

SUN YAT-SEN

TWO COMMEMORATIVE ESSAYS

JEN YU-WEN and LINDSAY RIDE



Centre of Asian Studies
UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG

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JEN YU-WEN and LINDSAY RIDE



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簡又文、賴廉士：紀念孫中山的兩篇文章

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Centre of Asian Studies Occasional Papers and Monographs

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The Centre of Asian Studies is established to provide a focal point for the activities of the University of Hong Kong in the areas of East and Southeast Asia, research assistance to scholars in these fields and with special reference to Hong Kong, and physical and administrative facilities for research, seminars, and conferences dealing with both traditional and modern aspects of Asian Studies.

FOREWORD

Commemorative and eulogistic essays are not usually included in the publication programmes of research centres, one might reasonably argue, and thus the present booklet requires some explanation, that is, a foreword.

Sun Yat-sen was the founder of the Chinese Republic; around him has grown a body of literature... and the growth of a legend. The materials of this literature and legend are an essential part of the raw material of modern Chinese history. For such an important subject the scholar must have the whole; it is for him to select and evaluate, but he can do this only if the stories are available, if the data has not been pre-selected. It is in this spirit that the Centre of Asian Studies has decided, after consultation with experts on the life of Dr Sun, to make available a collection of the key stories in sequential form as gathered by a family friend who is, at the same time, a scholar of Chinese history. Again in this spirit, the viewpoint of a former Dean of Dr Sun's own medical faculty is published not only as a tribute to Dr Sun but also to provide scholars with a further relevant assessment of the man and his work.

But this publication is, we must confess, an essentially Hong Kong University contribution. Dr Sun was, after all, the first graduate of our predecessor college and thus, by a jump which any Alumni Association secretary will understand, our first and most famous alumnus. The two authors have long and close associations with the University; Mr Jen Yu-wen as an honorary fellow of the Institute of Oriental Studies and now as an associate-in-research of the Centre of Asian Studies, Professor Sir Lindsay Ride, C.B.E., E.D., M.A., D.M., L.L.D., J.P., as Dean of the Medical Faculty and for many years Vice-Chancellor. Mr Jen, as author of a standard history of the Taiping, is an historian of high standing; Sir Lindsay Ride, in addition to his scholarly work in medicine, has recently made several substantial contributions to local history, particularly in his study of

James Legge and by his research on Macao.

Another useful task a research Centre such as this can perform is to bring together research material in a convenient form. Many of the stories in Mr Jen Yu-wen's essay, for example, have appeared before--but in Chinese. Sir Lindsay Ride's paper did appear in abbreviated form in an Asian medical journal.

For these several reasons the Centre is very pleased to be able to make available these two essays written to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the birth of Dr Sun Yat-sen.

Frank H.H. King
Director, Centre of Asian Studies

September, 1970

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THE YOUTH OF DR. SUN YAT-SEN

Jen Yu-wen

THIS ESSAY comprises a number of anecdotes of Dr. Sun Yat-sen in his youth, some being stories of his boyhood life and others being events of his student life in Canton and Hong Kong.¹ The main sources of my information are three-fold: first, members of Dr. Sun's family;² second, people who have been very close to him, for example, his schoolmates; and third, some of his devoted and life-long followers.

It is hoped that this revelation will throw new lights on the obscure background toward a better understanding and interpretation of Dr. Sun's life and the history of the Chinese National Revolution which he led to success.

¹This essay in the present form was prepared in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's birth, November 12, 1965. Most of the material contained herein has appeared in a few Chinese articles of mine in the following publications:

- (a) "Kuo-min-ko-ming wen-hsien Ts'ung-lu" 國民革命文獻叢錄, in Jen Yu-wen, ed., *Kwang-tung wen-wu* 廣東文物 (Hong Kong, 1941), II, 100-102.
- (b) "Kuo-fu ti ch'ing-nien shih-ch'i" 國父的青年時期 in *Hsin Hsi-wang* 新希望 55-57 (Hong Kong, 1955).
- (c) "Ch'ing-nien shih-ch'i ti kuo-fu Sun Chung-shan hsien-sheng" 青年時期的國父孫中山先生, in *Teng-ta* 燈塔 5, (Hong Kong, Nov., 1956).

²My family has maintained friendly relation with the Sun's for three or four generations - mine three and the Sun's four. My father was a veteran revolutionist under Dr. Sun and I have been tutoring his son's, Dr. Sun K'o's children in his family and have been in government service under him for many years. Hence, I was privileged to have the opportunity of learning their family history from its various members.

Hung Hsiu-ch'üan, the Second

FOR THE students of Chinese modern history, it should be noted that there was a definite and close connection between the Taiping Revolutionary Movement (1851-1866) of which Hung Hsiu-ch'üan 洪秀全 was the leader and the National Revolution of 1911. Dr Sun was born on November 12, 1866, two years and four months after the recapture of Nanking from the Taipings by the Imperialists. In the same year the last remnant of the Taiping Army was entirely eliminated in Chia-ying-chou 嘉應州, Kwangtung (January 1866). After the total collapse of the Taiping Movement, some of its generals and supporters were fortunate enough to escape from the close round-up by the Imperialists. One of them returned to Choy-heng 翠亨, Dr Sun's village in the Hsiang-shan 香山 (now renamed Chung-shan 中山) district, Kwangtung, and became a teacher in the village school. A few years later when the dust had gradually settled down, he began to tell his neighbours and pupils about the deeds and ideals of the Taipings. Dr Sun in his childhood was amongst the enthusiastic listeners and was particularly fascinated by the heroic stories of how the revolutionaries fought against the Manchus for the recovery of the Empire. The effect of such tales on his whole life was clearly discernible. The seed of nationalistic revolution passed on from one generation to another through this process.

Ever since then he not only became a most ardent sympathizer with the Taiping Revolution but actually aspired to be the spiritual successor of the Taiping leader who had failed. He considered himself to be "Hung Hsiu-ch'üan, the Second", and was so called many years later when he actually assumed the leadership of the new revolutionary movement.³ Moreover, he was well versed in the history of the movement, expressing

³(a) Hu Ch'u-fei, 胡去非 *Sun Chung-shan hsien-sheng chuan* 孫中山先生傳 (Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1930), pp. 2f.

critical and sound views on it. There is no doubt that he drew the first inspiration for his career from the Taiping Revolution. Indeed, many of the veterans and leaders of the Chinese National Revolution, including President Chiang Kai-shek himself, were also profoundly influenced by the Taipings.⁴ Thus, historically speaking, it is reasonable to say that the Taiping Revolution and the National Revolution of 1911 formed a successive and continuous nationalistic movement, even in chronological order, without the gap of a single year.

Ideologically, Hung and Dr Sun had a common source in their social ideals. It is found in the chapter "Li-yün ta-t'ung" 禮運大同 of the Li-chi 禮記. Again, both had the identical purpose of overthrowing the Manchu regime to regain the Chinese Empire for the Chinese. It is true that whereas Hung attempted to build a new empire for himself, Dr Sun's ideal was to establish a republican form of government after the pattern of the Western democracies. Nevertheless, it is justifiable to conclude that the connection between the two great revolutionary leaders really has a significant meaning in the modern history of China.

(b) Ch'en Shao-pai 陳少白, *Hsing Chung Hui ko-ming shih-yao* 興中會革命史要 p. 5.

