity'. See Chung Hsing Jih Pao, 26 June 1909, p.1.

82. In a public performance sponsored by the Kuala Lumpur Anti-Opium Society in 1909, girl students of the Too Nam School sang 'Song of Unity' and 'Song of Patriotism' to entertain audiences. Ibid.


84. The Chamber was inaugurated on 8 April 1906 (15 March in the Lunar calendar). See Minutes of the Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce (manuscript) vol.1, p.1; Lat Pao, 19 April 1906, p.3.

85. Ch'ing policy of competing in gaining support from overseas Chinese was clearly spelled out in an edict issued in 1901. It instructed Chinese Ministers abroad to make known the government's goodwill and to stamp out the influence of the reformists and revolutionaries. Following this policy, the Ch'ing Minister for Investigating Commercial Affairs in Southeast Asia, Chang Pi-shih, encouraged the establishment of the Chamber when he visited Singapore in 1905. In a meeting held at the Thong Chai Medical Institution, Chang donated $3,000 for
85. (continued)
for the funds. See Ta-ch'ing tê-tsung ching-
huang-ti shih-lu, vol. 479, p.3; Minutes of the
Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce (manu-
script) vol.1, p.1. See also 'Historical Records
of the Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce',
in Souvenir of the Opening of the Newly Completed
Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce Building, p.150

86. For instance, the Tao Nan School explicitly
spelled out in the notice that ' ... those children
of our Fukien group who are between seven and
fifteen years old should come to be enrolled in
time ...'. See Lat Pao, 2 January 1908, p.6;
9 July 1908, p.1; 14 July 1908, p.1; 27 July 1908,
p.1.

87. In August 1909, the Tao Nan school (Fukien) and
Yang Cheng school (Cantonese) omitted the sentence
of 'children from our own group' in their enrol-
ment notices. In the following year, the Tuan
Mêng (Teochew) and Ch'i Fa (Hakka) and Bacon Girl
schools followed the same step in abolishing the
restriction. See The Union Times, 3 August 1909,
p.2; 17 February 1910, p.2; 18 February 1910, p.2.


88b. Straits Budget, 18 July 1907.

88c. For instance, in a speech to a feast attended by members of Cantonese and Teochew communities, Hsü Ch'in emphasized the importance of unity among many dialect groups and races in China. He called upon his audience that for the sake of making a new China, regionalism and provincialism should be broken down and gave way to a new concept of Chinese nationhood. See the editorials of The Union Times, 16, 17 & 25 February 1909, p.1. K'ang Yu-wei also appealed strongly to overseas Chinese to bridge regional and provincial differences for the solidarity of all Chinese in China, and encouraged establishment of Confucian temples. See Hsü Su-wu, The Chinese Education in
88c. (continued)


89. Ibid., 3 July 1908, p. 1.

90. Lat Pao, 17 July 1908, p. 3. Chung Hsing Jih Pao, 7 August 1908, p. 2.

91. See Chapter III.

92. The first Chinese girls' school was founded in 1900 in Singapore. It was followed by the K'un Ch'eng
92. (continued)

Girls' School in Kuala Lumpur in September 1908 and the Chung Hua Girls' School in Penang at the end of 1908. At the beginning of 1910, another girls' school named the Bacon Girls' School was founded in Singapore. See Song Ong Siang, One Hundred Years' History of the Chinese in Singapore, p.305; The Straits Budget, 15 October 1908, p.8; The Union Times, 13 February 1909, p.1, 13 January 1910, p.2; Penang Hsin Pao, 8 January 1909, p.3.

93. Nan Ch'iao Jih Pao, 27 November 1911, p.5.

94. Ibid., 4 December 1911, p.2.

95. The girl was Miss Yu Tai-chung who had been a revolutionary activist in Singapore. Ibid, 28 November 1911, p.5.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER VIII


2. After the establishment of the T'ung Mêng Hui branches in Singapore, Kuala Lumpur and Penang in 1906, Dr Sun visited Singapore again once in 1907 (February), once in 1908 (March) and once in 1910 (July). He had been staying in Singapore and Malaya for about 14 months between March 1908 and May 1909, and another five months between July and December 1910. See KFNP, Vol. 1, pp. 239, 263, 284, 292.

3. Fêng Tzû-yu, k'ai-kuo shih, p. 50.

4. These included the T'ung Mêng Hui branches in Batavia, Surabaya, Semarang, Pontianak and Medan in the Dutch East Indies; Rangoon in Burma and Bangkok in Thailand. Ibid., p. 52; also Fêng, tsu-chih shih, p. 9.


11. On an original written oath of Chang Hsiang-fang of the Dutch East Indies, Lim Ngee-soon noted that he himself was the Section Head of External Affairs of the Headquarters in Singapore, and thus had the responsibility to keep all written oaths of other branches. See the original copy kept by Mr Lim Eng-kuan (grandson of Lim Ngee-soon) in Singapore.

12. 'Letter from Dr Sun Yat-sen to Têng Tsê-ju in 1908', see Têng Tsê-ju (ed.), Sun Chung-shan hsien-shêng nien-nien lai shou-cha, Vol. 1, pp. 72-74; also see KFCS, p. 408.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.
15. In an interview with Mr Teh Min-wei (eldest son of Teh Lay-seng) in Ipoh, I was told that all military news or other secret instructions from China were cabled in cipher to the T'ung Mêng Hui Southeast Asia Headquarters in Singapore, and then were transmitted to other branches either by cable or through correspondence. Teh Min-wei, interview on 8 October 1966 at his residence in Ipoh.


