

中國近代思想研討會論文專輯

## The Making of a Revolutionary — Hong Kong in the Shaping of Sun Yat-sen's Early Political Thought

Ng Lun Ngai-ha

Both Sun Yat-sen 孫逸仙 and Feng Tzu-zu 馮自由 had acknowledged at different times in their recollections and writings the importance of Hong Kong in the 1911 Revolution, as Sun pointed out that it was the birthplace of his revolutionary ideas while Feng called it "cradle of the Revolution."<sup>1</sup> A number of major works on history of the Revolution by Chinese and Western scholars alike have also given special reference to Hong Kong.<sup>2</sup> Yet very few studies have been made to give a fuller picture of the part played by Hong Kong in the Revolution.<sup>3</sup> This paper intends to go into one aspect of this question by studying in what ways Hong Kong helped shape the political thought of Sun Yat-sen in his early years. For this purpose the study will examine the sources of influence on Sun's thinking and outlook in his native village, in Hawaii, and in Hong Kong, noting in particular the years between 1884 and 1892 while he was studying at the Central School and the College of Medicine for Chinese in Hong Kong. A small section of the paper will also be devoted to examining ideas expressed in writings attributed to Sun during 1890 and 1894, so as to see the dual influence of reformism and anti-dynasticism in him, and how it finally turned him into a revolutionary.

### EARLY INFLUENCES

On different occasions and at different times Sun Yat-sen had attributed the origins of his revolutionary ideas to: (a) stories about the Taiping Rebellion that he

<sup>1</sup>Feng was one of the most important leaders of the revolutionary movement before 1911. He was the director of the Tung Meng Hui 同盟會 in Hong Kong and was responsible for the activities in the Hong Kong-Canton-Macau area from 1905 to 1910. His recollections and major works on the revolution provide important source of materials for many studies on the life of Sun Yat-sen as well as the revolutionary movement. For his reference to Hong Kong, for instance, *Hua-ch'iao k'o-ming k'ai-kuo shih* 華僑革命開國史 (History of the Revolution and the Overseas Chinese), reprint (Taipei, 1953), pp. 1-24; *K'o-ming i-shih* 革命逸史 (Reminiscence of the Revolution) (Taipei reprint, 1957, *passim*). For Sun's reference, see *infra*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>2</sup>See for instance, H. Schiffrin, *Sun Yat-sen and the Origins of the Chinese Revolution* (University of California Press, 1968); *Sun Yat-sen, Reluctant Revolutionary* (Boston, 1980); Ch'en Hsi-ch'i 陳錫祺, *Kuan-yu Sun Chung-shan ti ta-hsüeh shih-tai* 關於孫中山的大學時代 (Concerning Sun Yat-sen's Days at the University), *Sun Chung-shan yen-chiu lun-tzu* 孫中山研究論叢 (Zhongshan University, Vol. 1, 1983, pp. 1-16); Wu Shang-shang, *Sun Yat-sen hsien-sheng chuan* 孫中山先生傳 (Biography of Sun Yat-sen) (Taipei, 1983).

<sup>3</sup>Mary Ch'en's study, "Chinese Revolutionaries in Hong Kong" (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Hong Kong, 1963) shows the important role of Hong Kong as it describes in detail a total number of eight revolutionary attempts directly organized in Hong Kong between 1895 and 1911. For a preliminary study on this aspect, see Ng Lun Ngai-ha, "Sun Chung-shan tsao-chih k'o-ming huo-tung yu Hsiang-kang" 孫中山早期革命活動與香港 (Hong Kong and the Early Revolutionary Activities of Sun Yat-sen), *Sun Chung-shan yen-chiu lun-tzu* 孫中山研究論叢, Zhongshan University, vol. III (1985), pp. 67-78.

heard in his native village of Ts'ui-heng 翠亨; (b) his experiences in Hawaii between 1879 and 1882; (c) results of the Sino-French War in 1884-1885 and (d) conditions in the British governed territory of Hong Kong while he was studying there.

Sun's account of the germination of his anti-Manchu ideas in the village of Ts'ui-heng was related by Miyazaki Toten, a close associate of Sun in the revolutionary movement and a prolific writer on his knowledge of Sun as well as the Revolution. In answer to Miyazaki's question where he got the idea of revolution, Sun was quoted to have said, "The adoption of a revolutionary course came at a later date. But the idea had germinated in my mind when I was a small boy in the village and heard stories of the Taiping from the retired village elders."<sup>4</sup> The village elders, according to Miyazaki, were ex-soldiers of the Taiping. A similar account of this experience on the part of Sun is also found in Chen Shao-pa's 陳少白 book *An Essential History of the Hsing Chung Hui*. Chen described that Sun admitted many times that he began to admire Hung Hsu-ch'uan 洪秀全 when he was a little boy and heard so many heroic stories about him.<sup>5</sup> Also, according to the reminiscence accounts of many of his contemporaries, Sun had expressed on many occasions his admiration of Hung. The most commonly known episode was related to his first meeting with Yu Lieh 尤列 in Hong Kong, when he openly admitted that he wished to "follow Hung's career in launching a nationalist uprising".<sup>6</sup>

The village of Ts'ui-heng was not far from the place of origin of the Taiping leaders and stories about them had spread wide among the mass of the peasants in the district. Sun might have heard these romantic legends when he was a small boy. But it was the account given by an old farmer, who was believed to be a Taiping veteran, that impressed him most.<sup>7</sup> This might have made a special appeal to him and stirred within him an admiration for the Taiping leader. The feeling could just be a young boy's admiration for a hero, a fighter. It is very unlikely that strong anti-Manchu feelings had been implanted in the young mind. This may be truth that he became an admirer of Hung and, when he grew older and became seriously interested in political affairs, he liked to think of himself as Hung's successor. Thus it cannot be said that he had in him the idea of revolution when he heard the stories as a young boy. Besides, his career as a revolutionary was to differ from Hung's.

The claim that his revolutionary idea was stimulated by his experiences in Hawaii was made by himself in a public speech which he delivered at Lingnan College in Canton in May 1912. He then told his audience, "When I was sent to Hawaii, I attended a Western school. The education afforded there was much better than what I could get in

<sup>4</sup> Miyazaki Toten, "Sun Yat-sen chuan" 孫逸仙傳 in Ch'en Pi-yen 陳鵬仁 ed. *Sun Chung-shan yu Wang-hsing* 孫中山與黃興 (Taipei, 1977), p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Ch'en Shao-pao, *Hsing Chung Hui k'o-ming shih-yau* 興中會革命史要 (Essential History of the Hsing Chung Hui) (Taipei, 1946), pp. 3-5.

<sup>6</sup> Similar accounts of the episode and Sun's words can be found in various writings. The original source seems to come from Feng Tzu-zu, *K'o-ming i-shih*, vol. 1, p. 31.

<sup>7</sup> The old farmer, named Feng , was a Taiping veteran who returned to Tsui-heng after escaping capture at the battle of Chia-ying in eastern Kwangtung. H. Schoffrin, *Reluctant Revolutionary*, p. 22.

my native land. Thus the idea of bringing change and reform to save our countrymen began to germinate in my mind."<sup>8</sup> Chen Shao-pai's account gave evidence to this in greater detail. He said that Sun was very much impressed by the fact that the King of Hawaii was to exercise personal rule over his own people in spite of the encroachment of the American influence, and he was upset to see that the rule of the Han people was entirely in the hands of the Manchu. This aroused in Sun the idea of expelling the Manchu. "This was", as Ch'en explained, "the very beginning of Mr. Sun's revolutionary idea."<sup>9</sup>

Sun Yat-sen, then under the name of Tai Chu 帝象, reached Hawaii in 1879. Fresh from his tradition-bound village, he experienced for the first time life in a society under Western influences. Furthermore, he was placed in a British missionary school, Iolani, where he studied for three years. Then shortly after, he attended Oahu College run by American Congregationalist and Presbyterian missionaries. But his stay lasted for only a term as he was sent back to China in the summer of 1883. Sun thus spent a total number of four years in Hawaii, when he was between the age of thirteen and seventeen.