(c) Tsung-li nien-p'u ch'ang-p'ien kao 總理年譜長篇稿 (Chung-Yang tang-shih wei-yüan-hui 中央黨史委員會)

⁴

See my article, 'Wu-shih nien lai T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo shih chih yen-chiu' 五十年來太平天國史之研究 (Fifty years of studies on the history of the Taiping Tienkuo), in *Symposium on Chinese Studies Commemorating the Golden Jubilee of the University of Hong Kong*, (Chinese Department, 1964) I, 238-343, on statements bearing on the Taiping history by Dr Sun and other leaders of the National Revolution.

Early Boyhood

ACCORDING TO A Chinese platitude, "At the age of three, one's character for life is already determined." If there is any truth in it, a careful study of the boyhood of Dr Sun should throw much light on the character and achievements of his later life.

Dr Sun was the third son of Sun Ta-ch'eng 孫達成. His eldest brother was named Mei 眉, while his own name was Wen 文. The second brother had died early. The family was not well-to-do and the Suns were but a small clan in the village. They had to face hardships and to endure suffering. Frequently they were unjustly oppressed by the larger and richer neighbouring clans. Once Dr Sun's own mother was falsely accused of having stolen a chicken from another clan. After receiving much merciless abuse publicly, she was only saved from being severely punished when the thief made a very timely confession.

Under economic pressure, every member of the Sun family had to work hard to maintain their livelihood. Sun Mei, the eldest son, twelve years older than Sun Wen, was sent to the Hawaiian Islands at the age of sixteen to seek his fortune. The youngster Wen had to help his father in the fields. This social and economic background certainly had great influence on the future revolutionary leader, who throughout his life never forgot to bring justice and better livelihood to his people.

Young Sun did not have a chance to enter the village school until he was ten years of age. His teacher followed the traditional method of teaching by requiring the boys to memorize the lines from the classics without explaining the meaning of each character and each line to them first. The boy Sun, not satisfied with this blind process, frequently stood up to ask questions about the meaning of the text. It was taken as a rebellious and naughty act by the teacher, who threatened to beat him if he would not stop questioning. However, he soon found that his new pupil was an unusually bright and diligent boy who could master each

lesson after being taught just once. He could not help changing his attitude towards him - from hate to love. The boy Sun was such a conscientious student that he never absented himself from school for a single day. The teacher then saw great potentialities in him and paid special attention to give him instruction. As a result, within a short period he made great progress in his learning.

Typical of the peasantry all over China, Dr Sun's parents were very thrifty in every way. Whenever there was a bright moon shining at night their young son was required to study his lessons under moonlight. If the night was dark, an oil lamp was used, and only one piece of wick was allowed. Once his mother discovered that he luxuriously used two pieces of wick for the oil lamp, she immediately put a stop to it and admonished him most bitterly in the following words: "Why do you waste so much wick to study? You want to pass the government examinations in order to get a *hsiu-tsai* 秀才 or *chih-jen* 舉人 degree, eh?" Indeed, many scholars studying with two pieces of wick did obtain the academic degrees and might become viceroys or grand councillors under the Manchu Emperor, but who could ever foretell that the one who was restricted to the use of only one piece of wick would become the founder and first President of the Republic of China?

The boy Sun Wen used to do his homework in the evenings before going to bed. His habit of studying was not reading aloud, but humming quietly in a hushed voice - reciting lessons to himself. His power of concentration was already marvellous, for in the evenings the women-folk used to sit around playing dominoes, but their laughter and chatting never diverted the attention of the young scholar who was studying intensively beside them. Indeed, his profound interest in learning as displayed in boyhood characterized his whole life. He later admitted that books and revolution were his two dominant interests in life.

Boyhood: Sun Mei returns home

IN THE year 1878 when Dr Sun was thirteen years old, his elder brother Sun Mei returned from abroad to get married, for he had made good in farming in the Maui mountain district of Hawaii. One day a certain peddler, nicknamed "Bean Curd Hsiu" 豆腐秀, came to Choy-heng from a neighbouring village to sell fried bean curd. He settled down on a spot near a bamboo fence to start business. It happened that the boy Sun was playing with one of his friends on the other side of the fence. Attracted by the shouting of the peddler, the two youngsters peeped through the fence to see what was going on. Bean Curd Hsiu, a ruffian without any consideration for others' welfare, was displeased with the boys' action. Suddenly he filled a large spoon with boiling oil from the frying pan and threw it on the spot where the two boys were. Dr Sun's friend got hurt. Feeling very indignant over the cruel act, for it might have blinded or even killed his friend and especially when neither of them had done anything wrong to deserve such punishment, the boy Sun determined to exact vengeance on the brute. He ran away for a short distance and picked up a fair-sized stone and threw it at the peddler. It fell right into the earthenware pan and smashed it to pieces. Instantly the boiling oil with the bean curd splashed all over the ground. His whole business was utterly ruined, but young Sun's sense of justice was fully satisfied.

In a short time Bean Curd Hsiu found out who had caused his bankruptcy and rushed to the Suns' house to demand compensation. At first, mother Sun was very angry with her son and wanted to punish him severely for his mischievousness. But his elder brother Mei, although he was very straightforward, possessed a sense of justice. He suggested that they had better listen to the defendant's side of the story before passing any judgement on the case. Granted the opportunity to defend himself, the accused boy related to them the whole story. When the whole truth was at last revealed, they not only ceased blaming him, but, in turn, scolded the brutal

rascal with sharp words and threatened him with arrest for his malicious intention and action of hurting the youngsters. Bean Curd Hsiu was defeated; without a word in argument, "he sneaked away like a rat holding his head with two hands" — to use a Chinese set phrase.

This story reveals one of the fundamental characteristics of Dr Sun throughout his life. After relating the above story, his cousin further remarked that his sense of justice was unusually strong even in his boyhood. He was intolerant and uncompromising toward any evil and had an unconquerable will-power and fighting spirit to combat any oppressive force that caused suffering to human life. He never mistreated anybody by any act of injustice, but if any person he knew ever suffered any unjust or wrong treatment, he was sure to resist and retaliate on behalf of the victim, whatever it would cost him, no matter how long it would take and how far he would have to chase after the wrongdoer: he would stop at nothing until the wrong was righted and justice was done. This is fundamentally the revolutionary spirit innate in his nature.

Forty-seven years after the afore-narrated incident happened, he died in Peking leaving a will behind with the opening sentence in the following words: "I have dedicated myself to the National Revolution for forty years with the purpose of making China a country of freedom and equality." 余致力國民革命，凡四十年，其目的在求中國之自由平等。 In the light of the above story, one should understand the meaning of this line much more fully, for what he did to the Manchus and the war-lords was exactly the same in motive and nature as the treatment he accorded to Bean Curd Hsiu at the age of thirteen.

Now, with the wedding day of the elder son approaching, everybody in the household was busy making preparations for the grand ceremony. Mother Sun on a certain occasion sent her younger son Wen out to bring some water home from a pond outside the village. Young Sun, like any other lad of his age, loved to play more than to do that kind of hard labor. When he

was compelled to carry a bamboo stick across his shoulder with two pottery vessels hanging on each tip, he decided to rebel. As soon as he left the house for a short distance, he walked towards a stone-gate. He swung his body around a little and the front vessel was broken. Once more he turned around and the rear one fell into pieces. Mingled with nervousness and courage, he returned home with the bare bamboo stick in his hands - ready to face the consequences. Just before his angry mother was going to sentence him to punishment for his mischief, again his fairminded elder brother, the bridegroom-to-be, came in time to mediate by insisting on giving him a trial first. He asked him why the vessels were broken: "Was it due to some kind of accident?" The honest boy did not lie to them by giving any kind of excuse that he could invent to cover up his misdeed, but stood erect with his chin up and confessed frankly that he did not like to do the hard labor and had broken them on purpose. The old lady and the righteous brother, though still lamenting over the economic loss of the two vessels, were touched by sympathy for the youngster and, moreover, were deeply moved by his honesty. As a result, he not only gained their pardon, but also exemption from such kind of irksome work thereafter.

