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海盗、龙夫人、汽船：近代史上南中国海的新型另类

Pirates, Dragon Ladies, and Steamships: An Alternative View of South China Seas in Modern Times

安乐博/Robert J. Antony

清初皇帝的海洋思想

Qing Emperors' Maritime Policies

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The Reception of the 'Junk Keying' in the West, 1848 ~ 1855

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近代上海港与长江流域经济变迁

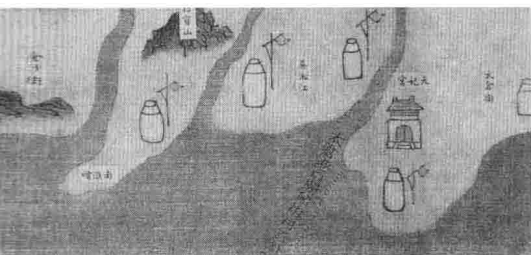
戴鞍钢/Dai Angang

“厦门”号帆船环球航海日志（下）

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（第五辑）

上海古籍出版社



国家航海

National Maritime Research

上海中国航海博物馆 主办

(第五辑)

上海古籍出版社

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

国家航海. 第五辑 / 上海中国航海博物馆主办. —
上海: 上海古籍出版社, 2013. 11
ISBN 978-7-5325-7117-8

I. ①国… II. ①上… III. ①航海—交通运输史—中
国—文集 IV. ①F552.9-53

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2013)第 253472 号

国家航海(第五辑)

上海中国航海博物馆 主办
上海世纪出版股份有限公司 出版
上海古籍出版社
(上海瑞金二路 272 号 邮政编码 200020)

(1) 网址: www.guji.com.cn
(2) E-mail: guji1@guji.com.cn
(3) 易文网网址: www.ewen.cc

上海世纪出版股份有限公司发行中心发行经销 上海颀辉印刷有限公司印刷

开本 787×1092 1/16 印张 12.25 插页 2 字数 253,000

2013 年 11 月第 1 版 2013 年 11 月第 1 次印刷

印数 1—1,800

ISBN 978-7-5325-7117-8

K·1824 定价: 48.00 元

如发生质量问题,读者可向承印公司调换

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海盗、龙夫人、汽船：近代史上 南中国海的新型另类^[1]

安乐博

(中国澳门 澳门大学)

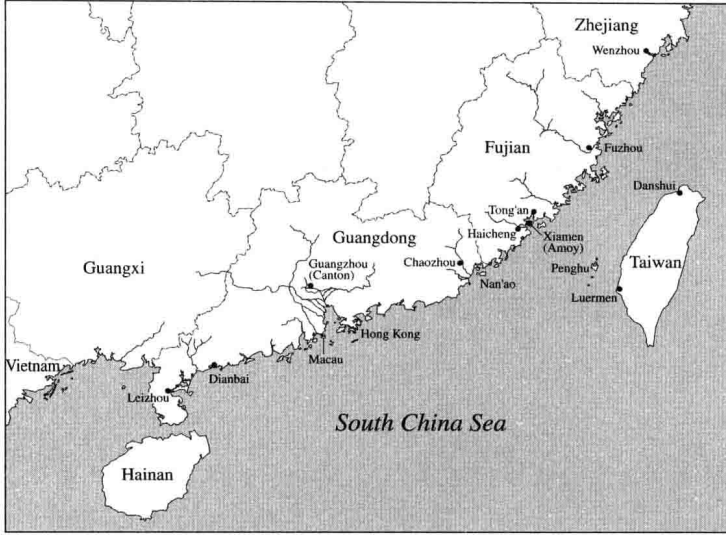
摘要：大多数近代史的历史学者在讨论中国海洋史时，所关注的课题常为中外不平等条约及其内容影响、中国被迫开放的对外通商贸易口岸和中外贸易之间的关系，以及近代史上发生在中国附近海域的数场著名的中外海战等。本文所关注的主题与这些传统的角度大不相同，它所切入的角度是被忽略的海上不法活动，所涵盖的范围为中国附近的海域，自鸦片战争至第二次世界大战之间所发生的海盗事件及与其相关的不法组织活动。这段时间中，西方所发明的蒸汽船首次被介绍到中国海域，并逐渐成为中国附近海域的重要航行工具，使得中国海域，不但商业贸易方式大异以往，海上的不法活动也出现重大变革。参与不法活动的成员，不但有男性，也有一群为数不少的女性，颠覆了西方人对神秘东方女性的刻板印象。“龙夫人”一词影响至今，成为东方女性强权的代称。