18. See Chapter VI.

19. In May 1908, when the Hok'ou Uprising was badly in need of money, Wang Ching-wei and Têng Tzü-yü were sent to raise funds in Bangka and Batavia, but were countered by the anti-Sun group and failed. See
19. (continued)


22. Some of the refugees went to Lim Ngee-soon's farm, some to his rubber estates. See Lin Feng-wên and Liu Po-ch'iu (ed.), op. cit., p. 3; Fêng Tzŭ-yu, i-shih, Vol. 1, p. 176; Chua Hui-seng, interview
22. (continued)

on 25 February 1965 at the T'ung Tê Reading Club, Singapore.

23. The plot was designed to capture arms and ammunition from the French troops for a planned revolt. It was carried out by the employees who worked in the barracks. They put arsenic into drinking water; more than two hundred troops were poisoned, and about seventy of them died. When the French colonial authorities found out, curfew was imposed, and a large number of suspects were detained. Because of the involvement of some revolutionary refugees, about one thousand of them were detained. This event was known as the 'Arsenic Case'. See Teo Eng-hock, op. cit., pp. 62-63.

24. Hu Han-min (recorded by Chang Chên-chih), 'Nanyang and the Chinese Revolution' (original manuscript kept in the KMT Archives in Taichung, Taiwan), pp. 8-10; also see WSNWH, Vol. 1, pt. 11, pp. 467-68, and KFNP, Vol. 1, p. 239.

25. In this agreement, the French government promised to dissolve revolutionary organizations, to suppress revolutionary propaganda, to detain and deport
25. (continued)
ringleaders, to extradite criminals or those who
plundered in Chinese territories (revolutionaries),
and to check smuggling of arms and ammunition on
the border. This agreement was attached to the
'Despatch from the Wai Wu Pu to the Governor-General
of Liang-Kwang, Governor of Yunnan and Kwangsi
dated 4th January, 1909'. See Ch'ing-chih wai-chiao

26. At first, Sun cabled several times to the French
authorities in Tongkin asking for release, his
demands were brushed aside. Later, Sun sent a long
cable directly to the Governor in Saigon proving
that all the detained refugees were revolutionary
soldiers. They should not be treated as criminals,
but as political refugees who could seek asylum in

27. According to Teo, the first batch which arrived in
Singapore numbered about four hundred. But a
contemporary newspaper and the Straits Settlements
government's records only put it at sixty. See
Teo, op. cit., p. 63; Lat Pao, 20 May 1908, p. 5;
'J. Anderson to Secretary of State for Colonies
dated 4th June, 1908', GD, 226.
28. When these refugees arrived in Singapore, they were at first detained in a camp waiting for the normal procedure for release. Teo Eng-hock and other leaders had to prepare clothes and to hire a few barbers to cut their hair in the camp. Later, they were released on bail of S$200 each. They were accommodated in three shops owned by Tan Chor-nam. Teo Eng-hock, op. cit., pp.63-64.

29. Teo Eng-hock, Feng Tzü-yu and Chua Hui-seng all claimed that the refugees numbered more than six hundred. But Dr Sun in a letter only gave the number as more than four hundred. I think Sun's figure is more reliable, because it was written during that time. See Teo Eng-hock, op. cit., p.65; Feng Tzü-yu, ko-ming shih, Vol. 2, pp. 127-28; Chua Hui-seng, interview on 25 February 1965 at T'ung Té Reading Club, Singapore; 'Letter from Dr Sun Yat-sen to Wang Fu dated 2nd March, 1909', KFCS, p. 413.

30. One kati is equivalent to $1\frac{1}{3}$ lbs. Thus, they had to consume almost 1333 lbs. of rice per day. See Teo Eng-hock, op. cit., p. 65.

31. See 'Letter from Teo Eng-hock, Tan Chor-nam and Others to Lan Jui-yüan in Dutch East Indies dated
31. (continued)
14th November, 1908', in WSNWH, Vol. 1, pt. 13, pp. 405-06.

32. Teo Eng-hock, op. cit., p. 65. The figure given by Teo was 500, but if we accept the total number of refugees at 400, the remainder unemployed was only 300.

33. 'Letter from Dr Sun Yat-sen to Lim Ngee-soon dated 11th October, 1908', KFCS, p. 411.

34. 'Letter from Dr Sun to the Comrades in Thailand dated 7th April, 1909', ibid., p. 415.


37. In a letter to Lim Ngee-soon, Dr Sun pressed him to take measures to put the plan into practice. See 'Letter from Dr Sun Yat-sen to Lim Ngee-soon dated 11th October, 1908', KFCS, p. 411.

38. After the opening of the quarry, Dr Sun, in his letter to Wang Fu, stated that there were still about a hundred refugees unemployed. Deducting a hundred previously employed from the total number of 400, the quarry must have given jobs to about
38. (continued)

two hundred refugees. See 'Letter from Dr Sun to
Wang Fu dated 2nd March, 1909', KPCS, p. 413.

39. Hu Han-min, Autobiography, pp. 28-29, in KMWH,
Vol. 3.

40. Yang Han-hsiang, 'Chung-hua min-kuo k'ai-kuo
ch'ien-hou chih pên-shê ko-ming shih', in Yang (ed.),
Souvenir of the 24th Anniversary of the Penang
Philomatic Society, p. 35; Chou Lu, A History of the
Canton March 29th Revolution, p. 4.

41. It was reported in Hong Kong that no fewer than
five hundred supposed members of secret societies
had arrived in the colony from the Straits
Settlements on the eve of the Canton March 29th
Uprising. It is probable that most of them were
revolutionary refugees. See South China Morning
Post, 29 April 1911, p. 7.