That simple virtue of honesty pervaded throughout Dr Sun's life as the leader of the National Revolution. For this reason, during those struggling years, his loyal followers were ready to give up their property and lives for the great cause without ever doubting or questioning his patriotism to the nation, his sincerity in purpose and honesty and unselfishness in his devotion to the great work of national salvation. They had absolute faith in him. If personal integrity is an essential qualification of leadership, he certainly had it, and it was discerned early in his boyhood.

Shortly after his marriage, Sun Mei returned to Hawaii and young Sun Wen stayed at home to continue his Chinese studies. About this time, he had a tragic accident. On New Year's Day, a number of the villagers gather-

ed around a street corner indulging themselves in petting gambling. One fellow had the luck of winning a number of cash [i.e. copper coins] from the others. The boy Sun stood by to watch for fun. After some time, his kind heart and helpful spirit prompted him to give a warning to that lucky fellow that he better stop lest he would lose all his gains. The winner took no heed of the kind advice of the lad and continued to play. Soon he did lose every cash including his original capital; just as the boy Sun predicted. He, however, got mad at Sun on whom he laid all the blame for the change of his luck. Subsequently, he dealt him violent blows, which made the boy Sun unconscious for three hours before he could rise up and return home. Throughout his life this sort of kindness, helpfulness and compassion were very prominent in his nature, and not infrequently he received the same kind of return.⁵

Studies abroad

ONE YEAR later (1879) at the age of fourteen, Dr Sun was sent to Honolulu to study. This was financed and arranged by his elder brother Sun Mei. He first entered a boarding school in Iolani - an English missionary institute under Bishop Alfred Willis. He graduated after three years of stay. Then, he transferred to the St Louis College (of high school standing). By that time he was converted to the Christian faith and expressed the desire to be baptised. But as soon as his elder brother and his folks at home learned of his intention, they unanimously raised serious objections. He was forced to return to China before the sacrament was administered. He was then eighteen. (1883).

Shortly after his arrival at home, the young man Sun committed a most daring act of iconoclasm. One day he took a little boy of his own clan to

⁵All the above stories in Dr Sun's boyhood were related to me personally by the late Madame Ch'en 陳夫人 Dr Sun's first cousin and Dr Sun Fo's [Sun K'o] mother-in-law, and endorsed and supplemented by her daughter, Mrs Sun Fo. The comments are mine.

visit the local temple of the Northern God which was the patron-god of the villages in that locality. He told the youngster that if the idol were really a living being as alleged and believed by its worshippers, there should be flesh and blood in his body. "Let us examine the case and see for ourselves if it is true," he suggested. So, the two together broke an arm of the idol and threw it away after finding that there was nothing in it but dry wood. Then, they went home quietly but triumphantly and satisfied. It took little time for the villagers to find out that it was the "Little Foreign Devil" (as he was so nicknamed now) who did it. They gathered together in his home and demanded compensation for the mutilated idol and due punishment to the infidel. His mother had to pay an indemnity fund of ten taels of silver to repair the damage besides special offerings to the offended god in order to settle the case. After a short while Sun Wen could not stand much longer the unceasing murmurings and complaints of his folks and fellow-villagers, so he left home for Hong Kong. It may be of interest to point out that this was another remarkable coincidence in the early lives of Sun Wen and Hung Hsiu-ch'uan, the two revolutionary leaders of China, both of whom started their careers as iconoclasts and were driven away from home for offending the local deity. One should understand that in that age of superstition the defiance of the supernatural authority which was dominating the lives of the people was nothing short of a really revolutionary act.⁶

Student life in Hong Kong

UPON ARRIVAL at Hong Kong in 1884, the young scholar Sun entered the Diocesan Boys' School. An amusing incident happened about that time. While visiting Kowloon one day, he saw a man selling quack medicine on a street drawing a crowd around him. He boasted of the miraculous efficacy of his goods with

⁶ Also told by the late Madam Ch'en.

eloquence. Sun Wen for fear that the listeners would be fooled by him, frankly and boldly exposed his false remedy before the crowd, warning them that the quack medicine would do harm instead of good to anyone who would buy and take it. The seller, becoming a laughing stock under his ridicule, got angry with him and picked up a stone threatening to break his leg which he would cure with his miraculous medicine. Sun by that time was wearing a Chinese blue gown with long and loose sleeves and was putting his hands behind with a short piece of sugar-cane in one hand. Hearing the intimidation he retorted with a counter challenge by raising his left hand with the sugar-cane concealed in the sleeve and said: "Suppose I would break your head with this revolver and let you heal your own wound with your own medicine, then it will prove its real effectiveness. How about it?" The quack believed it was a real weapon and dared not make any move. The case was at last settled peacefully when the listening crowd mediated, but the business of the quack for the day was spoiled. This incident shows the tactfulness of Dr Sun in meeting a emergency.⁷

In the following year Sun transferred to the Queen's College. An important event occurred in his life: that is, he had his long wish to become a Christian fulfilled. Rev. C.R. Hagar, founder of the American Congregational Church in Hong Kong baptised him under the newly adopted name "Yat-sen"⁸ 逸仙. He was attached to the Christian faith until death.

⁷ This story was first told by Wang Ching-wei 汪精衛 in 1925 and quoted in Lo Chia-lun 羅家倫, *Kuo-fu nien-p'u* 國父年譜, 2nd. ed. (Taiwan, 1959), I, 29f.

⁸ A Chinese translation of Rev Hagar's article narrating his relationship with Dr Sun in this period is published in the monthly magazine of the Chinese Congregational Church in U.S.A., 1912, and also reprinted in *Hsiang-chiang chi-tu-chiao-hui shih* 香港基督教會史 (The history of Christian Church in Hong Kong), edited by Liu Ylleh-sheng 劉學聲 under the title 'Kuan yü tsung-li hsin chiao chih chui shu' 關於總理信教之追述 (The story of the baptism of Dr Sun Yat-sun; Hong Kong, 1901)

In the same year, another important event took place. By order of his folks at home he returned to his native village to marry a maiden of the Lu 盧 family. That was the first Madame Sun who passed away in 1952 at Macao. She was a devoted Christian of the Baptist Church.

Even though being a married man now, his boyish spirit of restlessness and playfulness continued to break out from time to time. While still staying at home, he committed another act of iconoclasm. The object of his defiance this time was the goddess "Madame Golden Flower", the next door neighbour of the Northern God. He cut off one of the fingers of the idol which he carried home to show to one of his aunts that there was neither flesh nor blood in it and tried to convince her that it was not a real person. Once more as before, his folks had to pay a heavy fine. Again, he was forced to leave home for Hong Kong.

Becoming a revolutionist

IT WAS now 1885 when Dr Sun, aged twenty, made another trip to Hawaii in response to the urgent call of his elder brother who wanted his help in the management of his prosperous business. But, then, Sun Yat-sen was too profoundly interested in Christian evangelism to consider such an offer. He returned to Hong Kong in April next year. Seeing that there was no theological seminary there for the training of ministers, he decided to study medicine. At that time, the American missionary Dr John L. Kerr of the Canton Hospital 博濟醫院 was just opening a medical course for Chinese students. His pastor, Rev Hagar introduced him to Dr Kerr. Accordingly he was admitted to the hospital as a medical student, and, also, by virtue of his excellent English, he was enlisted as an assistant in translation and interpretation. Thus, he gained his education free of any charge for tuition, room and board.