There were different opinions as to the possible influence of this Hawaiian experience on Sun's thinking and outlook. In an article written in 1896, Bishop Willis, Headmaster of Iolani, denied that the school had in anyway helped turn Sun into an anti-Manchu radical. As he said, "Ta Chu's school days gave no indication of his future career. He has left behind him no traditions of hatching plots against the magisterial authority, or of composing juvenile odes on the coming of emancipation of China from the Manchu yoke."<sup>10</sup> Being a staunch conservative, the Bishop was shocked when in 1896 a past student of the school achieved worldwide notoriety as the foremost enemy of the Manchu. He felt constrained perhaps to assure his flocks that the school had not in any way endowed the little boy with the disposition for plot against the reigning monarch.

Lyon Sharman, one of Sun's early biographers who had access to contemporary sources from Hawaii, had the following remarks:<sup>11</sup>

That somehow, in spite of Iolani's British conservatism, American enthusiasm for the republican form of government had reached his boyish mind seems an inescapable conclusion. But what appears to have gripped his imagination more firmly than anything else, judging as we must by later events, was that process of change, of which Hawaii has been a notable illustration.

Sharman was critical of some biographers who pictured Sun as a young radical going about challenging customs and traditions upon his return to China. To her, "such was doubtless a dramatically exaggerated picture of a reformer-to-be."<sup>12</sup> She was inclined to believe that the Hawaiian experience had implanted on Sun aside from the

<sup>8</sup> Speech quoted in Lo Kang 羅綱, *Chung-hua min-kuo kuo-fu shih-lu ch'u-kao* 中華民國國父實錄初稿 (Preliminary Studies of Veritable Accounts of Sun Yat-sen) (Taipei, 1965), p. 110.

<sup>9</sup> Ch'en Shao-pa, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>10</sup> The article originally appeared in *Diocesan Magazine* (Hawaii, December 5, 1896). Quoted by L. Sharman, *Sun Yat-sen His Life and Its Meaning* (Stanford, 1934), p. 13.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

idea of republicanism, the sense for change and for reform. Yet the significance lies in that "His exposure to Western learning made him turn out to be a man extra-ordinarily ductile to foreign influences."<sup>13</sup>

Professor Harold Schiffrin, in a more recent biography of Sun, believed that the significance of Sun's schooling in Hawaii lies in the fact that it made him "addicted to Western learning".<sup>14</sup> Wu Shang-shang 吳相湘 also held similar opinion that this experience was a great turning point in Sun's life as it liberated him from a tradition-bound village to a Western society which "greatly opened up his mind and widened his knowledge."<sup>15</sup>

While most biographers agree that the stay in Hawaii left him permanently impressed with the modern institutions in a Western society, how had that affected his political thinking is subject to different interpretations. Sharman suggested that it had left in his mind enthusiasm for the republican form of government. Chen Shao-pai, on the other hand, claimed that Hawaiian opposition to American encroachment had stimulated Sun's nationalist and anti-Manchu sentiments.<sup>16</sup> Miyazaki tended to depict him as full of subversive ideas.<sup>17</sup> Marxist historians emphasized more his nationalist and anti-imperialist inclination.<sup>18</sup> H. Schiffrin, quoting from Ch'en Shao-pai, believed that "his stay at Iolani during this impressionable period was not unrelated to his eventual commitment to revolution at home." and that "By championing the cause of Hawaiian independence and attacking the designs of Pro-American annexationists, Iolani may perhaps be held responsible for suggesting yet another of Sun's future political concerns: the Asian's need to resist the Westerner's aggression."<sup>19</sup>

A closer look into the political situations in Hawaii, the school and the education it offered may help to see in what ways Sun's thinking might have been affected. Hawaii had been ruled by its native king with a constitution since 1854. It came under the American influence since the reign of Lunalilo (1874-75). His successor, Kalakaua, was also pro-America and was largely instrumental in bringing about the Reciprocity Treaty of 1875 which gave America a political and economic hold over the Islands. A native Hawaiian nationalist movement then began to emerge. Kalakaua, while attempting to revert to the ancient monarchial system, headed the nationalist move against the Americans. The struggle went on in the 1880s. Iolani was a Church of England elementary school whose staff, except for one Hawaiian, was entirely British. Intended chiefly for Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian youngsters, the school also accepted a small number of Chinese. Its headmaster was Bishop Alfred Willis, head of the Honolulu diocese. Willis was known for his anti-American and anti-annexationist sentiments. He preached loyalty to the Hawaiian monarchy and Iolani remained staunchly British and

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>14</sup> H. Z. Schiffrin, *Reluctant Revolutionary*, p. 24.

<sup>15</sup> Wu Shang-shang, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.

<sup>16</sup> Ch'en Shao-pai, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>17</sup> Migaziki Toten, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

<sup>18</sup> See for instance Chin Ch'ing-chi 金冲及 & Hu Sheng-wu 胡繩武, "Lun Sun Chung-shan k'o-ming ssu-hsiang ti hsing-cheng yu Hsing Chung Hui ti cheng-li" 論孫中山革命思想的形成與興中會的成立 (Formation of Sun Yat-sen's Revolutionary Ideas and Establishment of the Hsing Chung Hui) (Peking, 1960), pp. 50-52.

<sup>19</sup> H. Schiffrin, *Sun Yat-sen and the Origins*, p. 13.

conservative under his direction. Sun therefore had little chance of coming to know the democratic ideals of republicanism. It is even doubtful if school lessons had nurtured in him Anglo-Saxon ideals of constitutional monarchy. Iolani was an elementary school and it offered only the rudiments of a Western education, largely in the three R's, which was a typical feature of the English elementary education in the 19th century. Geography and history were taught, but it was more learning of names of places and stories of heroes.<sup>20</sup> Bible reading and religious instructions were very much emphasized. Daily attendance at morning and evening prayer was a required routine, and on Sunday the boys were taken to services in the pro-cathedral. In view of all these and Sun's behaviour in the immediate years of his return to China, we can be perhaps more certain that he brought home with him then two important ideas—progress and Christianity. Republicanism or revolutionary ideal seemed still remote.

#### OBSERVATIONS AND SCHOOL EDUCATION IN HONG KONG

After a four months' stay back in the village, Sun resumed his education in Hong Kong. He was admitted in November 1883 at the Diocesan Boys' Home, also of the Church of England.<sup>21</sup> In April of the next year (1884), he was transferred to Central School under the name of Tai Tseung. In November he was summoned back to Ts'iu-heng to consummate the marriage that his parents had arranged for him. He returned to Central School in April 1885 and continued his education there until the summer of 1886. With the assistance of Dr. Charles Hager, he was enrolled in the Canton Hospital Medical School, an Anglo-American missionary institution headed by an American, Dr. John Kerr. After a year's stay in Canton, Sun decided to transfer to the newly opened College of Medicine for Chinese in Hong Kong. The College was established largely through the efforts of Ho Kai 何啟 in collaboration with the London Missionary Society. Sun graduated in 1892.<sup>22</sup> Only he and one other of the twelve students who

<sup>20</sup> An account of the regulation of payment by result of examinations in the three R's, school curriculum remained little changed in England until late in the 19th century. See D. Wardle, *English Popular Education, 1780-1975* (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 67-70. A typical curriculum of the elementary schools in Hong Kong shows that in 1873 the three R's remained the only subjects of learning for Standard I-III; for Standard IV geography was added and for V-VI history. See "Report on the Grant-in-aid Scheme", *Hong Kong Government Gazette*, 1874, p. 108.

<sup>21</sup> The school was originally an orphanage set up by the Diocese of Hong Kong. In 1869 it came to be known as Diocesan School and Orphanage. In 1896 the orphanage was closed and the school grew to become one of the best Anglo-Chinese schools in Hong Kong. For its history, see W. T. Featherstone, *The Diocesan Boys' School and Orphanage* (Hong Kong, 1930).