42. Hu Han-min, op. cit., p. 33, in KMWH, Vol. 3;
WSNWH, Vol. 1, pt. 13, p. 507; Hua Tzŭ Jih Pao,
17 May 1911, p. 1.

43. In September 1910, Sun Mei, the elder brother of
Dr Sun Yat-sen, was deported from Hong Kong. After
43. (continued)

the defeat of the Canton March 29th Uprising in April 1911, the Hong Kong government took strict measures to clear up revolutionary refugees on repeated requests from the Ch'ing government. Huang Hsing, the main figure in the uprising, was nearly caught in Hong Kong. See Lat Pao, 3 October 1910, p. 2; 'The Escape of the Revolutionaries Involved in the Canton March 29th Uprising from Hong Kong' (original manuscript kept in the KMT Archives in Taichung, Taiwan), p. 1.

44. The Ch'ing spies repeatedly reported to the Kwangtung government about traces of the revolutionary refugees. See 'Cable from the Governor of Kwangtung to the Wai Wu Pu dated 11th May, 1911', WWPC, May 1911.

45. It was reported by a Hong Kong Chinese newspaper that most of the refugees left for Southeast Asia, only one-tenth or two-tenths remaining in Hong Kong. See Hua Tzü Jih Pao, 17 May 1911, p. 2.

47. For instance, Tan Chor-nam disclosed that Khoo Teh-shiong, the younger brother of Khoo Seok-wan, donated a large sum of money and declined to have his name recorded. Tan Chor-nam, interview on 7 August 1966 at his residence in Singapore.

48. Dr Sun did not put down the currency unit. According to Dr Shelley Hsien Cheng, the money could be in Hong Kong dollars, for most of the money was remitted to Hong Kong. Moreover, the Hong Kong dollar, Mexican silver dollar, Straits dollar and Japanese yen had almost the same exchange rate. See Cheng, S.H., *The T'ung Mêng Hui: Its Organization, Leadership and Finances, 1905-1912*, pp. 163, 175.

49. 'Letter from Dr Sun Yat-sen to Wu Ching-hêng in 1909', *KFC*S, p. 419.


51. This figure is a minimum estimate. According to Teo Eng-hock, S$20,000 to S$30,000 was collected only for the immediate use of the first uprising.
51. (continued)

He implies that the amount did not include the expenditure on the preparation from 1904 to 1906. The money spent on the preparation mainly came from private sources. For example, with financial assistance from leaders in Singapore and his daughter (wife of Dr Lim Boon-keng), Huang Nai-shang was able to engage in revolutionary activities in South China. See Teo Eng-hock, *Nanyang and the Founding of the Chinese Republic*, pp. 27-28; Lim Ngee-soon, 'The Historical Records of the Relations between the Huang Kang Uprising and the Revolutionaries in Southeast Asia', in *WSNWH*, Vol. 1, pt. 13, p. 59.


53. This amount of money was spent only on preparation, excluding expenditure on buying arms and ammunition. See 'Letter from Koh Soh-chew to Tan Chor-nam and Teo Eng-hock dated 12th August, 1907 (4th July in the lunar calendar)', ibid., p. 119.

54. 'A Brief Biography of Lin Shou-chih' (original manuscript kept in the KMT Archives in Taichung, Taiwan), pp. 2-3; Lin Fêng-wên, 'A Brief History
54. (continued)

55. The Ch'ing Consul-General in Singapore reported to the Governor-General of Kwangtung and Kwangsi that revolutionary military bonds were widely sold in Southeast Asia, particularly in the Dutch East-Indies, Kuala Lumpur and Perak. See 'Cable from the Acting Governor-General of Kwangtung and Kwangsi to the Wai Wu Pu dated 2nd October, 1906 (15th August in the lunar calendar)', in HHKM, Vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 134.

56. 'Letters from Dr Sun Yat-sen to Têng Tsê-ju dated 7th March, 1908, 22nd April, 1908, 9th June, 1908, 13th June, 1908, 1st August, 1908.' See Têng Tsê-ju (ed.), Sun Chung-shan hsien-shêng nien-nien-lai shou cha, Vol. 1, pp. 18, 29, 64, 67, 68; KFCS, pp. 405-406, 408.

57. Among S$5,700, Singapore contributed only S$1,000. The rest came from Kuala Pilah (S$3,500), Seramban (S$1,000) and Muar (S$200). Ibid.
58. It was said that Teo Eng-hock was greatly disappointed after the failure of the First Ch'ao Chou Uprising. Chua Hui-seng, interview, on 27 February 1965, at the T'ung Tê Reading Club, Singapore.


61. The Headquarters in Penang received a cable from the Fund Raising Bureau in Hong Kong stating that the Ch'ing troops in Hupeh could be won over, and urging financial help. Soon afterwards, another cable from Shanghai indicated that the railway dispute in Szechwan could be used to stir up an uprising, and money was urgently needed. The same cables were received by the leaders in Kuala Pilah, Seremban and Ipoh. See Yang Han-hsiang, 'Chung-hua
61. (continued)


64. This figure is derived from the money received by Li Hai-yün in 1911. It came from Perak (S$112,353.30), Seramban and Kuala Pilah (S$45,728.60), Singapore (S$20,030.00), Penang (S$43,000.00), Kuala Lumpur (S$9,200.00), Kuantan (S$3,322.50), Muar (S$700.00). See Têng Tsê-ju, Chung-kuo kuo-min-tang êrh-shih nien shih-chi, p. 103.


66. See 'Cable from Ch'en Ch'i-mei (Ch'en Ying-shih) and Yang P'u-shêng to Têng Tsê-ju Asking for Financial Help, dated 30th November (10th October
66. (continued)
   in the lunar calendar), 1911', in Têng Tsê-ju,
   ibid., p. 82.

67. Ibid.

68. 'Cable from Ch'en Ch'i-mei to the Revolutionaries
   in Penang dated 4th December (14th October in the
   lunar calendar), 1911', in Souvenir of the 30th
   Anniversary of the Penang Philomatic Society,
   p. 29; Yang Han-hsiang (ed.), Souvenir of the 24th
   Anniversary of the Penang Philomatic Society, p. 62.


