



辛亥革命在 The Revolution of 1911 in Guangdong 1911 广东

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序

段云章

在绚丽多姿的中国辛亥革命画卷中，广东辛亥革命无疑是历时最长、内容最丰富、场面最壮烈而又具有鲜明特色的画面。

壹

中国伟大的民主革命先行者孙中山及其最早一批战友陆皓东、史坚如、郑士良、陈少白等人，都出生于广东，并以广东为其最早活动舞台，这就使广东很自然地成为辛亥革命的策源地。

这种情况绝非偶然。从鸦片战争以来，广东一直风雷滚滚，反帝反封建斗争连绵不断，具有反清传统的“三合会”等秘密结社，在这里有着广阔而深厚的基础。广东面临海洋，并和沦为殖民地的香港、澳门相毗邻；又是著名的侨乡，对外交往历来频繁，所以，当西方资产阶级紧叩中国大门，迫使封建中国从属于它们并按照它们的面貌来改造中国之时，广东人民在反侵略过程中，最早睁开眼睛看西方，注意学习西方的长处。于是，在广东，最早出现了民族资本主义企业，出现了先进生产力发展的趋势，涌进了先进的思想文化，造就了一批较早的新型知识分子。通过对西方的了解和中西对比，先进人士加紧探索改变落后挨打局面、迅速振兴中国的新的道路，以广东为思想孕育土壤和早期活动基地的洪秀全、洪仁玕、郑观应、康有为、梁启超等人，就是上述先进人士的翘楚。孙中山于1895年深有感触地写道：“伏念我粤东一省，于泰西各种新学闻之最先，缙绅先生不少留心当世之务，同志者定不乏人。”（《孙中山全集》第1卷，第25页）

孙中山出生于贫苦农民家庭，“早知稼穡之艰难”，对农民的困苦及其斗争深抱同情，对太平天国反清事业早已心怀仰慕。不过，当孙中山逐渐成长的时候，农民斗争高潮已经过去，新的阶级、人物和思想已引人注目。其兄孙眉于19世纪70年代后在檀香山垦殖致富，成了华侨资本家，使他有机缘从农村走向广阔的世界。他在檀香山、广州、香港接受了系统的资产阶级教育和现代政治、经济、科学文化知识。经过一段时间的陶冶、思索、选择，他终于接受了太平天国运动的反清思想，但摒除了他们的皇权主义；他以当时一些维新志士（如何启、郑观应、王韬等）为师友，却要西方“取法乎上”，越过君主立宪，趋向英、法的共和革命。他的这种取向，得到陆皓东等人的赞同，形成了虽然人数不多却极富生机的最早的民主革命派。诚然，历史道路的选择常有曲折，孙中山也曾有过上书李鸿章以求和平改革时政的尝试，但此举遇挫，而中日甲午战争又进一步暴露了清王朝的颓废腐朽，于是，他毅然走上了反清共和革命的道路。1894~1895年，他在檀香山、香港相继建立了以“驱除鞑虏，恢复中国，创立合众政府”为宗旨的兴中会，并于1895年10月发动了广州起义（未遂），揭开了辛亥革命的序幕。

辛亥革命义帜之首先在广东擎举与民主革命派之最早在广东组成，是一件石破天惊的大事。1902年著名的革命志士秦力山曾如此赞扬：“大盗移国，公私涂炭，丧乱弘多。而孙君乃于吾国腐败尚未暴露之甲午乙未以前，不惜其头颅性命，而虎啸于东南重立之都会广州府，在当时莫不以为狂。而自今思之，举国熙熙皞皞，醉生梦死，彼独以一人图祖国之





光复，担人种之竞争，且欲发现人权公理于东洋专制世界，得非天诱其衷天锡之勇者乎！”（中国近代史资料丛刊《辛亥革命》（一），第91页）

贰

辛亥革命浪潮兴起于广东后，逐渐推向全国各地，到1911年武昌起义，终于推翻了清王朝，在中国建立了第一个资产阶级共和国。在这期间，广东始终是中国民主革命派领导的反清斗争的中心地区之一和武装反清起义的主要场所。

1900年10月，孙中山乘义和团运动颶起于中国北部、清王朝摇摇欲坠之机，命郑士良举义于广东惠州，并图由台湾内渡指挥作战。起义军一度获胜，发展至2万余人，后因饷械不继，被迫解散。此次起义虽然失败，却起了振聋发聩的作用。此前，孙中山被视为“乱臣贼子，大逆不道”、“毒蛇猛兽”，人们不敢与之交游；此后，“则鲜闻一般人之恶声相加，而有识之士，且多为吾人扼腕叹息，恨其事之不成矣！前后相较，差若天渊”。从此，“有志之士，多起救国之思，而革命风潮自此萌芽矣”。（《孙中山全集》第6卷，第235页）在20世纪革命风潮初发时期，1903年1月，在广州又爆发了洪全福、谢纘泰等人策划的起义，它虽以建立“大明顺天国”为旗号，实以实行“由民人公举贤能为总统，以理国事”的民主共和政体为目的，具有民主主义的性质。在东京留学界，广东留学生特别活跃，成立了广东独立协会，积极参与谋求国家独立和革命宣传工作，冯自由、廖仲恺、何香凝等广东志士还秉承孙中山意旨，在东京联络有志学生，结为团体，以推进民主革命。1905年中国同盟会在东京成立。从此革命风潮鼓荡全国，发展甚速。