<sup>22</sup> Graduation ceremony was held at the City Hall on 18th July 1892 and presided by Sir William Robinson, Governor of Hong Kong. The ceremony and all the speeches delivered were fully reported by the *China Mail*. Sun Yat-sen distinguished himself academically when he was a student of the College. He won a number of prizes and graduated at the top of the class. A copy of the diploma awarded to Sun was hung on the wall just inside the entrance to the Anatomy and Physiology Building of the University of Hong Kong. During the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong it was preserved by a member of the University staff and was eventually taken into China where it was handed to the Chinese authorities. For accounts of Sun's study at the College see Lo Hsiang-lin 羅香林, *Kuo-fu chih ta-hsiieh shih-tai* 國父之大學時代 (Sun Yat-sen's Days at the University) (Taipei, 1954).

had begun the course completed it successfully.<sup>23</sup> But Sun's degree did not enable him to practise as a qualified medical doctor in Hong Kong, because the diploma was not recognized by the British General Medical Council. He left the colony for Macao to begin his practice by combining herbalism with modern medicine. Thus between 1883 and 1892, Sun had studied in Hong Kong for 7½ years; 2½ years as a secondary school boy and 5 years as a medical student.

In his reminiscence and written narratives of his own life, Sun Yat-sen had more than once associated the germination of his revolutionary purpose with the Anglo-French War of 1884-1885, the years when he attended the Central School. In his 1923 recollection, he pointed out that 1885 was the year when his revolutionary idea was formed. In a written narrative, he said with greater emphasis, "In the year 1885 when China was defeated in the Sino-French War, I began to determine to work for the overthrow of the Ch'ing dynasty and the setting up of the republic."<sup>24</sup> In his biography by Paul Linebarger, detail account was given in describing how he was upset by news that he read about the results of the war. He was impressed with the patriotism of the Chinese coolies and hotel waiters who refused to work for the French and the dockers who refused to repair a damaged French vessel arriving in Hong Kong from Taiwan. He was grieved to learn, on the other hand, about the Manchu regime's surrender of Chinese rights in Annam. The incident enabled him to contrast the patriotism of the people with the corruption and inability of the Ch'ing government. "It gave young Sun definite courage in the hopes for reform", said his biographer.<sup>25</sup>

Hong Kong's close relation with the origin of Sun's revolutionary idea was pointed out by Sun in his public meeting with the Hong Kong people on February 19, 1923. The occasion was a welcome party on his visit to the Hong Kong University. He spoke in front of a crowded audience, mostly students and alumni of the University. In answer to a repeated question—where and how he got his revolutionary idea, he said with affirmation that his revolutionary idea was born in Hong Kong during his student days. He then continued to explain in detail:<sup>26</sup>

When I studied in Hong Kong, I had two vacations every year. During each vacation I returned to my country home in Heung Shan where I stayed each time for several weeks. Every time I left Hong Kong I felt the difference. Each time I arrived home I had to be my own policeman, my own protector. Year after year that happened to me and I began to compare the two places. It was not very far from here to my home, which was fifty miles away. I thought of the beautiful streets, the artistic parks and wondered why the British could do such a thing on this barren rock within seventy or eighty years, why could not China, in the last four thousand years, have such a place like this.

The answer was not meant to be a mere compliment. Similar assertions had been made in his earlier writings and conversations with people. How far he was a confirmed revolutionary while he was studying in Hong Kong will be discussed later. But we can

<sup>23</sup> The other graduate was Kong Ying-wa 江英華, of Hsin-an hsien 新安縣, probably a local born youth. He was found practising medicine at Borneo in the 1900s.

<sup>24</sup> *Kuo-fu ch'uan-chi* 國父全集 (Collected Works of Sun Yat-sen) (Taipei, 1973), vol. II, p. 80.

<sup>25</sup> Paul M. Linebarger, *Sun Yat-sen and the Chinese Republic* (New York, 1925), p. 180.

<sup>26</sup> Speech reported in *China Mail*, February 20, 1923.

be certain that Sun Yat-sen, as a youth and student, spent his most formative and impressionable years in this British-governed territory and learnt much that could serve as a stimulus to his political awareness. Conditions in Hong Kong, without the political struggle that went on in Hawaii when he was a boy there, would have impressed him more as a well-governed territory. As he recalled, the stimulation came from his personal observation of the efficiency of the British administration, the law and order which provided basic conditions for economic development and prosperity, the nature of the open society and the civic freedoms which the citizens enjoyed.

School education in Hong Kong provided an even more important source of influence in shaping his outlook and mode of thinking. Central School was the first government secondary school and the highest institution of learning in Hong Kong.<sup>27</sup> Since its establishment in 1862, it was attended not only by Chinese in Hong Kong, but also by youths of all nationalities—British, American, Portuguese, Indian and Phillipino. There were also students from Mainland China. According to a preliminary study made,<sup>28</sup> during the late Ch'ing, the Central School was turning out western-educated youths who took part in the various movements for the modernization of China, some were recruited into the modern technical institutions, to be engaged in the promotion of the yang-wu 洋務 (foreign affairs) movement; while some were responsible for the constitutional reforms and, there were those who worked for the overthrow of the Manchu. To name a few of the prominent ones, they were Wen Tsung-yao 溫宗堯, Liang Lan-hsun 梁瀾勳, Ch'en Chin-t'ao 陳錦濤, Liang Tun-yen 梁敦彥, Wu T'ing-fang 伍廷芳, Ho Kai 何啟 and Tse Tsan-t'ai 謝纘泰.

During the early years of the Central School, its curriculum gave equal weight to Chinese and English studies. Four hours in the morning were devoted to Chinese subjects, which included *Wu-ching* 五經 (Five Classics), *ku-wen* 古文 (classical prose), *wen-chang* 文章 (literary writing) and *shih-chih* 史記 (Book of Records). The afternoon hours were spent on the teaching of English, with greater attention to spelling, reading and composition. From the 1870s onwards, time devoted to Chinese teaching was gradually reduced to allow more time for new subjects of learning in arithmetic, history and geography. These and other subjects in English were taught by masters who were graduates from well-known universities in Britain, for instance, Aberdeen, Oxford and Cambridge.<sup>29</sup> The governor of Hong Kong often paid personal attention to the progress of the school and its curriculum. During the years between 1878 and 1882, two important educational conferences were summoned by the governor which resulted in a turn of government educational policy to the promotion of English education for

<sup>27</sup>The Central School was set up by the Hong Kong government as a result of a proposal put up by the famous sinologue, James Legge, for the promotion of English and Western learning. For its history, see Gwenneth Stokes, *Queen's College 1862-1962* (Hong Kong, 1962).

<sup>28</sup>Ng Lun Ngai-ha, "The Role of Hong Kong Educated Chinese in the Shaping of Modern China", *Modern Asian Studies*, 17.1 (1983) Cambridge, pp. 137-163.

<sup>29</sup>For instance, Frederick Stewart was a graduate of University of Aberdeen while Bateson Wnigh, Headmaster (1881-94) was from Queen's College, Oxford. Other teachers were also J. Dyer Ball, well-known sinologue and G. Piercy who later became Headmaster of the Diocesan School.

the Chinese elite.<sup>30</sup> Many of the government vernacular schools were closed and the money was devoted to subsidizing the missionary Anglo-Chinese schools through the grant-in-aid system.<sup>31</sup> At the Central School, Chinese was taught only as a subject in translation in the Upper Section. More advanced subjects in English were introduced which included Shakespeare, English history, algebra, Euclid, book-keeping, physiology and general intelligence. Such was the curriculum when Sun Yat-sen entered the school in 1884.