70. Kuo Hsiao-ch'eng, 'A Record of the Recovery of

71. The cable was sent to Têng Tsê-ju. It ran as
   follows: 'Kwangtung became independent, Hu Han-min
   was elected as the Governor. Lack of money. Please
   raise funds for help.' See Têng Tsê-ju, op. cit.,
   p. 81.

72. See Chapter VI.

73. Ts'ao Ya-po, Wuchang ko-ming chên-shih, Vol. 2,
   pp. 375-83; Chou Lu, Chung-kuo kuo-min-tang shih-kao,
74. Cables were received by the Penang Philomatic Society and the Cantonese Commercial Association (粵東商務行) in Singapore. See *Souvenir of the 30th Anniversary of the Penang Philomatic Society*, p. 29; *Nan Ch'iao Jih Pao*, 9 December 1911, p. 5.

75. Ibid.

76. 'Letter from Hu Han-min to Foo Chee-choon', in *Hua Tzŭ Jih Pao*, 12 December 1911, p. 2.


78. Huang Nai-shang, a revolutionary leader who played an important part in planning the revolt in Fuchow, listed four causes for the delay: lack of money, resistance of the Manchu officers and troops, disagreement among the revolutionary troops, and departure of some leaders from Fuchow. See 'Letter from Huang Nai-shang to the Revolutionaries in Southeast Asia dated 15th November (25th September in the lunar calendar), 1911', in *Nan Ch'iao Jih Pao*, 2 December 1911, p. 2; also see *Penang Hsin Pao*, 4 December 1911, p. 2.

79. Ibid.
80. See Chapter VI.


82. In a cable to Teh Lay-seng, Li Hau-cheong and other revolutionary leaders in Ipoh, the Governor of the Fukien Revolutionary government, Sun Tao-jen, and the Minister for Transport, Huang Nai-shang, called for urgent help, and stated that the government had received only HK$20,000 from the Fund Raising Bureau in Hong Kong, which was not enough to maintain its functions. See *Penang Hsin Pao*, 20 November 1911, p. 3.

83. The letter was widely publicised in the local Chinese newspapers. See *Nan Ch'iao Jih Pao*, 18 December 1911, p. 11; *Penang Hsin Pao*, 19 December 1911, pp. 6-7.

84. Ibid.

85. The representatives were Li Hui, Chang Ch'i and Huang Kên-nien. See *Penang Hsin Pao*, 21 December 1911, p. 3.

86. Tan Kah-kee recalled that the first S$20,000 remitted from Singapore was of tremendous importance to the stabilization of the finance of the
86. (continued)

revolutionary government, for its treasury was empty. When it received the money, it exaggerated by declaring that '...Overseas Chinese in Singapore had remitted S$200,000 to our aid, and a million dollars more will follow...'. This helped to improve the unstable situation. See Tan Kah-kee, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 3.

87. 'A Brief Biography of Lin Shou-chih' (original manuscript kept in the KMT Archives in Taichung, Taiwan), pp. 2-3.

88. According to Teo Eng-hock, daily consumption of rice for those refugees was about 1,000 kati. The price of rice in Singapore was S$4.40 to S$6.00 per 133.3 lbs. Thus, the money spent on rice alone was about S$50 per day, and about S$1,500 per month. See Teo Eng-hock, Nanyang and the Founding of the Chinese Republic, p. 65; SSBB, 1908, X6-7.

89. Yü was one of the main figures in the Huang Kang Uprising in 1907. When he escaped to Kowloon after its failure, he was detained by the Hong Kong government under the charge of piracy, and was to be extradited to the Ch'ing government for
89. (continued)

execution. The revolutionaries in Hong Kong had tried every means to save him from extradition. Lawyers were hired to fight his case. With the financial help from Singapore, Yü won the court case and was released. See Teo Eng-hock, op. cit., pp. 38-44; South China Morning Post, 18 February 1908, p. 2, 26 February 1908, pp. 2-3; Lat Pao, 29 February 1908, p. 9; Mary Chan Man-yue, Chinese Revolutionaries in Hong Kong, 1895-1911 (an unpublished M.A. thesis of the University of Hong Kong), pp. 187-90.

90. There were Madam Wei Yueh-lang and Madam Ou P'in-chên, the mothers of Miss Ch'en P'i-chünn, a female revolutionary activist in Penang who later became the wife of Wang Ching-wei. See Ch'en P'i-chünn and Li Chung-shih, 'Letter to Dr Sun Yat-sen dated 7th May (28th March in the lunar calendar), 1910' (original manuscript kept in the KMT Archives in Taichung, Taiwan); Yang Han-hsiang, 'Chung-hua min-kuo k'ai-kuo ch'ien-hou chih pên-shê ko-ming shih', in Yang (ed.), Souvenir of the 24th Anniversary of the Penang Philomatic Society, p. 16.

92. Yang Han-hsiang, op. cit., in Yang (ed.), *Souvenir of the 24th Anniversary of the Penang Philomatic Society*, p. 27.


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(C) Interviews:

Mrs Au Nai Sun (daughter-in-law of Au Shen-kang) on 10 October 1966 at her residence (10, Lau Yat Ching Road) Ipoh.

Ang Lock Khuan (T'ung Meng Hui's member, age 76) on 11 October 1966 at Embassy Hotel, Ipoh.

Chan Kwong Hon & Chan Keong Hon (Sons of Ch'an Chan-mooi, age 57 and 42) on 6 October 1966 at Lee Wong Kee Restaurant, Kuala Lumpur.