较之兴中会，同盟会已大大越出以广东和华侨志士为主的情况，其分支机构几乎遍及各省。但广东仍是同盟会的重点地区。在广东及毗邻的香港、澳门，设有香港分会、南方支部、广州分会、海口支部、番花分会、化州同盟会、肇庆支部、澳门支部等，还设有香山联志社、梅县松口体育会、韩江诗社、化州拜兰社、香港武峰阅报社、澳门濠镜阅报社、澳门锄异社等一批革命社团，这些不仅位居全国前列，而且实际影响面较宽。设在香港的南方支部，管辖广东、广西、云南、福建四省，在一段时期，是策划国内斗争的一个重心机构。

武装反清斗争，在同盟会成立后出现新的高涨。在广东，更可谓连绵不断，如火如荼。1907年有许雪秋、谢良牧等策动的潮城之役，陈涌波、许雪秋发动的潮州黄冈起义，邓子瑜等发动的惠州七女湖起义，许雪秋、萱野长知等策划的汕尾之役，黄兴、王和顺等发动的防城起义。1908年有葛谦、赵声等策划的广州防营、新军之役。1910年有倪映典等发动的广州新军起义。1911年有黄兴、赵声领导的广州“三·二九”（公历4月27日）起义（即黄花岗起义）。这些起义具有以下三个特点：第一，与兴中会时期三次起义相接应，广东是革命党人发动起义最频繁最多的省份。第二，上述起义体现了孙中山的既定战略方针，即发动起义应“不拘形势，总求急于聚人，利于接济，快于进取”，而以聚人为第一着。根据他们的观察，广东成为发动起义的首选地点，于此取胜后，即由南向北，直捣北京。第三，在如何聚人的问题上，革命党人显然是在不断总结经验教训，有所前进。最初，他们着力于运动会党、防营；到1908年后，他们逐渐重视新军的发动，成效显著；到策动“三·二九”起义时，则拟以同盟会内留学生精英为主导，会合新军、防营、绿林、会党等多种力量，共襄大举。由于上述起义都没有充分发动群众，特别是农民群众；没有在农村积蓄力量再进而包围和攻取城市，而主要是寄望从外面输进武器，且多具军事冒险性质，故均旋起旋蹶，迅归失败。尽管如此，它体现了革命党人决意推翻帝制、建立共和国、谋求中国人民解放的坚强意志和决心，以及中国人民斗争、失败、再斗争直至胜利的逻辑。广大群众在斗争中日趋觉醒。尤其是“三·二九”起义，虽牺牲惨重，但影响深远，正如孙中山

后来所写：“是役也，碧血横飞，浩气四塞，草木为之含悲，风云因而变色。全国久蛰之人心，乃大兴奋，悲愤所积，如怒涛排壑，不可遏抑，不半载而武昌之大革命以成。则斯役之价值，直可惊天地，泣鬼神，与武昌革命之役并寿。”（《孙中山全集》第6卷，第50页）可以说，上述广东历次起义，是武昌起义的重要前导。

在对清王朝武器的批判方面，广东固占先筹，在批判武器的运用方面，广东也一马当先。1900年1月，兴中会机关报《中国报》（后改为《中国日报》）在香港问世，是中国民主革命言论机关的元祖。1902年，广东民主革命宣传家黄世仲在该报发表《辩康有为政见书》，用事实驳斥了康有为攻击革命的《答南北美洲诸华商论中国只可行立宪不可行革命书》，它比章炳麟的《驳康有为论革命书》还早几个月，成为批判康有为保皇论的先声。辛亥革命时期，广东由革命党人开办或参与创办的报刊近30种，为各省之冠。它们和保皇派的论战，延续时间也最长。在东京《民报》与《新民丛报》论战的前三年，省港革命派与保皇派论战的战鼓就已播响。香港革命党人通过《中国日报》和广东保皇报纸《岭海报》笔战逾月，随后又出现了以《中国日报》和《广东日报》为双方主阵地的激烈大论战。它虽不及东京论战的水平，但也扩大了革命派的思想影响。

在广东大力开展的上述两种批判，壮大了革命势力，打击和孤立了顽固势力，争取了中间势力。所以，当武昌起义的枪声传来，广东各地民军纷纷揭竿而起，兵逼广州；以两广总督张鸣岐为代表的封建顽固派顿时惶惶不可终日。曾经镇压过“三·二九”起义的广东水师提督李准和拥有重兵的陆路提督秦炳直都震慑于革命军威力，而向革命方面投诚。士绅巨贾和立宪派则谋广东和平独立以自保。经过短期较量，广东终于兵不血刃，宣告和平独立，在全国较早地奏起了辛亥革命胜利的凯歌。