Educational policy for the promotion of modern Western education for the Chinese in Hong Kong was adopted in part by the prevailing idea of "England's Mission" among many British politicians, missionaries and humanitarians. They optimistically regarded Great Britain as the guardian of civilization and believed that the Pax Britannica brought nothing but benefit to those under its way.<sup>32</sup> Dr. E. J. Eitel, then the Inspector of Schools in Hong Kong, bore also such an attitude.<sup>33</sup> A more practical motivation for the adoption of this policy was for the promotion of British interests in China. It was argued that providing China with Hong Kong trained young Chinese, who were expected to be "pro-English missionaries", was an effective way of extending British influence in China. How far were such aims achieved is beyond the scope of this paper.<sup>34</sup> But the curriculum, with great emphasis on the spread of British ideas and modern learning, would certainly create an impact on the mind of Sun Yat-sen.

Very little records related directly to Sun Yat-sen at the Central School have been found. Other evidence available can, however, help us see the type of education that he received at the school. We do not know what class he entered in 1884. Yet, his age and the previous schooling indicate that he must have been admitted into the Upper Section, (classes IV to I) and received instructions from subjects with concentration on English studies and modern science. It was here that he was exposed to Anglo-Saxon ideals of constitutional government, stories of the English people's long struggle with the monarch, the French Revolution, etc. It was never the intention of the Hong Kong government to include any political content in the school curriculum. Care was taken,

<sup>30</sup> Earlier government educational subsidy was mainly given to the support of a number of Chinese vernacular village schools. But, owing to the unsatisfactory progress of these village schools, the growing demand for English education, changing British policy in China and other reasons, the Hong Kong Government decided through the recommendations of these two conferences, to place emphasis on the promotion of English education for the Chinese elite. For a study of the historical background of the emergence of such a policy see Ng Lun Ngai-ha *Interactions of East and West* (Hong Kong, 1983), pp. 47-89.

<sup>31</sup> The Grant-in-aid system was first introduced in 1873. But it was after the revisions of the scheme made in 1879 that missionary schools began to join in. It was through this system that a number of well-known Anglo-Chinese schools began to develop and contributed to the promotion of Western learning in Hong Kong. They also produced a considerable number of students who later returned to China to partake in various reform movements in China. See Ng Lun Ngai-ha, on note 28, pp. 160-163.

<sup>32</sup> Quotations of contemporary writings and speeches expressing this idea can be found in R. Koebner and H. D. Schmidt, *Imperialism: The Story and Significance of a Political Word, 1840-1960* (Cambridge, 1964); and C. C. Eldridge, *England's Mission: The Imperial Idea in the Age of Gladstone and Disraeli* (London, 1973), *passim*.

<sup>33</sup> E. J. Eitel was the Inspector of Schools in Hong Kong from 1879 to 1897. In his book, *Europe in China: The History of Hong Kong from the Beginning to the Year 1882* (Hong Kong, 1898), the idea of British destiny was vividly portrayed.

<sup>34</sup> A short discussion of this question is brought up in Ng Lun Ngai-ha, "British Policy in China and Public Education in Hong Kong 1860-1900", paper presented to the 9th LAHA Conference (Manila, November 1983).



in fact, to avoid arousing any national sentiment among the Chinese students and Chinese history was not taught. Yet, in a number of ways, some more subtle than others, the teaching would certainly stimulate political awakening as well as ideas of reform. For English composition, topics like "Patriotism", "The Follies of Foot-binding" and "The True End of Education" were very popular.<sup>35</sup> Lessons on the history of England such as the growth of parliamentary government or the Industrial Revolution, might directly or indirectly activate minds of the students on the problems in China. What would Sun think of his local magistrate when he read about the functions of the municipal council in England, the rising influence of the merchant class and workers in the West, knowing how humble peasants fared in China?

Sun's attitude was further stimulated by the fact that the English masters, most of whom were young graduates from the university, were enthusiastic in inducing critical thinkings on the part of the students. The following example of two of the questions on history of England set in 1886 is a good illustration.<sup>36</sup>

Class I: Why did James II lose his Crown?

Class II: Do you consider the execution of Charles I just or unjust? Give reasons for your answer.

Sun left no written indications for his idea then, nor had he yet met anyone who shared with him his thinking. The opportunity came when he attended medical college, for less than a year at Canton and then for five years (1887-1892) again in Hong Kong.

That Sun did not complete his study at the Central School to obtain a graduation diploma indicated his eagerness to take up medical studies. Sun later explained that it was due to his decision to turn to politics. He asserted that he planned then to "use the school as a place for propaganda and to exploit the medical profession in order to reach people".<sup>37</sup> It is difficult to accept such a statement made some thirty years after. Perhaps it was due to the fact that in spite of the political awareness that had been aroused in him, his family background and even with the education at the Central School, could hardly enable him to make a move for any political cause. A medical profession might, on the other hand, help him to enhance his status as an elite and, in addition, modern medicine was a practical way in contributing to China's reform.

#### PERSONAL CONTACTS AND SOURCES OF INTELLECTUAL STIMULI

The stay in Hong Kong between 1887 and 1892 was to provide greater stimuli in shaping his ideas and deepening his interests in politics. Conditions in Hong Kong, his advancement in learning, his personal contacts and readings available to him were all important sources of intellectual awakening as well as political awareness.

<sup>35</sup>"Report on the Central School", *Hong Kong Session Sessional Papers*, 1882-83, p. 379.

<sup>36</sup>In 1886, Cambridge Local Examinations were first held in Hong Kong. Six students from the Central School set for the first examination. Sun's name was not found on the list, so it was sure that he did not finish school to get a diploma. Question papers set for examinations held in the school were attached in the Annual Report of the School for the year 1886, see *Hong Kong Administrative Reports, 1887*, p. 108.

<sup>37</sup>*Kuo-fu chuan-chi*, vol. II, p. 80.

It was during these years that he travelled at least for two intervals a year between Hong Kong and Ts'ui-heng, for he had left behind in his native village a young wife. As a college student and a mature young man, he was able to see more clearly the contrasts between the two places. He was all the more impressed by the helplessness of his countrymen under the local magistrate, in comparison with the improving conditions of the Chinese in Hong Kong. The late 1880s marked a steady rise in the economic power and an improvement in the social or political status of the local Chinese. This was evident in the opening up of new trading areas and the buying up of European properties by the Chinese merchants.<sup>38</sup> Chinese became also the biggest rate payers in the colony.<sup>39</sup> Meanwhile, the appointment of a Chinese representative in the Legislative Council was institutionalized<sup>40</sup> and the two leading Chinese charitable institutions, the Tung Wah Hospital 東華醫院 and the Po Leung Kuk 保良局 were officially accepted as representative organizations of the Chinese community.<sup>41</sup> It was also beginning from this time that Ho Kai became actively engaged in various activities for the promotion of modern medical service and education for the Chinese.

In the College, Sun continued with his pursuit of Western knowledge, which, as far as the curriculum goes, dealt entirely with modern medicine. This might have no direct relation with the furtherance of his political thinking. But the study would certainly reinforce in him the idea of the need for reform and modernization in China. In addition, there was the practical knowledge that he acquired, which was to infuse with his ideas about education reforms, agricultural innovations and his philosophical deduction that "to learn is more difficult than to practise".<sup>42</sup>

During these years, Sun also showed interest in other readings. Western history continued to draw his attention and Thomas Carlyle's *French Revolution* was his

<sup>38</sup> Hong Kong's early business activities were dominated by British and non-Chinese merchants. Chinese merchants were confined to the less developed western part of the city of Victoria. Developments in the 1870s and 1880s saw the steady growth of Chinese commercial interests at the expense of the Westerners. Properties at the central part of the city were gradually brought up by Chinese. A number of large firms and shipping companies such as China Merchants Steam Navigation Co. were set up by the Chinese. See G. B. Endacott, *A History of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong, 1973), pp. 175-176, 194-195.

<sup>39</sup> The Governor of Hong Kong reported in 1881 that there were eighteen ratepapers having property rated at or over \$1,000 per quarter, seventeen were Chinese and the remaining one was the largest British merchant house, Jardine, Matheson. See G. B. Endacott, *ibid.*, p. 195.

