封面设计：孙伟伦
封面提字：蔡之庆

我的曾祖父孙眉

孙必胜 著



我的曾祖父孫眉

My Great-Grandfather SUN MEI

孙必胜 著
By Victor Sun

廣東省出版集團
广东人民出版社
·广 州·

图书在版编目（CIP）数据

我的曾祖父孙眉 / 孙必胜著.-- 广州 : 广东人民出版社, 2011.9
ISBN 978-7-218-07311-8

Ⅰ. ①我… Ⅱ. ①孙… Ⅲ. ①孙眉(1854～1915)－生平事迹 Ⅳ. ①K827=6

中国版本图书馆CIP数据核字(2011)第190468号

我的曾祖父孙眉
孙必胜 著
版权所有 翻印必究
出 版 人：金炳亮

执　　笔：陈迪秋　曲　辰
责任编辑：肖风华
责任技编：周　杰
封面设计：孙伟伦

出版发行：广东人民出版社
地　　址：广州市大沙头四马路10号(邮政编码：510102)
电　　话：(020)83798714(总编室)
传　　真：(020)83780199
网　　址：http://www.gdpph.com
印　　刷：广州市官侨彩印厂
书　　号：ISBN 978-7-218-07311-8
开　　本：787mm×1092mm　1/16
印　　张：31.5　　插　　页：2　　字　　数：550千
版　　次：2011年9月第1版　2011年9月第1次印刷
定　　价：98.00元
如发现印装质量问题，影响阅读，请与出版社(020-83795749)联系调换。
售书热线：(020)83790604　83791487　　邮购：(020)83781421

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特别鸣谢：

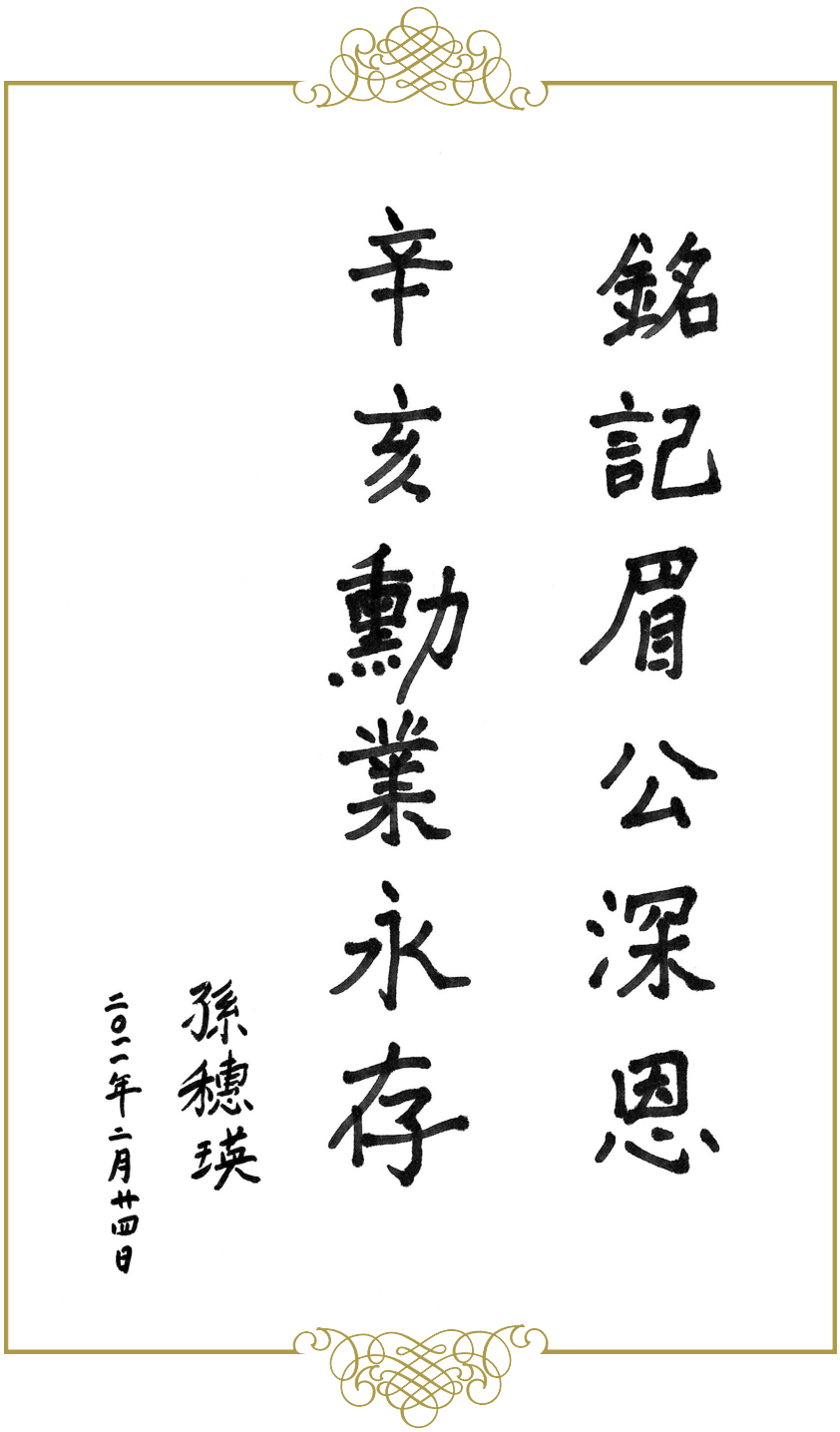
中山市人民政府



孙　眉

SUN MEI

（1854—1915）



孙穗瑛，孙中山孙女，孙科长女。出生于广州，毕业于美国卫理斯莱大学。

作者简介 *AUTHOR INTRODUCTION*



孙必胜 Victor Sun

祖籍中山市翠亨村。1938年出生在意大利，是孙中山长兄孙眉的曾孙。孙必胜1岁回国随父母在军中生活，辗转于东江等一带抗日战场。抗战胜利后，先后在广州真光、培正，澳门蔡高，香港培正等学校读书。1960年毕业于美国康乃尔大学土木工程系，1961年获美国斯坦福大学土木系工程施工管理硕士学位。是英国结构工程师学会会员，曾在香港、台湾、印尼、越南、中国大陆、美国等地担任建筑结构设计及房屋建设开发等工作，曾任越南香港商会会长。

近几年，孙必胜为潜心研究其曾祖父孙眉支持孙中山领导的民主革命的事迹，著书存史，特从美国回中山长期居住，对孙中山研究有极大热忱。现任中山市孙中山研究会名誉会长、中山市海外联谊会名誉会长、中山市华侨华人文化学会名誉会长及孙中山基金会顾问。

爱好体育运动，曾担任台湾网球总会总干事兼台维斯杯队队长、教练。退休后以高尔夫球锻炼身体。被选为2010广州亚运会中山市起步火炬传递最后一棒火炬手。

Victor Sun was born in Torino, Italy in 1938. A native of Cuiheng Village in Zhongshan, he is the great-grandson of Sun Mei, elder brother of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

Victor Sun spent his early childhood during the Sino-Japanese war following his parents throughout the Guangdong area due to his father's career in the military. He studied in Guangzhou, Macau, as well as Hong Kong. In his late teens, Sun went to the US, where he earned his Bachelor of Science degree in Civil Engineering at Cornell University and his Master of Science degree in Construction Management at Stanford University. He is a Chartered Engineer and member of The Institution of Structural Engineers in the UK.

Sun's early career focused primarily on structural engineering and design, with stints in Vietnam, Taipei and Hong Kong among other places, whereas he later became involved in property construction, development and venture investments in the US, China, Hong Kong and Vietnam.

A firm believer in the teachings of his forefathers patriotism and concern for the social welfare of people Sun has in recent years focused his personal efforts on research and writing about Sun Mei and the role his great-grandfather played in support of the revolution. He has also worked on the archiving of the Sun family's history. He has been quite engaged in activities commemorating Dr. Sun Yat-sen in the local community, recently bearing the torch for the last leg in Zhongshan for the opening of the 2010 Asian Games in Guangzhou.

An accomplished athlete in his younger days, Sun maintains his love for sports, having served as General Secretary for the Taiwan Tennis Association, and as both Captain and Coach for Taiwan's Davis Cup Team. Now retired, Sun is an avid golfer.

Sun is currently the honorary chairman of the Zhongshan Research Association of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the Zhongshan Overseas Friendship Association, the Overseas Chinese Cultural Society of Zhongshan, and an advisor to the Sun Zhongshan Foundation.

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引 子

Preface

我的曾祖父孫眉

我学的是土木工程，没想过与写作打交道，更没有想过要写一部关于我曾祖父孙眉的书，去记载他贡献给中国革命历史的一生。

1961年，我在美国斯坦福大学硕士毕业礼的前几天，接到孙科叔公的电话，他说要从洛杉矶来三藩市参加我的毕业礼，这令我疑惑不解，又令我感到受宠若惊。叔公当时是我们家族中的最长辈，他长期处于国民政府的高位，他那种不威自严的气势，于慈目中露出对后辈的点点关爱，令我敬畏。

礼毕的当天晚上，叔公请我到一个中餐馆吃饭庆祝，其间说他与强叔（他的二儿子孙治强）拟开发一个地产项目，希望我去协助他。本来，刚毕业的我是想先到一些工程公司见习的，没想到科叔公很是坚持，还打长途电话给我父亲孙乾，以便说服我。恭敬不如从命，虽然后来项目没做成，不过倒是让我有了一段在他身边生活的经历。那段我和叔公一起开车去买菜、叔婆煮饭，饭后叔公洗碗的日子总让我回味！大官也是一个平常人啊！

科叔公的家坐落在南加州沿海一个叫拉贡那海滩的小城，环境非常优美，是一个读书的好地方。他家里藏书很多，文学、历史、科学、医学、工程以及各类杂志等，满屋子都是。在我认识的人当中，相信没有比叔公更博学的了。叔公鼓励我看各类书籍和杂志，其实在我心目中，叔公就是一本书，与他独处时，就是翻开这本“书”的精彩处。

科叔公的一生就像他家门前可看到的大海那样，浸淫了许多的故事，许多关于孙家历史和他在夏威夷的故事，就是当年和他相处的日子里茶余饭后的谈资。有一次，他把孙中山在伦敦蒙难时求救的字条拿出来给我看，那是英国政府交还给他的，科叔公说要把这字条交给斯坦福大学胡佛研究所保管。科叔公从小跟随孙眉长大，耳闻目睹发生在夏威夷的许多事情，尤其是发生在孙眉和孙中山之间的事情，他深深地感受到孙眉对他父亲的爱。孙眉把孙中山的事业当作自己的事业，他努力地经营自己的生意，希祈获取更多的金钱以支持弟弟。孙眉表面刚烈，内心却充满着爱。科叔公说，孙眉对他和妹妹们疼爱有加，如同己出。孙眉夫人谭氏和他的母亲卢慕贞夫人更是亲如姐妹，使丈夫不在身边的母亲得到了不少的慰藉。科叔公和我的祖父孙昌年龄相差10岁，但两人却亲密无间，他们一起在孙眉开办的私塾里读书，一起玩耍。仰仗着孙眉，一家人在茂宜度过了很多年平静安逸的生活。

科叔公也曾告诉过我，有关我从来没有见过面的祖父孙昌如何在艰难中养活了我父亲和我伯父孙满，而到最后为革命壮烈殉难的革命家史，以及孙中山和孙

眉之间，他本人和孙昌之间的许多故事。我为这些故事中的主人公曲折离奇的命运，还有他们为了国家百折不挠的革命精神所感动，从而不断加深对祖辈的尊崇和景仰。

1965年，科叔公接受蒋介石的邀请到台湾担任“总统府”高级咨议及考试院长。1969年台北圆山忠烈祠建成，他到祠祭拜，发现他的堂兄没有列入祠内，特别指示我专案申请把祖父孙昌的事迹申报入祠。我遵命照办。1972年，孙昌烈士魂归国民革命忠烈祠。

抗战胜利不久，我父亲出任中山县县长，家人都住在石岐。虽然我在广州、澳门两地读书，每到假期我必回到父母身边，父母也不时向我讲述许多家事。我的母亲苏仲英是陈粹芬的养女。现在，陈粹芬是孙中山革命伴侣的故事已渐渐为世人所了解。辛亥革命成功，陈粹芬悄然离开孙中山，孙眉把她接到澳门居住。后来孙眉有意重操商业，让陈粹芬先赴南洋部署，可惜孙眉于 1915年去世了。1930年，科叔公从南洋接回陈粹芬母女重返孙家，我父母由此产生了一段美丽动人的爱情故事，结果他们在意大利结婚了。我从小跟随陈粹芬生活，关于孙眉和我们的家事，都从陈粹芬口中得知。陈粹芬一生坎坷、流离、清贫，但她却把对孙中山的情义始终蕴藏在心中，成为她一生中的最宝贵的财富。

伯父常对我们说，“没有孙眉就没有孙中山。”我总是不理解其中的深刻涵义。后来，科叔公到台湾任职，治平、治强叔、伯父和我们一家都到了台湾居住，当时大家就建议伯父以长子的身份负责编撰家谱，伯父以年事已高为由，把资料交给了我，要我完成。虽然那是一件不容易完成的事，但却使我有机会系统地了解和研究孙家的家史，这件工作对我影响至深。

1978年底，祖国实行改革开放，我和三弟必达先后回到祖国投资，希望能为祖国的繁荣富强尽自己的一分力量。父亲和伯父也开始了回乡之旅，1987年，父亲回翠亨村找回了曾祖母眉婆的墓地。其后，父亲和伯父多次回国，还两次到东莞上沙乡访问，他们每次回乡都寻根问祖，核对家谱资料。终于，我们在翠亨村孙中山故居纪念馆工作人员和广州中山大学的专家学者指导帮助下，完成了《翠亨孙氏达成祖家谱》的编撰。

孙中山的长孙孙治平在《家谱》作序称“德彰公于国父早年之培育及日后对国父革命之支持，以及国父终生对德彰公礼敬”，希望能详尽载入史册，于是编写《孙眉传》的念头在我心中慢慢点燃。

2006年，是孙中山诞辰140周年，中国举行了盛大的、隆重的纪念活动。我

们孙家40多人和参加过孙中山领导的辛亥革命先辈的后裔一起，被邀请参加一连串的纪念活动，我们拜谒南京中山陵；参观上海、广州等地当年先辈革命遗迹……最后我们回到了翠亨村孙中山先生故居，也是我们的祖居。一路走来，感受着祖国的关怀与同胞们的热情，感受到中山精神的所在。

纪念大会上，胡锦涛主席在讲话中说孙中山是“杰出的爱国主义者和民族英雄，中国民主革命的伟大先行者”。我们第一次从国家最高领导人口中，听到了在孙中山的名字上再没有冠以“资产阶级”、“资本主义”的字眼，感到格外的振奋，国家客观地肯定了孙中山的丰功伟绩和伟大思想。会后，胡锦涛主席和所有中央政治局常委亲切地接见了我们，和我们合照留念。穗瑛、穗华姑姐坐在胡主席左右两旁，我和三弟必达、堂弟国雄也立在当中，感到无比的荣幸，如果孙眉泉下有知，必当含笑矣！

从北京归来，我坚定了编写《孙眉传》的决心，我把这一想法报告给中山市的领导，他们不但举手赞成，还拨款出书，这不单是支持，更是鞭策。

几年来，我两赴檀香山、茂宜访问，还到过香港、澳门、洛杉矶、三藩市、庇能（槟城）、河内以及湛江、广州等地寻找孙眉的史料；我还发动了我的兄弟们，我的同学、好友找资料，查档案，尽一切所能。

年代的久远，时代纪录的限制，要找到足以编写一部《孙眉传》的资料，是相当困难的。当我有心无力的时候，也曾气馁过，也曾想放弃过，但始终是孙眉的精神、孙中山的精神，让我坚持了下来。

在许多的关于中国革命的历史资料里，关于孙眉的介绍是很少的，几乎是众口一词地只说他把财产捐给革命。但事实却使我看到，孙眉从1894年孙中山到檀香山举旗革命开始，就已投身到革命中去，并直接参加武装起义。在香港、澳门，在新加坡、庇能，在广州湾、越南……我们都寻找到了他革命的足迹。

孙眉的一生充满着传奇色彩，他白手兴家，成为当年夏威夷茂宜岛的一方富豪，人称“茂宜王”。他很慷慨，把钱都给了弟弟救国，直至自己一贫如洗，以至1910年他母亲去世的时候，也无钱让她“风光大葬”，只能在革命同志的帮助下，以最简朴的方式将母亲掩埋，他的夫人和儿子、媳妇、孙儿也因为路费难筹，无法从美国回香港奔丧。

我以《我的曾祖父孙眉》为题撰写孙眉传记，把那段尘封已久的历史打开，希望孙眉的事迹能宣之于世，让他的精神永远激励我们的子孙后代。

Since my specialty is civil engineering, I had never given much thought to the idea of writing a book, let alone penning a biography about my great-grandfather Sun Mei to relate his lifestory and contributions to the history of the Chinese revolution.

In 1961, a few days before the commencement ceremony for my master's degree from Stanford University in the United States, I received a telephone call from my granduncle Sun Fo saying that he was coming up from Los Angeles to San Francisco to participate in my commencement ceremony. I was puzzled but flattered. Granduncle was not only the only son of Dr. Sun Yat-sen but also the eldest member in our family and at one time, one of the highest-ranking officials in the Kuomintang Government as well. The love and concern he showed for us in the younger generations, despite his being a big shot in our eyes, was awe-inspiring.

On the evening of my commencement ceremony, Granduncle invited me to a Chinese restaurant to celebrate my graduation. He told me about a real estate development project in Southern California on which he and his second son (my Uncle T. K.) had been working, and invited me to work with them. I said that since I had just graduated, I should probably go gain some experience first. However, Granduncle insisted and even called my father in Hong Kong to ask him to convince me to accept their invitation. In the end, I did accept their offer and drove down to Los Angeles to work for them. Later, when the project failed to move ahead, I ended up staying with my Granduncle and Uncle T. K. for a few months. It turned out to be a fascinating and valuable experience. Although I would do errands for them, mainly serving as a driver to take them around whenever they needed, it was nevertheless amazing and insightful; I had seen the way they lived — Grandaunt cooking and Granduncle washing — when I stayed with them.

Granduncle lived in Laguna Beach, a small coastal town located in the southern part of California. This beautiful place was ideal for artists and scholars. There were many kinds of magazines and books in his house, on such topics as literature, history, science, medicine, and engineering. I don't believe I've met anyone more well-read than Granduncle. He was always encouraging me to read more books and magazines, but to be honest, Granduncle himself was a book of sorts, a treasure trove of knowledge and information, far superior to any of those on his shelves. The best part was that I was able to open up the "book" that was my granduncle whenever I was alone with him.

Deeper than the ocean not far from his house, Granduncle's mind stored

countless tales about his past. During my stay in his house, he told me many stories about our family and the time he spent growing up in Hawaii. He showed me the card which Sun Yat-sen wrote seeking help during his house arrest in London. The British Government had returned the card to Granduncle and he was going to give it to the Hoover Institute at Stanford University for safe keeping. Granduncle had grown up on Sun Mei's ranch in Maui and still remembered many of the things that happened involving Sun Mei and his father Sun Yat-sen. He felt the love that these two brothers had for each other, for he had witnessed first-hand how Sun Mei had worked hard to create wealth in order to support his brother's career as a physician and revolutionary. He described Sun Mei as staunch with moral integrity but filled with love in his heart. He also said that Sun Mei was always kind to him and his sisters. Great-grandmother Tam and his mother Madam Lu Muzhen got along very well. His father Sun Yat-sen never had to worry about their well-being while they were in Hawaii with Sun Mei. My grandfather Sun Chong and Granduncle Fo were ten years apart in age, but they both studied at the ranch's private tutoring school and became good friends later.

Granduncle also told me about how my grandfather had raised his two sons despite many great hardships, and how he had also made the ultimate sacrifice as a revolutionary. All the stories he told me confirmed that the bonds between Sun Mei and Sun Yat-sen, and those between Granduncle Fo and my grandfather, were as strong as their love for their country. Hearing about their unyielding spirit for the revolution greatly deepened my respect for my ancestors.

In 1965, Granduncle Fo accepted an invitation from Chiang Kai-shek to return to Taiwan as a presidential advisor and to become president of the Examination Yuan. In 1969, the Taipei Yuanshan Martyrs Shrine was completed and Granduncle Fo went to worship, but he found that his cousin Sun Chong, my grandfather, was not listed. He directed me to make an application to the relevant authorities to include my grandfather Sun Chong on the shrine. I followed his instructions, and in 1972, Grandfather Sun Chong was properly honored, his name added to the list of others who had died for their country.

Shortly after the war, my father was appointed Magistrate of Zhongshan county. We attended schools in Guangzhou and Macau but spent all of our holidays and vacations with our parents. My mother So Zhongying was adopted by Chen Cuifen in Malaya. By now, the story of Chen Cuifen being Sun Yat-sen's companion during the revolution has become known. After the success of the 1911 Uprising in Wuhan,

Chen Cuifen left Sun Yat-sen and went to live at Sun Mei's house in Macau. Later, when Sun Mei was comtemplating beginning his businesses all over again, Chen Cuifen (we called her Ah Tai at home) was sent to Malaya to make connections and he would follow. Unfortunately, Sun Mei passed away in 1915. In 1930, Granduncle Sun Fo asked Ah Tai to return home with her daughter, which is how my parents met. My father and mother grew up together and fell in love, eventually getting married in Italy. I lived with Ah Tai all through my childhood and learned most of what I know about my family's history from her. Ah Tai had a very rough but colorful life, and her love and respect for Sun Yat-sen was always in her heart.

