广州许氏六昆仲〇近代中国民主革命

The Six Xu Brothers of Guangzhou and the Democratic Revolution in China's Recent History

孙中山大元帅府纪念馆

广州新华出版发行集团

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孙 中 山 大 元 帅 府 纪 念 馆 编

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序一

高第街的许氏家族被誉为近代广州的"第一家族",它的历史,早已是广州人津津乐道的传奇故事。两百年来,许氏涌现出不少知名人物,他们的活动对近代中国产生了不可忽视的影响。

晚清以降,中国革命风起云涌,以孙中山为领袖的革命党人,为中国的民主革命事业进行了长期艰难困苦的斗争。许氏家族的六个崇字辈兄弟受革命的感召,先后追随孙中山先生,在政治、军事和教育等领域都卓有贡献。

许家的这六位兄弟中, 许崇智是孙中山倚重的军事将领, 他所领导的粤军曾是孙中山的一支劲旅。许崇清备受孙中山的信任和赏识, 毕生从事教育事业。许济(原名许崇济)是许崇智手下的一员悍将, 为孙中山的军事征伐立过战功。许崇灏奉孙中山之命, 几度出掌粤汉铁路, 承担军政方面的巨额开支任务。许崇年担任孙中山和许崇智的贴身护卫。许卓(原名许崇耆)则在孙中山的粤军担任过副官长, 后投身中国共产党领导的革命。

许氏家族的后人许子皓先生热心家族历史资料的收集整理,积累了大批相关史料,并曾先后与香港、广州的文博机构合作举办展览。在许先生的提议和大力协助之下,我馆也特别制作"广州许氏六昆仲与孙中山"大型展览,同时出版《广州许氏六昆仲与近代中国民主革命》一书,通过相关图片与文物,介绍许氏家族六兄弟的重要历史活动,展示他们为中国民主革命事业拼搏的艰辛历程,并藉此砥砺今人,为实现新时代的中国梦而不懈奋斗。

孙中山大元帅府纪念馆馆长 李穗梅 2015年2月14日

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Preface I

The history of the Xu clan on Gaodijie, long renowned as "Guangzhou's most distinguished family", is a fascinating part of local folklore. For more than 200 years, many members of the Xu clan emerged as prominent figures whose lives and deeds had significant impact on modern China.

With the decline of the Qing Empire, there was much turbulence brought about by various revolutionary movements. The revolutionaries led by Sun Yat-sen endured a long, arduous struggle for the cause of China's democratic revolution.

The six Xu brothers of the fifth ("Chong") generation responded to the call for revolution, and joined Sun's cause one after another, making significant contributions in the fields of politics, military affairs, and education.

Among the six brothers, Xu Chong-zhi was Sun Yat-sen's most trusted military officer. The Guangdong Army that he led was a powerful military force in Sun's government.

Xu Chong-ging, who was well regarded and trusted by Sun, devoted his life to education.

Xu Ji (originally named Xu Chong-ji) was a valiant commander who served under Xu Chong-zhi, and rendered highly commendable military service to the cause.

Xu Chong-hao was appointed several times by Sun to manage the Guangdong-Hankou Railway, and take up the responsibility of supporting the huge expenditure of Sun's government.

Xu Chong-nian served as head of personal security for both Sun and Xu Chong-zhi.

And Xu Zhuo (originally named Xu Chong-qi) served as adjutant-general in Sun's Guangdong Army. He later joined the revolution led by the Communist Party of China.

Mr. Danny Hui (Xu Zi-hao), a descendant of the clan, has devoted much time and effort in amassing and compiling a tremendous amount of historical materials related to the clan, and in collaboration with arts and history organizations in Hong Kong and Guangzhou, has held exhibitions on the clan in the context of China's relative recent history.

At Mr. Hui's suggestion and with his support, our Museum is holding an exhibition entitled "The Six Xu Brothers of Guangzhou and Sun Yat-sen", and concurrently publishing the pictorial anthology The Six Xu Brothers of Guangzhou and the Democratic Revolution in Recent Chinese History.