叁

1911年11月10日，广东终于挣脱了延续两千余年的封建帝制的统治，建立了民主共和体制内的广东军政府。就其组成来看，同盟会南方支部长胡汉民担任都督，陈炯明任副都督，在军政府各部领导人中，同盟会会员占多数，它确是以革命派占主导地位的资产阶级革命政权。不久，胡汉民随孙中山北上，陈炯明代理都督。到1912年4月27日，胡汉民回粤复任都督，陈炯明转任广东军统兼绥靖处经略、广东警卫军总司令，后又接受北京政府委任的广东护军使职务。直到1913年6月，袁世凯下令以陈炯明代胡汉民为广东都督。在这段期间，广东的主要领导人虽迭有变动，但总的来看，广东政权始终为民主革命派所掌握。它基本上按照孙中山在南京临时政府的施政方针和把广东建设为模范省的要求，实行了一系列有利于资产阶级民主的革命政策、法令和措施，取得了斐然可观的统一和建设广东的成果。

政治方面：以资产阶级民主政权取代原清朝地方政府机构，改元剪发；宣布官吏为人民公仆，不得称“大人”、“老爷”，废止跪拜；注意铨选官员，清明吏治，实行任人唯贤，讲求廉正，严惩营私贪贿；改革司法制度，实行司法独立，废除清朝刑律刑具，改革狱政；改革旧风陋俗，禁止纳妾，严禁烟赌，禁止买卖妇女，废止娼妓、蓄奴，杜绝拐卖华人出口，保护华侨生命财产安全，等等。

经济方面：废除前清苛捐杂税，整顿财政制度；重视发展农业生产，颁布多项振兴实业、交通法令，特别着力贯彻孙中山当时极力推行的社会革命政策，广东省议会通过了廖仲恺主持制定的广东地价税契法案——《广东税契简章》，这是其时各省以法令来实行“平均地权”纲领的最早的也是惟一的可贵尝试。

军事方面：裁编民军，整顿军纪，加强社会治安，改善广东建设环境；建立正式陆军，成立军务处以管理旧军，将势成心腹大患的龙济光军外调钦廉地区，为支援南京临时政府



北伐，特抽调一支精干部队由姚雨平率领北上，并取得卓著战绩。

文化教育方面：注重兴办文化教育事业，军政府成立了教育司，各县设督学署，各地广兴学校，学风取美国，学制取法国。到1912年12月，计有公立广东高等学校1所，私立各种专门学校10余所，省立中学12所，县立中学14所，小学更骤增至3000所，学生达11.1万人，随后又各有增加。这些学校力求用新人办新事。此外，还广设阅书报社390余所。在教学和宣传内容上，反对尊孔，废止“闭塞民智，蛊惑人心”的“坊刻通书”，改良年画、剧本、歌曲，刊印并奖励有利社会改革的各种图书。同时，设立体育会、音乐会、改良风俗会等，还召开了两次全省教育大会。上述法令、计划虽因形格势禁而未能全部实施，但无疑起到了开创新风气、冲击旧传统势力的积极作用。

外交方面：广东军政府在捍卫国家主权、独立与民族尊严方面，坚持了原则立场。比如，派兵监视驶入西江的英舰，与英、德领事严正交涉殴打拘捕中国工人事件，禁阻葡舰擅入琴山马尿河测量等等。1911年12月，外蒙古活佛哲布尊丹巴在沙俄唆使下宣布“独立”，举国哗然，纷纷要求出兵抗俄。广东抗俄声浪尤为高亢。广东临时省议会、商会及各政党团体频频集会，支援抗俄义举。1912年8月，广东成立了抗俄会，佛山、香山等地成立了抗俄分会。各界人士还组织了“征蒙先锋队”、“敢死军团”、“征蒙助饷会”、国民军等，表示枕戈以待。时任代都督的陈炯明多次表示要亲率二师一旅，由广东自备饷需，北上抗俄保蒙。

肆

然而，正当广东革命党人统一和建设广东初著成效之时，窃夺了中央政权的袁世凯却在磨刀霍霍，企图腰斩辛亥革命。1913年3月20日，国民党代理理事长宋教仁在上海遇刺，在广东激起了强烈反响。可是，这时敌强我弱的态势已成，广东辛亥革命的固有弱点、革命阵营内部的矛盾、广东军政府施政不当所形成的恶果，都一起暴露，并为敌所用，造成广东辛亥革命迅速逆转的形势。