During his stay in Canton, Dr Sun became acquainted with a young man by the name of Ch'eng Shih-liang 鄭士良 (According to one record Ch'eng

was also studying medicine in the same hospital.) He found out that his new friend was a leader of the Triad Society, a secret organization with a history of over two hundred years whose avowed object was to overthrow the Manchu regime and to restore the Ming dynasty. He cultivated a deep friendship with him and together they began to discuss plans of fomenting an uprising. Ch'eng pledged his loyalty to the revolutionary cause and promised to rally his fighting brothers in the Society under Sun Yat-sen's command when the revolutionary plan should materialize. Later, Ch'eng did carry out his promises and became one of his first generals, distinguishing himself in the campaign of Hui-chou 惠州, Kwangtung.⁹ Contemporary Chinese historians and Dr Sun's biographers generally mark this as the initial period of the national revolutionary movement. Many years later, the Canton Hospital, incorporated with the Lingnan University, was rechristened Dr Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hospital. In its front court yard a magnificent stone monument was erected with the Chinese inscription '革命運動策源地' (The Birthplace of the Chinese National Revolution). It is appropriate because its leader first became a revolutionist there.

Medical student and amateur revolutionist

THE NEXT year, 1887, the Alice Memorial Hospital in Hong Kong opened a regular medical college under the deanship of Dr James Cantlie with better equipment and more instructors than the Canton Hospital. It was called "The College of Medicine for Chinese, Hong Kong" 香港西醫書院. Dr Sun transferred his enrolment there in its first class of some thirty students. He used his literary name "Yat-sen" in the matriculation. Henceforth, he was known by that name in the Western world. In

⁹ 'Ch'eng Shih-liang shih-llieh' 鄭士良事略 in Feng Tzū-yu 馮自由 Ko-ming i-shih 革命逸史 (The anecdotes of the National Revolution; Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1921), I, 37 - 39.

1892, at the age of twenty-seven, after five years of continuous study there he and another Chinese graduated with diplomas.

On being admitted to the Medical College, Dr Sun's tuition fees and personal expenses were at first remitted to him by his elder brother, Sun Mei, from Honolulu. In 1888 the owner of the firm of A.S. Watson in Hong Kong, of John D. Humphreys, was taken seriously ill and was treated by Dr James Cantlie of the Medical College. Dr Cantlie chose two of his best students to be night nurses *gratis*; Dr Sun was on duty in the first part of the night and Kong Ying Wah (Chiang Ying-hua 江英華), his fellow classman, served on the latter part--both performing the functions most satisfactorily in shifts. When the sick man got well, to show his gratitude and satisfaction, he donated a scholarship, known as the Watson Scholarship to the Medical College. Subsequently, it was decided by the College authorities that both Sun and Chiang should be allotted a free tuition scholarship and monthly expenses of ten to twenty dollars out of the donated fund. Henceforth, neither of them were wholly dependent on support from their families for the rest of their college days or until they both graduated together in the same class as the first alumni of the institution.¹⁰

Dr Sun was a very diligent student through out the five years in the Medical College. He used to study medical books in the day time and Chinese classics and history in the evenings, for he engaged a Chinese scholar to tutor him in his Chinese to make up his handicap. He got up frequently at midnight to read Chinese books. He was especially fond of two translated works: one was Charles Darwin's work on evolution and the other a history of the French Revolution. These two books

¹⁰This story was related to Professor Ch'eng Tzū-yll of Singapore by Dr Chiang Ying-hua 江英華 and recorded in his *Ch'eng Tzū-yll shih-wen-chi* 鄭子瑜詩文集 (Collection of poems and essays of Ch'eng Tsū-yll) 3rd. ed., (World Book Co., Singapore, 1958), p. 11.

had a tremendous influence on his ideology.¹¹

Dr Sun was in possession of a complete set of the histories of the twenty-four dynasties of China. Some of his classmates suspected that the set of standard works was purchased and placed by his bedside in the dormitory merely for ornamental purpose. They were apt to make it an object of mockery. One of them, Dr Ho Ylln-wen 何允文, decided to make a personal test. On one occasion, he casually pulled out a volume from the book shelf and quizzed the owner on certain points contained therein. To his utter astonishment, he found that Sun could give the right answer to every question he asked. Then, everybody was convinced that he did study them all--and thoroughly, too.¹²

While in Hong Kong, Dr Sun unceasingly bought all sorts of books he was interested in. This proved to be a lifelong hobby. Occasionally when he was hard up financially, he nevertheless continued to purchase. Bookstore-keepers had known him well enough to let him take what he wanted on credit. As soon as he received remittances from his elder brother Sun Mei in Honolulu, the first thing he did was to go directly to the various bookshops to clear up the accounts, and the next thing was to give a dinner party to his friends.¹³ (Sun Mei was at this time getting more prosperous in business. He was responsible for his brother's expenses--including the marriage expenditure and his educational fees. Later, he became one of the most enthusiastic and generous supporters of the revolutionary movement. It is estimated that all in all he had given away about three quarters of a million American dollars for the cause.)

¹¹Told by the late Kwan Hsin-yen. 關心焉

¹²Told by Liang Han-ts'ao 梁寒操, ex-Secretary General, Legislative Yuan, National Government.

¹³Told by Dr Kwan Hsin-yen.

Serious as he was in his studies, Dr Sun was very liberal and generous in his gifts and entertainment to his friends and schoolmates. Moreover, he always retained those boyish qualities of jolliness, playfulness and a sense of humor. He made use of every opportunity for the outlet of his surplus-energy, or extra vitality. There were no infrequent rough-housings in the dormitory where he lived together with his schoolmates one of whom being Ch'en Shao-pai 陳少白, his closest friend. (Ch'en stayed in the College for only one term and later became an arch-supporter of the revolutionary movement.) They used to fight with pillows and threw things at one another. Occasionally some of the things missed their targets and flew straight out of the window landing on the courtyard of the adjoining Chinese Church. The old pastor, Rev Wang Yü-ch'u 王煜初 (father of Dr Wang Ch'ung-hui 王寵惠, the late President of the Judicial Yuan of the National Government), was so disturbed once that he had to register a personal complaint to the Hospital authority when he found a broken oil-lamp in the churchyard.¹⁴

The most interesting story told about his student life is how he played a practical joke on a friend on the occasion of the marriage of one of his schoolmates, Kwan Hsin-yen 關心焉. According to the traditional Chinese custom, after the solemn wedding ceremony was over, the so-called "desk-brothers" 案兄弟, or close friends of the bridegroom, were free to gather together in the bed-room of the newly wedded in the evening to tease the bride. Sun knew that the young Mrs Kwan was a native born Chinese of Hawaii. He secretly whispered to a friend present in English persuading him to ask the bride to repeat in the Hawaiian language the number "11". That fellow innocently did as suggested and the bride also innocently complied with the request. But as soon as the word was uttered from her mouth, everybody broke out in hilarious laughter, for that word sounded exactly like cursing in Cantonese. Then, that

¹⁴ Ibid.

fellow, knowing that he had been made the agent for the joke, wanted to get even with the author and began to chase after him, thus creating a commotion in the house bearing the intensity of a riot. Nevertheless the evening ended with extraordinary joy for everyone present, leaving a sweet memory for over a half century with, for instance, the younger brother of the bridegroom, Dr Kwan Hsin-min 關心民, who told me the story.¹⁵

The Kwan family had returned from Hawaii, and Mother Kwan, having been born there, was well educated in English. By that time she was engaged in the Alice Memorial Hospital as an interpreter. Her two sons were studying medicine there with Sun Yat-sen whom she saw frequently. They became very friendly in such close relationship besides the fact that young Sun also returned from Hawaii. She was very hospitable to him in her home. He often visited them being treated as a most welcome guest. She loved his jolly nature and playful spirit but could not help being somewhat astonished by his highly idealized and radical talks of political nature. Once she asked him face to face: "You cherish such noble ambition and indulge in such high talk; tell me, what office in the government do you seek, the viceroy of a province, eh?"