关键词：南中国海 海上不法活动 海盗 龙夫人 劫船 汽船 鸦片战争 香港 澳门

Although the hijacking of steamships did increase precipitously over the late 19th and early 20th centuries, nonetheless, by far the largest number of incidents of piracy in Asian waters was directed against traditional targets, mostly indigenous fishing boats and small trading junks. The majority of pirates were Chinese fishermen and sailors who took to crime to supplement honest or regular wages. Some pirates were professional criminals and there were also a significant number of non-Asian pirates operating in the China Seas in the late 19th and early 20th

[1] This article was originally presented at an international conference on the “Asia-Pacific Maritime World: Connected Histories in the Age of Empire”, at the University of Heidelberg, 6~8 July 2012. The author wishes to thank the participants for their helpful suggestions and comments. He also wishes to thank the University of Macau for generous support through a Faculty Research Grant, which enabled him to carry out the research for this study.

centuries. (See Map 1)



Map 1 Coastal South China in the Late 19th-Early 20th Centuries

1

The introduction of steamships in the China Seas in the 19th century ushered in a new era of commerce and imperialism along the China coast. Although the first steamships in Chinese waters appeared in the late 1820s, the impact was not felt until the British deployed steam warships to the area during the First Opium War. In 1841 the iron-clad war steamer, *Nemesis*, arrived in China and proved instrumental in naval battles against wooden Chinese war junks, especially in rivers and coastal areas. By the end of the war among the forty-eight British warships, fourteen were steamships. After the war and British settlement of Hong Kong, more and more steamers arrived in China to engage in merchant shipping, as well as in the suppression of piracy. By the late 1860s most of the foreign coasting ships were already steamers, and by the 1870s the Chinese were also constructing their own steam merchant fleets. In 1877 the three leading steamship companies operated some forty-four steamers, totaling over 35,000 tons, plying routes between the treaty ports of Canton and Shanghai. [1]

Steamships presented pirates with new challenges and opportunities. At first

[1] Kwang-Ching Liu, "Steamship Enterprise in Nineteenth-Century China", *Journal of Asian Studies* 18.4 (1959), 440~441.

there were few pirate attacks against steamers, but by the 1870s pirates quickly adapted to the new circumstances by switching their tactics from direct assaults to hijacking. Some enterprising pirates discovered that they could board steamers disguised as passengers and once underway take control of the vessel, rob the passengers and crew, and occasionally even take hostages for ransom. Although one of the first recorded incidents of the new-style piracy was the attempted hijacking of the steamer *Iron Prince* in 1862, this *modus operandi* did not become popular for another decade. The first major case occurred in 1874, when pirates hijacked the river steamer *Spark* sailing from Canton to Macao. (See Figure 1) Aboard were a large number of Chinese passengers confined to the lower deck and one European, Walter Mundy, and a crew of about twenty Chinese and Portuguese “half-castes.” The pirates had come aboard as passengers and once out of port they attacked. They killed the American captain, George Brady, and several passengers, and Mundy himself was badly wounded. After robbing the passengers and stealing the cargo, the loot was transferred to a waiting junk and the brigands sailed away.^[1] By the mid-1880s, one colonial official remarked that hijacking had already become “an old device” of the Chinese pirates.^[2]