广东军政府虽以革命党人占主导地位，但县市以下地方机构多为封建买办势力或旧军官所把持；凶悍能战的龙济光部虽调往钦廉，但龙济光仍然野心勃勃，伺机反扑。作为民主革命派社会基础和主要支柱的广东工商阶级，因热望和平发展，思定厌乱，与自己的代表相背离，反对再起反袁战争。正在演进中的广东军政府的内部矛盾，在反袁准备过程中，又有“法律制袁”与“武力讨袁”之争。陈炯明较长期持缓进态度，直到袁军南逼形势不容犹豫之时，才仓促举兵讨袁。而这时局势已益发失控。陈炯明一直重视对军队的掌握，而广东军队干部本来有士官生与本土生之争；军队本身又缺乏民主教育，更因陈炯明高唱军队“不党主义”，使革命党在军队的影响力很微弱；袁世凯因而乘机派人挑拨离间，把粤军主要将领钟鼎基、苏慎初、张我权等贿赂过去，使陈炯明成为光杆司令。原被解散的民军因无妥善安置，不少流落为“匪”，成为陈炯明“绥靖”的对象；当龙济光兵逼广东时，他们更成为附龙驱陈的前导。最终，因陈炯明勒令解散的原北伐军炮兵营余众组成的炮兵团首先叛变，迫陈仓皇出逃，广东二次革命仅历时18天即告结束。随后，袁世凯的爪牙龙济光在广东建立了残暴的军阀统治。

广东辛亥革命虽以失败告终，但它以改帝制为民主共和的划时代事件彪炳于广东史册。它把广东人民的斗争推进到较正规的资产阶级民主革命阶段，提高了人民的民主觉悟。在广东这块富于光荣斗争传统的土地上，不仅涌现出从革命领袖到忠诚民主战士的一大批英雄人物，而且有不少外省志士在此英勇献身，他们谱写了迄今犹为人传诵的许多革命英雄主义和爱国主义的动人诗篇。他们终于创建了其时最先进的民主革命政权，并为广东建设成模范省进行了最初实验。同时，这场革命的胜利与失败，都给后人留下了许多宝贵的经

验教训。基于此，尽管随后的广东历史仍然充满风风雨雨，但广东人民始终斗志昂扬，不屈不挠，沿着辛亥革命已开辟的新道路奋斗前进。辛亥革命后的广东不仅是革命党人反袁的重要场所，而且是孙中山等倚以进行护法斗争、国共合作，掀起大革命高潮的主要基地。

当兹纪念辛亥革命90周年之际，广东省中山图书馆倪俊明副研究馆员在馆藏丰富图片资料的基础上，续在广州、北京、香港等地广泛搜罗，弥缝补阙，编成《辛亥革命在广东》画册，内容丰富新颖，取材适当，图文并茂，从又一个方面较好地反映了广东辛亥革命的面貌。这是一件很有意义的事，人们将从兹册中获取历史知识和启示，故喜而为之序。

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Preface

In the gorgeous picture scroll of the Revolution of 1911, undoubtedly the Revolution of 1911 in Guangdong lasted the longest, its contents were the most abundant, its fighting scenes were the most violent and cruel, which was full of distinct characteristics.

(1)

Dr. Sun Yat-sen (Sun Zhongshan), the great forerunner of China's democratic revolution, and his earliest followers, such as Lu Haodong, Shi Jianru, Zheng Shiliang, Chen Shaobai, were all born in Guangdong, and took Guangdong as the first arena of their revolution activities. Naturally, Guangdong became the original place of the Revolution of 1911.

This kind of situation was by no means fortuitous. Since the Opium War (1840-1842), storms and thunders of revolution and struggles of anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism billowed Guangdong incessantly. The secret societies, such as The Triad Society with anti-Qing Dynasty tradition, had a wide and deep foundation here. Guangdong faces the Pacific Ocean, and is adjacent to Hong Kong and Macao. It was also a famous native land of overseas Chinese, and had frequent contacts with foreign countries. So, when the foreign powers shelled the gate of China with battleship, forced the feudal rulers to subordinate to them and change China according to their system. During the course of anti-aggression, the Guangdong people opened wide their eyes the earliest to see the west world, study the merits of the west. As a result, in Guangdong, there appeared the first national capitalist enterprises in China, and a trend of advanced productive force. New-type intellectuals were brought up by introducing western cultures. Through exploring the west and making a comparison between the west and China, the advanced personages stepped up to probe the new path to change China's backwardness and the situation of being passive and vulnerable, to rejuvenate China rapidly. For instance, Hong Xiuquan, Hong Rengan, Zheng Guanying, Kang Youwei, and Liang Qichao were the representatives among the advance personages, who took Guangdong as the breeding ground of new thoughts and the early activity base. In 1895, Dr. Sun Yat-sen wrote with deep feeling: "Our Guangdong is the only province which studies the new ideas of the west the earliest. Many outstanding persons showed great concern over the current affairs at home and abroad. Among them there must be our comrades." (*A Complete Works of Dr. Sun Yat-sen*. Vol.1, p25)

