

二十世纪初 康有为保皇会在美国华侨 社会中的活动

高伟浓 著



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康有为

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高世瑜 著



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PREFACE 1

During the nineteenth century, large numbers of Chinese merchants and laborers immigrated to Southeast Asia, the Americas, Australasia and other far-flung corners of the globe, where they established communities. Other than the merchants and laborers, these overseas communities also attracted Chinese political dissidents since these lands were outside the reach of the Chinese imperial government. The earliest dissidents to arrive were members of secret societies such as the loosely organized Hongmen (also known as the Chee Kung Tong) and remnants of the Taiping rebellion that were banned in China. However, lacking well-defined political objectives, these secret societies were relatively ineffective in organizing activities against imperial China. As demands for change increased in China toward the end of the nineteenth century, Sun Yat-sen led a group to found Xingzhonghui in Hawaii, which became one of the first to advocate overthrow of the imperial system and replacing it with a republic. However, at the time, it was too small and weak a movement to attract much support among the Chinese overseas.

It remained for members of the Reform Movement, who sought refuge abroad from repression in China after the collapse of the 100-Day Reform, to offer a relatively well-defined political goal and to organize activities to realize these goals. They found many in the communities abroad to be sympathetic to their political objectives, having long felt keenly the haplessness of a people whose motherland was unable to effectively support them in the lands overseas. Thus, many supported moves for changes in China that would enable her to become a wealthy and strong nation respected by the international community. The intensity of such activities, however, varied from community to community depending on local political conditions and leadership.

Hawaii and the North American continent, especially the United States mainland had been major destinations for Chinese emigrants during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The Chinese became the largest group of non-European immigrants and played major roles in the economic development of the region. However, beginning in the U.S. mainland and then spreading to Canada and Hawaii, Chinese immigrants were accused as scapegoats for many economic and social ills during the intense capitalist labor struggle that arose during that time. Opportunistic politicians and demagogues pointed accusing fingers at the Chinese as cheap labor and undesirable immigrants. A hysterical anti-Chinese movement emerged to push for Chinese exclusion, and eventually in 1882 the US Congress passed

the first of a series of laws excluding Chinese labor and strictly limiting Chinese immigration to a few designated classifications. Hawaii and Canada soon also followed the American example. These restrictions on Chinese immigration resulted in a steep drop in Chinese immigration, and the Chinese population became a numerically insignificant part of the total population, living under many discriminatory restrictions. It was not surprising that many Chinese were alienated from the lands in which they resided and looked to the emergence of a strong and internationally respected China as a necessary condition for improving their own status abroad. Thus, up to the end of World War II, feelings of identification with China and support for changes in China were strong among many Chinese including even the locally-born. China politics in various shapes and forms played an important role affecting community politics. And it was not until after the repeal of Chinese exclusion laws during World War II, followed by the opening of opportunities for Chinese in the larger society, that Chinese feelings of alienation diminished as they increasingly identified their interests with American and Canadian societies.

Many historians are cognizant of the political activism of the Revolutionary Movement and its successor, the Kuomintang in the U.S., which has had a continual presence since the closing years of the nineteenth century to the present. Research on the role of its principal rival, the Reform Movement, however, had been neglected. Yet this movement was the most active

political movement during the first decade of the twentieth century and probably had more support among Chinese in Hawaii and North America than the rival Revolutionary Movement. With such a heavy participation among Chinese in the North America and Hawaii, it was not surprising that it was the first modern type Chinese political organization that learned from and adopted some institutions and practices found in the west, moves that were also emulated later by its political rivals the Chee Kung Tong (CKT) and the Revolutionary Movement/Kuomintang. However, unlike the Revolutionary Movement, the Reform Movement did not establish an organizational structure in China. Thus the bulk of its archival documents were abroad scattered among various communities, which has made it relatively difficult for scholars in China to access. In recent years, collections of such archival materials have been made available in the Collections of the Ethnic Studies Library, University of California at Berkeley, as well as the East Asian Libraries of UCLA and University of Washington. Prof. Gao Weinong was one of the first Chinese historians to make extensive use of these archival materials, concentrating on the important Baohuanghui (BHH)/Xianzhengdang (XZD) organization on the US mainland, to reach a definitive interpretation of the role the movement played in the Chinese communities and in political developments in China during the first decade of the twentieth century, which was a critical period in modern Chinese history.