The many pictures and historical artifacts on display here chronicle the brothers' roles in China's recent history, and the arduous journey they took in the cause of the country's democratic revolution.

It is hoped that their stories will encourage and inspire us in building the Chinese Dream in our modern era.

Li Sui-mei

Curator The Memorial Museum of Generalissimo Sun Yat-sen's Mansion February 14, 2015

序二

2012年,定居香港的广州许地许氏宗亲会秘书长(现任理事长)许子皓先生,欲联络两岸四地及海外学者,在台湾举行有关广州许氏家族的学术研讨会,约请内地一些学者撰文与会,我本人有幸忝列其中。由于一些具体问题,研讨会未能开成。我原本欲持之与会的文稿《广州许地许氏家族与国民党——以1925年"廖案"前后为中心》,转而投给《粤海风》,经该刊发表在2013年第5期上。因为这个机缘,我与许子皓先生交上朋友。许先生的祖父许崇年(龄筠),是许崇灏(粤汉铁路经理)、许崇清(中山大学校长)的胞弟,与夫人邓不奴(广东首位女律师、国民党元老邓青阳之女),是解放前许氏宗族族产族务的管理者。正是这个原因,许先生掌握许氏家族的很多珍贵的文献资料,包括大量尝产地契书信等文件资料。

2013年夏, 许先生回广州, 约我见面。谈次, 他告诉我, 他的伯祖许崇灏, 写有一部回想录, 原稿有甲、乙两本, 其中乙本已初步整理完毕, 希望我能帮助, 继续校订, 以期完善。我应承了下来, 并建议将甲本一并整理。我还提出, 广东省政协文化和文史委员会每年要出版一辑《广东文史资料》, 我将与之联系, 看可否收入省文史资料予以刊印。许先生同意这个主意。在谈及筹办学术研讨会时, 我对许先生说, 要开研讨会, 须准备充分一些, 不妨先做一些宣传工作。现在广州孙中山大元帅府纪念馆有一个"帅府名人系列", 计划收集曾在孙中山身边工作的干部的文物图片, 进行展示, 并相应出版保存下来的名人函札文书, 如古应芬等人的资料, 已经做过展览, 并且出书, 各方反应甚佳。我建议许先生与帅府纪念馆李穗梅馆长联系。结果, 双方一谈即合, 经过一段时间准备, 于是有2015年春天帅府纪念馆"广州许氏六昆仲与孙中山"文物图片展之举。

为了更好地宣传这一辑"帅府名人系列",帅府纪念馆决定刊印《广州许氏六昆仲与近 代中国民主革命》文物图片册。主事者委托我为此图册的出版写些文字,受宠之余,乃黾勉操 笔,以撰此文。

自改革开放始,作为服装集散地的广州高第街,可谓四方辐辏,名闻遐迩。但是,若问广州高第街许地在哪里,则知之者恐怕不多。确实,这座广州唯一可称之为"大宅门"的许地,经历200多年岁月,已经显得破旧不堪了,而且,它还印证了老祖宗的遗训:"君子之泽,五世而斩"。这是指封建社会从第一代建功立业、得到优渥的朝廷恩典后,世代延续享受而言,到了凋敝的末世,子孙们若不是各散西东,自谋生路,即流为舆台群氓了。按国人的传统观念,

以20年为一世,5世则在百年内外。一个世家大族能维持百年不替,一般都少不了下面几个因素:一是,有强势女人在维持,或曾作为精神力量在维持;二是,奠基人或以军功、或以商业、或以土地起家,势力膨胀之际,与官府结成密切关系;三是,凡是不属于正途(士途)出身而暴得名声的大族,在一般社会生活中难免受人冷齿,故此辈总要让子孙受教育,博取科名,使这个簪缨世族也是书香门第,能光前裕后;四是,寄籍人士发迹后,为图发展以及子孙就地参加考试,均设法人籍,与当地豪绅交好,为当地公益活动尽力,并在当地缔姻,形成一种关系网。有了上述条件,也就奠定了世家大族赖于生存发展的基础。许地许氏百年历史,大抵亦是这个过程。