Sun Yat-sen was born into a poor peasant family. He "knew the hardship of farming in his childhood". He showed deep sympathy over the difficulties, hardship

and the struggles of the Chinese peasants. He admired the anti-Qing cause of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. Nevertheless, when he grew up, the climax of the peasant movement had passed, new classes, new personages and new ideas attracted him. His elder brother, Sun Mei, became an overseas capitalist and got rich after 1870s by cultivation in Honolulu, which gave Sun Yat-sen the good luck to step out into the vast world from Chinese countryside. He received systematic bourgeois education and learned the knowledge of modern politics, economy, science and cultures in Honolulu, Canton and Hongkong. After a period of study, thinking and selection, at last he accepted the anti-Qing thought of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. But he got rid of their doctrine of imperial power. He made friends with reformers then, such as He Qi, Zheng Guanying, Wang Tao, and learned from them. He insisted to "learn the most advanced," to desert the constitutional Monarchy ideas, to pursue for republic revolution like that had happened in Britain and France. Lu Haodong agreed with him. They became the earliest democratic revolutionaries, though they were small in number, but extremely energetic. However, the choice of the historical road was always winding. Dr. Sun Yat-sen once tried to write to Li Hongzhang to persuade him to make a peaceful reform of the feudal system. But he failed. The Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 once again exposed the stupidity and political corruption of Qing Dynasty. He resolutely stepped onto the road of anti-Qing republic revolution. During 1894-1895, in Honolulu and Hong Kong he established Society to Restore China's Prosperity, which took it as their aim "Driving the Qing rulers out, reviving the Chinese nation, founding a republic". In October, 1895, they organized Canton (today's Guangzhou) Uprising (abortive), which had opened the prelude of the Revolution of 1911.

That the flag of Revolution of 1911 was first hold up and that democratic revolutionaries were first formed in Guangdong were a heaven-shaking event. In 1902, Qin Lishan, a famous revolutionary, praised so: "Qing rulers stole our country, which made Chinese nation and people suffer greatly, miserable and in chaos. Before the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, which completely revealed the stupidity and political corruption of Qing Dynasty, Sun Yat-sen did not hesitate to sacrifice his life to start the revolution in Canton, an important city in the southeast of China. At that time, it was regarded as crazy by all. But at the second thought nowadays, all were leading a befuddled life, thinking that the country was in peace reigns under heaven. Only he alone attempted to revive our motherland and shouldered the burden of racial competition, to find human rights and general-acknowledged truth in autocratic world of the Far East Asia. Isn't that like the Heaven guide and give him the courage to do so?" (Series of Chinese Modern History Materials: *The Revolution of 1911*. vol.1 p 91)

(2)

The Revolution of 1911 started in Guangdong, gradually spread to other parts of China, until the Wuchang Uprising in 1911. At last Qing Dynasty was overthrown and the first bourgeois republic was founded in China. During this period through, Guangdong was one of the central regions of anti-Qing Dynasty movement led by Chinese democratic revolutionary group and the main place of the armed struggle against Qing Dynasty.

In Oct. 1900, Dr. Sun Yat-sen seized the opportunity of Boxers Uprising in the





north, which shook the rule of the Qing Dynasty's ruling, ordered Zheng Shiliang to launch the uprising in Huizhou, Guangdong. And Sun tried to cross Taiwan Straits to take command of the uprising. The uprising troop once won and developed to 20,000 people. Later the troop had to be dismissed for short of food and ammunition. Though the uprising failed, the impact was enough to enlighten the benighted. Before, Dr. Sun Yat-sen was regarded as "a disloyal follower, treason and heresy", "a venomous snake and beast of prey". No one dared to make contact with him. After that he "seldom heard scold from the common people and most persons with ideals regretted their failure of the uprising. The situations were a world of difference." Since then, "most persons of ideals wanted to rise up to save China, revolution storms were born." (*A Complete Works of Dr. Sun Yat-sen*. Vol. 6, p 235) At the beginning of 20th century, uprisings organized by Hong Quanfu and Xie Zuantai broke out in Canton in January, 1903. Though they set up the banner of "Great Ming Heaven Kingdom". Actually, they carried out the democratic republic policy of "citizens publicly selecting virtuous and talented persons to rule the country", which had a characteristic of democratism. In Tokyo, the Chinese students from Guangdong were especially active. They established independent societies, took an active part in winning nation's independence and in revolutionary propaganda work. Feng Ziyou, Liao Zhongkai and He Xiangning, persons of ideals from Guangdong, followed Dr. Sun Yat-sen's advice, united the Chinese students in Tokyo so as to boost the democratic revolution. In 1905, the Chinese Revolutionary Alliance was founded in Tokyo. Since then the revolutionary storms thundered throughout China and developed very quickly.

Compared with Society to Restore China's Prosperity, the Chinese Revolutionary Alliance had members not only from Guangdong and overseas, but its branches spread to nearly every province in China. Guangdong was still an important region of the Chinese Revolutionary Alliance. In Guangdong and the neighbouring Hong Kong and Macao, there were Hongkong Branch, South Branch, Canton Branch, Haikou Branch, Panyu-Huaxian Branch, Huazhou Branch, Zhaoqing Branch, Macao Branch, etc. There were some revolutionary mass organizations, such as Xiangshan Lianzhi Club, Meixian Songkou Sport Club, Hanjiang Poem Club, Huazhou Orchid Club, Hongkong Wufeng Newspaper-Reading Club, Macao Haojing Reading Club, Macao Chuyi Club, etc. They stood ahead not only in number, but also had wide influence nationwide. The South Branch in Hong Kong administered the branches of Guangdong Province, Guangxi Province, Yunnan Province, Fujian Province, and was once a central organization planning the national struggles.