Uncle Moon used to always say to us, "Without Sun Mei, there would have been no Sun Yat-sen," but I never completely understood the meaning of it. In 1965, when Granduncle Sun Fo went to Taiwan to take up political office, Uncle Tze Ping, Uncle Tze Kiong, Uncle Moon and our family all moved to live in Taiwan. Not long ago, everyone agreed that Uncle Moon, being the first born of his generation, should be responsible for the compilation of the Sun family tree. But because of his advanced age, he handed all the materials he had kept to me and ordered that I finish the work. Even though it was not an easy task, the opportunity to research the Sun family history greatly influenced me.

By the end of 1978, after China had started to implement the policy of "reform and opening-up", my brother Peter and I returned to China in succession to make investments. Father and Uncle Moon also journeyed back to the Sun family's home village and relocated the grave site of their grandmother Mei Po (Madam Tam) to a more favorable situation. Despite their being advanced in years, Father and Uncle returned to the home village several times, each time paying their respects to our ancestors at Dongguan temple. Finally, with the help of the staff at the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall in Cuiheng Village and the scholars of Sun Yat-sen University in Guangzhou, we were able to compile the family tree of the Sun Dacheng family.

Uncle T. P. Sun wrote a foreword for the family tree publication mentioning Sun Mei (also known as Dezhang in the family) specifically, hoping that "Dezhang's nurturing Sun Yat-sen in his early years and support of the revolution in later years, as well as Sun Yat-sen's respect and love for his brother Dezhang" would someday be recorded in detail to go down in history. These words inspired me to begin work on compiling information for a biography of my great-grandfather Sun Mei.

In 2006, a ceremony commemorating the 140th anniversary of the birth of Sun

Yat-sen was held in China. More than forty members of the Sun Family along with many descendants of the other leaders in the 1911 Revolution were invited to participate in a series of commemorative activities. We paid our respects at Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Mausoleum in Nanjing, toured revolutionary sites in Shanghai and Guangzhou, and ultimately visited the Former Sun Yat-sen Residence in Cuiheng Village, our ancestral home. Throughout the trip, we could all feel the spirit of Sun Yat-sen and his love and concern for the people of China.

At this Commemorative gathering, China's President Hu Jintao said in his speech that Sun Yat-sen was "an outstanding patriot and national hero, the great forerunner of Chinese democratic revolution." This was the first time we had heard from the country's top leaders that the Sun name was no longer branded as "bourgeois" or "capitalist", which was particularly exciting as it affirmed Sun Yat-sen's great achievements and extraordinary thinking in China's eyes. After the meeting, President Hu Jintao and all the members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee warmly received us in a photo session. Auntie Pearl and Auntie Rose were sitting to the left and right of President Hu Jintao, while my brother Peter, my (third) cousin Leland (Sun Yat-sen's great-grandson), and I were standing behind them. We were very proud to have been given the honor of this photo opportunity. Sun Mei would have smiled in his grave if he could have seen this.

After returning from Beijing, I was more motivated than ever to write Sun Mei's biography. I submitted my idea in a report to the leaders of Zhongzhan City. Understanding the significance of Sun Mei to Sun Yat-sen and to Chinese history at large, they supported my idea and appropriated a sum of money for the publication of such a biography.

Over the past four years since then, I've visited Honolulu, Maui, Hong Kong, Macau, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Penang, Hanoi, Zhanjiang and Guangzhou in search of Sun Mei's footprints. My brothers, schoolmates and friends all contributed in my search for records pertaining to Sun Mei.

Time and distance made it nearly impossible for us to obtain certain records and, feeling powerless and frustrated at times, the thought of abandoning this project crossed my mind more than once. But each time I would be overcome by the spirits of Sun Mei and Sun Yat-sen and the examples they had set in determination, perseverance and sacrifice, which in turn served to remind me of the importance of this project. So I continued on.

In many of the historical materials I could find, there was usually not much information on Sun Mei at all. That he contributed money to his brother for the revolution was widely known, but from what I could find in historical records, Sun Mei actually began his revolutionary mission from the time Xing Zhong Hui was set up in Honolulu. Later, Sun Mei became extremely active in the fund raising, organizing and planning of the many uprisings. We found evidence of his impact on the revolution in Hong Kong, Macau, Singapore, Penang, Vietnam and Zhanjiang. But also important to me, was shedding some light on the earlier years, when Sun Mei nurtured his much younger brother Sun Yat-sen, guided his schooling, and shaped him during these formative years into the man who would lead a revolution.

Sun Mei led a very colorful and legendary life. He started with nothing but his bare hands and a sharp mind and eventually became one of the richest men in Hawaii, where people lauded him the "Maui King". He was very generous and ended up giving all of his wealth to his brother for the cause of the revolution to the point that he had to declare bankruptcy. When their mother died in 1910, he had to receive assistance from fellow revolutionaries for his mother's funeral, and he himself could not even raise enough money for his own family to return to Hong Kong in time for the burial.

For this biography, I am using the title "Sun Mei: My Great-Grandfather". As his descendent, I have long heard stories and anecdotes, and in this way, I am uniquely qualified to share some family stories. I am hoping that by compiling and shining some light upon this long buried history, the heroic deeds and achievements of Sun Mei and of the Sun Family can be placed in their proper context in the history of modern China and passed on to later generations.



第一章
先祖从东莞来

Chapter 1
Our Ancestral Origins in Dongguan

我的曾祖父孫眉

1854年12月6日(农历十月十七日)，我的曾祖父孙眉出生在广东省香山县（现中山市）翠亨村。孙眉，字德彰，号寿屏。曾化名黄镇东、刘汉生。在檀香山的时候，侨胞称他为孙眉，或阿眉，在茂宜，大家尊敬他为“茂宜王”，而他正式使用的名字为“S. Ah Mi”；在香港，革命同志称他为“寿屏”，在广州湾发动起义时，大家只知他是“黄大哥”；而在我们孙家，老老少少都统称他为“眉公”，辈分就不拘了。

我们孙氏家族大约在明朝成化晚期从广东的东莞县迁来香山县，1774年迁入翠亨村，这是一个从明代嘉靖年间即公元1521年以后才逐渐形成的村落。

1930年1月，中国国民党中央党史史料编纂委员会在南京成立后，以“先编总理详细年谱”为任务，派出邓慕韩、王斧、钟公任等人到澳门、翠亨搜集史料。经过多年对孙氏家族的各种族谱、家谱、祖墓等大量史料调查研究，确认我们孙氏家族从五世祖时起已从东莞县上沙乡迁来香山县居住。

1940年起，“国立中山大学”罗香林教授编纂《国父家世源流考》一书，他是一位客家研究专家。他在书中写了一个序言，请科叔公签字，由此书起，紫金说、东莞说引起了一时之争，虽终不获认同，但近年又似有复燃的迹象。

我在台湾与科叔公共住时就问他，为何当时能忍受他人这种不正确的说法，但叔公却认为这等小事若当年提出来辩论的话，会影响国人的团结，尤其是国家多难之秋，更应该把精力放在打造国家的形象之上，叔公说，全国人民对孙家有爱戴之心不是很好吗？

其实，客家人讲客家话，“宁卖祖宗田，不忘祖宗言”是客家人的信念，不管留在国内或出洋在外，都要求子孙后代讲客家话。但在我们的家族中，从未听过有人操客家话。我见过孙中山先生的原配卢慕贞夫人，她讲的是石岐话。伯父、父亲、眉婆、卢太夫人一起住过，父亲告诉我，他们大家都讲石岐话或广州话。客家女子均是“天足”，从不缠足。但缠足却是广府民系以及中国绝大多数汉族妇女所奉行的，孙家的女子，包括杨太夫人、眉婆、卢太夫人、妙茜姑婆、秋绮姑婆都是缠足的。妙茜姑婆15岁开始缠足，孙中山因为见到姐姐缠足的痛苦，十分反对。当地人与客家人是不通婚的，我姑姑孙婉和客家人戴恩赛结婚前到澳门见卢太夫人，卢太夫人此时尚存世俗偏见，以致半天都不肯下楼见这位未来的客家女婿，这些都是我父亲和伯父亲眼所见的。我们家族的生活习惯、饮食等各方面从未见有客家的风俗。

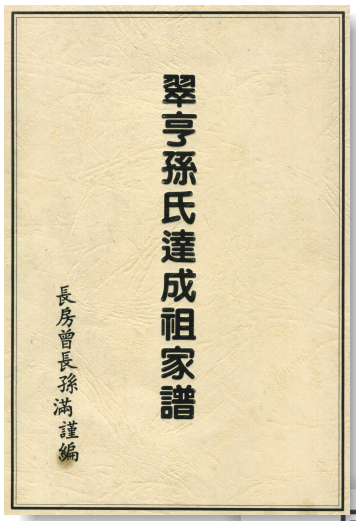
客家人和当地人是不会在同一条村子里居住的。与翠亨村相近的竹头园村、

石门村都是客家人居住的村庄，虽然很接近，但没有客家人住进翠亨村，翠亨村人也不会住在客家人的村子，界线也是分得很清的。故孙氏不可能从紫金迁来，否则是绝对不能迁入翠亨村的。

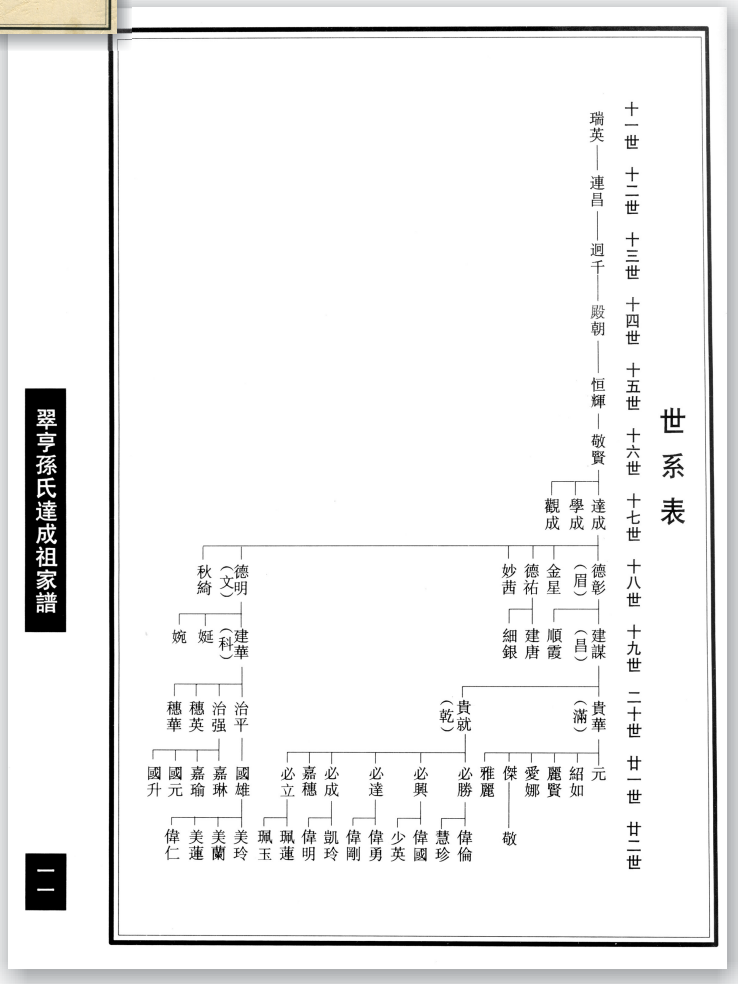
我在编修家谱时看到了先叔祖学成妻程氏传下来的翠亨《孙氏家谱》，这是在1880年至1883年这段时间记录的，这本家谱和东莞上沙的《孙氏族谱》记录孙氏的源流是相同的。孙姓起源于春秋时期（公元前770—元前476年），始祖孙武居住在山东省惠民县。他的后代中，历史上最出名的有北宋枢密院副使孙固，是一位负责军国要政的副宰相。孙固的后代后来移居到南京。到了元朝（1279—1368年）晚期，孙固的第九代孙孙常德，原是浙江杭州五品大官，因朝廷要求他参与平定元朝末年的农民起义，孙常德不愿卷入战争中，于是就带着自己的四个儿辈家庭辗转移居到了广东南雄珠玑巷。在珠玑巷，孙常德遇到何真，何真在元朝时是二品大官，得到何真的帮助，孙常德和子辈家庭移居何真之家乡东莞县员头山村，就是现在东莞市黄屋、刘屋两乡的属地。后来，孙常德的儿子四散谋生，除长子贵荣居住员头山外，他的第二个儿子贵华分居东莞上沙乡，三子贵绍移居惠州三株竹（三多祝），四子贵武则远居南海的肇庆。

大约在15世纪末，孙贵华的曾孙礼赞带着他的两个儿子乐千、乐南迁来香山县涌口村居住。不久，乐千又分居到邻近的左埗头村。明朝（1368—1644年）中期，香山县不断受到海盗的滋扰，人民生活很不太平，乐千、乐南被迫返回东莞居住，以后再没有回到涌口和左埗头村。不过，他们的子孙却在涌口村和左埗头村繁衍下来。到了清朝康熙（1662—1722年）前期，乐南的后裔十一世祖瑞英公由涌口村迁到距翠亨村约三百米的迳仔蓢村居住，开荒种地。十二世祖连昌公仍居迳仔蓢村，十三世祖迪千公则因土地贫瘠，无以为生，在乾隆初年又搬回涌口村生活。直到1774年，十四世孙殿朝才迁入翠亨村，从此定居下来。到了眉公的父亲孙达成这一代，已经是常德公的第十七世孙了。

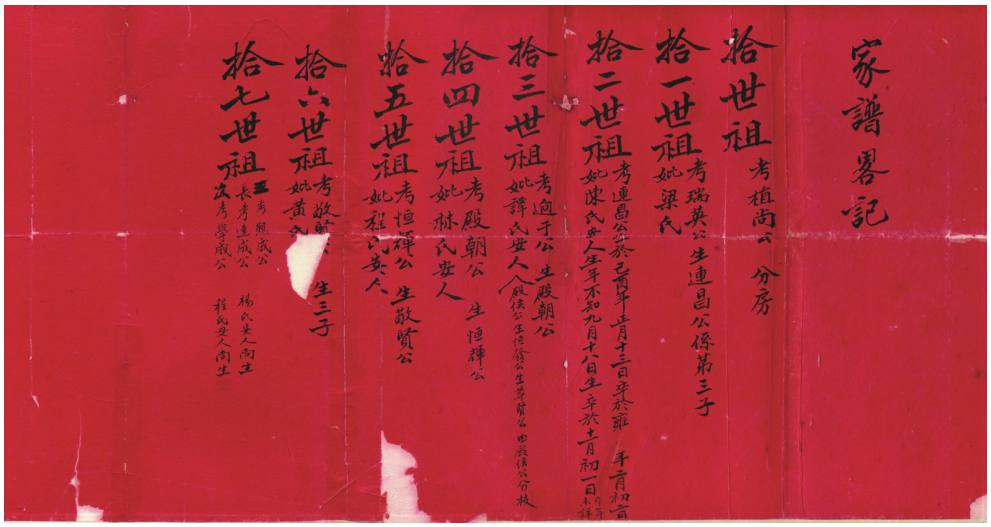
翠亨孙氏先祖迁徙过程为：浙江杭州——南雄珠玑巷——东莞员头山村——东莞上沙乡——香山涌口——迳仔蓢村——翠亨村



1.《翠亨孙氏达成祖家谱》
Cuiheng Sun Dacheng Family Tree



2. 翠亨孙氏达成祖家谱世系表
Cuiheng Sun Dacheng Family Genealogical Chart

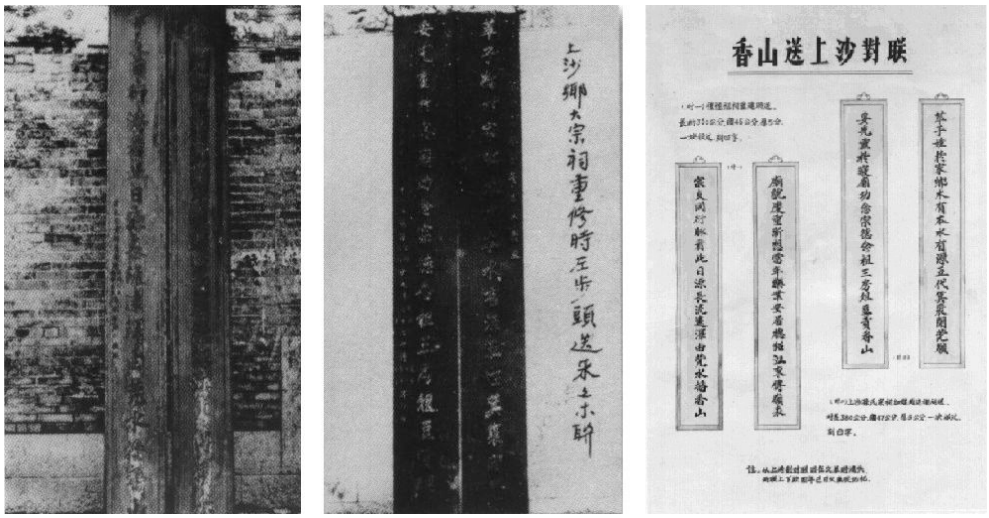


3. 家谱略记
The Sun Family Tree

1912年4月25日，辞去临时大总统职务的孙中山乘宝璧号抵达广州，5月11日，孙中山在广州参加“广东孙族欢迎中山家先生恳亲大会”。15日，广州《民生日报》报道当时参加恳亲大会的上沙乡亲有30多人。5月27日，眉公和孙中山等回到翠亨村省亲。次日一早，眉公夫妇和孙中山夫妇、孙婉等专程到迳仔蓢祭祖。孙家的祖坟都在迳仔蓢一带，当时附近还有一座简陋而破旧的孙氏祖祠。眉公曾和族人孙锦芳商量修建孙家宗祠的事。孙锦芳在唐山做机械总管，家境富裕，他曾带过三四百乡人到唐山做工，眉公和孙中山都曾到唐山拜会过他，大家常有联络。后来修祠一事因选址的问题搁置了。

1932年5月，伯父和我父亲曾跟随当时担任国民党党史委员会广州办事处主任的邓慕韩先生到东莞调查孙家的世系和祖墓，在上沙乡查到了上沙孙族早期的世系大致和我们孙家所存的族谱相符。上沙村有明代时兴建的孙氏宗祠，宗祠曾经在1864年和1873年两次重修。父亲曾对我说，他看到过祠堂里有香山左埗头村人孙英德等撰写的两副对联和记载左埗头人捐款支持重修祠堂和祖墓的记载。(图4)

60年后的1992年6月，我父亲与伯父兄弟俩再次来到上沙乡祭祖，他们受到孙氏族人欢迎。此次，我与父亲他们同行，我仔细地把上沙乡考察了一番：上沙乡和中山只是一海之隔，隔着狮子洋，两个小时的海路就可以直达，如今一座虎



4.东莞孙氏宗祠对联照片
Antithetical Couplet in the Dongguan Sun Family Ancestral Temple

门大桥把东莞与中山联结起来，车程不足一个小时。上沙村坐落在东莞的长安镇，是连接广州、东莞、深圳的必经之路。在进村的大路口，村人新修了一个偌大的牌坊，上书“孙中山先生先代故乡”九个大字（图5），是伯父孙满题写的。据说，村口原建有车站茶亭和牌坊，1948年5月，科叔公和我父亲都曾应乡人邀请为茶亭和牌坊题字，科叔公题写的“国父先代故乡”六字在车站茶亭牌坊正面，茶亭背面有我父亲题写的抱柱联“中所景仰外所景从革命首倡共和肇建，山无不容河无不润故乡追念浩气长存”，横书是“中山大道”（图6），可惜都在上世纪六七十年代中国的“文化大革命”时给铲去了。上沙茶亭原命名为“乐安亭”，亭上还有碑记，其中提到：“今孙院长题书石坊，曰‘国父先代故乡’者（图7），亦即其乐称本源云尔。”可惜茶亭也在1981年因为扩建公路连碑记都一起被拆除了。村里的大宗祠，还保存着上世纪60年代拍下的车站和茶亭照片。

在上沙村的山口山，我们拜祭了三世祖礼湮公的墓，他是礼赞公的祖父。这墓原先是一座土坟，1864年，移居到香山的孙氏族人渡过狮子洋，来到山口山，把它整修为砖墓，墓碑朝着香山方向。

古墓、祠堂、文物、族谱、家传……无不印证了我们的先祖来自东莞。



5. 1992年，孙满为东莞长安镇上沙村新建的村口牌坊题写的“孙中山先生先代故乡”。
Memorial archway in Shangsha village of Changan Township in Dongguan with inscription by Sun Moon.



6. 1948年，孙乾为东莞长安镇上沙村牌坊题写的“中山大道”。
Memorial archway in Shangsha village of Changan township in Dongguan with inscription by Sun Kin.

我的曾祖父孫眉

In December 1854, my great-grandfather Sun Mei was born in Cuiheng Village, Xiangshan County, (now Zhongshan City) in Guangdong. In the family he was also called Dezhang（德彰）or Shouping（寿屏）. He also used alias Huang Zhendong（黄镇东）and Liu Hansheng（刘汉生） as a revolutionary in Guangzhou Bay. In Hawaii, S. Ah Mi was his official name. But everyone in the family calls him “Mei Gong 眉公” whenever we spoke of him, regardless of generation.

This 500-year-old village was formed gradually after 1510. The Sun family migrated to Xiangshan County from Dongguan, Guangdong in the late Yuan Dynasty, but only moved into Cuiheng Village in 1774.

For a long time, there have been two schools of thought on the origins of our ancestral home, one stated we originated from Dongguan and the other that we came from Zijin County.

After the establishment of the Party Archive Committee by the Chinese Kuomintang Party in Nanjing in April 1930, Committee members Deng Muhan, Wang Fu and Zhong Gongren were dispatched to Macau and Cuiheng Village to search for the roots of our family. After years of research and study of the Sun family's various genealogy and ancestral tombs, they confirmed that our 5th generation ancestor of the Sun family did in fact come to Xiangshan County from Dongguan. In 1942, however, a scholar by the name of Luo Xianglin published a paper stating that he believed the Sun family originated from Zijin, which would indicate we were of Hakka origin. This speculation did cause some controversy, and has since gained some traction, but it is still disputed by our family, myself included.