Ch'en K.T., (nephew of Miss Ch'en Pi-chun) on 12 October 1966 at his shop in Penang.

Chua Hui-seng (Old Boy of the Tuan Meng School, and the Vice Chairman of the T'ung Te Reading Club, Singapore) on 25 February 1965 at the T'ung Te Reading Club, Singapore.

Foo Yin Fong (grand-nephew of Foo Chee-choon, age 65) on 7 October 1966 at his residence (180, Lahat Road) Ipoh.

Ch'en Yu-i (brother of Ch'en Hsin-cheng, age 70) on 13 October 1966 in the Penang Chinese Girls' Primary School, Penang.

Mrs Goh Say-eng (wife of Goh Say-eng, age 90) on 14 October 1966 at her residence (Soon Kee, 34, Jones Road) Penang.
Huang Shih-yüan 黄仕元 (member of the Malacca T'ung Meng Hui branch, age 84) on 3 October 1966 at his residence in Malacca.

Khoo Boon Eng & Khoo Boon Han 邱文英, 邱文漢 (sons of Khoo Ming Chiang, age 68 and 54) on 14 October 1966 at their office (36, Beach Street) Penang.

Khoo Ming-kuan 邱鸣琯 (eldest daughter of Khoo Seok-wan) on 4 and 11 September 1966 at her residence (148-G, Dunearn Road) Singapore.

Khaw Sen Lee 许生理 (member of the Penang T'ung Meng Hui, and now the Chairman of the Penang Philomatic Society, age 79) on 14 October 1966 at his residence (134, Carnarvon Street) Penang.

Koh Sam Pow (nephew of Koh Ying-cheong, age 44) on 10 October 1966 at the Embassy Hotel, Ipoh.

Koh Kai Tung 郭開東 (son of Koh Ki-chuan) on 3 October 1966 at his residence (8, Jalan Dato Klana) Seremban.

Lee Fuong Yee 李鴻裕 (member of the Seremban T'ung Meng Hui branch) on 3 October 1966 at his residence (214F, Temiang Road) Seremban.

Lim Chin Han 林振漢 (Second son of Lim Tay Kee, age 45) on 11 October 1966 at Hua Lim National Type Secondary School, Thomson Road, Taiping.
Lee Ah Weng 李瑞荣 (member of the Ipoh T'ung Meng Hui branch, age 88) on 10 October 1966 at his residence (122, Anderson Road) Ipoh.

Loke Yaik Chee (son of Loke Chow-thye, age 71) on 6 October 1966 at Lok Ann Hotel, Kuala Lumpur.

Sim Mok-wu 沈慕羽 (son of Sim Hung-pek) on 2 October 1966 at the P'ing Min Primary School, Malacca.

Tam Chim Bock (son of Tam Yung) on 3 October 1966 at his residence (2½ miles, Rasah Road) Seremban.

Tan Chor-nam 陈楚楠 (Chairman of the Singapore T'ung Meng Hui branch, age 82) on 7 August 1966 at his residence, Singapore.

Têng An-yung 鄭安榮 (nephew of Têng Tsê-ju) on 6 October 1966 at his shop (68, Lister Road) Kuala Pilah.

Teh Min-Wei 郭民偉 (eldest son of Teh Lay-seng, age 70) on 8 October 1966 at his shop (16, Treacher Street) Ipoh.

Too Chee-cheong (grandson of Too Nam) on 6 October 1966 at his clinic (160, High Street) Kuala Lumpur.

Too, T.M. (daughter of Too Kwung-hung, eldest granddaughter of Too Nam, age 65) on 7 October 1966 at Lok Ann Hotel, Kuala Lumpur.
Wong Siong-ngie (fifth son of Dr Wong I-ek, age 71) on 8 October 1966 at his residence (100, Jalan Haji Yusoff) Ipoh.

Yuen Si-foon (son of Yuen Tak-sam) on 6 October 1966 at his shop (99, Jalan Bandar) Kuala Lumpur.
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GLOSSARY