The armed struggles against the Qing Dynasty was on a new upsurge after the founding of the Chinese Revolutionary Alliance. In Guangdong, the struggles broke out continually here and there, like a raging fire. In 1907, Xu Xueqiu and Xie Liangmu planned and organized Chaocheng Battle. Chen Yongbo and Xu Xueqiu's Chaozhou Huanggang Uprising, Deng Ziyu's Qiniu (Seven-Lady Lake) Uprising in Huizhou, Xu Xueqiu and Xuanye Changzhi's Shanwei Battle, Huang Xing and Wang Heshun's Fangcheng Uprising. In 1908, Ge Qian and Zhao Sheng planned and organized Canton Guarding Troops and New Army Battle. In 1910 Ni Yingdian launched New Army Uprising in Canton. In 1911 Huang Xing and Zhao Sheng led the April 27 Uprising in Canton (Yellow Flower Hill Uprising). All these uprisings had the following three

characteristics: Firstly, they coordinated with three uprisings led by the Chinese Revolutionary Alliance. Guangdong was the province where the revolutionaries launched uprisings most frequently. Secondly, the above-mentioned uprisings embodied Dr.Sun Yat-sen's already-set strategic policy: "regardless of situation, uprisings should focus on gathering forces, be easy to gain supports and be quick to attack." And gathering forces was of first importance. According to their observation, they took Guangdong as the first-selected place for uprisings so that they could drive straight on to Peking (today's Beijing) from south to north after success. Thirdly, it was obvious that the revolutionaries had summarized the experiences in how to gather forces and learnt from the former lessons. They were making progress. At first, they focused on the secret societies and the Guarding troops. After 1908, they gradually attached great importance to mobilization of New Army and had an excellent result. In Yellow Flower Hill Uprising, they took the returned overseas students as their backbones, and united many forces, such as New Army, the Guarding Troops, and the secret societies. The Uprising failed because they didn't fully mobilize masses, especially the peasant masses. They didn't gather forces in the countryside, then surround the cities, and at last attack and capture them. They mainly relied on transferring armament from outside, and took the military adventures. So they rose up hurriedly and suffered setbacks quickly, then failed quickly. Nevertheless, they embodied the strong will and determination of the revolutionary partisans to overthrow the autocratic monarchy and to establish a republic and to liberate the Chinese people. Their struggles also reflected the logical road of the Chinese people fighting, then failing, then fighting again, until victory. A large number of masses gradually woke up in the struggle. Especially in Yellow Flower Hill Uprising, there were heavy casualties and great loss in lives. But the influence was also enormous and profound. As Dr.Sun Yat-sen put it later: "In this battle, the heroic blood was flying everywhere, the fighters were full of noble spirits. The grass and trees cried for them sorrowfully and the sky changed its colour. The Chinese people were greatly excited by the uprising. Their grieves and indignation pressed in their mind burst out like huge angry waves, destroying everything in the way. Nothing could stop them. In no more than half a year the Wuchang Uprising broke out and succeeded. Yellow Flower Hill Uprising shook the heaven and the earth, made ghosts and gods cry. It had the same significance as the Wuchang Uprising." (*A Complete Works of Dr.Sun Yat-sen*. Vol.6, p 50) The uprisings in Guangdong were the important rehearsals for the Wuchang Uprising in 1911.

In condemning the Qing Dynasty, Guangdong took the lead in China. In January, 1900, *The China Press* (later *the China Daily*), the organ of Society to Restore China's Prosperity, was issued in Hong Kong. It was the originator of China's democratic revolutionary. In 1902, Huang Shizhong, a Guangdong democratic revolution propagandist, published *Argument on Kang Youwei's Political Views* in the paper. He retorted Kang Youwei's *Reply to North and South American Overseas Chinese Merchants' Views and on China Can Only Practise the Constitutional Monarchy, but Revolution*, in which Kang attacked the revolutionarey cause. It was a few months earlier than Zhang Binglin's *Rebut Kang Youwei's essay against Revolution*. It was the first sign of criticizing Kang Youwei, a loyalist of Qing rulers. During the revolution movement, there were nearly 30 newspapers and periodicals founded by revolutionary partisans in Guangdong, which was top in number all over China. They debated with the loyalists of the Qing Dynasty, lasting the longest. In the early 3 years in





Tokyo, *Minbao* and *Xinmincongbao*'s debate, marked the start of the struggle between Guangdong revolutionary partisans and the loyalists. Hong Kong revolutionaries took up written polemics in *the China Daily* with Guangdong Loyalists' *Lingnan Paper* for more than a month. After that there appeared an intense debate between *the China Daily* and *the Canton Times* as both sides' main position respectively. Though the level of the debate was not so high as Tokyo's, it expanded the impact of the revolutionary thoughts.