"No," he replied.

"Then, you want to become a plenipotentiary?"

Again, the answer was "No!"

"Then, you intend to become an Emperor," she impatiently exclaimed.

Upon this, the young revolutionist Sun in all seriousness opened his heart and revealed his noble ideal to her in the following words: "No, No. I don't want to be any of these, but my object is to overthrow the Manchu regime and to restore the lost empire which originally and rightfully belongs to us Chinese." Lacking any political interest, the

¹⁵ Ibid.

old lady of course could not understand fully what he was driving at.¹⁶

In those years, Dr Sun, the amateur revolutionist, was not a lone dreamer. In the evenings he gathered around him a few young radicals sharing common political ideas frequently to talk together till late in the night. Their favorite subject of discussion was how to engineer the national revolution. One of them was Ch'en Shao-pai 陳少白, his old roommate (who had left the College). The others were Young Ho-ling 楊鶴齡 and Yu Lieh 尤烈. Later, these four characters were nicknamed "The Four Big Outlaws" 四大寇 of the revolution.¹⁷

From empty talk, wishful thoughts and idealistic dreams these four young radicals gradually began to conceive the idea of taking action to carry out their revolutionary theories. Could they start an effective revolution without rifles and bombs? They thought that they would be able to purchase rifles, pistols, and even guns in large quantity easily from abroad, where they would raise enough funds for the uprising. As to bombs, they decided they had to manufacture them by their own hands without being able to purchase ready-made goods. Therefore, they concentrated on the project of bomb-making. Somehow, Dr Sun secured a secret formula for the deadly weapon. Very secretly and arduously he worked in the College laboratory day and night to make a bomb. One day he joyously reported to the other "Big Outlaws" that he had successfully made one. He produced a round ball-like object wrapped outside by long pieces of cloth which had been used by some women in binding their small feet. Mixed with joy and doubt they asked, "Will it work?" "Let us try it out as an experiment," replied the manufacturer. They rushed to the back part of the Hospital building. Dr Sun threw the ball-like object out of the

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Feng Tzū-yu 馮自由, "Hsing-chung-hui ssū-ta-k'ou ting-chiao shih-mo", 興中會四大寇訂交始末 in *Ko-ming i-shih* 革命逸史, I, 13-15.

window. When it landed on the street, a big sound was heard instantly and heavy smoke was seen covering half of the street. It worked! They had made a real bomb, but when they began to think of the consequence of the explosion, they began to get nervous. They immediately dispersed and hid themselves in dead silence. The explosion was so alarming that in a short time policemen and detectives rushed to the scene to investigate the mystery. They never could find out the cause of the event or the persons responsible for the unlawful act. In fact, it was not known to any person outside of the little group in the Medical College until fifty years later when the story was related to me by the younger Dr Kwan.

The revolutionary leader

AFTER GRADUATION in 1892, Dr Sun first went to practice in Macao. Owing to professional jealousy aroused by his success -- he was an expert in surgery, the local physicians made him uncomfortable and he found it difficult to practice there. The next year he removed his office to Canton. There, while continuing to cure sick people, at the same time he launched the national revolutionary movement to cure the sick nation. The ways and means he employed were not by manufacturing bombs but by organization, propaganda, and the actual direction of uprisings. The medicine he prescribed for the renovation and salvation of the Chinese nation was "San-min chu-i" 三民主義 or the "Three People's Principles". After failing in ten uprisings, he was finally successful at Wuchang, Hupeh, on October 10, 1911. Dr Sun was elected the Provisional President of the Republic of China by the Provisional Congress convened at Nanking. He was formally inaugurated on January 1, 1912, when the first central government was formed. The Manchu Emperor was at last forced to abdicate and after 266 years the whole country was restored to the Chinese.

Triumphal return to Hong Kong

THIS ARTICLE is appropriately concluded by the dramatic story of Dr Sun's triumphal return to Hong Kong in February 1923.¹⁸ By that time the former College of Medicine for Chinese, once attached to the Alice Memorial Hospital, had been incorporated into the University of Hong Kong. So Dr Sun naturally was the leading alumnus of the institution. The student body of the University extended a most hearty welcome to him whom they rightfully claimed their own first old boy. There Dr Sun made an impressive speech (summarized in the appendix, pp 21-22) in which he magnanimously and generously acknowledged his indebtedness to the Medical College and to the Hong Kong Government. For he gratefully remembered that he drew much of his inspiration to build up a new China from the able and efficient administration of the government here who had transformed this barren and deserted island into a prosperous port in a short period of less than fifty years. If that could be done in Hong Kong, why could not he and his compatriots could not do the same for China? Partly with that encouragement and example, he went forward for his revolutionary career. That was a very conscious reflection of his student life in Hong Kong. After his speech, Dr Sun was carried on the shoulders of a number of students from the University Hall amidst long and hearty cheers. It gave ample face to the University and the government here. If the Canton Hospital is the "Birthplace of the Chinese National Revolution", then, the University of Hong Kong should be called its cradle.

¹⁸ *China Mail*, February 20, 1923.

APPENDIX: *China Mail*, Tuesday, February 20, 1923

DR. SUN.

CHEERED AND CHAIRED

SPEECH AT UNIVERSITY.

"MY REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS."

The Great Hall of the University was crowded with students and visitors this morning when Dr. Sun Yat-sen addressed the gathering.

Mr. Edward Ho tung, Chairman of the University Union presided and others occupying seats at the dais besides Dr. Sun, who was accompanied by Mr. Eugene Chen, included the Hon. Mr. Claud Severn, C.M.G., L.L.D., Pro. Vice Chancellor, Lady Brunyate, Hon. Mr. P. H. Holyoak, Dr. T. W. Pearce, L.L.D. and Sir Robert Ho tung.

Dr. Sun, who arrived with Sir Robert, was greeted with vociferous cheers on his arrival and his entry into the Hall was the signal for an enthusiastic demonstration. The students remained standing for several minutes waving their hats and loud cheers were intermingled with the tapping of canes.

All the speeches were frequently punctuated with applause and Dr. Sun seemed visibly moved by the receptions accorded him.

When the proceedings concluded a number of undergraduates rushed the dais and "chaired" Dr. Sun outside into the grounds where a photograph was taken.

"A GREAT CHINESE."

Introducing Dr. Sun, Mr. Edward Ho tung said that it was a privilege to be able to ask Dr. Sun to give an address and it was no less good fortune that he had kindly consented to their request. "Words were not necessary to introduce Dr. Sun whose

name was synonymous with that of China. His experiences, if recorded in book form would no doubt, form one of the most interesting romances one could read. If the love of liberty were a test of greatness, if the love of country were a test of greatness, if the love of one's people were a test of greatness, then Dr. Sun would be associated with the name of greatness itself." Dr. Sun was a graduate of the Hongkong College of Medicine from which the University arose. It had been the wont of his teachers to say that they gave him the greatness but he was inclined to believe that greatness could not be given—it was inborn. And because of that they had before them "a great Chinese, a true gentleman and a large-hearted patriot."