<sup>40</sup> The appointment of Ng Choy 伍才 (Wu T'ing-fang) as the first Chinese unofficial member of the Legislative Council in 1880 was made on a temporary arrangement. There was heated argument between the Governor and the Colonial Office over a permanent seat for the Chinese. Therefore when Ng left the colony in 1882, his seat was not immediately taken by another Chinese. It was by a reconstruction of the Legislative Council in 1884 that a permanent seat was given to a Chinese as an unofficial member. The appointment was given to Wong Shing 黃勝 (Huang Sheng) who served from 1884-1890. See G. B. Endacott, *Government and People in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong, 1964), pp. 93-102.

<sup>41</sup> The Tung Wah Hospital was founded in 1870 by the Chinese as a charity organization. It was soon given government recognition by ordinance and each year prominent and influential Chinese were elected as its directors. The Po Leung Kuk was set up in 1880 with a similar function. For a critical account of the social and political functions of these two organizations in Hong Kong, see H. Lethbridge "A Chinese Association in Hong Kong: The Tung Wah", *Asian Studies*, 1 (10), 1973, pp. 144-158 and "The Evolution of a Chinese Voluntary Association in Hong Kong: The Po Leung Kuk", in *Hong Kong, Stability and Change* (Hong Kong, 1978), pp. 71-103.

<sup>42</sup> For an explanation of Sun's thinking in connection with his knowledge of science, see Lo Hsiang-lin 羅香林, *Hong Kong and Western Culture* (Tokyo, 1963), pp. 163-178.

favourite past time reading. He also liked to read the *Origins of Species* which was introduced to students by Dr. J. Cantile, then Dean of the College. To some Marxist historians, Sun's exposure to the theory of evolution was to have impact on his idea of progress and notions of bourgeoisie democratic revolution.<sup>43</sup>

A more important source of stimulus was to come from Sun's association with a few youths of the like mind in Hong Kong. They were Ch'in Shao-pai, also a student of the Medical College; Yang Ho-lin 楊鶴齡, a boyhood friend of Sun and Yu Lieh, a former classmate of Yang at Canton. These three young men often visited Sun at the Medical College and talked about politics, sharing in common their views against the Manchu. The visits became so frequent that they finally decided to meet regularly in the store run by Yang. They were called the Four Great Banits by outsiders because their anti-Manchu sentiments were likened to the Taipings'. Sun was dubbed by some as "Hung Hsui-chuan" because of his expressed admiration of the Taiping leader. Their meetings were at times joined by Lu Hao-tung 陸皓東, another boyhood friend from Ts'ui-heng and Cheng Shih-liang 鄭士長, a former classmate at the Canton Medical College. Also, it was through Yu and Cheng, both of whom had strong ties with the Triads, that Sun came to build up ties with the secret societies which had a long anti-Manchu tradition.

It is interesting to note that these young men shared certain characteristics which were to distinguish them as a group forming the backbone of the early revolutionary movement: (a) they were all from districts in the Pearl River Delta and not too far from the city of Canton; (b) they had for some time or other lived in one of the treaty ports or coastal cities of Hong Kong, Macao, Canton or Shanghai and (c) they had at different levels received some form of Western education in the modern institutions, for instance, Ch'en at Canton Christian College, Yu and Yang at Canton College of Maths, Cheng at the Rhenish Missionary School and Lu at Shang-hai Telegraph College.

The gatherings offered Sun the chance to express his ideas and listened to the others. The significance lies not in whether they were then definite in the revolutionary cause, but in the fact that they were drawn together in their exchange of opinions against the Manchu. When the Hsing Chung Hui was set up in 1894, these became core members and they continued to attract people of similar background as backbone in the early phase of the revolutionary movement.

Sun Yat-sen also came to know Yang Chu-yun 楊衢雲 in 1891, who was Chairman of the *Fu Fen wen-shih* 輔仁文社. This society was the first formal organization of a small group of young Chinese intellectuals which was openly concerned with the spread of modern learning among the common but, in its secret meetings, discussed politics and China's need for political reforms.<sup>44</sup> Members of the society had a strong tie with Hong Kong, all being educated in the Anglo-Chinese schools in the colony and worked as clerks in the Hong Kong Government and commercial firms, or as teachers. A few of the members were from local prominent families, or from the upper circle of the

<sup>43</sup> Ch'en Hsi-chi, *op. cit.*, p. 16 and Ch'en Hua-hsin 陳華新, "Hsiang-kang shih Sun Chung-shan ssu-hsiang hsieh-hsuo ti fa-yuan ti 香港是孫中山思想的發源地" (*Hong Kong is the place of origin of Sun Yat-sen's ideas*) (Guangzhou, 1984), pp. 11-12.

<sup>44</sup> Tse Tsan-tai 謝讚泰, *The Chinese Republic: Secret History of the Revolution* (Hong Kong, 1924), pp. 7-8.

Chinese community.<sup>45</sup> Sun was to get support from some of the core members of this society when the first attempt against the Manchu government was launched.

Meanwhile, Sun's political thinking was also inspired by some reformist ideals. The most important of these came from Ho Kai, who was probably Sun's first contact among those attempting to modernize China along Western lines.<sup>46</sup> As a founder of the Medical College and its secretary, Ho Kai also held the chair of medical jurisprudence and physiology. There were only twelve students in the class and there was ample chance for Sun to get acquainted with Ho, son of a Hong Kong businessman of Cantonese origin who had been a preacher for the London Missionary. Ho was also a Christian and a past student of the Central School. He received his further education in Britain where he qualified in Medicine at Aberdeen and became a barrister as well. Upon his return to Hong Kong in 1882, he helped organize a hospital for Chinese patients and in 1887, set up the Medical College for Chinese. He was recognized as leader of the Chinese community as he was not only a member of the Legislative Council and a Justice of the Peace, but was also appointed by the government to serve on almost every public board as representative of the local Chinese. His brother-in-law Wu T'ing-fang, who had a similar educational background, had also a prominent career in Hong Kong.<sup>47</sup> But in 1882 Wu left the colony to join the secretariat of Li Hung Chang and to take part in the promotion of *yang-wu* (foreign affairs). Ho remained in Hong Kong but was also deeply concerned with affairs in China. He became after the Sino-Japanese War an open advocate of reforms in China. His first essay was written under a pen-name in response to an article by Tseng Chi-tse 曾紀澤, "China: the Sleep and Awakening" which attributed China's weakness to inferior military strength. Ho's paper was published in English in the *China Mail* dated February 12, 1887. Much of his views were echoed by Sun in his later writings and therefore deserve a summary introduction here.

Ho was critical of the "self-strengthening movement" as a means of promoting wealth and power of China. He argued that the real cause of China's trouble lay not so much in her military weakness as in her "loose morality and evil habits, both social and political". He strongly emphasized that sweeping reforms in the Chinese system of law and administration must precede the reorganization of army. In particular, he demanded a new basis for recruiting officials. The civil examinations, he argued, were worthless as a test of real ability and talent, for they involved no knowledge of modern science or arts. He also offered some opinion about China's economic development. Warning against the danger of foreign loans, he suggested that domestic borrowing would be possible if there were more confidence in the government. He concluded that with

<sup>45</sup>The detail of the family, education and occupation of the sixteen core members of the *wen-shih*, see Ng Lun Ngai-ha, on note 3, p. 16.

<sup>46</sup>For Ho Kai's career and life in Hong Kong, see Gerald Choa, *The Life and Times of Sir Kai Ho Kai* (Hong Kong, 1981), his promotion for reforms in China, Ng Lun Ngai-ha, *Interactions*, pp. 122-124; 134-138, his reform ideas, Tsai Tung-fang "Comprador Ideologies in Modern China: Ho Kai (1895-1914) and Hu Li-yuan (1847-1916)", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, (University of California, 1975); for his association with Sun Yat-sen, H. Schiffrin, *Sun Yat-sen and the Origins*, pp. 28-31.

<sup>47</sup>For Wu's career in Hong Kong, see Ng Lun Ngai-ha, *Interactions*, pp. 132-134.

government encouragement, private enterprise would be the best way for economic development.