The above-mentioned two kinds of criticisms toward the Qing Dynasty in Guangdong strengthened the revolutionary forces, stroke relentless blow at and isolated the diehards, won over the intermediary forces. As a result, when the gunshot of the Wuchang Uprising came, the troops and people of Guangdong here and there took up arms to march to Canton. The feudal diehards represented by Zhang Mingqi, governor general of Guangdong and Guangxi Provinces, were in a desperate situation. Li Zhun, the Provincial Navy Commander, who once suppressed the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising, surrendered at the awe of the revolutionary might. So did Qin Bingzhi, the provincial military commander, who had a large number of troops. The esquires, rich merchants and those who advocated the constitutional monarchy tried to win independence so as to protect themselves. After a short time contest, Guangdong declared peaceful independence without firing a shot, earlier than many provinces.

(3)

In November, 10th, 1911, Guangdong at last put an end to the feudal autocratic monarchy which ruled China for over 2 thousand years in succession, and established Guangdong Military Government in the democratic republic system. Hu Hanmin, director of the South Branch of the Chinese Revolutionary Alliance, took office of provincial military governor, Chen Jiongming, deputy provincial military governor. Among the leaders in the military government, most of them were members of the Chinese Revolutionary Alliance. It was indeed a bourgeois revolutionary government where the revolutionary partisans took the leading positions. Soon Hu Hanmin followed Dr. Sun Yat-sen to march north. Chen Jiongming acted as governor. Until Apr. 27th, 1912, Hu Hanmin returned and resumed the post of governor. Chen Jiongming was appointed Guangdong military commissioner, commander-in-chief of Guangdong garrison. Later he was promoted to Guangdong military protector by Peking government. In January, 1913, Yuan Shikai ordered Chen to take the place of Hu Hanmin as Guangdong governor. During that period, though the leaders of Guangdong government changed, the power was grasped in the hands of democratic revolutionaries. It basically followed Dr. Sun Yat-sen's administrative policy of Nanjing Provisional Government and built Guangdong into a model province, carrying out a series of revolutionary policies, laws and measures which were favorable to bourgeois democracy, resulting in excellent unification and construction.

In the field of politics: The bourgeois democratic power replaced the former Qing-dynasty local government organs. People cut their pigtails. Officials were called people's civil servants, not addressed as "lord" or "master". Worship on bended kneel was given up. Great efforts were made to select officials who must be honest and

incorruptible, persons with abilities were promoted; those who feathered their nests and received bribe seriously punished. Judiciary system was reformed, judicial independence practiced. The legal system and instruments of torture in Qing Dynasty were abandoned, the prison policy reformed. Old, bad customs and habits were transformed, concubines forbidden, smoking opium and gambling prohibited, women traffic and slavery banned, Chinese labourers abducted abroad ended, overseas Chinese's lives and properties protected, etc.

In the field of economy: The system of exorbitant taxes and levies in Qing Dynasty were abrogated and the financial system was rectified. Agricultural production was developed. The decrees for promoting industries and transportation were promulgated. The social reform policies, which Dr. Sun Yat-sen then did his utmost to pursue, were carried through earnestly. The Guangdong Provisional Congress passed Guangdong land tax and contract bill--*A Brief Charter of Guangdong Tax and Contract*, mapped out by Liao Zhongkai. It was the only and first valuable trial for practicing the creed "equal land right" by laws in China.

In the field of military affairs: Militia were dismissed and reorganized. Military disciplines were rectified. Social order was restored. The construction environments were improved. Regular army was founded. Military affair section was set up to control the former troop. Long Jiguang's troop, which was serious hidden trouble and danger to revolution, was transferred to Qinlian region. A troop with well-trained soldiers led by Yao Yuping was sent north in support of the north military expedition by Nanjing Provisional Government. Distinguished military success was achieved.

In the field of culture and education: The government attached importance to setting up cultural and educational undertakings, adding education department to the government, and education inspecting section to every county, advocating American style of study and French style of education system. Schools were built up everywhere. By December, 1912, there was a higher learning institute funded by the government, 10 more private special training schools, 12 provincial high schools, 14 county middle schools. Primary schools increased to 3000, with 111,000 pupils. These schools made every effort to practise new system. Besides, 390 reading clubs were erected. In the contents of teaching and propaganda, worship of Confucius was criticized. The old almanac, which obstructed the development of people's intelligence and confused people's minds, was not allowed to circulate. New Year's paintings, dramas and songs were improved. Various kinds of books beneficial to social reform were printed and rewarded. At the same time, various sport clubs, music clubs and custom reform clubs were founded. Two provincial education conferences had been held. Although the above-mentioned decrees and projects were not completely carried through because of the situation, they, no doubt, played an active part in creating new vogue and lashing the feudal forces.