Hakka theorists insist that our Hakka origins were confirmed by my granduncle Sun Fo, Sun Yat-sen's only son. I remember asking him many years ago about why he would allow the misperception to continue, but he felt it was harmless and any attempts to correct it at that time in the 1930s and 40s would only have needlessly divided our fellow countrymen. On such a trivial issue, he thought, it was better, particularly during such times of international turmoil, to focus not on that subject and concentrate instead on building a unified Chinese identity. “Let all Chinese claim the Sun Family as their own,” was his mantra. Nevertheless, for those who remain interested in this topic, I outline below some of the scholarly findings characterizing Cuiheng village as an island of Cantonese among the Hakka, as well as some anecdotal evidence from within our family.

First of all, the Hakka people speak the Hakka dialect. It is a Hakka belief that “one should rather sell ancestral land than to forget his ancestral language.” Whether at home or

traveling abroad and overseas, the Hakka people always insist that their descendants speak Hakka. But in our family, we have never heard anyone speaking the Hakka dialect. I personally remember quite clearly that great-grandaunt Lu Muzhen spoke with a Shiqi accent. My father and Uncle Moon lived with their grandmother and Madam Lu Muzhen and according to them, the ladies all spoke with a Shiqi accent or spoke the Guangzhou dialect.

Also, Hakka women have "natural feet", which means their feet were never bound; but other non-Hakka local women were known to have practiced foot-binding. The Sun family women, including Madam Lu Muzhen, Sun Yat-sen's two sisters and my great-grandmother all had bound feet. Sun Yat-sen's elder sister did not bind her feet until she was 15 years old, and Sun Yat-sen, seeing the great pain it caused her, strongly opposed it.

Local people and the Hakka people do not have inter-marriage. After Sun Yat-sen's second daughter, my Grandaunt Sun Wan (Grace Sun), married a Hakka gentleman Dai Ensai, she took her husband to meet her mother Madam Lu. Madam Lu was so upset that she made them wait for a long time before she went downstairs to meet them. My father and uncle witnessed this scene with their own eyes.

Finally, we simply do not practice any Hakka customs in our family's living. Hakka and local people did not live in the same villages. Back then, Zhutouyuan and Shimen were two villages that were very close to Cuiheng, but all the people living there were Hakka. On the other hand, there were no known Hakka people living in the Cantonese-speaking Cuiheng village. The line was drawn very clear.

When I was working on the editing of the Sun Family genealogy, I studied the "Sun Family Genealogy" recorded between 1880 and 1883 and noticed that the Sun's origins were the same as the "Sun Family Genealogy" as recorded in the shrine in Shangsha, Dongguan. Records of the Sun surname originated in the Spring and Autumn Period(770BC-476BC). Ancestor Sun Wu lived in Huimin County of Shandong Province, and among his descendants, the most famous in history is Sun Gu, who served in the Privy Council in the Northern Song dynasty as the Vice Prime Minister in charge of military affairs. Sun Gu's descendants later moved to Nanjing. In the late Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368), Sun Gu's 11th generation descendent Sun Changde, originally a high official in Hangzhou, took his four sons and families and moved to Zhuji Lane in Nanxiong, Guangdong, because the government had asked him to participate in stifling the peasant uprising toward the end of the Yuan Dynasty and Sun Changde did not want to get involved in the war. At Zhuji Lane, Sun Changde met He Zhen who was at one time also a high

official in the Yuan Dynasty. With the help of He, Sun Changde and his family moved into He's home village, which was Yuantoushan Village in Dongguan (presently within the district of the Huang House and Liu House). Later, Sun Changde's children would not confine themselves to that area to make a living. Although the eldest son Guirong remained in Yuantou Hill, his second son Guihua went to Shangsha Village in Dongguan; his third son Guishao moved to Sanzhuzhu in Huizhou (Sanduozhu); and the fourth son Guiwu went far away to Zhaoqing in Nanhai.

In the early 16th century, the great-grandson of Sun Guihua, Sun Lizan took his two sons, Leqian and Lenan to live in Chongkou Village in Xiangshan (now Zhongshan city) county. Not much later, Leqian moved to the nearby village of Zuobutou. Late in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), Xiangshan Village was harassed by pirate activities so both Leqian and Lenan returned to Dongguan. Although they never returned to Zuobutou, their descendents flourished in both Chongkou and Zuobutou. By the early part of the Qing Dynasty, during the reign of Emperor Kangxi (1662-1722), Lenan's 11th generation descendent Ruiying moved from Chongkou to within 300 meters of Cuiheng Village, a small village called Jingzailang, and began cultivating the land. His son, 12th generation Lianchang still lived in Jingzailang, but his grandson, the 13th generation Xiangqian, moved back to Chongkou in the early years during the reign of Emperor Qianlong because the land was just too poor. By 1774, 14th generation Dianchao had moved into Cuiheng Village and stayed there. Sun Mei's father Sun Dacheng was the 17th generation from Sun Changde.

On April 25, 1912, Sun Yat-sen had just resigned his position as the Provisional President of the Republic of China and returned to Guangzhou from Nanjing on Steamer Bao Bi Hao. Sun Yat-sen On the 11th of May, took part in the "Guangdong Sun Clan Welcoming Party for Dr. Sun Yat-sen". On the 15th, Min Sheng Daily in Guangzhou reported that there were more than thirty Sun family members from Shangsha Village in Dongguan participated in the party. On the 27th of May, Sun Yat-sen returned from Macau to Cuiheng Village in Xiangshan County. The next morning, Sun Mei, Sun Yat-sen and their wives paid their respects to their ancestors in Jingzailong Village, where many of their ancestral graves were located. At that time, there was even a site for the Sun Family Shrine ruins. Sun Mei and a clan member Sun Jinfang had discussed renovating the family shrine. Sun Jinfang was a well-to-do chief administrator in a machine factory, having once led three to four hundred people from Zhongshan to Tangshan for work. Both Sun Mei and Sun

Yat-sen had paid him visits in Tangshan and maintained communication. The plans to renovate were later dropped, however, due to the problem of site selection.

In May 1932, my father and Uncle Moon returned to Dongguan to investigate the Sun family's origins and ancestral tombs with Mr. Deng Muhan, who was the Director of the KMT Archive Office in Guangzhou. It was then that Hey realized that the Sun family genealogy kept in Shangsha was the same as the one being kept in our family. The Sun family shrine there in Shangsha had been built in the Ming dynasty, and was renovated twice in 1864 and 1873. My father told me that he saw the two scrolls written by Sun Yingde and the donation records by the Zuobutou family members for the renovations.(Fig.4)

Sixty years later, in June, 1992, my father and uncle Moon visited Shangsha again. They received a warm welcome from the Suns in the village. This time, I was traveling with them. I had a close look at the village and found that it was only separated from Zhongshan by a narrow waterway called the Lion Sea. One can reach Zhongshan in two hours by boat. Now the Humen Bridge has reduced traveling time between Dongguan, Guangzhou and Zhongshan. Shangsha is located in the township of Chang'an in Dongguan County. It is the mid-point between Guangzhou, Dongguan and Shenzhen.



7. 东莞长安镇上沙村上沙站茶亭由孙科题“国父先代故乡”。
The Tea Pavilion at Shangsha Station with inscription by Sun Fo.

At the entrance of the village stands a memorial archway with big letters stating “Sun Yat-sen’s ancestral home” at the top, inscribed by Uncle Moon.(Fig.6) According to the villagers, there used to be a bus station with an archway at the village’s entrance. In May, 1948, both Granduncle Sun Fo and my father had inscriptions on the archways at the invitation of the villagers. Sun Fo inscribed “Ancestral Home of Father of the Nation”(Fig.7) while my father inscribed “The great deed of founding the republic

has been respected at home and abroad; the great spirit of revolution has been memorialized by every mountain and river in the hometown ” on the pillars of the tea pavilion. The top of the archway was inscribed “Sun Yat-sen Boulevard” (Fig.5). Unfortunately, all of these were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. The Shangsha Tea Pavilion was originally call the “Le an Kiosk” and the fact that Sun Fo had called this the ancestral home of the Father of the Nation signifies that this is where the Sun family originated. Unfortunately, the tea pavilion and the monument were demolished for the construction of a highway in 1981. Pictures of the tea pavilion and the monument taken in the 1960s, however, are still kept inside the shrine.

At Shankou Hill in Shangsha Village, we paid our respects at the tomb of the 5th generation ancestor Sun Liyan, the brother of Sun Lizan. This had once been just a clay grave, but in 1864, the Suns who migrated to Xiangshan via this Lion Sea had returned to Shankou Hill and made it into a brick tomb. The monument of the tomb faces in the direction of Xiangshan, purposely showing the Sun descendants that their ancestors came from Dongguan. These ancient graves, shrines, and artifacts, together with our family genealogy, all serve as evidence that our ancestors came from Dongguan.



第二章
我们的家乡翠亨村

Chapter 2
Our Home Village of Cuiheng

我的曾祖父孫眉

我第一次回故乡翠亨村，是在1946年夏天。抗战胜利了，我们一家人从抗日战场回到广州，不久，父亲被任命为中山县县长，母亲、外祖母陈粹芬跟随父亲在县城石岐居住，而我们兄弟就被送到澳门上学，周末及假期，父亲常派车接我们回中山团聚。

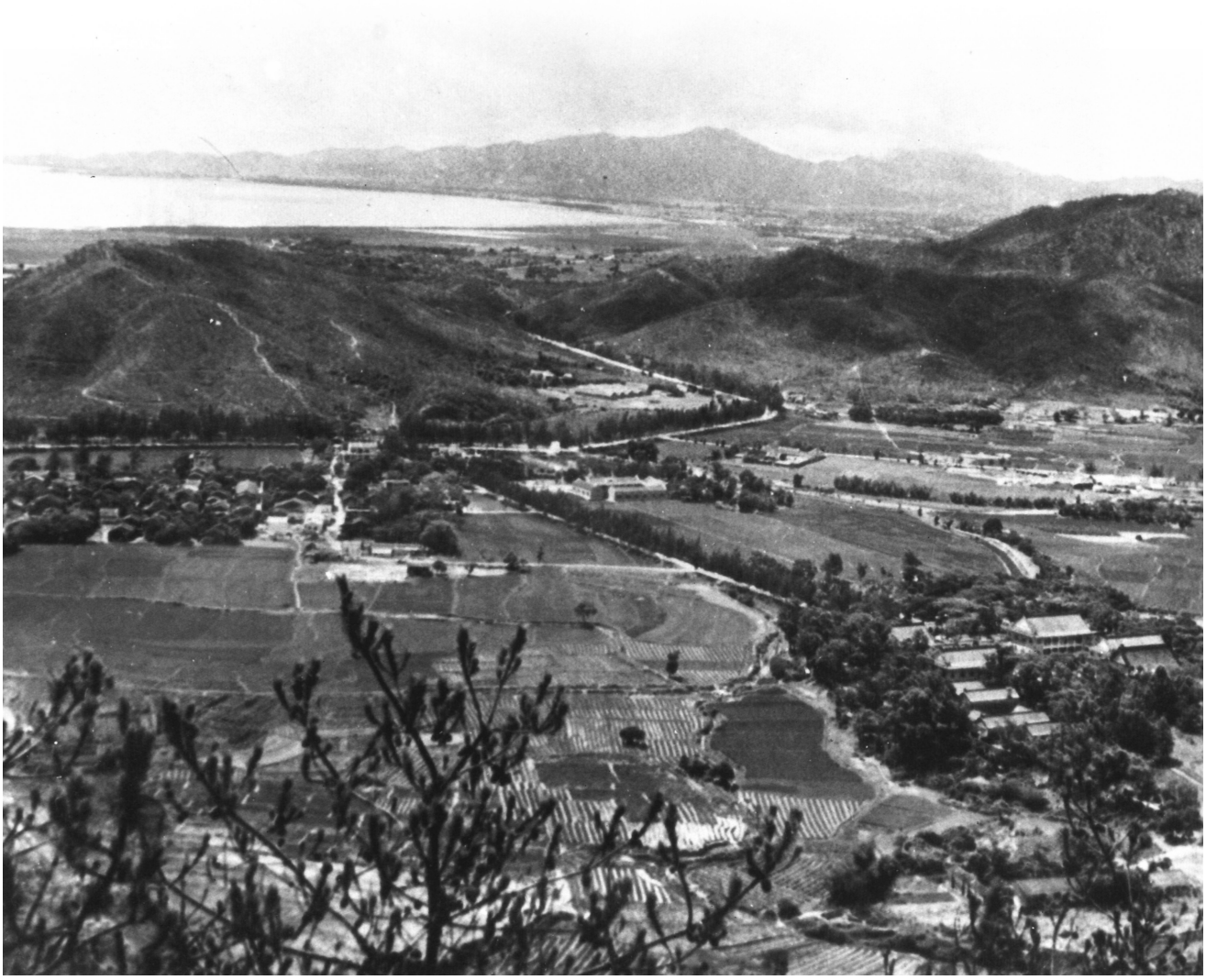
我们的家乡翠亨村在香山县境的东南面，村子三面环海，背枕五桂山余脉，400多年前由邻近各村杨、陆、冯、孙、陈、何、麦、苏、梁等各姓陆续迁来，聚居成一村。村人依靠山间的溪水种菜养畜。当地人把山间小溪称为“山坑”，渐把此地称为“菜坑”，后来因见村中景色翠绿，又寄意万事亨通，借谐音改名为翠亨。

翠亨村宁静、美丽。通过“翠亨村”牌坊进入村子，里面有许多漂亮的大屋子，那些屋子的屋檐下、窗边框、墙壁上都有彩画、石雕、砖雕、灰雕、木雕衬托，那花鸟、山水、人物、瑞兽活灵活现，颜色鲜艳，吸引着我看了一处又一处。父亲告诉我，那都是近百年来翠亨人出国或者到上海、宁波等地谋生，赚钱回村建的，有的人还拿钱捐了官，村人杨启垣和他的父亲杨业勋捐得“诰封朝议大夫”官衔，他的屋子就称为“朝议第”。有的又喜欢为屋子取一个堂号，如：翰香堂、启遵堂、尊德堂等，以表示诗礼传家。村里还有用蚝壳砌墙的屋子，那都是我从未见过的。当然也有许多矮小的茅屋，破陋的土房。

眉公的太曾祖父殿朝公原住在村子里的冯氏宗祠背后，后来因为穷，只能在村外觅地建屋而居。眉公出生时，一家人住祖上留下来的用泥糊墙的小屋子里。小屋子住不下一家人，眉公稍长就住到二婶学成妻那里，妹妹妙茜长大了，也搭住到邻居杨成发家。

1884年眉公从檀香山寄钱回家，把泥墙屋拆了，先建了一层瓦房。1892年，眉公再寄钱回家，加建了一层，这就是现在人们见到的，由孙中山设计的两层楼房。1936年，国民政府为了纪念孙中山，征求我伯父孙满意见，伯父拿出清朝时所立的地契、房契，交给中山县县长杨子毅转呈国民党中央政府，上面所立房产人系孙德彰，此后，县政府便派人管理从未间断。伯父常对我们说，当时赠出眉公名下的故居，并无任何条件及代价，仅为一圆政府和中国人民纪念孙中山的美好心意而已。

村子里道路是用石板砌的，街道用了许多人名来命名，如总理大街、鹤龄街、皓东街、心如街，还有以曾祖父和祖父命名的寿屏街、振兴街。父亲把这些街道当中的故事向我一一细说，可惜那时年幼，只听听而已。



8.翠亨村旧貌
The old Cuiheng village landscape



9.1947年，母亲苏仲英（左起第五人）与友人摄于故居。
Mother Sally So (fifth from left) and friends in front of the family house in Cuiheng village in 1947.

故居南面不到百米就是兰溪河，小时候，我就在这条溪上学会了游泳。清凉的、甜甜的溪水常使我流连忘返。溪的背后就是槟榔山，妙茜姑婆告诉我们，眉公和孙中山小的时候常常在这山上打柴割芒草。

1948年春节，我们一家人又回到了翠亨村。父母按照翠亨村例，在年初八为我的五弟必立“开灯”。“开灯”也有说“挂灯”“添灯”。这一天，上年添了男孩的家庭会在本村的祠堂挂上灯笼，在灯簿上记上这男孩的名字，这男孩就算正式成了这家族中的一员了。我的五弟必立出生于1947年农历十一月，我们孙族在迳仔蒲的祠堂早就塌了，在翠亨也没有祠堂，挂灯就在故居举行，用纸制的花灯吊在大厅的中央。家里的亲戚很多，妙茜姑婆的几个孙子从崖口村过来了，卢太夫人、婉姑姑都从澳门过来了。孙家一向人丁单薄，我父母一连得了五个儿子，这是孙氏家族的大喜事啊！父亲设了许多酒席，邀请村中父老及亲友，大肆庆祝了一番。屋里屋外挤满了道贺的人，那时我总觉得，这屋子是太小了。

从那次以后，到我再有机会回翠亨故居时，已经是30多年以后的事了。



10. 陆皓东母亲(右)与孙妙茜在酸子树下留影。
Mother of Lu Haodong(right) and Sun Miaoxi at the family home.

我的曾祖父孫眉

It was in the summer of 1946 that I traveled to my hometown of Cuiheng village for the first time. The war against the Japanese invasion was over and our whole family had returned from the battlefield to Guangzhou. Soon after that, my father was appointed Magistrate of Zhongshan County. Mother and Grandma Chen Cuifen lived with Father in Shiqi while I and my brothers were sent to school in Macau.

During weekends and holidays, Father would send a car to fetch us to Zhongshan. One day, Father took us to see our family home in Cuiheng Village. Starting from the Macau border, we traveled north on the Kee Kwan East highway to Cuiheng.

Our family's ancestral home, Cuiheng Village is located in the southeastern portion of what was Xiangshan County, which was later renamed in 1925 to Zhongshan County. The village has its back to the Wugui Mountain range and faces water on the other three sides. Families with the surnames of Yang, Lu, Feng, Sun, Chen, He, Mai, Su and Liang from the neighboring villages started moving into the area over 500 year ago to form Cuiheng village. Villagers depended on the mountain streams to grow vegetables and raise farm animals. It was originally called "Cai Heng", which means "vegetable ditch", but the name was later changed to Cuiheng, for its beautiful and prosperous green landscape.

Cuiheng is quiet and beautiful. Entering through the archway with the name "Cuiheng Village" inscribed on it, we saw several large residences with many kinds of colorful ornaments, carvings and sculptures of humans, birds and plants, made from various kinds of stones and wood. Father told us that many villagers had done well for themselves, becoming wealthy merchants and officials, and built these mansions. Some had bought their titles with money. One villager, Yang Qiyuan, and his father Yang Yexun donated money to earn the title of "Minister of Court Affairs Appointed by the Emperor" and even named their residence "Court Affairs Mansion". Some would call their residence with the suffix "tang" (or "hall") to signify that they belonged to the educated class. However, there were still many clay houses in the village as well.

Our ancestral home was actually not inside the village proper. Father said that the Suns were very poor and used to be bullied by other villagers. If a chicken ever went missing in the village, fingers would hastily point to the Suns, which is why the family house was situated on the outskirts of the village. When Sun Mei was born, the family was living in a small, clay-walled house his great-grandfather built. Sun

Mei and his little sister had to live in their relatives' house. In 1884, Sun Mei sent money home to take out the clay wall to build a one-story house. In 1892, Sun Mei sent money home again and Sun Yat-sen designed and built a two-story house which is still standing today. In 1936, Uncle Moon donated the building together with its deeds to the KMT government. The title holder of the land and building at the time was still Sun Mei, though he had passed in 1915. The family received no compensation for the donation, nor was any sought. Uncle Moon always told us that this act was to commemorate Sun Yat-sen's philanthropic philosophy toward his people and his country.

Many streets in the village were laid with stone blocks and named after many well-known personalities, such as: Sun Yat-sen, Yang Heling, Lu Haodong, Yang Xinru, Sun Mei and Sun Chong as well. Father had told us many stories about our great-grandfather and great-granduncle but we were simply too young to know the importance of the stories.

Directly opposite the ancestral home is the Lanxi Stream, where I first learned how to swim. I remember the water was cool and clear. Behind the stream is Binlang Hill, where Sun Mei used to collect firewood in his youth.

In the Spring Festival of 1948, our whole family returned to Cuiheng Village. The seventh day of the first lunar month is said to be the birthday for everyone. But in Cuiheng Village, this was also the "Lantern Festival" for every family to celebrate the birth of a newborn male. The boy's name would be inscribed on a plaited bamboo lantern to be hung on the wall of the family shrine or the family home, officially welcoming him to the family genealogy. My youngest brother Bit Lap (Philip) was born in November 1947 (lunar calendar) and he would be the last male in our family to have this ceremony in the ancestral home. The Sun family shrine was later destroyed, so future ceremonies were held in the family home instead. It was a big occasion as all the village neighbors were invited, with Great-grandaunt Madam Lu and her daughter coming from Macau, and Great-grandaunt Miao Xi in attendance as well to celebrate the festivities together with us. All the tables had to be set up outside the house as the house was simply too small to accommodate so many people.

It would be more than thirty years later before I was to visit my ancestral home again.