Ho continued to publish other articles in the local newspapers under the pseudo name "sinesis". Meanwhile, his writings also appeared in Chinese written in collaboration with Hu Li-yuan 胡禮垣, a close friend and business partner. He had also attended the Central School and was well-versed in classical Chinese. He was also a successful and prominent businessman and was often described as a comprador-reformist. In their articles written in Chinese they emphasized the need of governmental reforms in line with the Mencius ideal of the "primacy of the people" at a time when most other "progressive" Chinese were preoccupied with ships and guns.

Ho's relation with Sun was close. His reform notions must have appealed to Sun and showed him that a Chinese with a modern education was competent to comment on public affairs. Much of his commentary was in fact, reflected in Sun's letter to Cheng Tsao-ju 鄭藻如 (1890) and Li Hung-chang (1894).

Meanwhile Sun had ample chance of knowing about other reformist ideas of the time. As for instance, Cheng Kuan-ying's 鄭觀應 earlier works, *I-yeng* 易言, later to be incorporated in the *Sheng-shih wei-yen* 盛世危言, was first published in Hong Kong in about 1873, being printed by the printing works which Huang Sheng 黃勝 bought from the London Missionary. Also, there appeared in the 1870s two Chinese language newspapers, *Hsun-huan jih-pao* 循環日報 (Recurrence Daily) and *Hua-tzu jih-pao* 華字日報 (Chinese Mail). Of these *Hsun-huan jih-pao* was founded in 1873, with the first publication dated January 5, 1874. It was founded by Wang Tao 王韜 with the assistance of Huang Sheng and Wu T'ing-fang and was the first successful Chinese daily to be published completely under native auspices. As co-founder and editor-in-chief Wang T'ao was from the start its guiding spirit. Between 1879 and 1891 Hu Li-yuan also took up most of the translation work for the newspaper. About one-third of the paper was devoted to news coming from all corners of the world. But the most distinctive characteristic of the paper was its periodic inclusion of editorials written in most cases by Wang himself.<sup>48</sup> He used these editorials to criticize the Chinese court and bureaucracy, to advocate reforms, or simply to spread information on the West and comment on the current events. Wang's critique of Chinese government and political life was the most radical part of his reform ideas. Though he never expressly advocated a parliamentary system of Government for China, he repeatedly stated his preference for a system of government in which there was a sharing of power between the monarch and the people. Moreover, he was unflinching in his praise of the parliamentary government in the West.

The *Hua-tzu jih-pao* was first issued by the *China Mail* as a separate paper in Chinese called the *Chinese Mail*.<sup>49</sup> In 1886, *Hua-tzu jih-pao* became an independent

<sup>48</sup> Wang Tao's editorial commentaries in the *Hsun-huan jih-pao* have been collected in *T'ao yuan wen-lu wai-pien* 駁園文錄外編 (Supplements to the Collected Works of Wang T'ao), 12 vols. (Taipei reprint, 1959). See also Lin Yau-lan 林友蘭, *Hsiang-kang pao-yeh fa-chan shih* 香港報業發展史 (History of Development of Journalism in Hong Kong) (Taipei, 1976), pp. 10-15.

<sup>49</sup> Copies of the paper from 1895 to 1940 are now deposited at the main Library of the University of Hong Kong. For a short introduction to the paper, see *ibid.*, pp. 80-96.

paper with Ch'en Ai-ting 陳霽亭 as its editor. Ch'en had worked as a translator for the *China Mail* and had good command of both Chinese and English. He was incensed equally at the humiliations inflicted on China by the West and the "compradorism" of so many of his countrymen in Hong Kong, and was convinced that China must become strong to survive and that, to become strong, her people must be enlightened. The paper was supported financially by Ho Kai and Hu Li-yuan who also contributed frequently to its editorial comments. These articles were often expanded versions of Ho Kai's essays published under the name of "Sinensis" in the English newspaper, *China Mail*. With a solid grounding in the Chinese classical tradition, Hu quoted extensively passages from the classics in presenting his arguments for reform, particularly in his belief in the identity of the wealth and power of the country and the well-being of the people. One special feature of this paper was a common tendency to emphasize that Western institutions and practice were in accord with the principles found in Chinese classics.

In addition to these Chinese newspapers, Sun had also access to a wide range of English newspapers published in Hong Kong.<sup>50</sup> The more important of these included the *China Mail*,<sup>51</sup> the *Hong Kong Daily Press*<sup>52</sup> and the *Hong Kong Telegraph*.<sup>53</sup> These papers were meant not merely for local circulation but also for foreign residents in China and for distribution in Western countries with a view of supplying first-hand information concerning both the East and the West. With special correspondents stationed in London, New York, Shanghai and other great cities of the world, these papers contained news items covering events not only in Hong Kong, but in China as well as the Western world. Meanwhile, their editorials and correspondents' columns offered a ground for political discussions, with greater attention to issues in China. Being owned by foreigners, these papers enjoyed even a greater degree of freedom in criticizing the Ch'ing government and embraced a wider range of opinions from foreign residents in Hong Kong, China and even as far as Europe and America. In fact, it was probably through the news coverage from these papers that Sun learned in detail about the course and results of the Sino-French War. Through the same, Sun must have heard of the Third French Republic, the social and political reforms in Britain, William Gladstone's ministries etc., which would certainly widen his knowledge of modern Western political systems and arouse in him a deep concern for politics.

<sup>50</sup>Hong Kong became during the late Ch'ing an important centre for the publication of what were known as China-Coast Newspapers, which are very useful as source materials for the study of late Ch'ing China and Sino-Western relations. For a study of the historical accounts of these various newspapers and their characteristics, see Frank King & Prescott Clarke (eds.), *A Research Guide to China Coast Newspapers, 1822-1911* (Kansas, 1965). For a brief introduction to the newspapers published in Hong Kong and a list of the holdings now available in Hong Kong, see Ng Lun Ngai-ha, "A Survey of Source Materials in Hong Kong Related to Late Ch'ing China", *Ch'ing-shih wen-ti*, vol. 4 (1979).

<sup>51</sup>With its long history and wide circulation, the *China Mail* (1845-1973) was the best known of the newspapers published in Hong Kong. Its attitude generally reflected the standpoints of the more open and liberal-minded English. See Frank King, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-63.

<sup>52</sup>The *Hong Kong Daily Press* (1857-1941) voiced more often the opinions of the more aggressive British merchants and were relatively more critical of the Chinese and especially of the Manchu regime. See *ibid.*, pp. 64-67.

<sup>53</sup>*Hong Kong Telegraph* (1881-1941). This paper was openly pro-Chinese and was especially concerned with promoting interests of the Chinese community in Hong Kong. Chesney Duncan (editor from 1895 to 1899) was known for his involvement with the Hsing Chung Hui. See *ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

FROM REFORMIST TO REVOLUTIONARY

As a source of personal contacts and intellectual stimuli, Hong Kong offered to Sun during his years of stay the choice of wide scope of political views ranging from gentry reformism to radical anti-dynasticism. In his recollections and the reminiscence accounts of most of his contemporaries it was often stressed that Sun was by that time already a determined revolutionary. But according to our study of his close relation with Ho Kai and association with other reformists of the time, and, above all, from the two known petitions that he had written to the Ch'ing high officials in 1890 and 1894 respectively, there was evidence that he at that time was looking also to moderate reformism. These two pieces of writing are, in fact, the earliest written works left by Sun that scholars up to now have been able to find.<sup>54</sup> We shall examine in brief his reformist notions reflected in the writings and their possible connection with his experience in Hong Kong.