Ai Kuo She 爱国社
An Feng Railway 安铜铁路
An Hsü district 安溪区
An T'ai Shop 安泰店
Au Chao-Jen 奥朝仁
Au Hsin-ying 奥信英
Au Shen-kang 奥慎刚
Bacon Girl School 培根女校
Banka 文岛
Batu Anam 六条石
Bentong 文冬
Ch'an Chan-mooi 陈占梅
Ch'an Sing-cheong 陈星祥
Ch'an Siu-shi 陈兆时
Chang Chen-chih 张振之
Chang Chen-hsun @ 张振瑞
Chang Pi-shih 张弼士
Chang Chen-tung 张振东
Chang Chi 张继
Chang Chi'ei 张羲
Chang Chia-sen 张嘉森
Chang Chi-heng 张继兴
Chang Chih-t'ung 张之洞
Chang Chou 潘州
Chang Fang-lin 张芳林
Chang Fu-ju 张福如
Chang Hsiang-fang 张香芳
Chang Jen-chün 张人骏
Chang Jen-nan 张仁南
Chang P'an-yao 张判妖
Chang P'eng-yuan 张明园
Chang Pi-shih 张弼士
Chang Chen-hsun 张振瑞
Chang Pi-t'ien 张璧天
Chang Ping-lin 张炳麟
Chen Shao-hsun 张绍轩
Chang Wei-wu 张伟吾
Chang Yuan 张圆
Ch'ang Lo 长陵
Chao Ch'ing 横豎
Chao Ch'un-hsi 超群诗
Chao Kung-pi 超公璧
Chen-hsing-t'ang 超醒堂主人
Chu-jen
Chen I Night School 援华夜学堂
Chen Nan Kuan 镇南阁
Ch'en T'ien Sheng 援天声
Ch'en Ch'eng-ch'eng 陈正成
Ch'en Chen-hsiang 陈桢祥
Ch'en Ch'i-meii (Ch'en Ying-shih) 陈其美
Ch'en Ch'i-shih 陈析史
Ch'en Ching-jen 陈景仁
Ch'en Ching-po 陈銘波
Ch'en Ching-yo 陈敬吾
Ch'en Hsi-t'ung 陈锡桐
Ch'en Hsien-chin 陈先進
Ch'en Hsin 陈新
Ch'en I-hsien 陈殷献
Ch'en I-t'ao 陈怡涛
Ch'en K'ai-kuo 陈闻国
Chiang Yin district
Chiang Yü-t'ien
Chieh Wen
Chien Jên-shih
Chien Shan district
Chien Shih-pin
Chih Hsin Pao
Chih Kung T'ang
Chih Shên
Chin Chiang district
Chin Hua Pao
Chin Pu
Ch'in-Lien
Ch'in Li-shan
Chinese Capitan
Ching Chung Jih Pao
Ching Min
Ching Shih Pan
Ch'ing Fang Ko Club
Ch'ing I Pao
Ch'ing Nien Hui
Ch'ing Nien II
Sai Hui
Ch'ing Yuan
Ch'iu Chê-ch'ing
Ch'iu Chien-hu
Ch'iu chin
Ch'iu Family School
Ch'iung Shan Yü"
Drama Troupe
Cholon
Chop Hêng Chüan
Chou Chao-p'ing
Chou Chih-chên
Chou Fo-pao
Chou Hsien-jui
Chou Hua
Chou Pieh Chia
Chou Ssû Ma
Chou Tu-chüan
Chou Wên-wang
Chu
Chü Chêng
Chu Chih-hsiao
Chu Ch'ih-ni
Chü-jên
Chu Kwang Lan Tobacco Company
Chu-shih
Chu Tzü-p'ei
Chu Yuan-chang
Chua Hui-seng
Chuan
Ch'uan chow
Chuang To-k'ân
Chuang Yin-an
Chüeh Hsin Yuan
Chüeh Min
Chün Kuo Min
Chiao Yü Hui
Ch'ün Chih
Chung Han
Huang Fu-t'ien
Huang Ho-ming
Huang Hsi-hsien
Huang Hsin-ch'ih
Huang Hsing
Huang Hsing-ju
Huang Hsüan-chou
Huang Hua Kang
Huang I-hua
Huang Kang Uprising
Huang Ken-nien
Huang Kuo-wei
Huang Lu-hsun
Huang Nai-shang
Huang Po-yao
Huang San-tê
Huang Shao-hsing
Huang Shih-chung
Huang Ta-hsien
Huang Ta-kuan
Huang T'ing-kuang
Huang Wei
Huang Yang
Huang Yao-ting
Huang Yung-t'ai
Hui Chou
Hung An Village
Hung Ch'üan-fu
Hung En
Hung Yao-chang
Hup Chun