It should be pointed out that even though the emergence of the Reform Movement abroad was inspired by the political situation in China, the leaders and rank-and-file in the various chapters overseas came from the local Chinese communities and had a stake in local community issues. For example, in the first decade of the twentieth century, BHH/XZD was active advocating the 1905 Boycott of American goods protesting the U.S. implementation of Chinese Exclusion laws. After the founding of the Republic, the XZD still had the support of groups in the Chinese community opposed to the Kuomintang. It continued to play a role in China politics supporting the warlord government in Beijing in opposition to the Sun Yat-sen led Kuomintang regime in Guangzhou. It, together with the Chee Kung Tong (CKT) and the Kuomintang (KMT), were recognized as the three major Chinatown political groups and in San Francisco were among the fifteen founding organizations of the community-operated Chinese Hospital. After the Nanjing government led by Chiang Kai-shek unified China in the late 1920s, the XZD was part of a coalition that instigated the Ning Yung Association's boycott of the San Francisco KMT organ, Young China. It also often allied with the CKT to challenge KMT hegemony in the Chinese communities, particularly on issues such as advocacy for resistance to Japanese aggression during the 1930s. Thus, at the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, two China war relief associations emerged in San Francisco, one headed by the XZD, CKT and the opposition to the KMT, and the other led by the KMT and its allies, which the Chinese

Consul-general had to persuade to merge together as United China War Relief in order to facilitate the war effort. After World War II, the XZD aligned itself with the non-communist opposition to the Chiang Kai-shek-led Kuomintang government and tried unsuccessfully to organize a Third Force under the leadership of Li Tsung-jen. As part of the outreach attempting to reach a broader audience, Chinese World, XZD's news organ in San Francisco, published an English section from 1949 to 1969. By this time, however, Chinese American identification with America was widely accepted as a result of changes in American society after the end of World War II, accompanied by a corresponding decline in the influence of China politics on community politics.

Him Mark Lai

December 7, 2008

本序作者麦礼谦 (Him Mark Lai), 1960年代至今一直从事美国华人历史的研究, 同时也是美国华人历史学会和华人文化基金会的成员, 著述甚丰, 享誉国际。他最早与人合作在美国开设有关美国华人历史的大学课程, 并积极参与社区文化活动。1971-1984年, 创办每周一小时的以社区为基础的粤语电台节目。1991年, 他是华人文化基金会和美国华人历史学会主办的“寻根”项目的协调人 (这个项目主要是组织美籍华人青年探寻其家庭的历史和访问其祖籍地)。他被《高等教育纪事报》(CHRONICLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION) 誉为“美国正统华人研究的学者”。他广为收集美国华人历史和社会方面的资料, 拥有这一领域最丰富、最广泛的个人资料收藏。

PREFACE 2

As the eminent historian of Chinese American politics, Him Mark Lai, notes in this foreword, the history and political significance of the Baohuanghui has been neglected both in the U.S. and China. Although Prof. Gao's emphasis is on the development of the BHH in the U.S., he purposefully extends his reach far beyond national borders to incorporate the transnational tentacles of the organization and Kang Youwei's nomadic exile of 16 years in order to describe the development, form, social value, and influence of the BHH in America.

There have been several books of BHH primary sources, including the papers of my grandfather, Tan Zhangxiao, who was founder of the Los Angeles chapter, as well as unpublished dissertations, but Prof. Gao's is the first in-depth book in Chinese or English about this highly significant organization.

In my view, the BHH's many innovations as a transnational Chinese political organization should make its history one of great interest for historians as well as political scientists. Scholars

have long explored how and why the Baohuanghui failed in its mission to implement its reform program and bring about a constitutional monarchy. Instead, it might now be productive to examine the ways in which it succeeded. I argue that in many ways the BHH helped advance Chinese political development on the individual, organizational and attitudinal level. One might also ask whether many of the ideals and reforms promoted by Kang, Liang and the Baohuanghui are still being sought in China today.

How was the BHH successful as an organization?

- * It was the earliest and possibly the largest transnational organization in Chinese history.

- * As a political organization, it called for systemic change and reforms, including a constitutional monarchy with a parliament, broad education, and participation by individual citizens in the fate of their nation. While it sometimes relied on raw nationalistic and anti-foreign appeals such as in the 1905 anti-American boycott, the organization linked these appeals to the need for comprehensive reforms.

- * The BHH was an enormously productive organization, spawning nearly 200 chapters in the Americas, Southeast and Northeast Asia, Australia and even Africa. Beyond the chapters, the Baohuanghui ran widely-read newspapers, a variety of businesses, and schools (including a network of military schools in the U.S.). Its cultivation of leaders and various methods for

multiplying its followers are worth noting, beginning with Kang's school in Guangzhou, Wanmucaotang, whose students seeded his subsequent organizations with a cadre of devoted, reform-minded followers. This book documents the rapid growth of the organization throughout the United States and the proliferation of institutions that it created.

* The BHH was a master at mobilizing public opinion through widespread political propaganda and dissemination of its message. It made use of a network of newspapers worldwide, face-to-face contact through speeches and rallies, a series of petitions and group telegrams that allowed direct expression of political opinion to the Qing government. Professor Gao analyzes new materials found in the BHH's New York newspaper to illustrate how politics and sentiments intermingled to strong emotional effect.