广东潮州澄海人许永名在乾隆年间来到广州经商的时候,正值海疆多事之秋,两广总督 衙门也正在此时从肇庆迁到了广州。普通百姓不明白挑战与机遇的道理。在许氏后世的观念 中,以谁为一世,主张并不一致,一种是许永名,另一种则认为是在广州出生及在高第街上筑 建许氏大宅"许地"让许氏子孙在此聚居的、有事功的广州四大盐商之首的许拜庭。但是, 不论说法如何, 许氏族人慎终追远, 都是将许氏发迹之功归于许永名的广州妻子黄氏黄太夫 人。在丈夫去世后,黄氏曾带着许赓飏(拜庭)及赓荣两个年幼儿子返回澄海。但她经实地考 察, 断定该地不适宜于母子三人的生存发展, 便即返广州, 将13岁的许拜庭送去盐店当学徒, 许拜庭终于以贩盐发家,成为广州四大盐商之首。黄氏这位精明能干的妇女,成就了许拜庭, 也事实上开创了广州许地这个家族。许拜庭的11个儿子祢光、祥光、祐光、祚光、辉垣、礼光、 裀光、初光、禧光、祉光和禄光,均受过良好的教育。许祥光是许氏家族第一名进士,官至广 西按察使、赏加布政使衔。许家第三代更是人才鼎盛,仅许祥光便有8个儿子考中举人(包括 过继予长兄的许祥光长子许应騋)。1846年许拜庭去世后,许祥光遵其父遗愿,在许地东侧 广东盐务公所旁修建了"拜庭许大夫家庙"。在应字辈的群兄弟中,以许应鑅、许应骙和许应 锵最为著名,见诸中国近代史籍。这些堂兄弟分别曾任巡抚、总督、道员,在清一代的广州,实 属罕见。许家第四代炳字辈,依旧科名昌盛,不过任官多属中下层,事功明显不及上代。在这炳 字辈中值得注意是许炳暐, 他是许应鑅之子, 举人, 1894年卒于江西洋务局会办任上。许炳暐 有妻妾子女多人,但家无恒产,其三妾朱妙缘育子崇灏、崇清与崇年,炳暐卒,3子皆年幼;另 一妾生子崇济后不满一月而逝, 崇济(许济)亦由朱氏抚养。朱氏及诸子分得的财产, 仅敷数

月开支。朱氏在艰难竭蹶之中,抚养诸子,还照顾早孤的堂侄许崇智兄弟。后许崇智与兄崇仪 获族祖闽渐总督许应骙保荐,得赴日留学,先后人日本陆军士官学校就读。崇灏、崇清由朱氏 托姑父冯启钧(任官湖北武昌知府兼枪炮厂提调)携往武昌读书。崇灏学军械制造,结识革命 党,后与崇清转赴南京,投靠堂叔父许炳榛(江南候补道),崇清赴日留学。崇灏人南京武备 学堂后,崇济不久亦至南京习军,二人均参与南京光复之役。许崇智返国后在福建新军中服 役,领导福建光复。许崇清留学回国,从事教育事业。许崇年及许应锵之孙许崇耆(许卓),后 亦从军。以上许氏昆仲六人,先后追随孙中山,从事民主革命,建立功勋;而此辈除许卓(后加 人中国共产党,在福建牺牲)外,其成长及日后事业,俱赖朱太夫人这位女强人当年辛苦劬劳 的抚育启迪。清末民初,中国社会处于大变革的时代,许氏崇字辈的青年有幸投身于这股时代 洪流中。这是旧时代的终结,也即是新时代的肇始,曾经是清王朝的支持者的广州许氏家族群 体,他们的子孙中的一批精英是如何作为的,正是本文物图册将要展示的史实。

广州许氏家族是近现代中国社会的一个缩影。广州许地的大宅院,经历200多年的风雨剥蚀,如今确实显得残旧。但是,钟灵毓秀,人事代谢,许地的风水并不因祖宅堂馆瓦舍的残旧面貌而改变其灵气。近百年来,广州许氏的子孙们走向全国,走向世界,他们中不乏教育家、科学家、教授、工程师、主任医师、企业家、艺术家等等,再加上许氏的姻亲夫婿,翻开一部中国近现代史,可谓史不绝书,满眼华章。就许氏子孙而言,这确实是一部永远做不完的"千秋家国梦"。但愿国内外的研究者们,更深入地了解广州许氏家族,研究近代广州第一世家大族与中国历史的关系,也希望读者通过阅读这部《广州许氏六昆仲与近代中国民主革命》文物图片册,能见图文而知兴替,且以补历史记叙之缺文。