HON. MR. SEVERN'S REMARKS.

In the absence of the Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Ho Tung called upon Dr. Claud Severn to make a few remarks, before asking Dr. Sun to address them.

The Hon. Mr. Severn said that after the remarks of Mr. Edward Ho tung there was little left for him to say but he was sure they all appreciated Dr. Sun's kindness in coming there that morning, which was a great honour in view of his short stay in Hongkong. After stating that the absence of the Vice-Chancellor on such an occasion was to be regretted, Mr. Severn said that Dr. Sun has come here because he was not only one of the pupils of the College of Medicine from which the University had sprung but he believed he was the first to enter and to study under Sir Patrick Manson and Sir James Cantlie, who had done a great deal for health and medical science in the Colony a number of years ago. Mr. Severn also mentioned that he had met Dr. Sun before he came here and he had always hoped that the occasion would arise to enable him to renew his acquaintance. He concluded by extending to Dr. Sun the best wishes of the University.

DR. SUN.

IDEAS BORN IN HONGKONG.

Dr. Sun, on rising to address the gathering was greeted by another prolonged round of applause. He said that he felt a great delight in meeting the students of the University. He felt that he was returning home for this Colony and this very University were his intellectual birthplace. Today he felt at home to talk. As he was in a hurry, he had had no time to prepare a speech. However, he would like to answer certain questions which were always put to him. He had been asked these questions more than a thousand times, but hitherto, had no opportunity to answer. He thought that many of them would like to ask the same question and to day he was in a position to answer. The question was where and how he got his revolutionary ideas? (Laughter). He got the revolutionary idea in this very place, in the colony of Hongkong. (Applause) and he was going to tell them how he got the idea.

OUR OBJECT LESSON.

More than thirty years ago, he was studying in the College of Medicine in Hongkong. During his studies after his schoolwork, after his lectures, after his book-reading, he used to stroll the streets of Hongkong. The city of Hongkong impressed him a great deal then, the orderly crowd and the artistic work at every turn or look. When he studied in Hongkong, he had two vacations every year. During a vacation he returned to his country home in Heungshan, where he stayed each time for several weeks. Every time he left Hongkong he felt the difference. Each time he arrived home he had to be his own policeman, his own protector. The first thing he had to do was to look after his rifle to see how much ammunition was left; he had to prepare for accidents at night.

(Appendix continued)

Year after year that happened to him and he began to compare both places. It was not very far from here to his home, which was fifty miles away. He thought of the beautiful streets, the artistic parks, and wondered why Englishmen could do such a thing on this barren rock within seventy or eighty years. Why could not China, in the last four thousand years, have a place like this? After he had studied all that, he went home to persuade his village elders. The elders approved of his ideas and during his vacations he offered himself to sweep the streets. (Applause.) Many young men followed him in the way so they began work outside the village. He spoke to a very sympathetic magistrate who also agreed with him but his holiday was up. The magistrate promised that in the next vacation, he would start work. Then next vacation came and he immediately called on him but found that he had been replaced by another magistrate who had paid \$50,000 for the post. Such cases, one after another, impressed him and he returned to Hongkong, not to study, but to take observations of the Hongkong Government.

He found that in Hongkong corruption was the exception, purity the rule. Things were quite the reverse in China, Chinese officials practised corruption as a rule. He proceeded to Canton where he found more corruption. After he finished his education, he took a trip to Peking and found it a hundred times worse than in Canton. His experience was that, after all, the village government was the purest in China.

CURING THE COUNTRY.

Then he began to talk with friends, many of whom were soldiers and sailors and he found out from them,

more and more, till at last, he was informed that good government in England and other European countries was not natural and did not grow up by itself. Something artificial must apply to it. In England the same corruption existed but, they said "we Englishmen loved liberty and changed the law." "That idea came into my mind. Why could we not change it?" They could imitate the same thing and change the government, to stop corruption. This idea, he studied in Hongkong outside of his lectures and education, during his study of medicine. He formed the opinion that human society was the most effective organisation as a government. Without a government, the people could not do anything and he saw that in China, they did not have a government. They were misgoverned for many, many centuries. Accordingly, immediately after graduating from the College of Medicine, he began to mingle with society more and he saw that it was necessary for him to give up his profession of curing men (applause) and spend his time curing the country (applause.)

"NOT FIGHTING FOR EXTREMES."

The answer to the question as to where he got the revolutionary ideas was—entirely in Hongkong. Of course after he became a revolutionary, people said all sorts of things about him, and people misunderstood that the Chinese revolution was only moderate as compared with European politics.

Dr. Sun went on to say that they were not fighting for extremes, they only wanted orderly and good Government. After many years the organisation fortunately succeeded in overthrowing the Manchu dynasty and establishing a republic in its place. He went on to speak of the obstacles the

republic had encountered in its twelve years of existence mentioning that the sufferings of the people were attributed to the revolution. The Republic meant everyone to be his own master, and their four hundred million people to be masters of their own.

NEW HOUSE FOR OLD.

He compared the replacing of the Monarchy by a Republic to building a new house in place of an old. He also mentioned the attempts of Yuan Shih-kai and the Manchu Emperor to re-establish the Monarchy. These were not the only interruptions to the progress of the Republic as they also had, after the fall of the Manchus to combat the Mandarin classes. During the twelve years they had first of all Yuan Shih-kai and now the Tutchuns with the military classes. Permanent peace could only be secured by the removal of their corruption and old ideals.

He declared that as soon as the Chinese had good Government they would be contented, instancing the million Chinese in the Straits Settlements and the six hundred thousand in Hongkong as examples of Chinese being contented and peaceful citizens under good Government. Dr. Sun concluded by saying to the students that they were studying in an English Colony and in an English University. They must therefore learn the English example of carrying good Government to every part of China.

Afterwards a group photograph was taken of Dr. Sun Yat-sen surrounded by the students in the grounds of the University. Outside the gates, as Dr. Sun was entering his motor car in company with Sir Robert Ho Tung, he was introduced to three American ladies, one of whom was Miss Jean S. Roosevelt, a cousin of the late President Roosevelt of the United States,

THE EARLY MEDICAL EDUCATION

OF

SUN YAT-SEN

Lindsay Ride*

THERE CAN hardly be a more fitting way of celebrating the centenary of the physical entry into this world of the Doctor Founder of the Republic of China, than by considering his subsequent scholastic entry into the new world of Western medical sciences.

Sun Yat-sen's elementary schooling in his old-fashioned Hsiang Shan 香山 village was, of necessity, based on the principles of the Chinese Classics, but when he moved to Honolulu it became international in its setting and consequently more general in its scope. Later, through his medical education in Canton and Hong Kong, which was entirely occidental in character and outlook, he gained the professional imprint which consisted of not merely the addition of mystic letters before and after his name; it was grafted on to his innermost self with which, fortunately, it was entirely compatible, and at no time did his inner self show any signs - to use a modern medical phrase - of rejecting the transplant. I feel sure that Sun Yat-sen - the Man, would welcome a critical appraisal, at this anniversary period, of his aims and achievements, and that Sun Yat-sen - the Clinician, would say to you physicians, "Examine my case systematically and

* An address given on the November 12th, 1965, at the 58th Annual Meeting of the Formosan Medical Association held at the College of Medicine, National Taiwan University, Taipei. The address was a part of the special centennial celebrations held to commemorate the birth of Sun Yat-sen. The author was for some years Dean of the Faculty of Medicine and, later, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Hong Kong, of which Sun Yat-sen's alma mater - the Hong Kong College of Medicine for Chinese - was the forerunner.

accurately, analyse your findings conscientiously and thoroughly, and draw your conclusions scientifically and honestly, and I shall have nothing to fear."