* This was a mass voluntary organization unlike any the Chinese people had experienced, open to all, politically-oriented but not secret, and interconnected across borders through letters, newspapers, coordinated political actions, and its traveling leadership (Kang, Liang, Xu Qin, Ye En, etc.). Given the restrictions of the Qing government, such an organization could only have been based outside of China. In the United States, Chinese had greater freedoms politically than in many other countries where they settled, while at the same time living under the harshest immigration policy, Chinese Exclusion. The BHH had an organizational structure and mission that allowed for a range of political activi-

ties and expressions on the part of Chinese in America, some even directed to the American government, which at both the local and national levels treated the organization as a legitimate participant in the political process.

My interest in the BHH resulted from the discovery in the early 1980s of a collection of nearly 200 letters and other documents from Kang, Liang and other BHH leaders and members saved by my grandfather from the time he first arrived in the U.S. in 1899 until 1909 when he became estranged from Kang and the organization. Tom Leung or Tan Zhangxiao was a well-known herb doctor in Los Angeles, whose life was also documented by articles in local American newspapers of the time and later by his daughter, Louise Leung Larson, in her book, *Sweet Bamboo: A Memoir of a Chinese American Family*.

Tom Leung (1875–1931, Ganzhu, Shunde) was involved with Kang Youwei from his youth, as one of Kang's students at Wanmucaotang. When he moved to Los Angeles in 1899 to help a cousin run his herb business, Tom received a letter from Kang saying, "People there have been longing for one of us to be there, like yearning for rain [during a drought]. Now that you are in the U.S., you can follow my orders to dispatch letters to all cities to reassure them [that they are not alone] and encourage them to organize an association if they do not have one. Please keep me informed in a timely manner of the

situation in all cities."

Thus, Tom had an intimate experience of Kang and the organization, being the only one of Kang's students, as far as I can tell, who headed a BHH chapter in the United States. Tom's classmates were Liang Qichao, Mai Menghua, and Xu Qin, among others, and he maintained a frequent correspondence with Kang as well as with these prominent Baohuanghui leaders.

Tom not only founded the Los Angeles BHH chapter, whose charter was written by Liang Qichao during his 1903 visit, but worked with the Baohuanghui newspaper, *Mon Hing Bo*, in San Francisco, coordinated fundraising for BHH students to come abroad for studies, hosted many BHH students in his home, started a BHH business in Chicago, and raised funds from his compatriots for BHH businesses and movements such as the 1905 boycott.

When Kang finally came to the U.S. in 1905, Tom arranged for Kang to be comfortably housed and fed in Westlake Park, Los Angeles, for two months while Kang recuperated from his exhausting travels. Beginning in May, Tom accompanied Kang on travels around the U.S., including an audience with President Theodore Roosevelt in Washington, D.C. and many meetings with BHH members in big cities and small towns.

Tom became one of the few BHH leaders who publicly criticized Kang Youwei. Many scholars believe that his critique and the scandal surrounding it precipitated a cascading decline in support from overseas Chinese for the BHH and played a key role in destroying the organization. The difficulties between Tom and Kang were not political but stemmed from deep contradictions that developed from their concurrent relationships of teacher/student and business/organization partners. The King Joy Lo restaurant in Chicago was established by Tom in 1906 with the intention that the profits would help send BHH students abroad. Kang lent considerable funds, and shares were raised from members and from people in China, including many of Tom's relatives. However, when other Baohuanghui businesses needed cash infusions, Kang demanded the loan be repaid along with interest and questioned Tom's use of the funds, saying he "acted like a bandit." Tom's feelings of betrayal and anger poured out in public, and, in 1909, he published a lengthy and vehement self-defense, including all the correspondence between Kang and himself relating to King Joy Lo, an act that broke the bonds between them and apparently cut Tom off from the Baohuang Hui. Yet Tom carefully preserved his BHH correspondence through the years and remained faithful to the reformist cause.

After more than a decade, the ties between Tom and Kang were renewed in 1921, when Tom visited China and went to Shanghai to see his teacher. My mother writes in Sweet

Bamboo, “Kang was old and poor, and Papa gave him money.”

Jane Leung Larson

December 20, 2008

本序作者谭精意 (Jane Leung Larson)，独立学者。1978 年以来一直在与中国有关的非牟利组织中从事管理与咨询工作。1980—1995 年，为俄勒冈州波特兰市的“美国西北地区中国事务协会”(Northwest China Council，一个处理中国问题和中美事务的教育组织) 的创建人和执行管理主任。2000 年至今，为“百人会”(本部在纽约) 的会务通讯编辑。1985 年以来，从事关于保皇会历史文献的研究。其外祖父谭良 (谭张孝)，为康有为的学生和追随者，来美国后住洛杉矶，后留下大批文献，现存放于加州大学洛杉矶分校东亚图书馆。谭精意曾与中国社会科学院的学者进行过合作，1990 年代始与北京、广东学者合作。到 1997 年，广东康梁研究会的方志钦教授将其中许多文献编辑成书出版。谭精意在中国、美国发表过论文。