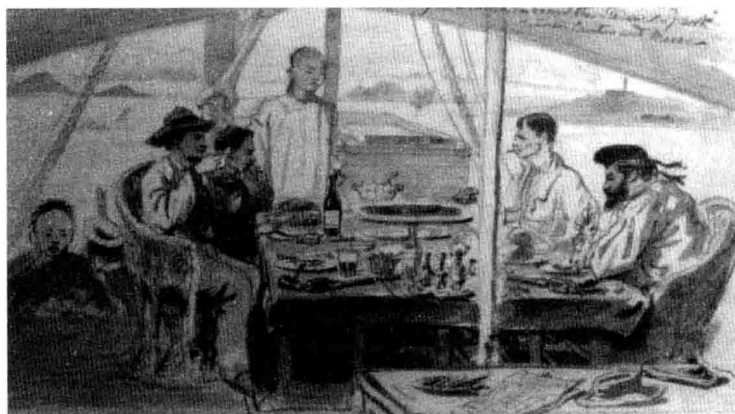


Figure 1 Western passengers relaxing aboard the *Spark*. Note the pistols on the table

The most serious incident to gain public outrage, however, was the hijacking of the British coastal steamer *Namoa* in December 1890. The vessel had sailed from Hong Kong bound for Shantou with five European passengers in first class cabins and roughly 250 Chinese passengers. Only a few hours into the voyage, shots rang out as about forty pirates, who had come aboard as deck passengers,

[1] Walter W. Mundy, *Canton and the Bogue, the Narrative of an Eventful Six Months in China* (London: Samuel Tinsley, 1875), 185~189.

[2] Hong Kong Government Gazette (hereafter HKGG), 14 November 1885.

quickly seized the bridge and engine room and rounded up the Europeans who were having lunch with Captain Pocock in the saloon. In the fight that ensued, the pirates mortally wounded the captain and a Danish passenger. They then forced the Chinese pilot to sail the ship to Bias Bay, where six small junks came alongside to offload the booty (valued at \$55,000). Once the pirates departed, the *Namoa*'s officers and passengers regained their ship and returned to Hong Kong.

The Guangdong local authorities sent a punitive force to Bias Bay where soldiers rounded up ten suspects, quickly tried and found them guilty, and summarily executed them. Later another twenty-three men were arrested and thirteen were found guilty of piracy. On 17 April 1891, the thirteen pirates were beheaded, together with six other men, on the beach in Kowloon before a group of Western spectators.^[1](See Figure 2) In part, as a result of these harsh measures, in the waters around Hong Kong at least, there was a noticeable, but temporary, decline in the number of piracies.^[2]



Figure 2 Beheaded *Namoa* Pirates in Kowloon, 1891

The turmoil of the early 20th century-the Boxer Rebellion, the Revolution of 1911, warlordism, and civil war between the Guomindang and Communists in the 1920s and 1930s-provided opportunities for a resurgence in piracy along the China coast. Not only man-made but also natural disasters added to the rampant lawlessness of this period. Because of the precipitous increase in piracy, in 1914 the Hong Kong government enacted a new "piracy prevention ordinance" which declared a "danger zone" that stretched outward from the colony for 120 miles.^[3] Between the two world wars there were over fifty reported cases of piracy against

[1] Hong Kong Government Sessional Papers (hereafter HKSP), 29 January 1891.

[2] HKSP, 15 February 1896.