中山大学 李吉奎 2014年12月22日

Preface II

In 2012, Mr. Danny Hui (Xu Zi-hao), secretary-general of Guangzhou Xudi The Xu Clansmen's Association (and currently its Chairman), launched an initiative to bring together scholars from China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and overseas, and to hold an academic conference in Taiwan about the Xu Clan of Guangzhou.

I was among the academics from China invited to present their research papers. The conference did not take place due to some practical issues, and my paper "The Xu Clan of Xudi in Guangzhou and Chinese Nationalist Party ("Kuomintang") - Focused on Events Surrounding the Assassination of Liao Zhong-kai in 1925" -- which was intended for presentation at the conference -- was eventually published in Yue Hai Feng (5th issue, 2013), a monthly magazine on academic and culture.

Through this initiative, I became acquainted with Mr. Hui. His grandfather, Xu Chong-nian, was the younger brother of Xu Chong-hao (Managing Director of the Guangdong-Hankou Railway), and Xu Chong-qing (President of Sun Yat-sen University).

Xu Chong-nian's wife, Deng Bu-nu, was the first woman lawyer in the province of Guangdong and the daughter of Deng Qing-yang, a founding member of the Chinese Nationalist Party.

Before the Liberation in 1949, Xu Chong-nian was in-charge of the Xu clan's business and family affairs. For these reasons, Mr. Hui has access to a vast collection of valuable historical information and artifacts relating to the clan, including an abundance of title deeds, official correspondence and documents.

In the summer of 2013, during a meeting with Mr. Hui, he told me that his grand-uncle Xu Chong-hao had written his memoirs. The manuscript was in two versions, with the proofreading almost finished for the second version.

Mr. Hui wanted me to assist in the final editing of the manuscript. I agreed to his proposal, and suggested that the first version should be finalized along with the second. I also offered to liaise with the Culture and History Committee of Guangdong Political Consultative Conference about the possibility of publishing the memoirs as part of its annual publication "The Cultural and Historical Records of Guangdong Province", to which Mr. Hui readily agreed.

As for the conference he was organizing at the time, I mentioned that since such initiatives required a great deal of preparation, and some publicity and promotion efforts would be of much benefit.

And the Memorial Museum of Generalissimo Sun Yat-sen's Mansion in Guangzhou is in the process of organizing a series of exhibitions on prominent figures who at various times worked alongside Sun Yat-sen. There have been exhibitions and publications featuring historical artifacts and documents related to these notables (such as Gu Ying-fen, a trusted aide of Sun Yat-sen), and responses to these events have been very positive.

At my suggestion, Mr. Hui approached the Museum's curator Li Sui-mei. Fruitful discussion ensued, resulting in the exhibition "The Six Xu Brothers of Guangzhou and Sun Yat-sen", scheduled to be held at the Museum in the spring of 2015. To promote the exhibition, the Museum decided to publish the pictorial anthology The Six Xu Brothers of Guangzhou and the Democratic Revolution in Recent Chinese History.

I am honoured to have been invited to write the preface to the book. Gaodijie has established itself as a famous distribution hub for the clothing industry since the beginning of the Chinese economic reforms in

1978, but most people probably do not know where Xudi (the Xu's Land) of Gaodijie is. Indeed, the venerable stately home of Xudi in Guangzhou, well past its glory days after more than 200 years, is now in a state of dilapidation. It also illustrates the old Chinese adage "the good influence of virtuous men lasts no more than five generations".

In feudal society, the efforts and achievements of the first generation earned itself the favour of the Imperial Court, and it was passed on to future generations. As the fortunes of the clan dwindled over the years, the descendants had to scatter and strike out on their own, or else they spiralled down the social hierarchy. Traditionally, one generation spans about 20 years, and five generations is taken to be more than 100 years. A clan that could sustain itself for so long usually owed its staying power to several factors.