第三章
我们的家族

Chapter 3
Our Family



11. 孙达成
Sun Dacheng (1813—1888)



12. 杨太夫人
Madam Yang Shi (1828—1910)

眉公是达成公婚后九年才得到的第一个孩子，我相信在当时那个封建时代的中国农村，达成公夫妇一定会听到许多闲言闲语，内心要承受很大的压力！眉公的出生和他的弟妹接踵而来，给整个家庭带来的欢乐难以用言语表达，简直就是吐气扬眉，我听家人说，孙眉的名字也因此而来。

1857年，孙眉的妹妹金星出生，1860年，弟德佑出生，可是这一年，三岁的金星夭折了。1863年，妹妙茜出生，她活到了92岁。1866年1月，仅六岁的德佑去世。农历十月初六，弟弟德明出生，这就是孙中山。刚刚失去一个与他同玩乐的弟弟，却又得到了一个襁褓中的小娃娃，孙眉格外珍惜，从小就把弟弟带在身边，呵护备至。那时世道不太平，人们的生活也很苦，就在最小的妹妹秋绮出生的1871年，年仅17岁的眉公到檀香山闯天下去了。

那时，翠亨村只有数十户人家，200来人，孙族最多时也不过10户。我们祖上数代都是耕田的，眉公的曾祖父恒辉公有田十余亩，祖父敬贤公亦是农民，耕种祖上留下的十余亩田为生，到敬贤公时，孙家的生活尚且过得去。我在翠亨村北极庙碑记里看到，1828年，北极庙第一次重修时，翠亨孙氏5人捐款约共三两多，敬贤公一人就捐银一两，是孙氏中最多的一位。

敬贤公23岁与黄氏结婚，婚后生了三个儿子达成、学成、观成。可是到了达成公这一代，家道就渐渐没落了，先祖遗下的田产，已经卖去了一部分。因为生活困难，达成公16岁就到了澳门，在澳门板樟堂街一间葡萄牙人开的鞋店中当学徒，满师后还当了一阵子鞋匠，直到1845年才回到乡下与崖口隔田村杨氏结婚，那时达成公已经33岁了，从此，达成公就再没有离开过家乡。眉公出生时，家中除父母外，还有祖母黄氏同住，祖父敬贤公已去世4年了。



13. 孙达成曾在澳门板樟堂街当过鞋匠。
Sun Dacheng was at one time a shoe maker on Rua De S. Domingos in Macau.

风水、祖墓

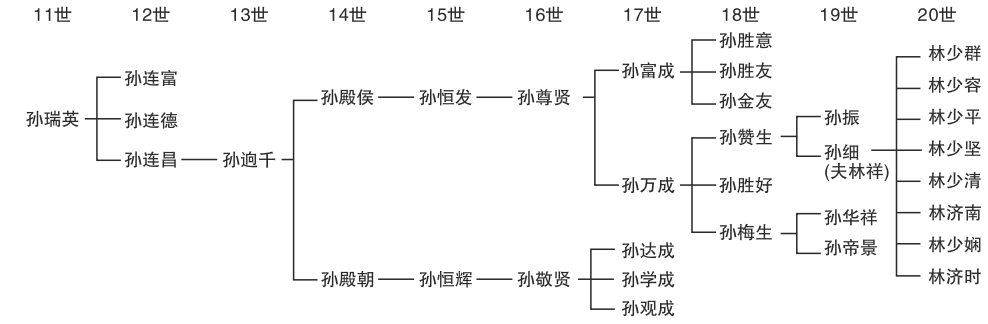
有人说，孙家因为十分迷信风水，把钱都用在风水上去了，所以慢慢的就变穷了。

其实，为先祖的墓穴寻一块风水宝地，以保佑子孙，改变后人命运，也不只有孙氏一家，翠亨村民大都一样，大户人家甚至长期供养风水先生，为阳宅、阴宅寻找风水宝地。惠州龙川的钟圣阳舆师就曾在翠亨冯姓、杨姓几个大户人家住过几年，为这些人家寻找风水宝地。

后来，钟圣阳与冯氏意见不合，又因为曾得过敬贤公的恩惠，而且两人也很合得来，就搬到敬贤家住了几年。钟圣阳每天带着罗盘上山勘察地形，为孙家寻找风水地。有一天，他无意中听到敬贤夫妻对话，知道敬贤家只剩下一小碗米，敬贤公叫黄氏煮饭给钟圣阳吃，而他自己则借故离开，当黄氏把饭煮好后，钟圣阳执意不吃，后来黄氏就加水把饭熬成粥，让大家分享。钟圣阳因这件事深为感动，于是更加卖力地为孙家寻找福地，结果在黄草冈为孙家找到了一块叫“禾秆𥴊（粤语，𥴊即盖着的意思）珍珠”的福地。这块地依山临海，对着珠江口的金星门，中间有一小岛叫“燕石”，北面是唐家湾，南面靠淇澳岛，钟圣阳为此地作诗：

地名黄草冈，大海作名堂，
鳌鱼游北海，旗鼓在南方，
金星塞水口，燕石在中央。
谁人葬得着，黄金大斗量。

尊贤一房世系表
The family tree for Sun Zun Xian



敬贤公准备把父亲恒辉公迁葬到这里，怎料让堂兄尊贤公知道了，竟偷偷把他的祖父殿侯公抢葬在此。钟山师抚慰敬贤公说：“这山穴是会‘发’的，让尊贤这一房先‘发’，你们可以把恒辉公与殿侯公合葬，到了你的孙子这一代就好了。”

敬贤公一想，反正都是自己兄弟，不用计较这么多。1817年秋天，敬贤以尊贤长子观德和自己的长子观林（即达成）的名义，把恒辉公和殿侯公合葬于黄草冈。

说来也奇，尊贤公把祖父下葬不久，便考入了官场，到宁波做官去了，并娶得宁波女子张氏为副室，这件事让敬贤公觉得钟山师很灵验，他也为兄弟能当上官高兴。只是好景不长，不几年，尊贤公因不习惯官场腐败而辞去官职，后来，尊贤公在浙江做茶行生意，才有积蓄，但不久也回故乡来了。

安葬了恒辉和殿侯公，钟圣阳要返回老家了，临行时，钟圣阳为答谢孙家的照顾，又在翠亨村北面的犁头尖山南峰叫“黄帝田”的地方，为敬贤公点一穴作“寿基”。这“黄帝田”有歌谣曰：

背倚屏风坐宝椅，面临方玉皇帝田。
两旁湾拱又湾拱，如同万众共朝宗。
上有楼台下有阁，一对鳌鱼生两角。
金星明珠现异彩，安坐其中享人寰。

满伯父对我说过，敬贤公以耕种发家，是有钱的。后来因为相信风水，到各处山坡寻找佳地，准备迁葬上代祖宗坟墓，用了不少钱，又因争山地和别人打官司，将田地卖了，令生活入不敷支，家道中落。

数年之后的一天，步入老年且腿部不便的钟山师由儿子背着回到了翠亨找敬贤公，说要为孙家再寻一块福地。不巧敬贤公外出，敬贤妻黄氏对钟山师说：“现今收成又不好，吃饭都成问题了……”钟山师听了，立即让儿子把他背走了。几个小时后，敬贤回到家中，听妻子禀告一切，心感不妙，马上追赶已不及，气得把妻子责骂了一番。

我的高祖父达成公亦好风水，终年养着一位来自嘉应州的黄姓风水先生，孙家各祖先的坟墓，都是达成公所寻得的风水宝地。

敬贤公1850年去世，1854年，达成公把他安葬在“黄帝田”，墓门可远眺金



14.上世纪80年代初，孙必胜在犁头尖山“黄帝田”敬贤公墓地留影。
Victor Sun at Great-Great-Great Grandfather Sun Jingxian's grave site, the “Emperor Field”, on Li Tou Shan in Cuiheng in the early 1980's.

星诸多岛屿，气象壮阔，风景甚幽。地师说：“葬后十年，必生贵人。”这一年是甲寅虎年，眉公出生，12年后，孙中山诞生，亦属虎。眉公后来在檀香山发了财，在夏威夷成了“茂宜王”，孙中山也成了“国父”，我想，难道真是应验了风水先生的预言么？

近这三十年，我只要回翠亨村，总会到“黄帝田”拜祭先祖，一是纪念先人，二是感受一下那山头的美丽风光。满伯父抄下“黄帝田”的诗给我，是这样的：

龙在高山上，穴在深坑藏。中央有个斜眉案，面前牙刀一字横，背后有个宝珠，上有楼下有托，两边斜开二牛角，覆钟高侍母，覆釜矮侍父，左辅右弼紫微象桓，紫微有化，化出狮象把门，一定出公侯将相。

我每次到了那里，居高临下，只见周围山峦起伏，绿树成荫。远眺前方是一望无垠的珠江出口，碧波大海，天水相连，总觉得心旷神怡。伶仃洋上的金星口两边山峦伸延，中间是金星岛，就好像双龙戏珠，美丽如画。

到了我父亲和伯父这一代，也同样倚仗风水，父亲也曾供养过江西兴国来的风水先生杨柳桥、杨其邦父子。杨柳桥为眉公寻得位于犁头尖西南半山腰对着金星门的一墓穴。杨其邦为孙眉夫人谭氏（我们都称她为眉婆）寻觅墓地更是充满神奇色彩。杨其邦在眉婆生前曾答应她，为她在家乡寻找墓地。眉婆于1938年在澳门去世，葬在澳门西洋坟场。1946年父亲任中山县县长时，邀杨其邦回中山寻觅山地，杨其邦在翠亨村以西的石门村，地名“猛虎跳墙”的山冈上找到了一块墓地，预备迁葬眉婆回乡。1948年底的某日，杨其邦一觉醒来，对我父亲说，昨夜梦中见到眉婆，眉婆说她浑身都不舒服。我父亲听罢即随杨山师到澳门找到当年草葬眉婆的墓，挖开一看，骸骨上爬满了白蚁。父亲将骸骨清理干净，即运回了故乡。半年后的1949年6月，父亲择了吉日，与亲友和卫士们一起把眉婆的骸骨安葬在“猛虎跳墙”墓地，卫士们鸣枪致礼，表示对这位与眉公共患难夫人的敬重。可惜因为政权交替，父亲要离开中山，来不及修葺墓地竖立墓碑，只有土坟一穴。



15.“双龙戏珠”——从“黄帝田”远眺的奇观。
“Two dragons playing with a pearl”—— a fantastic view from “Emperor Field”, Sun Jingxian’s grave site.

我的曾祖父孙眉

斗转星移，1987年，父亲从海外归来，他迫不及待地去寻找他的祖母——我的高祖母眉婆的墓地。来到了攸福隆村的村口，一位五六十岁的村民认出了父亲，说：“您不就是孙乾县长吗？”父亲高兴地问：“你怎么知道？”这人说：“您做县长时，我是“单车仔”，时时搭客出入翠亨村，常见你回村，三十多年了，您样子没怎么变啊！”“单车仔”再问父亲来这里做什么？父亲说，要找眉婆的墓。“单车仔”说他知道下葬眉婆的山头，因为当年他也曾跟着上山凑热闹，看着士兵朝天鸣枪。“单车仔”热情带路，穿过田野，走了一段很长的路，才到达“猛虎跳墙”的山脚，可是那里已经没有了上山的路，山草长得比人还高。正在“单车仔”辨别不出方位的时候，山脚下在田里工作的一位长者又认出了父亲，细问之下，原来这人当年是看牛的，眉婆下葬时他也在场观看，他说，那阵势好威风哩！话毕，“看牛仔”很快就爬上山去，找到了一块寸草不生的空地，估计这是眉婆的墓地，便大呼找到了。在山下的父亲听到了，十分兴奋，竟不顾自己80多岁高龄，也不管草深无路，硬是要上山，凭着他对墓地的深刻印象，确认那一片墓地是眉婆的。他深深一拜，以此寄上了近半个世纪对祖母眉婆的无尽思念。



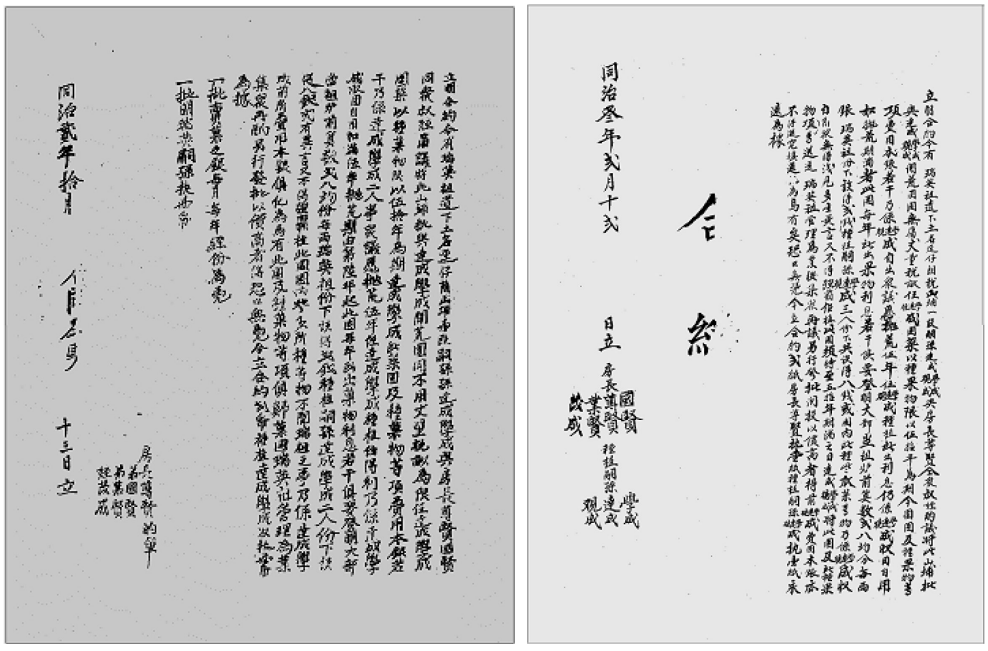
16. “猛虎跳墙”——1987年重修的孙眉夫人谭氏墓地。
“Fierce Tiger leaping over the wall”——Great-grandmother Tam Shi's grave site restored in 1987.

贫穷家庭

翠亨村的土地大多是冲积而成，地为沙土，土质并不肥沃。村民主要种植水稻和杂粮，产量很低，加上村里的土地被少数地主占有，村中仅有的千亩土地，6户地主就占去了800亩，农民无法生活。1850年以后，外出谋生的村民陆续增加，眉公的二叔学成、三叔观成也与同乡到美国“淘金”去了。

1860年左右，学成、观成兄弟回到家乡，学成在村子西面，土名“聚宝盆”的地方买了4亩田继续耕种。1864年前后，达成与学成、观成兄弟三人共同承租了孙氏十一世祖瑞英祖公在迳仔蓢山遗留下来的一块荒地开垦，种植果树。但立约不久，学成就病逝了。观成也因为生活艰难，到上海谋生去了，传说于1867年也在上海附近的船上病死了。达成公在承租的荒地上种过山桔、梅子、荔枝、龙眼树等，但因是旱地作物，需浇水施肥，而劳动力又不足，他的妻子杨氏是缠足的女人，只能做些锄草种瓜的工作，所以果物也没好收成。垦荒的计划最终还是未能实现。

迳仔蓢的地无法耕种下去，达成公只好租耕位于村子东南部的祖尝田二亩半



17. 孙达成、学成、观成三兄弟共同承租先祖遗留下来在迳仔蓢山的一段荒地合约。
The three brothers, Sun Dacheng, Xuecheng and Guancheng jointly leased a piece of wasteland left by ancestors in Jing Zai Lang.

地，这祖尝田俗称“龙田”。“龙田”的土质稍为好一些，但每亩租谷15石，折交“期价银”6两6钱。还有就是耕种学成妻程氏的4亩田，种植水稻和杂粮，也曾养过一头耕牛、一两头猪和几只鸡鸭作为家庭的副业。因为租耕的是祖尝的田，不一定每年都让达成公租耕，孙族的其他子孙也可以耕种，所以达成公还要在村中兼做更夫，以增加一些收入帮补家用，那时做更夫，一年可以挣得几石稻谷。达成公是一位很老实的人，言语不多，很少和别人争斗，村里人家有红白喜事，不管有无酬劳，他也常常乐意去帮忙。

我父亲兄弟俩曾跟随眉公在澳门生活过一段时间，小时总因饭菜不好、衣着不如意等而耍耍小脾气。父亲说，往往在这个时候，眉公就会对他们说他小时候家里是怎样怎样的穷，很少能吃到米饭，经常要煮番薯充饥，或者是番薯煮饭。经眉公一说，小兄弟俩就乖乖地吃饭了。小兄弟俩的听话乖巧，更得到祖父和祖母的疼爱。眉公的晚年，大都是我的父亲和伯父陪伴着他。

眉公9岁才入读乡塾，但到孙中山出生的时候，他也被迫缀学到田间帮助父亲劳作了。我从他写给我祖父孙昌的信看到了他的笔迹，字体还算工整，文理也通顺，可见这两年私塾对眉公的造就，中断甚为可惜。

眉公长得很高大，我想这是干粗重农活练就出来的强壮体魄。我们家里称之为“澳门婆”的卢慕贞夫人与眉公相处时间很长，她告诉过我，眉公力大无穷，即使有水牛打架，他也有力气将牛掰开。眉公从小就好打不平，声音又响亮，村里有小孩打架之类，他总是仗义帮助，村里的人都叫他“猛张飞”。卢夫人嫁到孙家以后，就常常听到村里人讲眉公的事。眉公从小在田间劳作，为了获得更好的收成，他对农事十分用心，不到15岁，耕、犁、锄、耙，播种插秧、中耕除草、引水灌溉、收割扬场，件件皆能，他成了耕种上的一把好手。尽管如此，家中总是入不敷支，加上弟妹接二连三出生，达成公的担子重不堪负，家里的生活越来越困难。达成公因为家穷，也常常受到有钱人家的欺凌，但也只能忍气吞声。达成公原有一片园地种上红豆，但邻村迳仔蔸一户姓何的人家强行占去了，这事发生在1871年左右，有一次，达成公挑粪到田里，路过姓杨的地主家门口，被地主的儿子责骂，并声言以后不准他挑粪经过他的家门口，达成公不敢反驳半句，只好默默地走开。地主杨启焕的老婆丢失了一只鸡，硬说是达成公夫妇偷了，还扬言要捉人，后来地主的婢女发现鸡跌死在粪坑里。

1869年，眉公的祖母黄氏去世，达成公安排眉公到离家十多里外的南朗圩程明桂家当长工。在程家的两年间，眉公既做家仆，又干农活，什么粗活重活都干，很得主人欢心。

Sun Mei, also called Dezhang, was the first child of Dacheng and his wife after ten years of marriage. I believe that they must have been under great pressure at that time because in the feudal, rural society of China, villagers would often gossip about a couple's inability to give birth. The births of Sun Mei and his brothers and sisters brought happiness to the entire family. In fact, Sun Mei was named Mei because in Chinese "mei" refers to the eyebrow and signifies pride and joy; in the Chinese language, when one has great joy, one is said to have "flying eyebrows".

In 1857, Sun Mei's younger sister Jinxing was born, and in 1860, his younger brother Deyou was born. In that same year, however, three year-old Jinxing died. In 1863, the younger sister Miaoxi was born, eventually living to be 92 years old. In January 1866, Deyou died at the age of six, which saddened the family, especially Sun Mei, who cherished having a brother. But on October the sixth of the Lunar calendar that same year, another younger brother, Deming, was born. Deming would later be known as Sun Yat-sen. Sun Mei was exactly twelve years older, so both brothers were born in the year of the Tiger. Sun Mei was thrilled to have a brother again, and he would be very protective toward his little brother thoughout his whole life. Although life was not easy in those days, another little sister was born in 1871. Sun Mei was seventeen years old by then and he was ready to venture overseas to make a living.

At that time, Cuiheng Village had dozens of households, totaling about 200 people. The Sun clan was comprised of no more than ten families. Sun Mei's ancestors had for generations been farmers. His paternal great-grandfather Sun Henghui, for example, owned about ten Chinese acres of land, while his grandfather Jingxian was also a farmer, cultivating the ten or so acres of land left by his ancestors. Up to the time of Sun Jingxian, life was still manageable. I saw on Cuiheng Village's Northern Emperor Temple's stele inscription that in 1828, five people of the Sun clan donated money totaling approximately three liang (a Chinese unit of weight, equivalent to 1/32 of a kilogram) for the first renovation of the temple. Jingxian had donated one liang himself, the most among the Suns.

At the age of 23, Jingxian took a woman named Huang as his wife. They had three sons, Dacheng, Xuecheng and Guancheng. But the family's financial situation during Dacheng's generation had declined. Some of the land left by the ancestors had to be sold and Dacheng had to leave home at the age of sixteen for Macau to work as an apprentice in a shoe shop owned by a Portuguese. Dacheng completed

his apprenticeship and became a shoemaker himself, working there until 1846. He returned home at the age of 33 and married a woman named Yang from neighboring Getian Village in Yakou. He never left his home village after the marriage and spent the rest of his life cultivating the fields. When Sun Mei was born, in addition to his parents, Grandmother Huang was also living in the same house although grandfather Jingxian had passed away four years earlier.

Geomancy and Ancestral Tombs

It was rumored that the Sun Family was especially superstitious about "feng shui", and that because so much money was being spent on obsessive observation of these principles, the family jeopardized its own financial security. But in Cuiheng village, the Suns were not the only family with such tendencies. It was commonly believed, for example, that the proper site location for one's ancestors' graves could guarantee prosperity and security for future generations. The wealthier families would often retain a feng shui master on a long term basis to search for "blessed" grounds for homesites and for ancestral burials. Master Zhong Shengyang from Longchuan in Huizhou had served such rich families as the Fengs and the Yangs in Cuiheng village, even living in their houses for several years.

But Master Zhong had a falling out with the Feng family, and as he and Sun Jingxian had always been friendly, kind and respectful to one another, it was decided that he would move in with Sun Jingxian. He ended up staying with the Suns for several years, climbing the surrounding mountains each day with a compass to survey the terrain for ideal burial grounds for the Suns. One day, he overheard Huang telling her husband that only a liter of rice was left in the house; she suggested that Jingxian eat elsewhere so that Master Zhong could enjoy a proper meal. When dinner time came, however, Zhong Shengyang refused to eat without Jingxian, at which point Jingxian's wife added water to make rice porridge so that all of them could share. Master Zhong was deeply touched by their generosity. He worked even harder and finally found an ideal plot of ground called the Huang Zhaogang for the reinterment of Henghui, Jingxian's father.