[3] HKGG, 18 September 1914.

coastal and river steamers; most involved hijackings of foreign vessels. In several instances, the same ships were plundered on more than one occasion: the *Wah Sun* on 18 December 1921 and on 22 May 1922; the *Sunning* on 23 October 1923 and on 15 November 1926; and the *Tai Lee* on 21 January 1924 and on 4 November 1924. [1]

The majority of pirate cases in the early twentieth century were called the “Bias Bay Piracies”, named after the area out of which numerous gangs operated. Bias Bay, which lies to the east just outside Hong Kong territorial waters, abounds in numerous islands and shallow harbors that provided easily accessible hideouts for pirates. (See Map 2) In a secret dispatch in June 1926 to the home government, Cecil Clementi, governor of Hong Kong, explained: “Bias Bay is a sort of ‘No Man’s Land’, in which the writ of the Canton Government does not run, and which is dominated by pirates and brigands from the large village of Fan Lo Kong at the north-east corner of the bay.” [2] At the time he suggested sending a “punitive expedition” to search for and destroy the pirates and their villages around the bay. However, it took nine months before “the British finally lost their patience and raided the Bias Bay villages, independently of the Chinese authorities.” [3] The expedition, nonetheless, proved ephemeral and within months the pirates were back in business as before. [4]

What was particularly important about these Bias Bay piracies was that they all involved sophisticated, well-organized, professional gangs and by then the most common *modus operandi*—hijacking. As noted above, pirates had adapted to the modern world of steamships and modern shipping practices. In the area around Hong Kong pirates spent weeks in preparations for their heists. They gathered intelligence on prospective victims—names of ships, departure dates, destinations and sailing routes, size of crew and passenger lists, and type and value of cargo. [5] During that time pirates also traveled back and forth as passengers on the steamships they planned to rob, not only reconnoitering but also secreting firearms on board. Often the ringleaders dressed in European-style, “looked respectable”, and occupied first-class cabins; some pirates even spoke a little English and Portuguese.

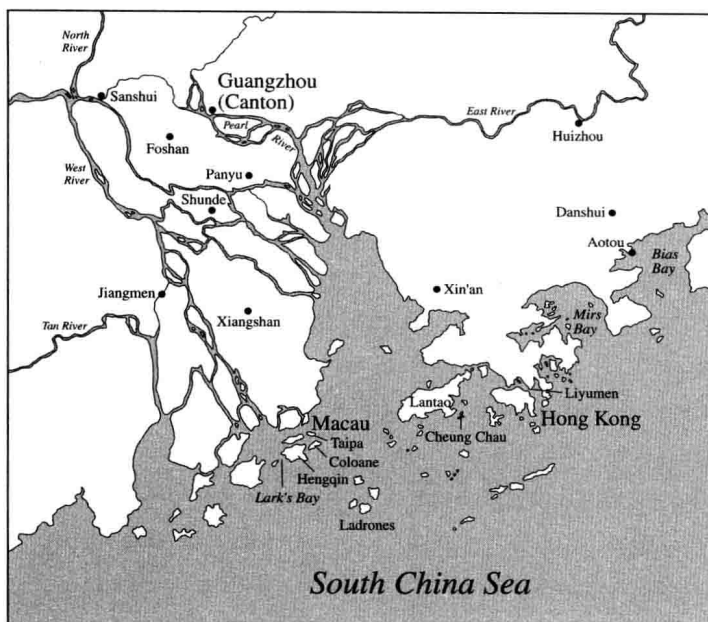
[1] British Colonial Office, Hong Kong Records (hereafter CO129), CO129/410/419 ~ 425; CO129/410/411~42; CO129/496/368; and CO129/496/368.

[2] CO129/496/367.

[3] Aleko E. Lilius, *I Sailed with Chinese Pirates* (London: Mellifont, 1930), 12.

[4] Iain Ward, *Sui Geng: The Hong Kong Marine Police, 1841~1950* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1991), 103~104.

[5] Lilius, *I Sailed with Chinese Pirates*, 9.