Such an appraisal may well become an act of homage, but we must remember that such acts, with eyes turned only towards the past, may have little more than sentimental value, unless we project the lessons they teach, into the future; for while it is true that Sun Yat-sen was successful in attaining his immediate objective - the overthrow of the Manchu regime - his ultimate goal has not yet been reached, and to achieve this, you, his successors, will need to use the same measure of faith and fervour that he employed.

Herein lies the value and importance of today's exercise, for it is only universal celebrations such as these, that can effectively recharge the batteries to drive the machine, geared to cope with the ever increasing and changing demands of modern progress.

Of this procedure Sun Yat-sen would thoroughly approve, for above all he was a scientific progressive.

Now, in reviewing the part his medical education played in his struggle to become the Father of his country, there is one fundamental question which we must first of all try to answer.

Was Sun Yat-sen a born reformer whose genotype needed but the passage of time in a favourable environment to develop its corresponding phenotype, or was his power to set a whole nation ablaze with new thoughts and new ways, due mainly to his educational processes? How much of his mighty achievements were due to nature and how much to nurture, how much to the seed and how much to the soil, how much to the planter and how much to the planted?

Later we shall refer briefly to his general education, but here I should like to consider particularly his medical student days when he came under the guidance and discipline of two separate groups of teachers,

born, educated and trained in two different Western countries.

Sun Yat-sen's first medical teacher was an American medical missionary, Dr John Glasgow Kerr, who, in nearly half a century of outstanding work in Canton, is said to have done more to earn the confidence and affection of the people of that city than any other foreigner in the second half of the last century.

Kerr was born on November 30, 1824, (almost exactly 141 years ago), of peasant stock of Scottish-Irish descent, in Adams County, Ohio, and not in Scotland as some writers state. Before he was barely six years of age, his mother was left a widow and he was brought up by his uncle in Lexington, Virginia; from 1840 to 1842 he attended what is now Denison University and there he embarked on his medical studies obtaining his M.D. degree from Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, in 1847. After a few years of medical practice in Ohio, he offered his services in 1853 to the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in America and was appointed to Canton, taking up his work there in 1854. On May 5 of the next year he took charge of the hospital of the Medical Missionary Society of Canton, and his association with this hospital was to last for well over forty years, to be terminated only by his death on August 10, 1901.

Kerr's medical work in the Canton community was monumental; he first of all consolidated the work of Dr Pearson of the English East India Company, who introduced Jennerian vaccination into China, at the same time shouldering a heavy load of the clinical work at dispensaries and at the Canton Missionary Hospital; he took a leading part in founding in 1886 the Medical Missionary Association - he was its first President from 1887 to 1889 - and the *China Medical Missionary Journal* of which he was an editor. For twenty years he laboured against much opposition, both professional and political, towards the establishment of the first mental hospital for Chinese, and this he succeeded in doing only a few years before his death. As early as 1866 he started a medical school in connection with the Canton Missionary

Hospital, prophesying at the time that a "regularly organized medical school in connection with the hospital is only a question of time." This project entailed translating many medical textbooks into Chinese and bringing many existing ones up to date, and much of this work was done by Kerr. In 1879 he opened the doors of the medical school to women students - a truly progressive step, for at that time there were only two other medical schools for women in the world - hoping that this would also stimulate interest in setting up a nursing profession, for up till this time all the nursing and feeding of hospital patients in Canton was done by members of the families of the patients.

This was the man under whom Sun Yat-sen began his medical studies in 1886; a man of lofty ideals who accomplished things, no matter what the opposition or the cost. Such a man also was his pupil.

Sun Yat-sen's sojourn under Kerr lasted for twelve months only, and then he moved on to Hong Kong to the newly established College of Medicine. There were a number of reasons for this change. In the British Colony he would have more freedom for the development of his radical ideas, as long as his presence did not embarrass the Hong Kong government; the Hong Kong College was an organized medical school whose courses led to a recognized diploma, and, last but not least, the Dean of the College was a man who already had won international fame for his researches in Amoy.

This was Patrick Manson, who was born in Aberdeenshire, Scotland, on October 3, 1844. He studied medicine in Aberdeen, took his M.B. and C.M. degrees in October 1865, and then obtained an appointment with the Chinese Maritime Customs through the help of his brother who was already in that service in Shanghai. It is of special interest to us here today that Patrick Manson's first posting was to Formosa as Customs Medical Officer in Takow, the home of our worthy Chairman. He arrived there in June 1866 and stayed until 1871, when he was transferred to Amoy, where he carried out his epoch-making researches into mosquito borne diseases. He resigned from the Customs

in 1883 to take up private practice in Hong Kong, where he spent much of his time rendering gratuitous services to the London Missionary Society's dispensaries and hospital. Soon he realised that one of China's great needs was a medical educational service of its own, for only a minute proportion of the youth of China, competent to undergo a course of medical training, could afford to go abroad to Europe or America to study. What China needed was a number of properly organized medical schools attached to Western hospitals, rather than the independent spasmodic training being given then by many of the medical missionaries like Kerr, scattered mainly along the China seaboard. This was all very good in its way but was only too often dependent on one man and even then the training was often only up to the dresser standard.

In June 1887 there came to Hong Kong another Scottish doctor, who happened to have had the additional experience of being on the teaching staff of the Charing Cross Hospital medical school in London. Dr James Cantlie was born on January 17, 1851, in Banffshire, Scotland, and took his medical degree at Aberdeen University in 1873. On his way out to the East, he said he began to wonder whether he would be able to start a medical school in Hong Kong, and by October 1886, he, Manson and a Chinese - Dr Ho Kai (Ho Ch'i 何啓), who had graduated in Aberdeen in both medicine and law - along with some other colleagues, founded the Hong Kong College of Medicine for Chinese. The preliminary and medical courses extended over five years and led to a diploma - Licentiate in Medicine and Surgery. Manson was appointed the first Dean of the College - which in itself was sufficient to guarantee its status - and when in September 1887 the first students were enrolled, it is no wonder Sun Yat-sen was amongst them, for this was the sort of advance that appealed to him. It was directly in line with his own ideas and his aims; it was what he was certain China needed.

Sun Yat-sen's course was consistently brilliant from the beginning to the end, but Manson was not present to see him receive his diploma at

the first graduation ceremony on July 23, 1892; he left Hong Kong in 1889 and Dr Cantlie took his place both as Dean of the College and as Sun Yat-sen's medical mentor. This latter role he continued to play even after Sun Yat-sen qualified and started a medical practice in Macao, for Cantlie later wrote:

I encouraged him especially in surgical work. When major operations had to be done, I went on several occasions to Macao to assist him, and there, in the presence of the Governors of the hospital, he performed important operations, requiring skill, coolness of judgment and dexterity.