I Chih
I Ch'ün
I-hsiu
I-shih
I Yeh Lou
Jao P'ing
Jên Chi Hospital
Jên Pao
Jeh Chih Hui
Jeh Hsin Pao
Jeh Hua Hsin Pao
Ju Yün Restaurant
K'ai Chih Lu
K'ai Ming Public
Speaking and Reading Club
Kalumpang
Kampar
Kang I
K'ang Ch'u-k'uang
K'ang Yin-t'ien
K'ang Yu-wei
Kè Chia
Keng Ching-chung
Kheng Chiu Hoe Kuan
Khoo Cheng-tiong
Khoo Seok-wan
Khoo Teh-siong
Ko Lao Hui
Ko Wu-yên
K'o Hsüeh Yen
K'so Voordeel
K'o Lu-shêng
Kuang Hua Kang Revolt
Kuang I-hua
Kuang Kang uprising
Kuang Ken-nien
Kuang Kuo-wei
Kuang Lu-hsun
Kuang Nai-shang
Kuang Po-yao
Kuang San-tè
Kuang Shao-hsing
Kuang Shih-chung
Kuang Ta-hsien
Kuang Ta-kuan
Kuang T'ing-kuang
Kuang Wei
Kuang Yang
Kuang Yao-ting
Kuang Yung-t'ai
Kui Chou
Hung An Village
Hung Ch'üan-fu
Hung En
Hung Yao-chang
Hup Chun
Koh Soh-chew 许雪秋
Kong Chau Wui 姜兆辉
Kun 高润
Krian 高润
Ku Chung-hsi 古仲熙
Kuan Cha 观蔡
Kuan Li Village 官里村
Kuan Shan-pai 關山坪
Kuan Yin hill 观音山
Kuang Fu Hui 光復會
Kuang Han 光汉
Kuang Hua Hsing Co. 光華興公司
Kuang Hua Jih Pao 光華日報
Kui Shan district 開山區
K'un Ch'eng School 國成學校
Kung I Pao 公益報
Kung I Reading Club 公益書報社
Kung Min 公民
Kung pi-tzu 活比子
Kung-shèng-míng 公生民
Kung Shih 贡士
K'ung-tzǔ k'ai 放逐開<br>
Kuo Chi-mei 郭繼枚
Kuo Min Chu I 国民主義
Kuo Min Jih Jih Pao 国民日報
Kuo Min Pao 国民報
Kuo Min Pao Yüeh Kan 国民報月刊
Kuo Ying-chang 郭應章
Kuo Yüan-ku 郭潤谷
Kwang Chao Association 閩會
Kuang I Ch'ang 廣德昌
Kwangtung Jih Pao 廣東日報
Kwangtung Tu Li Hsieh Hui 廣東獨立協會
Lan Jui-yüan 蓝瑞元
Lao P'ei 劳培
Lat Pao 勝報
Lahat 喜山
Lee Ch'uan-lin 李.TextAlign
Lee Fuong-yee 李鸿禄
Lee Sam 李三
Li Chao-chi 李肇基
Li Chi-t'ang 李杞堂
Li Chia-ts'ung 李家聰
Li Chieh 李杰
Li Chin-ch'üan 李錦源
Li Ching-jen 李錫仁
Li Chu-ch'i'eh 李柱卿
Li Chu-chung 李仲清
Li Chu-hsi 李楚熙
Li Chün 李綸
Li Ch'un Yüan 李春遠
Li Chung-chueh 李中超
Li Chung-shih 李仲實
Li Guan-sui 李冠遂
Li Hai-yün 李海雲
Li Han-heng 李漢衡
Li Han-shëng 李漢生
Li Hau-cheong 李豪成
Li Hsii-ho 李鴻溥
Li Hui 李恢
Li Huan-min 李煥民
Li I-fu  李義教
Li I-hsia  李義侠
Li I-shan  李紹山
Li Kuei-tzü  李季子
Li Ling  李玲
Li Meng-sheng  李夢生
Li Mu-fu  李牧風
Li Ping-hui  李炳輝
Li Sheng School  李生學校
Li T'ien-hsiu  李田秀
Li Tzü-ch'eng  李自成
Li Wan  李晚
Li Wen-k'ai  李文楷
Li Yao-nan  李耀南
Li Yen-ch'iu  李雁秋
Li Ying-ts'ung  李應聰
Li Yü-man  李翼滿
Li Yüeh-ch'ih  李月池
Liang Chao-ch'ên  梁朝宸
Liang Ch'ih-ch'ao  梁繼超
Liang Lan-ch'üan  梁蘭泉
Liang Li-sheng  梁麗生
Liang Tung-ying  梁棟英
Liang Yün-hsi  梁運紅
Liao Chêng-hsing  廖正成
Lien Chiang  莊江
Lim Boon-keng  林文強
Lim Eng-kuan  林英權
Lim Ngee-soon  林義順
Lin Chin-fu  林金福
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Lin Ch'ing-liang  林青良
Lin Hai-shêng  林海生
Lin Hang-wei  林航飛
Lin Hêng-nan  林衡南
Lin Hsi-hsia  林希俠
Lin Hsiu-ming  林修明
Lin Ju-chou  林汝舟
Lin Lai-hsi  林來喜
Lin Mei-tuan  林梅端
Lin Shih-an  林世安
Lin Shih-shuang  林時雙
Lin Shou-chih  林受之
Lin Ts'ai-ta  林采達
Lin Tsê-hsü  林德徐
Lin Wei-fang  林維芳
Ling Yü-t'ang  凌玉堂
Liu Ch'en-yü  刘成遠
Liu Ch'i-hui  刘季輝
Liu Chien-hung  刘建宏
Liu Ching-shan  刘靜山
Liu Ch'ung  刘充
Liu Hua Pagoda  刘華花塔
Liu Hung-shih  刘鴻石
Liu Kuang-han  刘光漢
Liu Kuang-hua  刘光華
Liu K'ui I  刘揆一
Liu Ling-ts'ang  刘凌澄
Liu Shih-chi  刘士奇
Liu Sung-t'ing  刘松亭
Liu T'ien-min  刘天民
Liu Yeh-hsing  刘葉興
Lo Chieh-chün  罗傑淳
Lo Cho-fu  罗佐甫
Lo Chung-ho  罗仲霍
Lo Han  罗韩
Lo K’un  罗坤
Lo Shan Shê  罗善社
Loke Chow-lo  陆秋露
Lu Hsi-wu  鲁希吾
Lu Li-p’eng  鲁礼朋
Lu Shih-ju (Mrs.)  鲁诗如夫人
Lu Shun-an  鲁顺安
Lu Wei-hang  鲁维航
Lu Wen-hui  鲁文辉
Lu Yao-t’ang  鲁耀堂
Lung Chi Pao  隆记报
Lung t’eng  龙腾
Ma Fu-i  马福益
Ma Liang  马良
Ma Nai-t’ang  马乃堂
Ma Ying-piao  马应彪
Mei district  (Meihsien)
Meng Sheng  萌生
Menglembu  萌里望
Mersing  马威清
Min district  闽县
Min-ch’ing district  闽清县
Min Hsing  闽西
Min Hsü Pao  闽吁报
Min Li Pao  闽立报
Min Pao  闽报
Min Sheng Jih Pao  闽生日报
Min To Pao  民铎报
Min To Shê  民铎社
Ming Fu  明府
Ming T’ai-Tsu  明太府
Miyazaki Torazo  宫崎富藏
Mo Meng-hua  莫孟华
Mou Sheng Kang  慕盛康
Mu Tsung  慕宗
Nan Ch’iao Jih Pao  南侨日报
Nan Hai  南海
Nan Hua  南华
Nan Yueh Pao  南越报
Nanyang School  南洋公学
New Century  新世纪
Ngee Hin  良奂
Ni Ping-chang  倪炳章
Ning Tê  宁德
Ou Chü-chia  欧紫甲
Ou P’in-chên  欧聘珍
Ou Po-ming  欧博明
Pa I Kung So  八邑公所
Pai Yün Mountain  白雲山双溪寺
P’ai  派
Pan Chao-p’êng  潘兆鹏
P’an Hsi Monk  磐溪和尚
P’ei Chih  培智
P’ei Wén  培文
P’êng Tsê-min  彭泽民
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<tr>
<td>Tso P'in-lung</td>
<td>Wên Hua 文華</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tso P'in-lung</td>
<td>Wên Shêng-Ts'ai 溫生財</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ts'ui Ying Shu</td>
<td>Wêng Shao-shan 宋少珊</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tso P'in-lung</td>
<td>Wong I-ek 黃怡益</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ts'ui Ts'an Wên</td>
<td>Wu Chieh-Shu 吳傑模</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The table lists various names and their affiliations, including individuals and organizations.
Yü Ts'ai
Yu Tso-chou
Yü T'ung
Yü Tung-hsiung
Yüan-chün
Yüan-ch'en
Yüan Shih-Kai
Yüan Shou-min
Yo Fei
Yüeh Hai Ch'ing
Temple
Yuen Hing-wan
Yuen Tak-sam
Yuen Ying-fong
Yung Hsiang Hsing
Yung Shou Nien
Yung Ting district
SUPPLEMENTARY GLOSSARY (1)