Map 2 Bias Bay and the Pearl River Delta

Once everything was set leaders would give the signal to attack. One group would storm the bridge and take control of the ship, another group would storm the engine-room, and a third group would keep the passengers at bay. The rich passengers, both Westerners and Chinese, afterwards were taken ashore in Bias Bay where they were held for ransom. [1]

These piracies were well-organized, professional heists, which often involved bosses from among the business tycoons in Macao and Hong Kong. Most of the hijackings were organized by professional crime syndicates in which piracy was a big business. Nonetheless, piracy was but one of several illegal activities that the syndicates were involved in; they also engaged in prostitution, gambling, money-laundering, loan-sharking, arms sales, and trafficking drugs. These syndicates, which were headquartered in Hong Kong and Macao, were established “along sound business lines, replete with boards of directors”. The foreign press, perhaps in an attempt to sensationalize their stories, claimed that attractive Chinese women headed several of the syndicates. [2]

The pirates of Bias Bay became so infamous in the West at the time that

[1] See, for example, CO129/410/419, 411/199; 411/263; 496/368; and New York Times, 7 December 1885.

[2] A.D. Blue, “Piracy on the China Coast”, *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 5 (1965), 77.

they were not only frequently mentioned in newspapers and magazines, but were also featured in popular novels and movies. M. Sheridan Jones' fictionalized account, *The 'Shanghai Lily': A Story of Chinese Pirates in the Notorious Regions of Bias Bay* (1935) and the American film, *China Seas* (1935), popularized and dramatized the Chinese pirates for a Western audience. Another novel, which even included photographs of captured pirates (see Figure 3) and their victimized ships and sailors, depicted the pirates as "Vampires". The author, who called himself Bok, claimed that the horrific episodes and activities of the pirates he depicted in his novel were true, but only the names of the pirates were fictitious. [1]

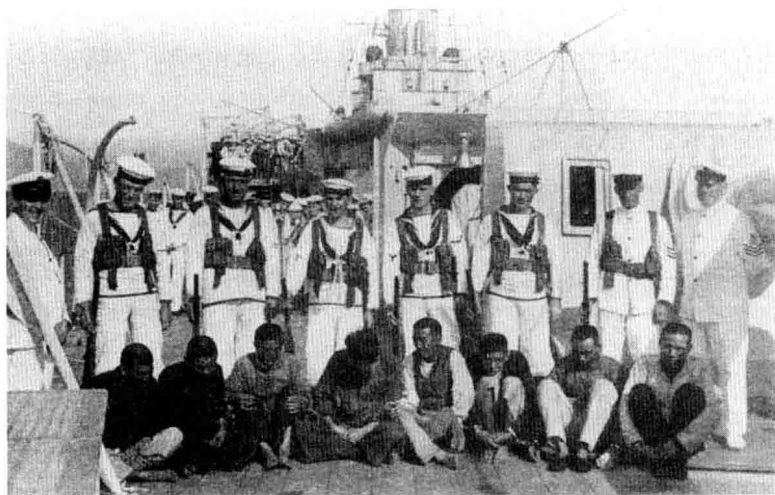


Figure 3 Captured Bias Bay Pirates aboard a British Warship

2

While some pirates seem to have specialized in attacking steamships, still the majority of attacks was made, as always, against native fishing and trading junks sailing the coastal waters of Guangdong, Fujian, and Zhejiang. In Table 1, which is a sampling of piracy cases along the South China coast between 1874 and 1894, only seven cases involved attacks on Western vessels, including four hijackings, while seventeen cases involved attacks on Chinese vessels, and did not include hijackings. In November 1881, for instance, off Lantao Island near Hong Kong a gang of six pirates robbed a small passage

[1] Bok, *Vampires of the China Coast* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1932).

boat operated by a widow named Lai Tsat Sing. The leader of this gang was Wong Afuk, who owned a small fishing boat registered in Hong Kong. ^[1] In the next year the Chinese government reported an increase of piracy along the Fujian coast. Even the leper colony on Coloane Island south of Macao was repeatedly plundered by gangs of pirates in 1885. In one instance, a gang stole money, women's clothing, and 160 *cates* of rice. ^[2] In another case in 1891, a gang of pirates, based on the Ladrones or Pirate Islands at the mouth of the Pearl River and led by a man named He Faduo, repeatedly plundered local shipping in the vicinity of Macao. ^[3] Around the same time a number of other incidents of piracy were reported further north along the coast. For example, in that same year, the *New York Times* reported that a gang of Chinese pirates brutally murdered the crew and plundered a Chinese cargo junk near Amoy (Xiamen). ^[4] According to the information in the table, Chinese pirates not only robbed ships but also pillaged coastal villages, such as the attack on Tai-tam Village in late November 1881, in which a Sikh constable was killed.