Sun's first written reformist proposal was presented to Cheng Tsao-ju 鄭藻如 in 1890.<sup>55</sup> Cheng was a distinguished scholar-official, a *chu- jen* 舉人 degree holder in the traditional civil examination. Meanwhile, he was also a progressive official who had served as Minister to Japan and the United States and worked under Li Hung-chang in Tientsin. How Sun was connected with Cheng is not clear, but Cheng was also from the district of Hsiang-shan 香山 and regional ties, which were then important in China, might provide a link. Sun's recent biographer, Wu Shang-shang, suggests that Cheng's firm attitude in response to the anti-Chinese incidents in the United States during 1882-1884 had won Sun's respect and confidence.<sup>56</sup> Sun's approach was cautious and moderate. He admitted that being unfamiliar with the eight-legged composition, he was unable to win a degree in the civil examinations, yet he was anxious to make use of his training in science and knowledge of the West in order to improve the nation's well-being. He was particularly concerned with reforms in three major aspects: namely, the setting up of associations for improvement of agriculture and sericulture; ban on opium smoking and the spread of literacy. He pointed out that such reform measures could be carried out in the district of Hsiang-shan which then could serve as a model for other regions. These were common themes of reforms about which Sun might have learnt from his reading of the reform essays found in the newspapers or other publications in Hong Kong. But his peasant background, and scientific knowledge on agriculture learnt from batony at the Medical College might add some distinct features to make his proposals apparently different from Ho Kai and Hu Li-yuan's with regard to removal of economic distress.

Another prominent man whom Sun tried to approach was Cheng Kuan-ying, also

<sup>54</sup>H. Schiffrin, who had an interview with J. M. Braga, an old resident of Hong Kong and Macao whose father had been editor of the *Hong Kong Telegraph*, stated that during 1892 and 1894, Sun had been editor of the Chinese section of a Portuguese weekly published in Macao, known as *O Echo Macaense* (1893-1899) and in Chinese *Ching hai ts'ung-pao* 鏡海叢報. See *Sun Yat-sen and the Origins*, p. 33.

<sup>55</sup>The *Hao T'ou yueh-k'an* 濠頭月刊 vol. 14 & 15 (1947), a magazine published by a secondary school in Chung-shan county, noted that the letter was first published in the *Macao Daily* in 1892. Its full text is given in *Sun Chung-shan shih-liao chuan-chi* 孫中山史料專輯 (Guangzhou, 1979), pp. 271-273.

<sup>56</sup>Wu Shang-shang, *Sun Yat-sen*, pp. 75-78.

a native of Hsiang-shan. Cheng had worked in Shanghai as a comprador for two leading British firms which had their head offices in Hong Kong. From 1882 onwards Cheng was closely connected with the *kuan-tu shang-pan* 官督商辦 enterprises. Cheng's first essays on reform were first printed in Hong Kong and Sun Yat-sen must have access to them. The belief that Sun had contributed an essay "Nung-kung" 農工 (Agricultural operation) to Cheng's more famous work *Sheng-shih wei-yen* (Warnings to a prosperous age) is now being questioned.<sup>57</sup> But in the essay, Cheng did mention meeting "a fellow countryman, Sun Tsui-ch'i", which indicated that Cheng had made acquaintance with Sun and the two had held discussions concerning agricultural reform. Sun's special interest in the field of agricultural improvement was to persist in his career and formed the basis of his concern for the people's livelihood.

Sun's petition to Li Hung-chang in 1894 presents more important and interesting points for analysis because, on account of Li's personal concern for modern medicine and his association with Hong Kong, Sun had placed high hopes in approaching this most powerful high-ranking official in the empire. Li was then Governor-General of Chihli, and the most representative of the progressive officials in the Ch'ing court, being the leading figure in the *yang-wu* (foreign matter) affairs.

The most important sign of encouragement for Sun's attempt to approach Li, however, came from the fact that besides his personal interest in modern medicine, Li was also connected with the Hong Kong Medical College and though indirectly, with the Central School, of both Sun was an alumnus. Li's recognition of the superiority of Western medicine began with his wife being cured by British missionary physicians and in 1881 he helped Dr. John Mackenzie to found a modern hospital in Tientsin. He agreed that students had to be recruited directly from Hong Kong where the young boys had received training in the English language and knowledge of Western science. It was recorded that the first class of eight students were all from the Central School and for at least three successive years, all the recruits were from the same school.<sup>58</sup> During these years Sun was himself studying there and he must have heard of boys being recruited into the College of Medicine at Tientsin and Li Hung-chang's connection with it. When the Hong Kong College of Medicine was set up in 1887, Li, then Governor-General of Liang Kuang, was invited to be its Patron, while the Governor of Hong Kong was its President. Li showed immediate interest and accepted the invitation with an accompanying letter in which he expressed his admiration of British science, especially for those who "devote themselves to practical research and base their scientific principles on results of investigation, thus differing from those who rest content with theories". Li ended his letter with the following remark: "There is no doubt that when your admirable project is achieved it will be appreciated and imitated, and that it will through your students be a blessing to China."<sup>59</sup> Sun was therefore hopeful that, with an educational background so close to what Li expressly appreciated,

<sup>57</sup>H. Schffrin, *Sun Yat-sen and the Origins*, pp. 28-29, and also Wang Erh-min 王爾敏, "Tui-yu Wu-chu Sun Yat-sen hsien-sheng chuan chih bu-chung" 對於吳著孫逸仙先生傳之補充 (Supplement to Wu's Biography of Sun Yat-sen), in *Historical Journal of the National University (Taipei)* vol. II. (1984), pp. 3-4.

<sup>58</sup>Ng Lun Ngai-ha, *Interactions of East and West*, p. 139.

<sup>59</sup>*China Mail*, October 18, 1889.



his appeal would draw the attention of the Grand Secretary.

Comparing with the petition to Cheng Tsao-ju, Sun's letter to Li Hung-chang describes in much greater details his reformist notions, though the basic ideas remain similar.<sup>60</sup> The four measures prescribed as essential means of bringing wealth to the nation and well-being to the people could be compared with the major areas of reform put forward by Cheng Kuan-yin, in the *sheng-shih wei-yen*, namely, maximum use of human talents, the fullest utilization of land and natural resources, and unrestricted flow of commodities. These were to Sun the cornerstones of Western success and were necessary for survival in the modern world. His prime concern was with education—the recruitment and encouragement of men of talent. He advocated establishment of different types of schools for people with different potentials. Other concrete proposed measures were award of academic titles and honours to people with achievement in various subjects of studies, setting up societies of learning and publishing journals to promote advanced knowledge in various fields. Many of these proposals were patterned after the British practice, probably observations which he made in Hong Kong.

As to notions concerning promotion of commerce, Sun's thinking was very much inspired by Ho Kai and Cheng Kuan-yin. Yet, as an eyewitness of the economic prosperity of Hong Kong, Sun's ideas were much more than mere echoes. His exposition on this aspect went much deeper than the section of industrial development, which was then not a main feature of the Hong Kong economy. The three important measures prescribed by Sun for the promotion of commerce were not original, yet the examples he cited as being carried out by Western nations were largely from the British experience. He pointed out that the merchant class in Western countries had long been actively involved in government politics and their overseas commercial expansion had received military support from their government; in return, it was the financial support of the merchants that enabled Britain to conquer India, territories in Asia and Africa. Sun wanted to prove that commercialism was the road to the nation's wealth and power, and that merchants were an influential class. The privileged position and influence of merchants and the mercantile houses were evident also in Hong Kong. Very often, the Hong Kong governor and then the British home government had to yield to the merchants' requests and demands. Moreover, unofficial seats in the Hong Kong Legislative and the Executive councils were exclusively occupied by prominent merchants.

Sun's basic notions were by no means original, but the details and examples he cited reveal the knowledge and experience which he probably learnt in Hong Kong. What was more significant was his experience in Hong Kong gave him a wide view of China's problems and a broader scope of the possible measures to take. Therefore while nurturing anti-Manchu sentiments with the young intellectuals, he also looked to moderate gentry-sponsored reform as an alternate possibility. The petition itself was an attempt to seek acceptance to the ranks of China's elite for the latter purpose. Without the ability to qualify for a literary degree, he suggested that expertise in

<sup>60</sup>For a brief comparative study of the two letters, see Huang-yen 黃彥 "Chieh-shao Sun Chung-shan 'Chih Cheng Tsao-ju shu'" 介紹孫中山致鄭藻如書, *Li-shih yen-chiu* 歷史研究 (1980:6), pp. 184-189.