Master Zhong also wrote a poem for the Huang Zhaogang site:

The field is called Huangzhaogang, facing the open sea;
Turtle Tours North Sea, flag and drum in the south;
Venus fills the mouth of the river, swallow-like stone in the middle;
Whoever is to bury here, gold shall come in buckets.

Jianxian planned to bury his father there, but his cousin Junxian heard about the blessed ground and quietly buried his own grandfather, Dianhou. Jingxian was initially upset but Master Zhong explained that for Junxian and his family, prosperity

would come first and fast but it wouldn't last. "But for you and your family," the Master said, "you will have to wait until your grandson's generation to become prosperous." This placated Jingxian, who then decided to bury his own father Henghui there as well. In 1817, he used his son Dacheng's (Guanlin) name to bury his father where Junxian had used his son's name Guande to bury his grandfather Dian Hou.

Strangely enough, soon after the burials, Junxian passed the examination and became an official in Ningbo. He even acquired a mistress from Ningbo named Zhang. Jingxian was happy for his cousin, but more importantly, he was excited that what Master Zhong had predicted had come true. Sure enough, Junxian's career as an official ended prematurely as he refused to take part in the corrupt practices that came with the job. He resigned and at first stayed in the Zhejiang area as a tea merchant, but later returned to Cuiheng.

After the reinterments of Henghui and Dianhou, Master Zhong wanted to retire and return home. Before leaving, however, he marked one last, blessed area, this one designated for his friend and employer, Jingxian. The ground there had been known as "Emperor's field" and there was a folk rhyme which described the site:

Sitting on emperor's chair with screens at the back, looking over the Emperor's field;
With winding bays on both sides, as if audience to thousands of people;
There are buildings above and pavilions below, a pair of turtle with two horns;
Venus and pearl with shining color, sitting comfortably in the mist of humanity.

Uncle Moon confirmed to me that, although Jingxian was a simple farmer, he was living quite comfortably with the inheritance of family land. But Jingxian later became obsessed with feng shui and spent a lot of money on feng shui masters to look for blessed grounds. He also spent money on legal battles to acquire these blessed sites, and in order to satisfy his devotion to this form of geomancy, he even sold off some of the land that the family had owned for generations.

Several years later, Master Zhong returned to Cuiheng with his son carrying him on his back. He knocked on Jingxian's door and found Huang at the door. He told her that he wanted to look for one more blessed ground for the Suns, but Madam Huang told him that her family had fallen on hard times and that it was

difficult feeding her own family, let alone two additional guests. Master Zhong took the hint and left. When Jingxian returned home from the field in the evening and learned about Master Zhong's visit, however, he was furious that she had sent him away, and scolded her after he failed to find Master Zhong.

Sun Mei's father Dacheng was also a believer in feng shui. He retained a feng shui master named Huang from Jiaying. Many of the Sun family's ancestral burial grounds were found by Dacheng and the remains of many ancestors were moved to these new sites for reburial.

Jingxian was eventually buried in the blessed ground that had been designated by Master Zhong. The site is located on the southern peak of Litou Hill on the north side of Cuiheng Village, overlooking the island's many beautiful views. Reportedly, the feng shui master had declared, "Great men will be born ten years after the burial." Jingxian passed away in 1850 and was buried there by Dacheng at the "Emperor's Field" in 1854 the year of the tiger, the year Sun Mei was born. Twelve years later, Sun Yat-sen was born, also a tiger. Whether one believes in feng shui or not, as Sun Mei later achieved much success in Hawaii earning the moniker "Maui King", while Sun Yat-sen overthrew the Qing Dynasty and earned the even greater appellation of "Father of the Nation", it is difficult to say that the prophecies of the old feng shui master did not come true.

For the last thirty years, whenever I returned to Cuiheng, I would stop by "Emperor's Field", not only to pay my respects to my ancestors of course, but also simply to feel the air and enjoy the splendor atop this magnificent hilltop. It was not hard to imagine why the master had considered this site particularly blessed, and Uncle Moon left me a poem written by the feng shui master himself.

Dragon high up in the mountains, cave hidden in the pit;
In the center is the sloping table, serrated blade lies across the front;
Behind is the precious pearl ring, structure above with support below;
Both sides open to two bull horns, bell high to serve the mother;
Cauldron low to serve the father, left auxiliary right assistant as sign of the Ziwei Star;
Ziwei can change, change into Lion and Elephant guarding the gate;
Like the door of a lion, royalty and nobles will spring out.

Each time I visited the site and looked far into the vastness of the Pearl River

estuary, I saw Venus Island tucked right in the middle of the mountain ranges and extended from both sides into the waters of the Lingding Sea like two dragons vying for a single pearl. The view is simply magnificent.

The grandsons of Sun Mei, Sun Kin (my father) and Sun Moon inherited their ancestors' faith in feng shui. Sun Kin (Edward) had retained the feng shui Masters Yang Liuqiao from Jiangxi Province and his son Yang Qibang to spend considerable time in Zhongshan searching for advantageous grounds for the Sun family. Grave sites for Sun Dacheng and Sun Mei are located at the foot of Litoujian Hill, right below Sun Jingxian's grave site and facing the same direction. One incredible story was told by the Master's son Yang Qibang, himself a master. In the 1930s, when he was still an apprentice to his father while they both lived with the Sun family, the young man became friends with Sun Mei's wife Madam Tam, and promised her that he would find her a good burial site. In the late 1940s, while he was living in Zhongshan with my father who was the Magistrate for the Zhongshan County at the time, he found, having combed all the hillsides, a site which he called "Tiger Leaping over the Wall" for Madam Tam. One day, he rushed into his father's room and told him of the dream he'd had the night before. He dreamt that Madam Tam complained of aching all over and asked him to find a cure. She had died in Macau years earlier in 1938 and was buried there. Father told him to go to Macau immediately to inspect his grandmother's grave, and what Yang saw, after opening up the vase containing her remains, was hundreds of termites crawling all over her bones. Yang quickly exhumed the urn with her remains and brought it back to Zhongshan with him. In June 1949, Father buried his grandmother at the site found by Yang as soldiers fired off their rifles in salute.

After much time away, Father returned to Zhongshan in 1987. The first thing he wanted to do was to find his grandmother's grave. He went to the entrance of the Youfulong Village but simply could not remember where his grandmother was buried. Amazingly, there was a villager standing there, staring at my father, who asked, "Aren't you Sun Kin, the county magistrate?" My father was pleasantly stunned and asked back, "How did you know?" "When you were magistrate," the man replied, "I was a 'bicycle boy' shuttling people around, and I saw you many times when you came to Cuiheng. It's been over forty years now but you haven't changed much!" When asked by the "Bicycle Boy" what he was doing there, my father told him that he was looking for Mei Po's grave. Even more amazing, the "Bicycle Boy" said he knew where it was because he remembered where the soldiers had

fired their guns and actually went there quite often. The "Bicycle Boy" seemed to know the area quite well, but after a fairly long walk through the field, they came to the bottom of the hill where there was no visible path up the hill side. The "Bicycle Boy" seemed lost, but before my father could despair, another man who was standing not far, suddenly approached them, saying that he too recognized my father. As it turned out, he had been a "water buffalo boy", looking after the animals for his family, and he too was there that day to witness the burial of Madam Tam. He quickly climbed up the hill and a few minutes later called down to them, saying he had found the grave. Needless to say, Father was completely thrilled and, despite his being in his 80s at the time, climbed the hill himself and fulfilled his wish of over half a century of wanting to pay his respects to his grandmother. Later on, we built a proper tomb for her on the grave site.

A Poor Farming Family

Because the village of Cuiheng is located by the sea and surrounded by salt water, most of the land was an alluvial soil of sandy clay and not suitable for farming. Villagers mainly planted rice and vegetables but the yields were small. In addition, most of the land was owned by a small number of landlords. Out of the one thousand or so acres of land in the village, six landlords owned over 800 of it. Most farmers could barely make a living from cultivating the fields. From 1850 onward, the number of villagers migrating out of the village to make a living rose steadily. Sun Mei's second uncle Xuecheng, for example, had gone to America, and Third Uncle Guancheng went to Shanghai.

Around 1860, however, both Xuecheng and Guancheng returned to Cuiheng. Xuecheng purchased four acres on the west side of the village in an area called "Jubaopan" and began cultivating it. Around 1864 or so, the three brothers collectively signed a lease to work on the field left by the 11th generation ancestor Ruiying on the hillside area called "Jingzailang". They planned on cultivating the raw land to plant fruit trees, but soon after signing the lease, Xuecheng passed away, while Guancheng again departed for Shanghai to make a living. The harvest had been poor due to lack of fresh water and manpower. The fact that Dacheng's wife Yang had bound feet which meant she she could only work in the fields raising vegetables didn't help. Their project ended up a failure.

Since the "Jingzailang" land was worth nothing, Dacheng had to revert to work on the two and a half acres field that belonged to the Sun clan called "Long Tian" on the northeastern end of the village. The "Long Tian" field tended to yield a bit more: in a good year, for example, there could be over 10 dan (Chinese unit of weight for crops) yield per acre. But this land belonged to family clan as a whole and Dacheng did not have the exclusive right to farm there every year. Other Sun family members could also work the field, so Dacheng also worked as a time keeper to supplement his income. Back then, a time keeper could make about 12 dan, or the equivilent of 720 kilograms rice, per year. The reward was quite good and Dacheng, a quiet and honest man, never had any arguments or fights with others. Whenever there was an occasion where help was needed, Dacheng was always glad to help out regardless of whether he would be paid back or not.

My father and Uncle Moon lived with their grandfather Sun Mei for a while in

Macau. Father remembered that as kids, they would often complain about food or clothing, but his grandfather would tell them that when he was a boy in Cuiheng, the family often had to eat yam instead of rice, or yam mixed with rice, to fill their stomachs. They usually listened to and obeyed their grandfather, and the grandparents in return loved them very much. Towards the end of Sun Mei's life, father and Uncle Moon spent a great deal of time keeping him company. Sun Mei had only started learning to read at the age of nine in a village school, and even then had to terminate his studies so he could help his father in the field when Sun Yat-sen was born. Nevertheless, from the letters Sun Mei wrote to his son, I can see that his hand-writing and grammar were remarkably proficient for someone with only two years of learning. Sun Mei had grown to be tall and strong, which I think was probably the result of the heavy manual labor he'd experienced working in the fields when he was young.

Sun Yat-sen's first wife, Madam Lu probably ended up spending the most time with Sun Mei, and she told me that Sun Mei was physically very strong, claiming that he once separated two fighting oxen with his bare hands! Also, Sun Mei could not stand injustice. He had a powerful voice and often intervened as a mediator whenever there was a fight between kids. The villagers called him "Intrepid Zhang Fei", after the Chinese folk hero. After Madam Lu married Sun Yat-sen, she would always hear stories from the villagers about Sun Mei. She said Sun Mei started working in the fields as a boy but learned very quickly and became quite an expert on rice farming. He mastered all the tools and techniques known at the time, on getting rid of weeds, irrigating crops and harvesting. Yet despite his expertise in farming, the family was still poor. With all the children to raise, Dacheng had quite a burden to shoulder.

In 1869, when Sun Mei's grandmother passed away, he left home to work for Cheng Minggui, who lived in Nanlong Town more than several kilometers away. Sun Mei worked full-time at the Cheng household for two years, doing housework, heavy lifting and such, and laboring in the fields. He worked hard, learned a lot, and was well-liked by his employer.



第四章
创业夏威夷

Chapter 4
Venturing to Hawaii

远赴檀岛

在程家工作的两年间，眉公听到了不少关于东家程明桂在檀香山发迹的故事。

东家程明桂，又名程植（直），是南朗安定村人。13岁因家境困难到香港一间洋行打工。1847年，17岁的程明桂跟随洋行里的一位英国人去檀香山。当时檀香山只有几十名中国人，而这几十人中，大多是来自香山县的商人。香山商人把丝绸、家具、瓷器、杂货运往檀香山销售后，收购当地的檀香、木耳和各式土货运回中国销售。曾经在香港洋行工作过的程明桂很快地受到启发，他转手商人们带来的货物经营起来，那时丝绸最受土人的欢迎，几年间他竟获利不少。我在《檀山华侨》一书中看到，1854年，程明桂已能和其他几十位商人捐钱买地为华人修筑庐墓、会馆，可见他当时已经很富有。

1860年，程明桂和香山沥溪村人陈芳合作经营“芳植记”，专营中国国货，兼做批发生意。陈芳是1850年跟随他的伯父带着大宗货物来檀香山销售后留下来继续经商的。他们两人合作经营的企业居檀香山华侨八大企业之首。发迹后的程明桂回乡捐官买地，是南朗镇上最有名的富翁。

眉公把他在程家的所见所闻，告诉了与他年龄相仿的亲朋好友，少年们聚集在一起谈论外出谋生的事，他们有的回家试探父母及亲友的意见，有的走街串巷，打听先行外出谋生村民的状况。

翠亨村土地贫瘠，收成不丰，只靠农耕的日子并不好过，加上那个时候的翠亨村很不太平。1840年鸦片战争以后，香山县一带盗贼横行，到处都有抢劫的事情发生。翠亨村里因外出谋生赚了钱回乡买屋买田的人，以及经济较为富裕的华侨家庭都是劫匪的目标。劫贼会先派人到村里探察，摸清各家各户的情况，然后趁黑夜人们都熟睡的时候，带一大帮人来抢劫，不论金银财宝、现金衣物、谷米茨粮都被洗劫一空。如果遇到被抢劫者拿不出钱来，还会被绑票，把人绑架当人质，然后勒索钱财，有时，劫匪甚至在光天化日之下公然入村抢劫。

盗匪之外，天地会、三合会等秘密结社也在民间广泛出现，广东各地会党起义此起彼伏，翠亨附近的石门、攸福隆等村庄都有三合会组织的活动。1854年的太平天国运动，席卷了大半个广东，香山全境几乎成为清兵、地方团练与洪秀全兵搏斗的战场。这一切都影响到了翠亨村，一向只被官府除了收税才来骚扰一下的小山村，陷入惊恐之中，经济也随之陷入萧条的状态，迫使更多的人外出谋生。

翠亨一带乡民出外谋生多往上海，也有到广州、青岛、烟台、唐山、汉口的。有记载香山人在近代上海移民人口中最多时达3万多人。如孙中山的好友陆皓东的父亲陆晓帆就是在上海做贸易生意的。邻近崖口村人谭宗灏是烟台盎斯洋行执事、大商家。翠亨村的陆仁车、陆厚车兄弟在广州洋行当买办，他们发财后回到翠亨村广置田产。据说，翠亨富豪陆仁基在村前一站，伸手指及翠亨及邻村的土地，都要强行买下，还出钱买下了“敕授儒林郎”、“候选巡政厅”两个官衔。

翠亨人外出谋生的另一个地点是檀香山。据1856年翠亨村户籍统计，村中90户人家有赴檀香山者达30户，其中三户最穷的，到了檀香山都脱了贫。

翠亨村人陆灿在回忆录里写到：

> 19世纪70年代，村里的人几乎都在谈论夏威夷，许多人家的子弟去那儿成了商人或地主，家人收到了他们的来信，知道他们在那里更容易谋生，陆续就有人跟着前去。

可是，达成公却很不愿意儿子离乡别井外出谋生，他对眉公说，在家千日好，出门半朝难，并不是人人出去都会发达的。眉公知道，父亲是为他的两个弟弟在外谋生的遭遇伤透了心。眉公对父亲说，在乡下也不会发达，自己一定要去闯一闯，达成公拗不过他但也没有同意。

恰好这时，舅父杨文纳从檀香山回乡，这位出去了几年的亲戚，在檀香山碰到了运气，做了点小生意，生活比在家乡时好多了。他告诉达成公，檀香山的气候比家乡好，土地肥沃，雨量充沛，所以农产很丰富，甘蔗、水稻、芋等都是檀香山的盛产，即使从事农业，也是一条很好的出路，有机会做做小生意，富裕起来是不难的，舅父主张眉公去檀香山。他说，那里的香山人很多，乡里乡亲好照应，达成听后宽心了不少，终于答应了。

那时到檀香山最直接的航行也超过8000公里，航程要40多天。在漫长乏味又难以忍受的旅途中，还要时时面对海面上恶劣的天气和疾病的威胁，要选定檀香山为目的地，是一个艰难的抉择。可是眉公却想着外出的事，是去上海还是去檀香山，他拿不定主意。于是，他到村中的祖庙——北极殿寻求神灵的指引，通过求签问卜，决定前途。

翠亨村民信奉北帝拥有消灾解困、治水御火、延年益寿的神力，北帝不仅统率所有水域的安全，还是北极的化身，可指引船只航行于正确方向不会迷失于海上。清朝康熙年间，翠亨村民建北极殿供奉北帝，村民遇到大小事情都会到庙中



18.始建于清康熙年间(1662—1722年)翠亨村村庙北极殿旧貌
Cuiheng Village Northern Emperor Temple built in the 1662—1722 Qing Kangxi period.

求签问卜，家家户户每逢初一十五以及神诞、节日都会到庙中上香，村民外出要拜北帝，求保佑出门平安顺利，在外回乡也首先到庙中答谢神恩，虔诚至极。在村民心中，不管是居乡还是出洋谋生，只要是翠亨村民，不论远近，村神北帝一定会神恩普照。也不知眉公求得了一支什么签，反正，他选择了檀香山。

听到侄儿有出门谋生的意思，二婶程氏也早早的在为侄儿筹划了。因为家居窄小，眉公从小就住在二婶程氏家中，程氏只有一个女儿，她待眉公犹如亲生儿子。当眉公主意已定，她就把佃租给达成公的田地，抵押了两亩给村民，得24两银作为眉公的路费。这田是学成死后，遗下在土名“聚宝盆”的4亩田，原来由达成耕种，交还租金以维持程氏母女生活的。

眉公去檀香山后，仍然照顾二婶母女生活，当他有了积蓄，又将田赎回，让

婶母继续出租维持生活。程氏和杨氏妯娌和睦，情深谊厚。1895年10月，孙中山领导的广州起义失败，孙中山一家避走檀香山，程氏就一直为孙家管理故居、族谱、契据。1912年程氏在故居去世，眉公为她殡殓厚葬。

1871年，眉公踏上了檀香山的旅途，同行的有翠亨村孙氏同宗的几位青年孙梅生（德修）、孙赞生、孙玉成、孙胜、孙良、孙惠（德勤），从檀香山返乡重回檀岛的郑愎、郑强也一起出发。孙赞生、孙梅生是孙尊贤的孙子，尊贤生有二子孙富成、孙万成。孙富成有女无子，梅生、赞生是孙万成所生。孙玉成也是孙家的房亲。那时候，亲友之间大都联袂出门，希望相互间有个依靠。梅生、赞生、玉成、德勤在檀香山一直都跟随眉公。玉成、梅生回国后与家人曾在我们翠亨的故居住过。

经过40多天的海上航行，尝尽了一路的惊涛骇浪，忍受着肉体的折磨，死亡的压力，这帮负着半肩行李，带着中国华南农村泥土味的香山农民，终于抵达了彼岸。

是年入境檀香山的华人有223人。

垦荒致富

抵埗后，东家程明桂的伙头带着眉公等人找先期到达的同乡陆成，希望能在陆成那里找到工作，结果不成。伙头再把他们带到郑愎那里，郑愎很热心，先叫人带他们熟悉环境，再安置他们在自己的菜园里工作。眉公在郑愎的菜园里工作了11个月，月薪是15元，眉公很节俭，连理发也是工友之间相互帮助解决，每月寄10元回家。

眉公把郑愎农场打点得井井有条，蔬菜生长旺盛。消息不胫而走，传到附近一位楷奈楷（Kanaka，指本土人）的女菜园主耳中，女园主以每月比郑愎多5元的条件请眉公到她的“同胜围”菜园当管工。孙眉健硕孔武，管工到位，身体力行，不论粗工细活均可示范，土人在他那里学到了许多种菜的本领，很喜欢和他交朋友，乐意教他讲夏威夷的土话。菜园一片生机，眉公也不时得到老板娘的打赏，很快眉公便有了积攒。

檀香山的米业在1794年就开始，以奥鸦湖岛稻米业为旺盛。这位女菜园主在奥鸦湖珍珠港有一块湿地已搁置多年，不知如何处置。当她带着眉公去看那块地时，眉公表示愿意尝试把这块荒地开垦耕种。眉公先把河边的树木铲除，平整土地，划分田畴，开辟水沟，引导水流，畅通四周，令灌溉便利，节省时间和劳力，再以精耙细作，种植稻谷兼及瓜果蔬菜。夏威夷有充足的阳光和充沛的雨水，与珠江三角洲无异。数月后，珍珠港湿地水稻丰收，大大鼓舞了眉公。19世纪六七十年代，檀香山还是一个半开垦的荒岛，人口稀少，弃地很多。政府为了鼓励垦荒，随便什么人都可以领地开荒。眉公找来了几个同伴，合伙在奥鸦湖岛上衣哗（Ewa）方向，珍珠港以西的位巴湖(Wai-pahu)附近，向政府租下一块更大的田地自行种稻。与眉公同来的梅生、赞生、玉成等都在眉公租来的土地上为他工作。

那时候，已有华人从中国贩卖耕牛到檀香山，翠亨人陆廷芳就曾专门运牛到檀香山耕田。在檀香山有耕牛就是最好的农具，眉公用积蓄买了两头牛，自己做犁耙，用牛耙田。

那时，夏威夷政府大力鼓励种植水稻，种水稻蔚然成风，有的地方甚至还把已种下的芋拔起来改种水稻，以至有几年发生过芋荒。芋是土人的主要食品，也是檀香山最大宗的土产之一。