Table 1 Reported Piracies on the South China Coast, 1874~1894

Date (dd/mm/yy)	Place of Attack	Pirates	Victims	Particulars
22/08/74	between Canton and Macao	pirates disguised as passengers	river steamer <i>Spark</i>	hijacking; captain and several officers killed
26/08/75		Chan Ahong and about 10 other pirates	Hong Kong-registered junk <i>Yau-li</i>	
23/09/75	near Matsou (off Fujian coast)	Chinese crew mutinied	German schooner <i>Anna</i>	killed foreign captain and mate
24/03/76	on route from Vietnam to Hong Kong	pirates disguised as passengers	steamer <i>Pelican</i>	hijacking; 10 persons killed
29/04/76	near Cape D'Aguilar, Hong Kong		Chinese fishing junk	9 sailors killed

[1] Gillian Bickley, ed., *A Magistrate's Court: Nineteenth Century Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Proverse Press, 2005), 380~385.

[2] Manuel Teixeira, *Taipa e Coloane* (Macau: Direcção dos Serviços de Educação e Cultura, 1981), 121~122.

[3] 《澳门宪报》(光绪 17 年 1 月 21 日), p. 187.

[4] *New York Times*, 11 November 1891.

(continued)

Date (dd/mm/yy)	Place of Attack	Pirates	Victims	Particulars
07/03/79	Macao harbor		Chinese fishing junk	captain killed
30/03/79	40 miles from Hong Kong		British barque <i>Elizabeth Childs</i>	hijacking
27/11/81	Hong Kong		Tai-tam Village	Sikh constable killed
28/11/81	off Lantau Island	Wong Afuk and 5 other pirates	Chinese passage boat	
28/11/81	off Coloane Island	5 pirates	Chinese boat transporting cattle	
28/11/81	off Pingzhou Island	3 armed pirates	Chinese boat transporting stones	
28/03/82	Hong Kong harbor		Chinese boat	
18/07/84	Guishan coast		Chinese junks and coastal villages	over 1,000 pirates captured by Qing soldiers; this case also involved secret societies
17/10/85	near Hong Kong	about 30 pirates disguised as passengers	British steamship <i>Greyhound</i>	hijacking
06/01/86	Guangdong coast		Chinese boats and coastal villages	
05/08/88	near Hengqin Island		Chinese boats and coastal villages	
06/11/89	Guangdong coast near Macao	leader named Huang Zhong	Chinese boats and coastal villages	
19/04/90	Guangdong coast		Chinese junk	captain killed
08/07/90	off Macao		Chinese junk	
11/12/90	Pinghai Bay	40~50 pirates disguised as passengers	coastal steamer <i>Namoa</i>	hijacking; captain killed
12/03/91	Guangdong coast near Macao	pirate leader named He Faduo	steamer	
—/11/91	off Xiamen		Chinese cargo junk	ship plundered and crew killed

(continued)

Date (dd/mm/yy)	Place of Attack	Pirates	Victims	Particulars
29/03/93	off Macao		Chinese boat	
115/11/93	off Hengqin Island		Chinese boat	
24/10/94	Fujian coast		Chinese trading junk and coastal villages	several people killed

Sources: 《清实录广东史料》(Vol. 6), 《澳门专档》(Vol. 1), *Events in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong, 1885), and Gillian Bickley, ed., *A Magistrate's Court: Nineteenth Century Hong Kong* (Hong Kong, 2005).