Western learning was an accomplishment in its own right and should qualify him to be included into the circle of traditional literate. Thus in his closing passage he offered himself as a candidate for Li's tutelage and asked the Grand Secretary to support him to study abroad sericulture and Western agricultural techniques.

Failure to get any response from Li ended Sun's hope to ally himself with the gentry reformists. It also finally resolved his indecision. His sole object henceforth was to be the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty. After returning from Tientsin he headed on to Hawaii where in November 1894, he took the first steps to form the Hsing Chung Hui, society for the Revival of China, to enlist support from people with whom he shared social status—the overseas Chinese. The Hong Kong branch of the society was set up three months after, in February 1895. Ready to follow him were his close friends, during his stay at the Medical College who had discussed and shared with him anti-Manchu convictions. Joining them was a similar circle of Westernized young men led by Yang Ch'u-yen who were also convinced that the Manchus were leading China to disaster.

The manifesto of the society prepared by Sun Yat-sen in Hawaii and a similar version of it issued in Hong Kong provide some interesting indications of his political thinking as he openly invited audacious patriots to join him in realizing the goal of "a prosperous country, a powerful army." Although the document cannot be taken as open anti-Manchu declaration, its preamble revealed vigorous nationalist convictions and hinted at a revolutionary solution. The literati reformism embodied in the petitions was superseded by calling for more sweeping changes. It placed the blame for China's weakness on the ruling class and openly denounced the corruption and debility of the Ch'ing court. It drew a frightening picture of a China threatened with partition by the foreign powers and called upon "men of determination" to save the "national entity" by unifying and educating the people and by applying modern science to create national wealth and power. It affirmed that traditional leaders were incapable of achieving such goal, as preservation of the national entity required modern leaders and modern ideas.

The regulations embodied in the manifesto dealt with recruitment of members, organization procedure and fund-raising matters. Anyone, regardless of nationality, was eligible for membership provided he was altruistically motivated and willing to do his best for the benefit of China. The main branch of the organization was to be in China, and others, with a minimum of fifteen members, were to be established elsewhere. Members were urged to contribute to the organization's fund through the purchase of bonds to be redeemed "when the country is established". In addition to fund raising, the branches were to set up newspapers and schools, to sponsor the discussion of current affairs and develop a strategy to revive China.

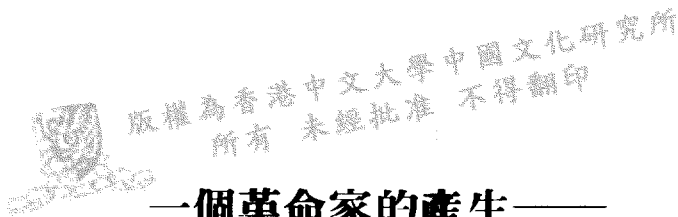
As a political tract, the manifesto was not very revealing as it stopped short of defining the particular political results of the society sought to achieve. Not a word concerning "republicanism" was mentioned. Its significance lies perhaps in its open appeal to the populace and its overtly anti-government tone. Meanwhile there was no doubt that Sun's intention was to gain support for armed revolt against the Manchu. For in less than a month after the establishment of the Hsing Chung Hui, plan to seize Canton began to crystallize, with the overthrow of the Manchu regime as their

ultimate goal. It thus marked the beginning of Sun Yat-sen's career as a confirmed revolutionary.

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While receiving a major part of his formal education at the Central School and the Hong Kong Medical College, Sun spent his most impressionable and formative years in this British-governed territory under the day-to-day exposure to Western institutions, Western ways of doing things and Western cultural and material influences. Yet, as an urban environment and a Chinese community, Hong Kong was not altogether Western. It might be described as an intellectual and cultural frontier, an outpost of intercultural collision when traditionalism was subjected to constant challenge. Therefore the significance of the Hong Kong environment and its modern education lies not merely in planting revolutionary ideas in the mind of Sun Yat-sen, but in acquainting him with a broad view of China's problems and the many possibilities of solving them. The environment also allowed him to associate himself freely with young intellectuals of radical thoughts and meanwhile to look to moderate reformists such as Ho Kai and Cheng Kuan-yen as models. It was the end of reformist possibility which put him on to the path of revolution. The fact that he had the chance of acquainting with and exploring other possibilities would probably make him become a more "determined" revolutionary. There is little doubt that "the years he spent in Hong Kong were among the most fruitful in Sun's life".<sup>61</sup>

<sup>61</sup> H. Schiffrin, *Sun Yat-sen and the Origins*, p. 31.



## ——一個革命家的產生——

# 孫中山早期政治思想的形成與香港關係

(中文摘要)

吳倫 覓霞

在孫中山，馮自由的憶述中，曾一再強調香港是孫氏革命思想的發源地，也是辛亥革命的搖籃。有關辛亥革命的中外近著，雖有不少提及香港，但論及香港在革命運動中的地位著述卻較少。本文現就此問題的一面，以香港對孫中山早期思想發展形成的影響為主旨，作一探討。

孫中山革命思想的產生，有謂可溯自他童年時在鄉間耳聞洪秀全事跡的影響；有謂實源於他在夏威夷唸書時期。1884—1885中法戰爭期間，他已立志革命一說，為較多學者認同。這些說法，有很多地方實須作進一步研究及重新商榷。就以孫氏居鄉期間的立志來說，以當時翠亨村的環境，在該地有關洪、楊的傳聞，孫氏的年紀及所受的私塾教育等情況加以考慮，深入他腦海的，是幼童對英雄的仰慕。日後在他的青年時代，亦有表示敬仰洪秀全，但這不能說明他在童年已有傾覆清廷之心。至於夏威夷時期，他所受的是英國式的小學教育，課程以讀、寫、算（3 R）及宗教為主。而這時夏威夷的政治環境，正處於以該地國王為首的政府與美國勢力入侵的對抗中，而孫氏就讀的英國聖公會學校，其校長是當地的主教，也是夏威夷的君主制度的擁護者，所以說孫氏在此時期已定下了推翻滿清建立共和之心，也是不大可能的。根據他回國後的行動來看，我們只能確定他在這時期接受了基督教，同時認識了西方文明的進步與中國的落後，奠定了他對進步及改革的認同。

自1883—1892年間，孫中山在港接受教育共七年半，先在拔萃及中央書院就讀，後畢業於香港西醫書院。據本文研究所得，這數年間是孫氏早期思想發展的最重要階段。他在港入學時已十八歲，所讀的是高中年級，而中央書院是香港政府主辦的最高學府，校長及不少教員，均來自英國著名大學。從該書院的課程，授課方式及考試內容來看，可知該校教育對當時年青的孫中山的思考力有很大的啟發。當時的情況，有助於孫中山對西方科學、社會、及政治制度的認識，特別是英國國會的發展，王權與人民的鬥爭，十九世紀歐洲的革命等。學校和醫學院的教育，再加上當時香港現代化的社會，有效的行政管理，言論比較自由的環境，報章書刊的薰陶，使他在思想發展中能作比較廣闊深入的觀察，更知道清廷的落後和腐敗。同時，他能結交一些與他社會及教育背景頗為相

近的人，這包括陳少白、楊鶴齡等具愛國思想和反清傾向的青年。差不多在同一時期，他也認識了一些改良主義者，其中有與他有密切師生關係的何啟。此外，孫中山又從在香港出版的中外報章及書籍中看到不少維新派的理論。在這認識、思索和談論的過程中，使他明確相信中國非變革不可，而尋求拯救中國的路向。他一方面與陳、楊等「高談反清言論」；一方面又上書鄭藻如，並與鄭觀應談論農學問題。1895年更上書李鴻章，希望能通過改良之道，拯救中國。從這些實際行動中，我們可以相信在1885—1895年間，孫中山對於救國之道，仍在摸索中，依違於「改良」與「革命」兩者之間，但對中國變革之需要，則是肯定的。所以在上書李鴻章失敗後，他便立刻踏上革命之途。