他凭借租来的土地靠近湖边、水草丰富的优越条件，大力畜养牛、羊、猪、

鸡、鹅、鸭，实行农牧并举，很快，眉公就有了收获。

1989年，为纪念华人到夏威夷200周年，夏威夷华人历史研究中心主编宋谭秀红、林为栋合著《兴中会五杰》一书，书中五杰，首选眉公。当中转述项定荣先生著作《国父七访美檀考述》一文提及眉公说：

> 据夏威夷公证登记局的记载，自1872年至1880年，他便在奥鸦湖(Oahu)买入鱼塘及渔业权之购入。其在1874年8月1日，曾作牲畜之买卖，价值达6000元。

招募华工

夏威夷糖业和米业的快速发展，使当地越来越显得劳工短缺，眉公竟又大胆开拓了招募华工的另一桩生意

19世纪初，夏威夷已有很茂盛的野生蔗丛，随着制糖业的发展，甘蔗从野生逐步走向人工种植，到了1838年夏威夷已向美国出口食糖和糖浆。但当时，几乎所有的甘蔗种植园都严重缺乏劳动力。1850年8月21日，夏威夷皇家农业协会正式成立，由协会负责引进华工。1852年1月3日和8月2日，两批华工195人和98人先后到达。此后12年中，进入夏威夷的中国华工有410人。

1864年，夏威夷政府成立了由内务大臣和枢密院五名官员组成的移民局，负责招募华工。政府派出招工人员，代表政府或某一大公司、商行同中国的经纪人签订契约招募华工，经纪人可按不同的比率，收受一定的佣金作为报酬。



19. 檀香山早期街景图
Early Honolulu Street Scene

夏威夷的华人更是建议政府派中国人回广东直接挑选一些质素较高的华工来檀香山。1870年，著名的香山华商程利开办的朝兰公司，以及陈芳、程植开办的芳植公司与夏威夷政府签订合同，各到中国招募100名华工。朝兰公司以每名男子35元、妇女30元的价格完成了招聘任务，但芳植公司因为不愿把不合格的华工招募到夏威夷，加上他们只限于在家乡香山县选择华工，所以没有达到定额，只得退还2000元给夏威夷政府。但在后来的两年里，这两家公司却又成功地招募了1400名华工到夏威夷。华工的到来，受到了当地人的欢迎，他们认为中国人个个安分守己，能干又热情，比本地人坚定、勤俭而且耐劳。

1875年11月17日，夏威夷国王大伟·卡拉卡瓦与美国签订互惠条约。这个条约规定夏威夷可以免税向美国出口食糖，交换的条件是美国可以在夏威夷的珍珠港设立一个海军基地。条约的签订使夏威夷王国的经济立时繁荣起来。由于互惠条约的订立，促使夏威夷的糖业急速发展，对中国劳工的需要更为迫切。有些招募华工的经纪人和海运公司经常在未经申请或未获批准的情况下，匆匆忙忙把华工运来夏威夷，那些华工到了夏威夷后才开始找种植园园主签订契约，那时夏威夷的华工已占人口的20%，有的种植园主乘机苛待新来的华工，由此引来了不少的歧视华工问题，经常发生种植园主和华工纠纷。香山侨商陈芳、程明桂开设的芳植记、钟初等24家公司及个人联名向政府发出请愿书，使政府对招聘契约华工政策作过多次的修改，并挑选有一定社会地位的人士担任经纪人。由于眉公与芳植记的关系，1877年夏威夷政府特许眉公招募华工。眉公看准了机会，他在檀香山的怒安奴街设立了一个移民办事处。

由于办事处地处华埠，是新来华工聚散的地方，一下子吸引了许多初抵埗的华工，好奇的华工入店打听，寻求安置。每有运来华工的船只到达，眉公必定到码头去接应。但他不会像有的经纪人那样一哄而上，甚至强行拉扯。他总是悠然自得的样子，细细打量着每一个上船的华工，看到有合适者，就上前介绍情况，从工资、工种、住宿到园主情况一一进行介绍，他诚恳的态度往往吸引了许多初来报到的人，本已被其他经纪人拉扯过去的，也转投到眉公那里。眉公对待新来者，首先是安排好食宿，带他们熟悉环境，甚至还托回乡的华侨为新来的华工捎带信件回乡报平安，然后再按照各人的情况和园主的要求安置到各个农场、庄园去工作。他依靠在檀香山建立的人际关系和信誉，以及他所学到的夏威夷土话，沟通政府和各农场主的关系，使园主得到合理的华工配额，及时调解华工之间，以及华工与园主间的纠纷。许多种植园主都以眉公有正式牌照，又熟悉中国人的

情况，放心到他那里挑选华工，华工也因为他的安置得当，找到合适工作而安心工作。很快地，眉公的移民办事处的工作就顺利开展了。

但因为这些华工都不是由他直接从中国招来的，园主们所需要的人才不一定能达到要求，而且所获利润也不是很多。如果从中国直接招聘劳工到夏威夷，还可以得到政府按每位华工给经纪人拨给100美元的费用，除清“水脚”、“使费”，利润是很引诱人的。翠亨村人谭尧在回忆他的祖父到檀香山时的情况说：

那个时候，去檀香山的路费只需十多元，若有川资100元，可供七八个人一同前去了，船租和伙食也是很经济的。

但海上风险等种种因素，也使眉公考虑再三，他去拜访陈芳、程利，在他们那里咨询了一些招聘华工的注意事项。诸如契约签订、船租合同……计算起来，觉得有利可图，于是眉公准备回乡招工了。

正当眉公策划回国招募劳工的时候，达成公的一纸家书，催促他回乡娶妻。在檀香山，最初并无华人女子入境，到了1853年，招入180名华工，24名家庭佣工，才有少数女性华人，后来到达夏威夷的中国女子数目也很少。在檀香山的中国男子一是选择与土人女子结婚，一是回乡择偶。

父母为眉公选择了一位与母亲杨太夫人同村的谭姓姑娘。眉公盘算着可以借回乡的机会亲自招工，就把移民事务处的事情交给共事者管理，便与乡亲结伴回乡了。比起六年前眉公来檀时，中国到檀香山的航程已缩短到20多天了。1877年6月9日，眉公在亲人的期盼中衣锦荣归。

我听过妙茜姑太讲过眉公回乡的情况，那年妙茜姑婆15岁，孙中山12岁。妙茜姑婆回忆说，那时候一家人都在计算着眉公到达家乡的日子，孙中山更是天天到路边张望。那天，正在摘野猪菜的孙中山见到有一个人坐着轿子，前面又有些挑夫挑着很多行李向村中走来，他好奇地站起来看，只见每件行李上都写着孙字，再看看坐在轿子上那人，孙中山一口气便跑回家去，上气不接下气地对着母亲大叫“阿……阿妈，大哥回来了，大哥回来了！”母亲很诧然，怎么是大儿子回来了呢！她笑着回应小儿子说：“你怎么认识你大哥呢？”说来也是，眉公出门的时候，孙中山才6岁。孙中山急急地说：“是哩，坐在轿上的人与大哥的照片是很相像的，行李上又有大个的孙字，怎么会不是呢？”母子俩正在争论。只听见“阿妈，阿妈！”的叫声已传到屋里，母亲见到长子，喜极而泣，父亲和妹妹也高兴极了。见到弟妹们已长大，特别是机灵的孙中山，一下子就博得了眉公的疼爱，眉公把孙中山拉到身旁，细细地问他读书的情况，一家人团聚，乐也融

融。左邻右里闻声都过来见见这位传闻中在檀香山发了达的“金山客”。眉公也不忘乘机向乡亲们介绍檀香山的情况。在眉公居乡三个多月里，他几乎是走街串巷，直至邻近的乡村，凡是家中有年轻的男子，都是眉公访问的对象，在眉公的鼓动下，陆陆续续有100多人报名愿意跟随眉公前往檀香山。

7月15日，眉公与谭氏完婚。婚事操办得风光体面，热闹非凡。花轿、鼓乐一路吹打到三里外的崖口村，迎娶了这位比他小8岁的妻子。

崖口村于1330年由谭姓从东莞县大宁乡迁来建村，陆续有杨姓、陆姓等迁入。村子面向伶仃洋，有绵延8.5公里的海岸线和数千亩农田，横卧在村子西北方的崖门山成了村子的天然屏障，为山下农田、民居遮风挡雨，这里秀丽，宁静，村人靠山吃山，靠海吃海。谭氏出生在一个农民家庭，她是一位缠了足又提早放脚的女子，所以从小就能下田劳动，上山打柴，出海捕鱼，养成了不怕吃苦、豁达乐观的性格，人也长得漂亮。虽然是盲婚哑嫁，但眉公却十分喜欢这位新婚的妻子，不久，他把妻子和母亲带到了檀香山。

临行前，他在翠亨村外办了一个移民事务所，物色了可靠的人作为合伙人，作移民事务内应，他回檀香山作外合，继续他的华工招募工作。

听说大哥要回檀香山，对海外向往已久的孙中山，便提出要与大哥一起走，可是却遭父母强烈反对。皆因达成公对出外谋生，总还心存疑虑和恐惧，弟弟们的遭遇总在他心中挥之不去。何况，两个儿子已经出去了一个，另一个就该留在身边，在家乡开枝散叶也是情理。

小小年纪的孙中山，又怎能体会得到父母的这种感情与担心呢？他依然吵着、嚷着，就是要跟大哥走。哥哥安慰弟弟说：“你现在太小了点，等长大些，我一定带你出去。”母亲也说她愿意和眉公夫妇一同先去看看再说，孙中山只好作罢。

1877年9月22日，眉公带着母亲和妻子谭氏重返檀香山。那年，到达檀香山的华工已达6045人，占夏威夷人口的10.4%。华工人口的增加，需用日常用品和唐山（华侨称中国为唐山）杂货也越来越多，华工在工余时间到大埠购物也需歇脚休息的地方。新移入的华工，人地生疏，生活赖人辅导，于是便组织华人杂货店来适应此项需要。眉公有见于此，就把原来的移民办事所搬到曼奴基亚街(Maunakea Street)，并改名为“德隆商店”，专门为新移民服务。诸如专卖新移民生活用品，代理英文文件，代写代邮代汇。随后，他又在檀香山租赁房屋，用作招待新到埠移民的食宿。

15岁的谭氏很快地就适应了新的生活，她在德隆商店帮助丈夫照顾华工的生活，安置华工食宿。从码头到商店的路上，时时见到有谭氏忙碌的身影，她的热情能干，深得华工的信任，是眉公的好帮手。

1878年，眉公在衣哗的种植又大有收获,在米业界名声打响，他同时兼做了米的代理。如同所有的华侨一样，眉公也希望把自己的亲人接来一同分享自己劳动的成果，他更希望把孙中山接来由自己栽培，将来好承接自己的事业。杨太夫人在檀香山住了几个月，也觉得夏威夷是一个好地方，她要回国,不但要把孙中山带来，也要让达成公过来开开眼界。

1879年，眉公的合伙人租了一条约2000吨的英国铁汽船“格兰诺去”（S.S.Grannoch）号，从澳门出发到檀香山。这艘船当中载着眉公在家乡招徕的200多位华工，眉公免费供给华工伙食、轮船船票，在华工到达檀香山后，眉公从夏威夷政府所给每位华工100元的津贴中得到了他的报酬，这是一笔不小的数目。弟弟和母亲也借此机会坐上这条船到檀香山来了，可惜父亲达成公还是愿意留在翠亨村，眉公始终没有办法说服父亲远离家乡。

Starting up in Honolulu

During the two years he worked in the Cheng household, Sun Mei heard many stories about how his employer had made his fortune in Hawaii. Master Cheng Minggui, also called Cheng Zhi, was from Anding Village of Nanlong originally, but due to his family's financial difficulties, he went to work for a foreign firm in Hong Kong when he was only thirteen years old. In 1847, 17-year-old Cheng Minggui was fortunate enough to be picked to accompany his English employer to Honolulu. At that time Honolulu had only a few dozen Chinese, and most were merchants who had come from Xiangshan County. The Xiangshan merchants would bring silk, furniture, chinaware, and groceries from China to sell in Honolulu, and then collect local sandalwood, auricular and various types of local products to ship back to China for sale. With the experience he had gained working for the English firm, Cheng seized the opportunity to begin selling all those Chinese products that came into Honolulu. Silk was the most popular item and within a few years, he became a very successful businessman in Honolulu. In the book "Overseas Chinese in Hawaii", it was recorded that in 1854, Cheng Minggui and many other local Chinese donated large sums of money to construct a Chinese club and tombs for the Chinese. This seems to indicate that he was by then quite successful.

In 1860, Cheng Minggui and his business partner Chun Fong, who was from Lixi Village of Xiangshan, jointly operated a company called "Afong & Achuck Co.", which specialized in distributing Chinese products, both wholesale and retail. Chun Fong had arrived in 1850 with his uncle, who had brought with them a large cargo of goods to sell, and stayed in Honolulu to continue doing business. Through their mutual cooperation, they soon became the richest Chinese living in Hawaii, their company ranking as one of the top eight enterprises in Hawaii at the time. Later, Cheng Minggui had returned to Xiangshan to buy himself an official post in the local government along with several properties, and became the most well-known personality in Nanlong.

Sun Mei would tell his friends about what he had heard and seen at the Cheng's house. Naturally, the young people became excited by the prospect of becoming equally successful away from their homeland. Some of them went on to ask their parents what they thought of the idea, and most sought more information about the specifics of working overseas.

Cuiheng Village's land was largely barren and the typical yields could not

support any family cultivating the land. Worse yet, Cuiheng Village also suffered from repeated pillaging at the hands of bandits and thieves after the 1840 Opium War. Many villagers had already gone overseas, made good, and returned home to buy land and properties. These wealthier overseas Chinese families were the most frequent targets of the bandits and pirates, who would typically first send scouts into the village to spy on the families. They would then come in after dark, when people had gone to bed, and rob the house clean, taking jewelry, cash, clothes, grain and everything else of value. Kidnapping for ransom when money could not be found was not uncommon. Neither were daytime robberies.

Yet aside from banditry, triad and other secret societies were also widespread in many areas of Guangdong Province. Cuiheng and nearby villages such as Shimen and Youfulong were infiltrated by triad organizations which swept through half of Guangdong following the Taiping Rebellion in 1854. Xiangshan became the battlefield between the Qing Government's army, the local militia and soldiers of the Hong Xiuquan. All of these factors impacted Cuiheng greatly, sending this little village that once was simply known to be just a target of harassment by tax officials, into a deep panic. With the economy also falling into a state of depression, people were forced to seek a living in other places.

Most of Cuiheng's departing villagers would seek work in Shanghai, but a few would go to Guangzhou, Qingdao, Yantai, Tangshan and Hankow. It was documented that at one time the number of people from Xiangshan immigrating to Shanghai reached 30,000 total. From Cuiheng village, Lu Xiaofan went to Shanghai to engage in trading, while Tan Zhonghao of the nearby village Yakou became a director at the Jones Company in Yantai. Lu Renche and Lu Houche, brothers from Cuiheng, were compradors in Guangzhou trading firms, who returned to Cuiheng and bought a lot of properties. Legend has it that the two stood in front of the village and bought up every thing they could point their fingers at. They even bought two official titles, " Court-appointed Scholar" and " Candidate for the Provincial Goverment".

Another popular destination for Cuiheng's workers to go seek their fortunes was Honolulu. According to 1856 statistics, out of the total of 90 families, 30 households went to Honolulu. It was reported that the three poorest families in the village had all climbed out of poverty after working in Honolulu.

Cuiheng villager Lu Can wrote in his memoir, "In the 1870s, almost everyone in the village was talking about Hawaii. Many youngsters that went there had

become businessmen or landlords. Their families learned from their letters that making a living was easy, so even more would want to go there."

Dacheng, however, did not want his son to leave, telling him that life was safer at home, that venturing out is difficult, or that not everyone who leaves will become rich. Still, Sun Mei knew that his father was speaking from the misfortunes of his two uncles who went overseas and ended up with nothing, so Sun Mei remained insistent, trying to convince his father that he could never become well off in Cuiheng and that great success could only come elsewhere.

As if by divine intervention, at that moment, Uncle Yang Wenna returned home from Honolulu. Uncle Yang had lived in Honolulu for a few years, did some small business and became quite well off. He told Sun Mei that Honolulu's climate was better than their hometown's, the land was far more fertile, rainfall was abundant, so rice paddies, yam and sugar cane fields all grew prodigiously fast. Farmers could do well and become rich, especiall ones possessing Sun Mei's expertise. Uncle Yang insisted that Sun Mei go and try his luck. Besides, he said, there were many people from the same hometown there, so he would be well taken care of. Sun Mei's father relented.

The direct navigation route to Honolulu was more than 8,000 kilometers and took more than 40 days at that point in time. During this long and arduous journey, people faced the threat of disease and treacherous weather. To appease his own apprehensions, Sun Mei went to seek divine direction, paying a visit to the village's Northern Emperor Temple to get a bamboo slip for divination regarding his future.

The villagers of Cuiheng believed that the Northern Emperor God had the supernatural power to avert disaster, to help people overcome their difficulties, to regulate waterways and fire, and even to prolong life. The Northern Emperor not only commanded the security of all the waters, but also served as the incarnation of the North Pole, directing maritime navigation so ships would not be lost at sea. Around the period of the reign of Emperor Kangxi during the early Qing Dynasty (1662–1722), Cuiheng's villagers constructed the Northern Emperor Temple to consecrate the gods. The villagers would come ask for divine direction on matters big and small. On the first and fifteen day of every month in the lunar calendar, people would come to offer their incense. It was also customary for people to go pay their respects before taking a trip and to offer thanks when they returned home safely. For the villagers, the Northern Emperor was powerful and could bless everyone in the village. We don't know exactly which bamboo slip Sun Mei got at

the temple, but in the end, he chose to go to Hawaii.

Because his own home was too small, Sun Mei had lived in his second aunt Cheng's house together with her only daughter. She treated him like her own son and, upon hearing that Sun Mei wanted to leave home for Hawaii, was quick to offer her help. She immediately leased the two acres of land she owned to a villager for 24 taels of silver to pay for Sun Mei's trip. The leased land was part of the four-acre "Jubaopan" field left by her husband, Xuecheng, and had been worked on by Dacheng to yield enough to support her living.

Sun Mei would always take care of his Aunt Cheng and her daughter, even after having gone to Hawaii. When he had the money, he paid off their mortgage and continued sending her money. Aunt Cheng and Sun Mei's mother Yang were very close. Years later in 1893, after Sun Yat-sen's failed Guangzhou Uprising, Sun Yat-Sen and his family had to escape to Hawaii, leaving Cheng to take care of the Sun household in the village from then on. When Cheng died in the Sun residence in 1912, it was Sun Mei who made her funeral arrangements.

In 1871, Sun Mei set out for Honolulu. On the same ship were Zheng Bi and Zheng Qiang, who had returned to Xiangshan from Hawaii for a visit, as well as several young men from the Sun Clan in Cuiheng Village, including Sun Meisheng(Dexiu), Sun Zansheng and Sun Yucheng. Sun Sheng, Sun Liang and Sun Hui(Deqin). Sun Zansheng and Sun Meisheng were the grandsons of Sun Junxian, cousin of Sun Mei's grandfather Sun Jingxian. Sun Junxian had two boys, Sun Fucheng and Sun Wancheng. Sun Fucheng had no children but Wancheng had two sons: Meisheng and Zansheng. In those days, relatives and friends usually traveled together so that they could help each other. Meisheng, Zansheng and Yucheng and Deqin all followed Sun Mei. When Meisheng and Yucheng returned to Cuiheng later, they both stayed at the Sun residence.

After forty days at sea and having survived their encounters with stormy weather along the way, all of the village farm people from South China's Xiangshan finally arrived in Honolulu. That year, 223 Chinese entered Honolulu.

Cultivating Wasteland

Upon arriving in Honolulu, Sun Mei and his friends began looking for work. A chef who had worked for Cheng Minggui took them to see Lu Cheng, who had come to Hawaii earlier, but Lu had no job for them. The chef then took them to see Zheng Bi. Zheng was very supportive and offered them jobs on his vegetable farm, where the newcomers could settle down, work, and become acclimated to their new environment. Sun Mei worked at Zheng's farm for eleven months, earning fifteen dollars per month, ten of which he sent home each month.

Sun Mei worked hard and put the vegetable farm in good order. News of his expertise and work ethic traveled fast and soon a Kanaka lady who also owned a vegetable farm offered him twenty dollars a month, hoping to lure Sun Mei to work as her foreman. Sun Mei accepted and quickly demonstrated not only his managerial skills, but his mastery of agricultural techniques, as well as his ability to handle much of the heavy, physical labor as well. Sun Mei was also very popular among the native workers as he was very friendly with them. They in turn were more than happy to teach him their language, which he learned to speak very quickly. The vegetable farm prospered and the woman who hired him happily showered Sun Mei with bonuses. Within a short time, he was able to save up quite a bit of money.

In Honolulu, paddy field farming to produce rice began in 1794, with Oahu Island becoming the main center. Sun Mei's employer, the Kanaka farm owner, happened to also own some wetland in the Pearl Harbor area, but it had been idle for some time, for she knew not what to do with it. When she showed Sun Mei this plot of land, Sun Mei immediately expressed his willingness to cultivate this wetland. Sun Mei first dug drainage ditches on the land, using the mud he dug up to elevate and level the field, while regulating its water level. He then divided the field into rectanglar blocks and applied organic farm manure to fertilize the soil, preparing it for seeding. With Hawaii's sunlight and abundant rains, a climate not unlike that of the Pearl River Delta in Guangdong, Sun Mei worked efficiently and confidently because he already had a sense for what would work well here. Even though the Hawaiians knew of paddy rice planting, they were not particularly familiar with the nuances of the technique. Nevertheless, some people, like Lu Tingfan (a Cuiheng villager), had already begun importing Chinese water buffaloes, which were the ideal animal for ploughing paddy fields. Sun Mei immediately used some of his savings and purchased a pair of water buffalos to work the field, pulling a plough which Sun Mei

designed and built himself.