Bata Gajah
Bruas
Chan Ah Yam
Chang Keng Qwee
Chang Tu-chüan
Chang Yü-nan
Chao-wu
Ch'ên Huan-chang
Chêng Kuan-yang
Chang So-nan
Ch'ien Mu
China Commercial Bank
Ch'êung Shan district
Chü-luan shih (chaos, or Age of Disorder)
Ch'uan
Ch'un-hsiu
Fang Ch'i-ü
Fang Shih-kang @
Fang Tz'u-shih or
Fang Nan-kang
Fêng Ching-ju
Fo Shan Railway
Fu Wang
Hin-hsueh wei-ch'ing k'ao (Study of the Classics Forged during the Hsin Period)
Hiung Ti
Ho Hsiu
Ho Kai
Hok Hin
Hsia chün-shêng @
Hsia Yung-kuang or
Hsia Meng-ch'ih
Hsia Yung-kuang @
Hsia Meng-chih
Hsia Yung-kuang @
Hsia Chün-shêng or
Hsia Meng-chih
Hsü Chih-yün
Hsün-tzu
Huang Tsung-hsi
Hung Kwan
Hung League
Hung Ying
Joo Hong
Kayano Chochi
Khoi Thean Tek
Kiat Seng Liung
Ku Yên-wu
Kuei Wang
Kung Yang chüan
K'ung Yü-chen
Kwai Shi
Kwang Hok @
Ghee Khee Kwang Hok
Kwong Fui Siu
Kwong Wai Siu Free Hospital
Kwong Yik Bank
Lee Chêng Yan
Li Ching Fang
Li Yün chapter
Liang Pi-ju
Lin chi-chih @
ch'i-ju
Li Guan-sui
Lin Fu-ch'uan 林福全
Lin Kuei 林圭
Liu Lien-k'o 劉聯河
Lo Fêng-lu 罗楓崖
Lui T'ieh-yai 刘铁崖
Mencius 孟子
Ming-yi tai-fang-lu 明夷太方論
Nèng 鲁能
Nu Wang 女王
Pak Shin 白席
P'an Yü 白育
Pi Yung-nien 裴永年
P'u Ling district 鄒令
Qiao Ch'ing 桥清
Sam Ko 三哥
Sau Kwai 薛全
Seah Liang Seah 海聰
Shêng-p'ing shih (peace or Age of Increasing Peace)
Shih K'o-fo 史可法
Shiu Lam Monastery (Shao Lin) 喜來臨寺 (少林寺)
Sin Fung 信峰
Sin Shang 信尚
Sitiawan 謝時萬
Song Peh Kwang 宋柏光
Sun Sun 孫森
Sun Yat-sen 孫逸仙
Ta T'ung shu 塔同書
Tai Chi-t'ao 戴季陶
Tai chün-yung @ Tye Kee Yoon or Tai Hsin-jan 戴春榮
Tai Hsin-jan @ Tye Kee Yoon or Tai Chün-yung 戴欣然
Tai Ko 大哥
Tai T'ien-ch'ou 戴天仇 (季陶)
T'ai-p'ing shih (Great Peace or Age of Complete Peace)
T'ai Shan district 台山縣
T'ang Wang 唐王
Têng Tsê-ju 漯鎮秋
Teochow-Swatow Railway 潮汕鐵路
Tiêng Bee 長美(新長美)
Tien-shih 聲枝
T'iet Pan 契潘
Toi Ma 同馬
Ts'o Hai 常海
T'ung An district 同安縣
T'ung-chih 同知
T'ung ch'ou Hui 同仇會
Tung Chung-shu 同中舒
Tye Kee Yoon @ Tai Chün-yung or Tai Hsin-jan 蕭其雲
Tzü Li Hui 諸立會
Wah Sang 胡善
Wang Ch'uan-shan (alias Wang Fu-chih) 王翰山
Wang Fu-chih 王敷
Wang Mou-k'un 王木存
Wang Shih-chüeh 王世修
Wang T'ao 王陶
Wu Chih-hui 吳治會 (鈕治恆)
Yao 尤
Yên-yün-shih 優安文
Yi Ko 二哥
Yi Sz 譚孝
Ying choon district
Yung-li Emperor
Yung Lu Ta Fu
Supplementary Glossary (II)

Bin Chan
Chen Yuan Chan
Ch'en Chih
Ch'en Ch'iu
Ch'eng P'an-yao
Chua Hui-seng
Hai San
Han Wen-chi
Hên-hai
Ho Hsin-t'ien
K'un-ltin
Loke Chow-kit
Loke Chow-tyhe
Loke Yaw
Liu Wen-chi
Ng Kim-keng
Ou Chou-jên
Pao T'ang
'Red Lotus in Hell'
Samseng,
Shang Shê
Sung Shao-tung
Su Ping-yung
Tan Boo List
T'ien Hui-ch'uan
T'ang Chen
T'ang Mu-han
T'ung Pêng Ta Fu
Wu-wo
Yang Shao-chia