In the field of diplomacy: Guangdong stood firm in safeguarding the nation's sovereignty, independence and national dignity, for example, troops were dispatched to monitor the British warships' sailing into the Xijiang River, British consulate and German consulate were seriously negotiated about the incidents of Chinese workers





being beaten up and arrested, Portuguese warship was stopped sailing up Qinshan Maniao River for a survey without permission, etc. In December, 1912, when a living Buddha, declared "independence of Outer Mongolia" under the suborn of Russia Tsar, the whole nation was in an uproar. The Chinese people everywhere required to fight against Russia. The roar of anti-Russia in Guangdong was louder and more sonorous. Guangdong Provisional Congress, Commerce Chamber and other political parties frequently held rallies to support action. In August, 1912, Anti-Russia Society was founded in Guangdong. Branches were also set up in Foshan and Xiangshan. Vanguard of Punitive Expedition, Dare-To-Die Legion, Expedition Financial Support Club, National Army, were came into being, and prepared to march. Chen Jiongming, then acting governor, expressed again and again that he would personally lead No.2 Division and No.1 Battalion, with Guangdong's military supplies and provisions, for the expedition against Russia to protect Outer Mongolia.

(4)

When Guangdong revolutionary partisans made initial achievements in unifying and building Guangdong, Yuan Shikai seized the power of the central government and attempted to extinguish the revolution. On March, 20, 1913, Song Jiaoren, Acting President of Kuomintang(the National Party) was assassinated in Shanghai, which evoked a strong response in Guangdong. At that time, at the situation that the enemy were strong and the revolutionary forces were weak, intrinsic weakness of Guangdong revolutionary forces, the contradictions within the revolutionary camp, the evil consequences of the military government's improper administration, were exposed at the same time. All these were taken advantage of by the enemy. The situation in Guangdong took a turn for the worse rapidly.

The revolutionaries occupied the leading positions in Guangdong military government, but the local governments of counties and cities were under the control of the feudal forces and the former officers. Although Long Jiguang's troop, fierce and quite able to battle, was transferred to Qinlian region, Long was waiting for his chance to kick back. The industrial and commercial class, as the social basis and chief pillar of democratic revolutionary forces, were yearn for peace and were fearful of chaos, deviated from their original objects and opposed to waging a struggle against Yuan Shikai. Within the military government, in the opinion of Anti-Yuan, there occurred a dispute of "restrict Yuan by law" or "restrict Yuan by forces". Chen Jiongming held a negative attitude for a long time. He had to fight against Yuan's army only until it was very urgent. The situation was out of control then. He had paid close attention to controlling the army. The local officers had conflict with those from outside Guangdong. The army lacked democracy education. Chen persisted non-party policy in the army, so the influence of revolutionary party was very weak. Yuan Shikai took the chance to send his men to sow discord and bought over by bribe Zhong Dingji, Su Shenchu and Zhang Woquan, the chief generals in Guangdong army. As a result, Chen Jiongming became a leader without followers. The former militia soldiers who were dismissed were not resettled down properly. Quite a lot became bandits, who were "pacified" by Chen Jiongming. When Long Jiguang's troop pressed on Guangdong, they joined them and fought against Chen. What was more, Chen ordered

to dismiss the artillery battalion which comprised of the former artillerymen in North Military Expedition, they turned traitors at first and forced Chen to flee in a hurry. The Second Revolution in Guangdong lasted only 18 days. Afterwards, Long Jiguang, Yuan Shikai's close follower, imposed a cruel warlord ruling on Guangdong.

Though the Revolution of 1911 in Guangdong ended in failure, its splendid achievements of changing autocratic monarchy into democratic republic, an epoch-making event, were written in Guangdong history. It pushed the people's struggle in Guangdong into the stage of bourgeois democratic revolution, raising the people's democratic consciousness. In the land of Guangdong with glorious struggle tradition, there emerged not only a large number of heroic figures, from revolutionary leaders to loyal democratic fighters, but also quite a lot of persons of ideals from other provinces, who laid down their lives historically here. They have composed many moving poems of revolutionary heroism and patriotism still on people's lips so far. They eventually established the most advanced democratic republic then, and made the initial experiment of building Guangdong into a model province. In the meantime, the victory and failure of the revolution left many valuable experiences and lessons for the later generations. Though in the later years the struggles were full of difficulties and hardship, the Guangdong people fought in high spirit and perseveringly. They marched along the path opened by the Revolution of 1911 and struggled on. After the Revolution of 1911, Guangdong still was the important battlefield for revolutionaries to fight against Yuan, also the chief base for Dr. Sun Yat-sen to wage the struggle of Protecting Provisional Constitution, the cooperation between Kuomintang and the Communist Party, which pushed up the surge of the great revolution.

Before the 90th anniversary of the Revolution of 1911, Ni Junming, associate researcher of Guangdong Zhongshan Library, compiled Photo Album: *The Revolution of 1911 in Guangdong*, at the basis of the rich photo data stored in the library and after his search for the pictures scattered in Guangzhou, Beijing and Hong Kong. The album covers wide and abundant materials, with text, which reflects the visage of the Revolution of 1911 in a better way. It is very significant for people to gain history knowledge and inspiration from it. It is a pleasure to write this preface.

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辛亥革命
前的广东

Guangdong
Before the Revolution
of 1911