One year later, the Pearl Harbor wetland's rich harvests greatly encouraged Sun Mei, inspiring him to find ways to go into business for himself. At about that time, the Hawaiian Government began encouraging rice production and paddy field farming as a result became fashionable. In some areas, farmers even pulled out their taro crops, replacing it with rice paddy fields, which unfortunately led to a huge shortage of taro, which was traditionally the most popular staple of the Hawaiian diet.

In the 1860s and 70s, Honolulu was only partly developed and sparsely populated, with large swathes of potentially arable land uncultivated. In order to encourage agricultural development, the Hawaiian government allowed anyone to obtain land for the purpose of cultivation. During the second year following his arrival in Honolulu, Sun Mei leased a large tract of paddy fields from the government to raise rice in Ewa, near the Waipahu area, west of nearby Pearl Harbor on Oahu Island. Sun Meisheng, Sun Zansheng, Sun Yucheng and Sun Hui all worked on this field that Sun Mei had leased.

The land that Sun Mei had carefully selected and leased was ideal: plenty of water run-off for diversion into irrigation channels, coupled with grassy areas near a lake, meant Sun Mei could raise not only rice crops, but farm animals, including livestock and poultry, as well. It did not take long at all for profits to materialize. It was recorded on August 1, 1874, just three years after his arrival in Hawaii, that Sun Mei sold livestock valued aggregately at 6000 dollars (400 times his initial monthly salary!). People in Honolulu began talking about the success of Sun Mei, and the government began to pay attention to this young man from Xiangshan, China.

Following his success, Sun Mei, still only twenty years old or so, further capitalized off his entrepreneurial spirit and began to venture into other types of business. Notarized documents in Hawaii's Registry files between 1872 and 1880, for example, showed records of Sun Mei branching out into the fisheries business as well, purchasing fish ponds and fishing rights. Although he had know way of knowing it at the time, it was his foray into yet another side business labor recruitment that would prove especially valuable to his brother's later activities, as it would yield him many close and esteemed relationships.

Recruiting Labor

Because of the rapid development of the sugar industry and the rice industry, Honolulu's labor shortage became a serious problem. Sun Mei saw this as an opportunity and boldly ventured into the labor recruitment business.

In the early 19th century, Hawaii had luxuriant wild sugarcane clumps that, following the sugarcane industry's development, were transformed into field upon field of manually-planted sugarcane. By 1838, Hawaii was already exporting sugar and molasses syrup to the United States mainland, but the great bottleneck in the industry's growth was a serious shortage of labor to work on the plantations. On August 21, 1850, the Hawaiian Imperial Agriculture Association was officially founded, with one of its responsibilities to recruit Chinese labor. On January 3, 1852, and again on August 2, two groups of Chinese laborers, numbering 195 people and 98 people respectively, arrived in Honolulu. Chinese laborers were in general welcomed, because they worked hard, demonstrated great competence and caused little if any trouble. In the following twelve years, an additional 410 Chinese laborers arrived in Honolulu.

In 1864, the Hawaiian Government established the Immigration Bureau, which was composed of the Minister for Internal Affairs and five officials from the Privy Council. It had the responsibility of recruiting Chinese labor, which it addressed by sending out recruiters who, by representing the government or some big companies, would sign contracts with agents to recruit the Chinese labor. The agents in these scenarios would collect commissions commensurate with the quality and quantity of the workers they signed.

Chinese people already in Hawaii suggested that the government should send Chinese workers back to China to recruit higher quality labor from Guangdong. In 1870, the Zhao Lan Company, founded by the famous Xiangshan businessman Cheng Li, and "A fong & Achuck Co.", established by Chun Fong and Cheng Zhi (Cheng Minggui), each signed with the government to import 100 laborers from China. The Zhao Lan Company fulfilled its obligation and received 35 dollars for each male and 30 dollars for each female laborer. The "A fong & Achuck Co.", however, did not fulfill its contract as they had been unwilling to recruit unskilled labor or labor from outside their hometown of Xiangshan. They returned 2000 dollars to the

government, but in the next two years, were able to import 1400 Chinese laborers into Hawaii.

Hawaii was originally a non-unified archipelago, ruled by chiefs and warlords of various regimes who would wage periodic wars in attempts to consolidate power. Such disputes continued for more than 2000 years until 1790, when the first dynasty was established. In 1827, King Kamehameha III signed a commercial treaty with the United States, and in October 1839, the Hawaiians announced the creation of a constitution, setting up a court and congress, which added to the legitimacy of their government to foreign eyes. In 1843, Britain and France acknowledged that Hawaii was an independent country. The government added the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Education. After Kamehameha V, the congress passed election laws and David Kalakaua was elected King (following a very short reign by Lunalilo). On November 17, 1875, David Kalakaua went to Washington, D.C. to sign a bilateral agreement with the Americans giving the US the right to set up a naval base in Honolulu in exchange for tariff-free exportation of sugar and other agricultural products from Hawaii to the United States mainland. This reciprocal treaty immediately made Hawaii a very prosperous country, as the sugarcane industry developed rapidly, leading to an especially urgent need for more Chinese labor.

At the time, many recruiting agents or shipping companies would bring in Chinese labor without proper permits. These workers, many unskilled, would have to find work after their arrival but, with the Chinese migrant population already nearing 20% of Hawaii's total population, competitive wage-setting by the new Chinese caused frequent disputes and brought problems such as discrimination against Chinese labor as well. The legal Chinese immigrants living in Hawaii objected to this kind of labor contract system and the unfair labor practices it engendered. They thought that even though there were undesirable elements among the Chinese workers, they were not criminals and Hawaii needed them to prosper. To rectify public perception, Xiangshan businessmen Chun Fung, Cheng Minggui, Zhong Zhu and 24 other enterprises jointly submitted a petition to the government which would amend the law and allow only persons with high integrity to work as recruiting agents. In 1877 (the year of his 23rd birthday), Sun Mei became one such agent and set up an immigration office at the most populated Chinese quarter, between Nuanu Street and King Street in Honolulu.

Since Sun Mei's office was strategically located in Chinatown, where the vast

majority of Chinese laborers assembled, many newcomers would drop in to seek information or employment. Whenever ships came into the port bringing in new immigrants, Sun Mei would personally go out to the pier to welcome them. But unlike most other recruiters, who grabbed indiscriminately at the influx of workers, Sun Mei would first observe and then approach only those whom he felt had the character and skills to do quality work. He would first explain to them the conditions and type of work available, and then give them an idea of the pay, the accommodation arrangements and information on the plantation. His sincerity and manner of presentation attracted many of the new workers, with some of the ones initially snatched by other agents defecting to come see Sun Mei. Not only would Sun Mei first provide room and board for those disembarking from their long journey, but he would also help them draft letters to send home to announce their safe arrival, familiarize them with their new surroundings, and then carefully place them at different plantations or farms according to the requirements of the owners and the capabilities of the workers. With his reputation and relationship with the natives, government officials and plantation owners, Sun Mei became a trusted figure in the community and was often sought to mediate labor disputes. His immigration office business flourished.

Nevertheless, Sun Mei saw an opportunity on which he could capitalize. Because the immigrant workers he placed were not directly recruited by him, it was sometimes the case that they did not meet the requirements of the plantation owners. Further, the profit margin on his end was not that great. Sun Mei wanted to expand from being an agent to being a recruiter as well, vertically integrating his business. Sun Mei knew that if he could bring workers in directly from China himself, and given the 100-dollar commissions for each one, then even deducting for voyage fees and other costs, the profit margin was far superior to those of a mere agent. Cuiheng villager Tan Yao remembers his grandfather saying, "In those days, it only cost ten dollars for the voyage. If you have 100 dollars, it would be sufficient to pay for seven to eight persons' expenses including shipping charge and food."

Sun Mei anticipated that incorporating sea travel into his business operations involved a great deal of risk. To manage these costs, Sun Mei consulted Chun Fong and Cheng Minggui about the kinds of things he should watch for when contracting and leasing ships. Ultimately, Sun Mei knew there were considerable profits to be made and he began planning to recruit from his own hometown to start.

Just as Sun Mei was preparing to launch his recruiting business, a letter from

his father urged him to return home to be married. In Hawaii, there were no female immigrants initially, but by 1853, among the 180 Chinese laborers that had landed in Hawaii, a few were female and twenty-four were domestic workers. There were not, however, many female immigrants to follow thereafter. A Chinese male could either choose to marry a local Hawaiian woman or return home to get married.

As it turned out, Sun Mei's parents had chosen for him a girl with the family name of Tam, who was from the same village as his mother. Sun Mei would also take the opportunity of a trip home to begin recruiting workers himself. Leaving his trusted colleagues to manage the Immigrant Office, Sun Mei returned home with a few fellow villagers. Compared to Sun Mei's initial journey to Hawaii six years ago, the travel time for the trip between Hawaii and China had shortened by more than twenty days. On June 9, 1877, six months before his twenty-third birthday, Sun Mei returned home a successful man.

When I was a boy in Macau, Great-grandaunt Miao Xi told us the story of her brother Sun Mei's return. Great-grandaunt was fourteen at the time and Sun Yat-sen only twelve. She recalled that everyone in the family had been eagerly waiting and counting down the days until Sun Mei's return. Finally, on one particular day, Sun Yat-sen, who had waited on the road side for days expecting his brother, was picking vegetables outside when he saw a man being carried on a sedan chair, with coolies carrying his luggage, entering the village. He looked with curiosity at the man until he recognized the name Sun emblazoned on the sides of the man's luggage. Sun Yat-sen darted home, yelling, "Mother! Mother! Big brother is back!" His mother was startled, and smiling, asked, "How do you know it is your brother?" Of course, Sun Yat-sen was only six when Sun Mei left home, but he was quite sure, explaining the man looked like his brother in the picture and that the character for "Sun" was written on the luggage. Just then, they were interrupted by Sun Mei entering the house. Sun Mei threw himself at his mother, happily crying, "Mother! Mother!". The entire family was overjoyed. The parents were extremely proud to see that their eldest son had become so successful. Sun Mei was also very happy to see all his siblings, particularly Sun Yat-sen, whom he could already tell was quite clever. Neighbors quickly gathered around to greet him and to hear news about their own relatives. Sun Mei seized the opportunity to tell them about the wonderful possibilities in Hawaii, concurrently promoting his recruitment business. During the three months he was home, Sun Mei personally registered more than a hundred persons in and around the village for migration to Hawaii.

On July 15, 1877, Sun Mei and Tam were married. The wedding was elaborate and the flowered sedan chair was taken to Yakou Village three kilometers away to receive the bride, who was eight years younger. Yakou Village had splintered to Xiangshan from Daling Village in Dongguan County in 1330, with the Yang and Lu clans gradually moving into the village. Yakou Village faced the ocean waters of the Lingding Sea, and boasted more than 8.5 kilometers of coastline and several thousand acres of farm land. Yamen Hill, which stretched across the northwest of the village, provided a natural boundary, shielding it against storms. The land was peaceful and people could either live off the bounties of the hill or the ocean. Tam had been raised in a family of farmers, who bound her feet when she was a child, but relieved them in her early teens, which meant that she was able to work in the fields, or gather kindling on the hill or even go fishing at sea. That kind of an upbringing enabled her to develop a strong character unafraid of hard work. She was a good looking woman and very pleasant. Even though this was a marriage arranged by his parents, Sun Mei was very glad to have Tam as his wife and would soon take her back to Hawaii with him.

Before leaving home, he entrusted his new Immigration Office in Cuiheng to a fellow villager and planned to continue running his recruiting business from Hawaii.

Hearing that his older brother was returning to Hawaii, Sun Yat-sen wanted desperately to go with him. Their parents, however, were against the idea. Father Dacheng had always been suspicious and fearful about making a living abroad, especially as his own two brothers had gone to America for gold but came home empty-handed. Besides, one of his two sons, Sun Mei, was already away from home and he wanted to have his other son at home by his side.

However, the young Sun Yat-sen could not understand his parents' reasoning and he kept pleading with his parents to let him go with his brother. Sun Mei, respectful of his parents' wishes, calmed his brother down by promising to take him when he was a little older. Ultimately, it was decided that their mother at least would go to Hawaii with her son first, to see for herself whether it was suitable someday for Sun Yat-sen, and possibly, the entire family.

On September 22, 1877, Sun Mei returned to Hawaii with his wife and mother. That year, the total number of Chinese laborers in Hawaii reached 6,045 (or 10.4% of the total Hawaiian population). As the population of Chinese workers increased, the demand for Chinese goods increased as well. Places for workers to gather during days off and weekends became necessary. All the new immigrants needed local

guidance, and a communal hub, where customary provisions could be bought like a Chinese grocery store, became highly sought after. Sun Mei saw the opportunity and changed his immigrant recruiting office into a grocery store, naming it the De Long Store, catered its offered goods and services mainly to the new arrivals. In addition to supplying Chinese goods, he also provided services for the new arrivals such as: letter writing, filing of documents, handling money remittance, job applications, etc. He even rented some houses and converted them into half-way houses or dormitories for the newly-arrived Chinese laborers. Sun Mei's 15-year-old bride was quick to adapt and learned how to help her husband in his business.

With the success of his rice plantation, Sun Mei's reputation and connections in the rice planting field had grown to a point that, when he decided to concentrate on his new store and sold his rice plantation, he was able to transition easily into the role of a rice agent. Like most overseas Chinese, Sun Mei also wanted to have his own family members come to Hawaii to enjoy the fruit of his success and help him in his business ventures. His mother Yang, having spent a few months in Honolulu, concluded that this was indeed a much better place than home. She decided to return home to bring Sun Yat-sen back, and hoped to persuade her husband to come as well.

In 1879, Sun Mei's colleagues in Xiangshan chartered a 2000-ton English steamship called the S.S. Grannoch to carry over 200 Chinese labor recruits from Macau to Hawaii. Sun Mei would provide free voyage and food to all onboard the ship, for he could claim from the Hawaiian government 100 dollars bonus for each laborer he brought in. From this trip alone, Sun Mei made a tremendous amount of money.

More importantly, Sun Yat-sen and his mother were on board this ship, although Sun Mei's father Dacheng ultimately refused to leave home.



第五章
长兄如父

Chapter 5
Elder Brother as Father Figure

我的曾祖父孫眉

1879年5月，即中国的农历四月，经过艰苦的航程，杨太夫人和孙中山平安抵达檀香山，长途跋涉和颠簸，使母亲显得疲倦但身体尚好，弟弟倒是精神奕奕，拉着前来接船的大哥和大嫂的手，坐上了马车，回到了德隆商店。德隆商店临街，后院是一大住宅，眉公的朋友又多，杨太夫人前年才来过，老熟人都过来和杨太夫人唠家常，了解家乡的情况，登时把德隆商店塞得水泄不通，很是热闹。孙文只比眉婆小4岁，他俩说话特别投契，他对大嫂说，未见过有这样大的船，最厉害的是船上的铁梁，他问大嫂要多少人才可以把铁梁装上船去，大嫂自然无法为其解答。想到外国人发明用铁梁造船，他便对大嫂说，外国人能制造这么坚实的大铁梁，又能装配上去，肯定其他的方面也会比中国人优胜的。眉公听到了，答说：“是呀，美国人刚刚发明电话，檀香山道威电话公司就成立了，皇宫里头都安置了电话，和宫外相隔十几里的人说话都能听得见。”

几十年后，一天，眉婆问我父亲：“你知道船上的铁梁是如何安装上去的吗？”父亲奇怪，那不是用机器，用吊装机镶嵌的么？后来才知道，那是少年孙中山当年的发问。

这次旅程，杨太夫人还相约了郑强的妻子同行，郑强比眉公早来檀香山，后来在茂宜办农场，和眉公一起做生意，是好朋友。郑强也从茂宜过来迎接妻子，在船上，郑强妻晕船呕吐，是孙中山常给她照顾，她向眉公称赞孙中山乖巧，眉公听了很高兴，他带着弟弟骑上马儿游览了檀香山的风光。檀香山当时虽仍处于早期开发的原始状态，但良好的社会秩序，整齐的建筑，整洁的街道，与家乡形成了强烈的对比，使孙中山十分感触。

最初，眉公把孙中山安排到德隆商店学做生意，学记账，学习当地人的方言。但不久，眉公发现孙中山对做生意毫无兴趣，却有着强烈的求知欲，有志于读书。对此，眉公不仅没责怪胞弟，而且改变了主意，欣然送孙中山到学校读书。这是因为，仅受两年私塾教育的眉公，在檀香山谋生并发展事业时，越来越感到文化教育的重要。所以，当他知道孙中山有志于读书，就有意培养弟弟。

当时，檀香山华人对教育还未知重视，早期只有家塾，教授二三十个学生，学学三字经、千字文、千家诗、四书五经而已，而孙中山在家乡四年的私塾里早已粗通文义。当时檀香山的学校也有好几所，著名的有由基督教会创办于1834年的麦坚弥高等中学(Mckinley High School)，是檀香山最老最大的公立学校，学校只为少数英语族裔儿童而设立。另一所是创办于1862年10月的意奥兰尼学校(Iolani College)。这所学校初名为 St. Alban's College,由英国教会属下的

圣公会创立。学校原来在巴窝山谷入口处，1872年威理士主教管理时，买地在贝阿斯街(Bates Street)建新校舍，距离中国城只有两英里路程，大部分的学生都是从邻近岛屿前来寄读的，是檀香山有名的男生寄宿学校，不过学费高昂。国王卡美卡美哈五世很喜欢这所学校采用的英国式教育，还先后捐赠了5000美元给学校，并把学校改名为意奥兰尼学校。意奥兰尼是夏威夷方言，Io是指鹰(Hawk)，lani是指“天空”(Heaven)。Iolani意指高贵的鹰飞翔在天空，代表无比的勇气、力量和毅力。洞悉土语的眉公，在比较了檀香山几所学校后，选择了这所学校让自己的弟弟就读。就在两年前，他曾资助一位同乡少年进入该校读书。他觉得让弟弟在这所全由英国人主教的学校读书，弟弟的英文一定会学得很好。学校原招收土生及半土生的夏威夷男生，孙中山到来前两年才开始招收华人子弟。

意奥兰尼学校的校长艾佛·威理士(Alfred Willis)牧师，治学很严，挑选非常热心及有高引导能力的传教士担任教师。学生们上课要穿着统一制服，学校设立的学科有自然、政治、经济、法律、社会学、圣经等，还有体育、兵操，这让眉公觉得课程设置具备丰富知识，非常实用，价值高于学费。

另外，眉公知道，一个基督教学校将会对孙中山进行严格的纪律训练，能教他学会分辨是非、不容易为世俗所诱。当然，他仍会要求孙中山遵守中国传统及礼节。意奥兰尼学校附近的教堂，由牧师史蒂文主理，学生每天早晚祷告就在这教堂里进行。教会以每月6美元的薪酬请了一位叫黄锡仁的中国牧师，专门为在校的几位华人学生讲解基督教义，眉公觉得白人也能为中国人办些事，无明显的种族歧视，更增加了他对意奥兰尼学校教育的信心。

当时中国人皈信基督教的人数极少，1881年，檀香山1.4万名中国人中，只有500名左右的基督徒，这些基督徒大多数都是客家人士，非客家籍的本土中国人几乎全部都不是基督教信徒。孙眉是非客家籍的中国本土人(Punti)，从中山移民到夏威夷的华侨都与客家人在信仰基督教方面有绝对的不同，所以眉公很自信孙中山不会受到影响，即使有，眉公也相信自己有能力控制这种事情的发生。

9月开课后两星期，眉公带着弟弟到学校报名注册入学，学校收费高于其他学校许多，一年学费便要150美元。当时，檀香山人生活水平仍很低，一般华工月入不过二三十元，眉公当时的经济还不是十分宽裕，要承担此费用，多少还是有压力的，所以在孙中山入读意奥兰尼学校初期，课余仍充任校中杂役，负责管理校园中的蔬菜种植和其他杂务，以弥补生活费用的不足。

先于孙中山报名的华侨学生有钟工宇(Chung Kun Ai)、唐雄(Tong Phong)、

李弼(Lee Butt)三位，他们都是在夏威夷很有地位的中国人的子弟。钟工宇，又称钟宇，出生在香山县谷都西山村（今中山市三乡镇西山村），比孙中山大一岁，刚随父母来到檀香山。钟工宇的父亲钟初在1865年凭其父给的5000元货品和现金来檀香山经商，后来在夏威夷一带种咖啡、蓄养牛羊、开商店、打海鲈，经营范围广及干拿(Kona)岛一带。干拿岛到檀香山的航船所载的货物几乎都属于钟初。钟初在檀香山的洋行中很有信用，他需要订购的货品，洋行均全数供给。唐雄是侨商唐昌之子，出生在香山县唐家村（今珠海市唐家镇），与钟工宇同龄，但比钟工宇早两年到达檀香山。他父亲最初在檀香山开荒种地，后经营牧场和商业，和眉公是好朋友。唐雄后来在香港与孙中山一起接受洗礼，加入基督教。李弼是富商陈芳的小舅子。后来陆续有John Akana（唐根的儿子）、陈孟谦(Chun Mun Him)、李锦龙(Lee Kam Lung)、梁能(Leong Neng)、梁彬(Leong Bun)、李禄(Look Lee)及陈龙(Chun Long)等先后注册入学，连孙中山在内总共十名华侨学生。陈龙是陈芳长子，李禄和陈孟谦后来也加入了兴中会。

这所学校每天课程安排得严严密密，按时执行，一丝不苟。钟工宇后来回忆说，老师教英文字很严格，如果不懂三个单词，就被罚打，错五个字，则受打更多。晚上熄灯钟响后，学生一律不准出声，老师会去查房，虽有违者受罚，但老师同时也会为学生盖好被子。