First, there was often a spiritually strong woman who maintained the clan's solidarity.

Second, the founder or founders, after establishing their social position through success in military affairs, or in commerce, or in the business of land and property, allied themselves with the power of the bureaucracy.

Third, the clan, aware that their wealth might bring them fame but never the kind of respect that is accorded to government officials, attached great importance to their offspring's education, so that the children could embark on a successful career in officialdom. This is why as a rule, the power elite and the literati of Imperial China were one and the same class.

Fourth, to sustain the clan's prosperity, and to ensure the descendants could participate in the Provincial Examination, a migrant from outside would need to deepen his roots in the place where he made his fortune. He would need to befriend the local "movers and shakers", engage in community service, and arrange marriages with local families -- all in an effort to build a social network of guanxi (Connection).

When the above conditions were met, the clan's continued prosperity would be assured. This is more or less the path taken by the Xu clan of Xudi in Guangzhou over its centuries-old history.

Xu Yong-ming, a native from Chenghai in Chaozhou of Eastern Guangdong province, came to Guangzhou to trade during the Qianlong period, a time when the coastal region was being menaced by pirates on the seas, and the office of the Viceroy of Guangdong and Guangxi provinces had just been moved from Zhaoqing in Western-Central of Guangdong province to Guangzhou. Of course, the common people had little idea of what challenges and opportunities these events might present.

Among the many descendants of the Xu clan, there is no consensus as to who should be regarded as the first generation. One school of thought regards Xu Yong-ming as the patriarch. The other considers Xu Bai-ting to be the founder, since he was the first one who was born in Guangzhou.

It was he who planned and directed the construction of the clan's stately homein Xudi, enabling generations of Xu descendants to settle here. And as the leading salt merchant among the four major ones in Guangzhou, Xu Bai-ting had made some highly commendable contributions to society.

At any rate, while there is difference in opinion as to who the clan's founder might be, the Xu descendants would unanimously agree that the grandeur of the clan would not have been possible had it not been for the decisive actions of one woman — Madam Huang, Xu Yong-ming's wife in Guangzhou.

After Xu Yong-ming died, Madam Huang took their two young sons Xu Geng-yang (alias Bai-ting) and Geng-rong and travelled to Chenghai. Upon arriving there, Madam Huang quickly realized it would be a hard place for her to raise her two young sons as a widow. She made the quick decision to return to Guangzhou, and had 13-year-old Xu Bai-ting apprenticed to a salt merchant, setting her son on a career in the salt business, in which Xu Bai-ting made his fortune and eventually rose to become the leading salt merchant among the four

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major ones in Guangzhou.

Madam Huang's shrewd and decisive actions changed Xu Bai-ting's destiny, and planted the seeds of prosperity for this illustrious clan in Xudi, Guangzhou.

Xu Bai-ting had 11 sons: Mi-guang, Xiang-guang, You-guang, Zuo-guang, Hui-yuan, Li-guang, Yin-guang, Reng-guang, Xi-guang, Zhi-guang, and Lu-guang, and all of them received a good education.

Xiang-guang was the first to pass the Metropolitan and Palace Examinations and attained the status of Jinshi from the clan, and he rose in the Imperial government to the position of Judicial Commissioner of Guangxi province, with the added title of Administrative Commissioner.

The clan's third generation boasted a lot of distinguished clansmen. Consider just Xu Xiang-guang — eight of his sons (including Xu Ying-lai, the son adopted by Xiang-guang's eldest brother) attained the academic status of Juren in the government's Provincial Examinations.

Xu Bai-ting died in 1846. Following his father's will, Xu Xiang-guang had the "Family Shrine of Mandarin Xu Bai-ting" built on the east side of Xudi, right next to the office of the Salt Trade Authority of Guangdong province.