During this period a number of gangs of Chinese pirates operated from bases located in the vicinity of Hong Kong and Macao. In the late 1860s and 1870s, Deep Bay (Shenzhen Bay) was a well-known pirate haunt located on the busy sailing route between Canton and Hong Kong. To the west of Macao, on the tiny islands of Gaolan and Beishui, pirates built shelters, settled their families, and conducted trade in stolen goods. From these two islands they also launched raids on coastal villages and plundered passing ships. The problem became so troublesome that in 1866 the British and Chinese governments sent several naval expeditions to eliminate the pirates in the area. But afterwards the pirates returned and the islands remained danger zones for many more decades. ^[1] Coloane and Hengqin Islands, as in the past, also continued to serve as notorious pirate haunts throughout this period. In 1872, for instance, Chinese soldiers attacked pirate hideouts and burned down several villages on these islands. Five suspected pirates were taken to Coloane and summarily hanged, despite the protests of local residents. Soon afterwards the Portuguese built a fort on Coloane, ostensibly to protect the islanders from pirates. ^[2]

The sensitive issue of Chinese sovereignty, however, became an important factor in 1910 in a major international incident involving pirates on the island of Coloane. The incident also provided the Portuguese with an excuse to fully incorporate the island into their enclave of Macao. In the early twentieth century, Coloane, in particular, was a contested territory at the center of a bitter controversy between the governments of China and Portugal concerning which country had jurisdiction over the island. As a result of the unclear jurisdictions, the

[1] CO129/113/202.

[2] Teixeira, *Taipa e Coloane*, 45.

island became a refuge for pirates, smugglers, and other malcontents seeking a safe haven free from the close scrutiny of either government. [1]

In the summer of 1910, gangs of Chinese pirates, who were likely closely connected with the local fishing communities on the island and who were also possibly connected with secret societies in the region, kidnapped for \$ 35,000 ransom about twenty school children from Xinning County on the West River, further up the Pearl River Delta. Some accounts claim that some of the children were Catholics. Many of the children came from well-to-do families who appealed to the Portuguese government in Macao for help. [2] In response, in July, the government sent gunboats and soldiers to the island, and after a fierce battle and several skirmishes that lasted weeks, the Portuguese declared a victory. The Chinese government also sent gunboats, but they do not seem to have actively participated in the military campaigns. Many pirates, as well as several island villagers, were killed, several suspected pirates were arrested, and the children were rescued. However, a number of pirates were able to escape to Macao, Hong Kong, and elsewhere during a storm. Some time later, police in Hong Kong arrested one of the pirate chieftains, Leong In Chan. [3]

Despite protests from the Qing government, Portugal insisted that their presence on Coloane was needed to protect the island and surrounding areas from pirates. The Portuguese therefore stayed and the island became a part of Macao. Today on the island at the head of St Francis Xavier Square is a stone monument that was erected by the government of Macao to commemorate the victory over the pirates. (See Figure 4) For many local villagers on the island, even to today, the Portuguese attack resulted in the “massacre” of many innocent villagers and fishermen, not only pirates.

Although pirates rarely attacked Western ships directly, nonetheless, one particularly noteworthy case was the capture in October 1854 of the Chilean brig *Caldera*, bound for California. Besides the English captain and American supercargo, there were two passengers and a crew of seventeen sailors of mixed nationality. Among the passengers was a French woman, Fanny Loviot, who later wrote about her harrowing experience in a popular adventure book called *A Lady's Captivity Among Chinese Pirates*, first

[1] 《明清时期澳门问题档案文献汇编》(1999), 4: 113, 286, 569, 592; and Manuel Teixeira, *Os piratas em Coloane em 1910* (Macao: Centro de Informação e Turismo, 1977), 5.

[2] *A Verdade*, 21 July 1910.

[3] 《申报》28 July 1910; *A Verdade*, 14 July 1910; and *Vida Nova*, 17 July 1910.