It was a goodly journey to Macao by sea, and took me away a considerable time from my daily routine of work. Why did I go this journey to Macao to help this man? For the reason that others have fought for and died for him, because I loved and respected him. His is a nature that draws men's regard towards him and makes them ready to serve him at the operating table or in the battlefield; an unexplainable influence, a magnetism which prevaieth and finds its expression in attracting men to his side.*

This magnetic force was still active six years later when it drew Manson and Cantlie to the aid of their young friend when he was kidnapped and held a prisoner in the Chinese Embassy in London.

Whence came this magnetism, this determination to succeed, and this power to attract and hold loyal supporters? Was it due to nature or nurture? Was it an inherited gift or was it acquired from his teachers by diligence and industry in the class room and studious attention to the lessons he learnt in the world at large?

Such a character cannot be acquired, no matter how perfect the teachers. Here are some of the views expressed by Cantlie about his former pupil. He ended the Foreword of his book on Sun Yat-sen with this sentence:

My chief regret is that I have been able to paint so meagre a picture of a truly noble character.

* Quotations are from James Cantlie and C. Sheridan Jones, *Sun Yat-sen and the Awakening of China* (London, 1912).

In the book itself he commented:

Sun converted men to his standard and gained their confidence by his convincing honesty and unselfish patriotism.... I have never known any one like Sun Yat-sen; if I were asked to name the most perfect character I ever knew, I would unhesitatingly say Sun Yat-sen. In our house he was the most welcome of visitors; children and servants alike conceived a deep regard for him; his sweetness of disposition, his courtesy, his consideration for others, his interesting conversation, and his gracious demeanour attract one towards him in an indescribable fashion, and have led me to think of him as a being apart, consecrated for the work he had in hand.

That this was his real character and not an acquisition from foreigners is corroborated by a glance at the history of his boyhood. At a very early age, even before he had any experience of the world outside the Middle Kingdom, he was distressed by the poor conditions under which his peasant contemporaries were content to live, and this distress was intensified when he returned from spending the impressionable years between the ages of eleven and seventeen in schools and in his brother's business in Honolulu. Understandably he was no longer satisfied with life in his native village, and it was in Hong Kong that he went to finish his schooling, and it was there that he became convinced that to get rid of the Manchus was the only way to better the lot of his fellow countrymen.

It is doubtful whether he chose medicine as his profession merely in order that through its practice he could the more easily and successfully plant the seeds of revolution in the minds of his fellow countrymen or, as some writers claim, that he chose medicine as a cloak to cover his revolutionary preparations. If so it was a costly cloak and one which took an inordinate time to make. He may have chosen it as an additional means of helping his less fortunate brothers, but his medical prowess was no cloak, no bluff; it was real. Any medical qualification at a mediocre standard would have provided a cloak just as efficient as the one with distinctions and prizes which he earned with much toil and sweat; it would incidentally have left him much more time for his other work had he been merely a revolutionary. He was

primarily a devoted reformer, working for the betterment of his compatriots; his ambitions were not personal, nor did he thirst for the dictator's power, just for the sake of power and self aggrandizement.

Could Sun Yat-sen possibly have worked daily for years in the intimate association of his teachers in the surgical theatre, the out-patient department and the wards, without such keen observers as Kerr, Manson and Cantlie becoming aware of the fact that his scalpel was in reality a sword; his ward-lamp an incendiary torch, and his compassionate care of his patients a shield behind which he was in reality working for the destruction of others?

Surely Cantlie, who knew him better perhaps than any other foreigner, gave the clue to all this when he wrote:

For twenty years Sun Yat-sen has devoted every day and almost every hour of his life to one single object - the overthrow of the Manchu rule in China and the establishment of such representative Government as will ensure the people elementary justice, freedom from the extortions of corrupt mandarins, a free press, and facilities for education.

It is this second part of his objective, that remains to be fully attained.

Cantlie knew that Sun Yat-sen was a reformer by nature, and that his aim was to use the knowledge he gleaned and the social status he gained from the study of Western medicine, for the welfare of the Chinese masses; but this he also did with many other things Western. He studied the West, not to become an occidental, but to acquire from its learning what he considered would be most beneficial and most essential for the development of his plans for his own people in the East, and he imbibed Western knowledge, accepted a Western philosophy and adapted himself to Western ways without ceasing to be Chinese and without letting his foreign acquisitions interfere with or alter his one aim in life.

What then did his foreign medical education contribute to his monumental achievements? It certainly was not responsible for his radical character; that was his Chinese inheritance, and it was his experience in the foreign environments of Honolulu and Hong Kong that compelled his radical nature to

express itself in radical action. His medical training was an important link in this chain of events, an adjuvant in the mixture concocted by fate. It kept him in touch with the masses whom his sole aim was to help, and it trained him in a technique that was useful in any sphere of human relations.

He began his adult career as a saviour of the sick; he finished it as the saviour of the people; but even then evidence of his early rigorous medical training remained; for his methods, often radical, sometimes palliative, even homeopathic, were always dictated by what he believed to be in the best interest of those under his fatherly care, whether patients or populace.

This is the example he set; this is the road his followers too must tread, if they are to be faithful to his example and his memory, and to attain his goal.

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THE DEMOGRAPHY OF MALAYSIA, SINGAPORE AND BRUNEI

A Bibliography

by Saw Swee-Hock

The scope of this bibliography by the Professor of Statistics in the University of Hong Kong is restricted to works in the English language in the form of books, reports, command papers, ordinances, articles, and conference papers. In this long neglected and fast developing field an increasing number of publications are being issued. The purpose of Professor Saw's work with its 350 entries is to bring this material under bibliographical control.

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HONG KONG URBAN RENTS AND HOUSING

by W. F. MAUNDER

This is the first detailed study of rents, rent movements, and housing conditions of poorer families in Hong Kong to be made generally available for informed discussion. On any reckoning Hong Kong is one of the half dozen most densely populated spots on earth and its housing problems are of a magnitude to daunt the most optimistic of planners. Reliable, carefully collected factual data are a prime need and the Hong Kong Institute of Social Research, an entirely independent body free from any sectional interests, decided that this was an area of study which should be given top priority in its original research programme. Consequently it invited Dr. Maunder to design and supervise an investigation based on scientific methods of probability sampling. The present book now sponsored by the Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong, is the report on this survey in which the results are critically interpreted, with both their use and limitations presented in detail.

Apart from its direct value to Hong Kong, it is important as a case study in methods which have applications in other developing areas where the housing situation is markedly different from that of developed countries. A very full explanation is given of the sampling techniques and general methodology employed, which is collected in appendices not to disturb the main text.

Dr Maunder is Senior Lecturer in Economic Statistics at the London School of Economics and Political Science. The field work was carried out while he was teaching at the University of Hong Kong.

Centre of Asian Studies Series, No. 1 Hong Kong University Press, 1969 HK\$25.00

TS'AO YÜ 曹禺, THE RELUCTANT DISCIPLE OF O'NEILL AND CHEKOV

by JOSEPH S. M. LAU 劉紹銘

Dr Lau's essay considers four of Ts'ao Yü's major plays and is the first such study to undertake a comparative approach. His careful analyses of *Thunderstorm*, *Sunrise*, *The Wilderness*, and *Peking Man* not only place these plays in the context of Ts'ao Yü's development and the Chinese literary scene but consider their relationship to the relevant works and concepts of O'Neill and Chekov—the Hippolytus myth, the concern with the 'passing of an old order', psychic fear, and the kinship in futility of *Peking Man* and *Ivanov*. This is a significant, pioneering study.

The author was born in Hong Kong, received his doctorate in comparative literature from Indiana University, and is presently lecturer in English, Chung Chi College, the Chinese University of Hong Kong.

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