In the third ("Ying") generation of the clan, the most notable ones are Xu Ying-heng, Xu Ying-kui and Xu Ying-qiang, and their names sometimes figure in China's recent history. It was quite a rare phenomenon that these "brothers" (cousins), who occupied important government positions such as Governor, Viceroy and Circuit Intendant, all hailed from the same extended family in Guangzhou during the Qing dynasty.

In the fourth ("Bing") generation, the clansmen's success in officialdom was still considerable, but their ranks and positions tended to be middling ones, and were certainly no comparison to those of the previous generation.

However, one clansman of note was Xu Bing-wei, son of Xu Ying-heng, a Jurenwho died in office as Deputy Director of the Foreign Affairs Bureau of Jiangxi province. Xu Bing-wei had a mass of wives, concubines and children, but not much wealth. When he died, his third concubine Zhu Miao-yuan had to take up the burden of raising her three young sons, Chong-hao, Chong-qing and Chong-nian, as well as Chong-ji, a son born to another concubine who died shortly after his birth. The meagre estate apportioned to her and the sons would last them only a few months. It was under those difficult circumstances that Madam Zhu brought up her children, as well as her nephew Xu Chong-zhi and his brother, who were orphaned when they were quite young. Years later, through the assistance of their grand-uncle Xu Ying-kui, Viceroy of Fujian and Zhejiang provinces, Xu Chong-zhi and his older brother Chong-yi got the opportunity to study in Japan. Both went to the Imperial Japanese Army Academy.

Xu Chong-hao and Chong-qing went to their uncle Feng Qi-jun, the Director of the Firearms Factory of Hubei province, who arranged for them to study in Wuchang in Hubei province.

Xu Chong-hao studied weaponry, and during this period, he came into contact with the Revolutionary Party. Later, Xu Chong-hao and his brother Chong-qing went to Nanjing in Jiangsu province to seek help and refuge from their uncle Xu Bing-zhen (who was Circuit Intendant of the East China region at the time).

Arrangements were made for Chong-qing to go to Japan to further his studies, and Chong-hao to attend the Army Academy in Nanjing.

Xu Chong-hao was later joined by Chong-ji, who also went to the Army Academy. Both brothers took part in the recovery of Nanjing from the Qing Empire. Xu Chong-zhi, after returning to China, served in the New Army in Fujian province, and led the uprising in Fujian. Xu Chong-qing pursued his vocation in education after

he returned from overseas.

Xu Chong-nian and Xu Chong-qi (grandson of Xu Ying-qiang, alias Xu Zhuo) also later became military officers of the Sun Yat-sen's government. These six brothers from the same extended family worked under Sun Yat-sen at various times, and actively participated in and contributed to the Chinese democratic revolution.

It can be said that these brothers (with the exception of Xu Zhuo, who joined the Communist Party and died a martyr in Fujian province) owed the success of their careers to the upbringing they received from Madam Zhu, the strong matron.

The fifth ("Chong") generation of the clan witnessed the epic tussle between the dying Qing dynasty and budding Republic, as the country entered a period of great social upheaval, marking the end of a eudal regime and the beginning of a new era. The Xu clan, once staunch supporters of the Qing dynasty, spawned an elite group of members who were at the forefront of the Revolution. Their lives and actions during this period of momentous social change are the focus of this historical anthology.

The Xu clan of Guangzhou can be seen as a miniature of Chinese society. It is true that after weathering the ravages of time over more than two centuries, the stately family compound that used to stand in Xudi now looks old and derelict, but the spirit of the clan is as strong as ever.

Many of the Xu descendants who ventured out to other parts of the country and to the outside world have forged successful careers as educators, scientists, academics, engineers, medical doctors, entrepreneurs, artists and so on.

If one takes into account the social network that the clan developed through marriages, their impact on Chinese history and society has been substantial. For many Xu descendants, their aspirations for the clan and their dreams for the country are forever interwoven into each other.

It is hoped that scholars in China and overseas will conduct more research into this illustrious clan of Guangzhou and its impact on recent Chinese history, so that readers of the pictorial anthology The Six Xu Brothers of Guangzhou and the Democratic Revolution in Recent Chinese History can better understand the forces that shaped the rise and fall of a nation.

Li Ji-kui

Sun Yat-sen University December 22, 2014

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