学校的兵操课有专门的教官教导学生扛枪操练。学校设施很现代化，教具、图书、器械一应俱全。图书馆的藏书很多，孙中山在图书馆里有机会看到了不少世界伟人的传记，对于华盛顿、林肯等伟人的勋业十分景仰。三年中，同学们看到的孙中山是一个沉默寡言，不苟言笑，只喜欢读书的学生。他的英文学习进步神速，同时不忘中国文化，同学们见他经常朗诵古文，写文章，都知道他的中文学养很深。对于基督教教义孙中山也有心得，当同学们议论教义时，他必定会结合檀香山种族问题所涉及的不平等现象与同学们辩论。这时的孙中山口若悬河，滔滔不绝，与平时判若两人，他的口才和哲理分析不但赢得了同学们的敬重，同时也赢得了同学们的友谊。

学校规定的学生每日作息时间表

The Daytime Schedule Set Up for the Students

时间 Time		内容 Activity	备注 Remark
上午AM	5:30am	起床、游泳 Wake up Call, Swimming	
	6:00am	点名，齐集到教堂祈祷，半小时后回校打扫卫生 Rollcall, as sembling at church for morning prayer for 1/2 hour,then clean up	
	7:30am	早餐 Breakfast	
	8:15—9:00am	操练 Morning Drill	逢星期一、三、五操练，二、四唱歌 Mon,Wed,Fri Drill,Tuesday and Thursday singing
	9:00—11:45am	上课 Classes	
中午	12:00am	午饭 Lunch	
下午PM	1:00—2:00pm	读书 Reading	
	3:00—4:00pm	整理花园、除草、学做木工、印刷资料等劳作 Garden Works, Carpentry, Printing Work etc.	
	4:15pm	游泳 Swimming	
	5:30pm	晚饭 Dinner	
	6:30pm	晚祈祷 Evening Prayer	
	7:30—9:00pm	上课 Classes	
	9:20pm	熄灯就寝 Lightsout	
星期天 Sunday	9:00am	用土语崇拜 Worship in Local Language	
	11:00am	用英语崇拜 Church Worship in English	学生一般参加用英语的崇拜 Generally fo rall Students

三年学业期满毕业，孙中山没有辜负长兄的期望。1882年7月27日，学校举行毕业典礼，国王卡拉卡瓦很重视，他偕同皇太后爱玛、公主利利奥固兰尼出席了。当天的来宾很多，眉公以家长的身份参加了弟弟的毕业礼。孙中山获得了英语文法科第二名，国王亲自给孙中山颁发奖品，是一部英文书，书里讲的全部是关于中国的事。这是学校里第一位获得国王奖品的华人学生，眉公觉得在许多家长中，他特显荣耀，就在家里举行了一个盛大的宴会，招待亲朋好友大肆庆祝。翠亨人陆华造是眉公农场里的长工，跟随眉公十多年，在他后来的回忆里也谈到了这件事，他说这一天，他也特别起劲，为了宴会的事东奔西跑，一点也不觉得疲劳，好像自己也沾了光彩。

1881年6月24日，眉公的儿子孙昌出生了，这是眉公和谭氏结婚四年后的第一个孩子，也是他们唯一的儿子，一家人高兴得不得了，孙中山更是趁着课余时间回家，帮着嫂嫂照料小侄儿。不久，眉公在茂宜设“德昌隆”商店，学校放假，孙中山就在“德昌隆”帮忙，兄弟俩接触更为频密，孙中山常常把学校里很多的事情和檀香山所发生的事都告诉眉公。比如；国王在檀香山建造皇宫，中国人抗议夏威夷政府囚禁和虐待中国劳工，夏威夷政制改革等等。

中国劳工被当局囚禁和虐待的事件，使兄弟俩很愤怒。1881年，“西卜提玛号”轮船运来了699名中国劳工。其中有六个人得了天花，夏威夷当局立刻把这艘船隔离检疫，并勒令把载来的劳工原船送回，不许在夏威夷登陆入境。随后到来的几艘轮船也都查出有感染天花的中国人，夏威夷的港口检疫设备不够，被隔离检疫的中国人都安置在临时搭起的草棚内，并由武装人员看守，以防他们逃跑。这种情形激起在夏威夷的中国人的愤怒抗议。中国人向驻华盛顿的中国公使控诉夏威夷当局囚禁并虐待来自中国的新客，胁迫中国人签订在夏威夷做工的契约，要求公使代他们提出交涉。眉公很赞赏那些敢于向夏威夷政府抗议的中国人，因为在那些参加抗议的人群中，有许多是眉公熟悉的朋友，眉公希望中国公使能为中国人撑腰。那时，孙中山不过是一个15岁的少年，但对社会事件如此关心，使眉公颇感意外。

当然，兄弟间对事物的看法也常常会有分歧。当谈到美国人想并吞夏威夷，国王提出“夏威夷是夏威夷人的”民族主义主张时，眉公和许多华侨一样，反美，反合并，赞成维持君主制度。但孙中山也看到，美国人宣传的民治主义，也使一部分夏威夷人起来反对国王的专制，因为夏威夷群岛的进步是受到美国文化影响的，而美国就是“自由的国家与勇士的故乡”，他觉得中国所急需的，就是

美国式的法律，所以，他越来越向往美国了。

在兄弟相处中，眉公好客和仗义对孙中山的感染最大。如同眉公一样，孙中山待人和蔼友善，他很珍惜同学之间的友谊。孙中山的同学中，有许多是家住较远的小埠，每放年假，眉公就让孙中山把同学都带到家里过年，钟工宇就是其中的一位。钟工宇的父亲在加禄亚埠（Kailua）做生意，与檀香山相隔较远，每逢学校放假，钟工宇就要留在学校里。在钟工宇写的《我的老友孙逸仙》一书中，我看到了钟工宇的回忆：

> 那是在1880年，当我们同是意奥兰尼学校的学生时，我们即成莫逆。回忆早在1880年，我第一次在檀岛过农历新年，只有我是一个有家归不得的中国孩子，因此只好在学校孤单的度过假日，做着我经常做的杂务。我在此应该加以解释的，这是我们学校的政策，规定寄读生每天做一些轻便的工作。意奥兰尼学校是英国圣公会史泰利主教（Bishop Staley）所创办的，与圣阿鲁宾学院（St.Allan’s College）相类，来教育夏威夷及混种夏威夷青年的。后来该校才招收那些来自东方的华侨学童。1872年，韦礼士主教（Bishop Willis）接替了史泰利主教，当我们在1879年入学时，意奥兰尼学校正由他主持。他指派我管理输水到浴室的抽水机，这是一年360天不断的工作。唐雄担任铲除芋塘的杂草。其余的则照料校园中的蔬菜，在农历新年中，其他9个华侨学生都有家可归，而我因双亲远在夏威夷大岛的加禄亚埠（Kailua），即使在农历新年的时候，亦只得留在学校做着我每日的勤务，这是一个对我多么无聊的假期啊！不久之后，国父和我逐渐成为知交了，所以到了第二个农历新年，我被国父邀到他的大哥商店中同渡新春。阿眉照样客气而和蔼的邀请了其他在本市无家的孩子同享快乐。这时我们多么的兴奋啊!在那种日子里，中国新年是“恭喜发财”的佳日，每个人可随便拜访。特别是那些大块头的夏威夷警察的商店的老主顾们。他们进来随意吃喝，并且还拿走封包的利市钱。就是那些白种的商人，也在这年节来拜访他们的中国的同业。

眉婆也常对我父亲说：眉公在中国人的新年时最喜欢派“利是”，即使在他后来经济转差的时候，他也照样如是，当然那时的封包是大打折扣了。眉公常说，一张红纸也是一点心意，讨个好兆头，大家平平安安。

有年夏天，孙中山和十多个同学，在老师率领下，到海滩去游泳。那时，孙

中山还没有断发，拖着一条长长的辫子，在他开始游泳时，习惯把辫子盘在头顶。一位楷奈楷同学有意捉弄他，游近他的身边，动手解他的辫子，但给孙中山摆脱了。不料，后来这同学忽然被水淹，水没过头顶，挣扎呼救，中山见状奋身扑救，使这位同学幸免于难。回到校里，老师竟指责是中山顽皮闯祸，罚他立在耶稣像前祈祷赦罪。中山据理力争地说："难道救人一命，也犯罪吗？"老师哑口无言。事后眉公听到了，很赞赏弟弟不计前嫌，认为见危施救是大丈夫行为，他教导弟弟说，做人就要做正人君子。

远离父母，眉公兄代父职，细心照顾着弟弟，尽量满足弟弟的需要，当然聪明乖巧的孙中山同样博得了哥哥的欢心。但对于宗教的看法，终于使兄弟俩产生了矛盾，甚至发生了激烈的冲突。许多意奥兰尼学校的学生都接受了洗礼，加入基督教，孙中山也想加入。当他把这种想法告诉眉公时，一向只信奉菩萨、信奉关公的眉公坚决反对。

自1840年鸦片战争之后，随着《南京条约》、《天津条约》和《北京条约》等一系列不平等条约的签订，外国人获得了进入中国内地传教、通商、游历、租地买地、建造教堂和学校的特权，不仅大批外国商人涌进中国，大批的传教士也纷纷来到中国，他们除了为西方住在中国的人士服务外，还要把基督教和天主教等西方的宗教传播到中国。在19世纪中期，西方宗教在中国的传播已相当普遍。在香山县，早在1874年，便有基督教由澳门传入，英国英立甘教会派香港华人莫寿增到县城石岐传教，外籍传教士通过传播福音，施医赠药，救济贫民等吸引民众信教，教士深入到县内各地布道，选择一些房屋建筑很精美的村庄，并确认为侨乡，借以英文教学来宣传教义。孙中山在离乡赴檀香山的前一年，就有美国传教士来到翠亨村免费教授儿童学习英文，借以传播耶稣基督，孙中山由此对基督教有了朦胧认识。在意奥兰尼学校读书的三年中，基督教义推崇的自由、平等、博爱，与中国人两千多年来所接受的封建伦理道德，即所谓"君令臣死，臣不得不死；父令子亡，子不得不亡"的纲常伦理背道而驰，尤其是满族人入主中原以后，人们连穿衣戴帽、发式都要按满人的规定，否则即被视为大逆不道，甚至有被杀头的危险，这对孙中山的心理造成了极大的冲击。

对于西方宗教传入，清朝政府是严加限制的，绝大多数传统的中国人是抵制的。其实对于眉公来说，他也说不准有什么理由反对基督教，只是出于对中华文化的自觉认同，无非就是中国人就要按中国人的伦理道德办事。虽然他的同乡杨鲲池也曾劝告说，孙中山是个有大志的人，信教也没有什么害处，叫眉公不要太

束缚弟弟，但眉公仍不依弟弟所为。同时也担心父亲会责怪自己对弟弟管教不严，他只好给父亲写信，希望父亲能改变弟弟的想法，可是没有效果。

那时，孙中山已从意奥兰尼学校毕业，眉公要求弟弟赶快回到茂宜来，到店铺里料理事务。他以为，只要弟弟在自己的身边，就可以控制弟弟对入教的念头，二来，他身边确实也需要一个可靠的人帮助他料理生意。殊不知在店里，孙中山见到工人生病去求神拜佛，便说这是迷信，说到激动时，竟把眉公供奉的关公像撕烂，劝说工人去求医。孙中山又常把工人的疾苦向店掌柜反映，要求改善。掌柜反说孙中山不会维护眉公的利益，还经常挑挑拨拨，煽惑工人不听指挥，又以辞职要挟眉公，气得眉公几乎动手要打孙中山，幸得舅父杨文纳相劝才作罢。

此事之后，眉公反更下决心让弟弟继续学业。他为弟弟选了檀香山一所由天主教教会创办于1846年的商业贸易学校，该校在1880年改名为路易学校（Louis College），搬到唐人街附近建了新校舍。因为靠近唐人街，许多有能力的中国



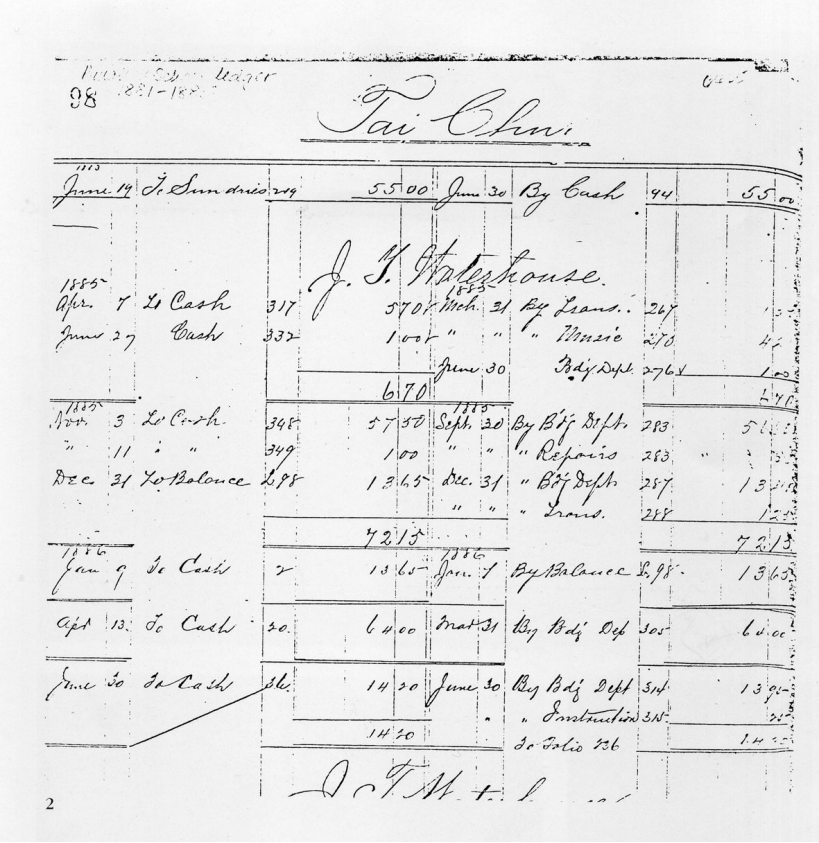
20. 孙中山曾就读于奥鸦湖学院，亦即现在的普纳胡学校。
Punahou School in Honolulu: Sun Yat-Sen attended classes in this “Old School Hall” building built in 1852.

人都把自己的子弟送去那里读书，加上学校在太平洋报上专门刊登广告，招徕了很多学生。这所学校提供古典文学、科学及商业的教育，还有拉丁语、西班牙语等多种语言的教学，晚上还提供成人教学，讲授商业知识。这正好符合眉公的要求，他很希望弟弟能学到商业上的知识，将来好和他一起在商场干一番事业。在当地学校秋季开学前，眉公把弟弟送到了那里读书。可是没两个月，孙中山就没了兴趣，不是对商科知识没兴趣，而是这学校只信奉天主教。

孙中山有更远大的理想就是继续深造他的学问，于是眉公又为弟弟选择了夏威夷的最高学府奥鸦湖(Oahu College)学院，亦即现在的普纳胡学校(Punahou School)就读。奥鸦湖学校是由一位基督教传教士创办于1841年。1882年10月，学校登报声明，决定创办大学预科，学生毕业后直接送入美国大学就读。学校由董事会出资管理校务，不再受教会支配，这个决定得到了许多富人的支持，捐资办学的人很多。学校收生要求很高，要经过严格的入学考试，可优先录取考试合格的外国学生。学校男女同校，校长是一位女教师。教学方式也很特别，让学生们自由发挥，鼓励他们提出问题，与老师们辩论，用自己的想法去解决问题。课程除数、理、化之外，包括了逻辑、自然科学及西方社会政治学说等。课程非常广泛，最长要五年才能完成入大学的先修课程。

经过很严格的考试，孙中山被录取了。1883年1月15日开课，入学新生50名，人人都很兴奋，认为自己能考入这所学校十分光荣。预科分两年，每年分三期上课，孙中山从1883年1月到6月的两个学期共花费了55元，其中学费就是24元。每星期学费1元，12元为一期，另收杂费。眉公当时已迁到茂宜，就把弟弟委托给老友郑照关照，孙中山在郑照家住了好几个月。当年与孙中山同时入学的还有Chung Lee及Hong Tong。孙中山在这学校读了两个学期的书。

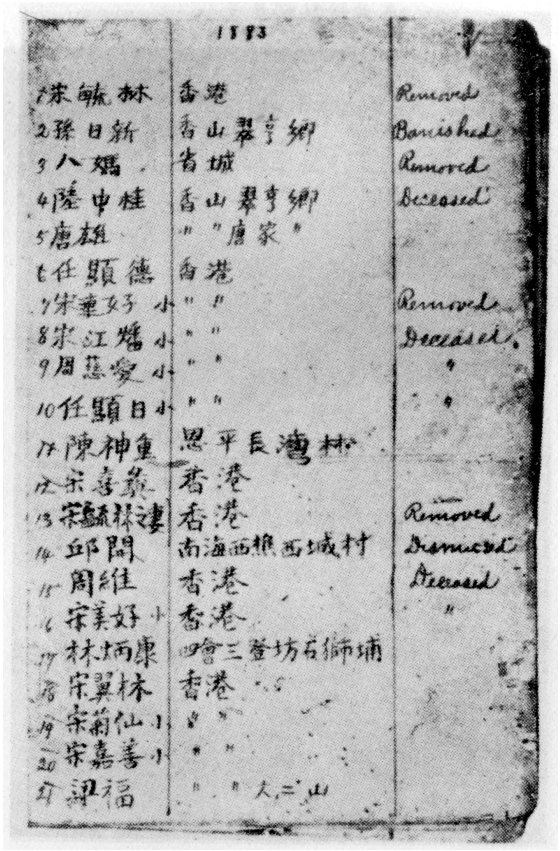
为了证明自己对弟弟的信心与期望，眉公在律师的公证下，把自己所有财产的一半划给孙中山，使弟弟能安心读书直至升入大学。有了这样的安排，眉公满以为一切都会很顺利，谁知孙中山却对基督教的信仰越来越深，仍然坚持要加入基督教。眉公生怕弟弟真的会变成“洋和尚”，与弟弟几次论理，越争越烈，并声言要赶弟弟回乡由父亲教训。孙中山负气地写信给住在檀香山的舅父杨文纳，说要返回中国，还偷偷地跑到檀香山。眉公查知弟弟的所在，并知道他要回国，便拒绝给弟弟买船票，以为这样弟弟就走不了。孙中山也是个不易妥协的人，他去找同学钟工宇和老师求助。他把事情原委告诉了老师，他对老师说，“我大哥不准我读书了，我要回中国了。”老师劝说孙中山在学校住几天，等哥哥的气消



21. 帝像学费单：1883年6月19日，孙眉向普纳胡学校缴纳学费55元，以孙中山的乳名帝像（Ti Chu）登记。
On June 19, 1883, Punahou School recorded a 55 dollars fee payment by Ti Chu which is the infant name for Sun Yat-Sen.

了再回去商量。但孙中山却觉得，已经和哥哥斗出气来，再也不能回去了，况且离开家乡已经四五年了，也很想回家去看看。老师见劝说不住，便帮付了他的船费。孙中山在钟工宇那里住了几天，又得到了牧师和钟工宇等其他华侨同学的捐助，1883年7月孙中山回家乡去了。眉公接到消息，觉得自己不应该因为基督教的事逼走弟弟，心里很懊悔，他立刻赶到檀香山，希望能说服弟弟。可惜，弟弟已经离开了，眉公只好把原委告知老父，并汇上足够的钱养家、盖新房和供养弟弟继续读书，但愿离开洋地的弟弟自此便与洋教撇清。

岂料事与愿违，1883年秋，孙中山与同村好友陆皓东在翠亨村村庙毁坏北极殿神像，在村里引起轩然大波，村民们都认为这些年轻人亵渎了菩萨，翠亨村马上就会被神惩罚了。乡绅们找到孙、陆两家兴师问罪，父亲拿出银子修复神像，



22. 孙中山在香港加入基督教时的受洗名单，孙日新即孙中山，陆中桂即陆皓东，唐雄是檀香山意奥兰尼学校同学。
List of names for those being baptized to become christians in Hong Kong. Sun Yat-Sen, Lu Haodong and Tong Phong are among them. Tong was a schoolmate of Sun Yat-Sen at Iolani School in Honolulu.

叫儿子离乡到香港暂避。同年11月，孙中山到香港拔萃书室(Diocesan School)读书，陆皓东则去了上海。年底，陆皓东从上海来到香港，他们一起受洗加入了基督教。1884年4月，孙中山转学香港中央书院(The Central School)。这是英国人办的官立学校，是一所英语学校，教师都来自英国，思想开放。

孙中山在家乡闹事，捣毁神像的消息传到眉公耳中，他担心弟弟的任性总有一天会闯出大祸，把家业也弄丢了。想到如果能为弟弟撮合一门亲事，有了家庭的责任与牵挂，弟弟的心也许会收敛。他把心事说与给同乡好友卢耀显听，卢耀显是香山外沙村人，在檀香山经商多年。外沙村与翠亨相隔只有七八里路，有大路可通，步行只需一小时。因为邻近的下栅乡有农历一、四、七圩日，南朗乡也有农历二、五、八圩日，两地村民经常结伴到上栅和南朗两地赶集，来往十分频密。听眉公说罢，卢耀显甚为赞成眉公的想法。孙中山在檀香山读书这几年，卢耀显对他的印象就很深，特别是孙中山读书聪明，得过国王的嘉奖，很博得卢耀显的好感。正是说者无意，听者有心，原来卢耀显在家乡有个女儿叫慕贞，年龄

比中山小一岁，纯朴贤淑，小时候得母亲教导略识文墨，会读唐诗、千字文、三字经，针线缝纫出众，也颇合眉公意。正所谓父交子往、儿女亲家，达成公和杨太夫人也很满意，这门亲事很快就定下来了。

卢慕贞是个缠足的女子，虽然孙中山对女子裹足有不同的看法，但在当时的香山县又有几个姑娘不缠足？孙中山对于兄长的话很是顺从，很快就答应了这门亲事。1884年5月，孙中山从香港回乡与卢慕贞成婚。眉公送给弟妇一条金项链和一对蓝宝石的耳环，这是十分贵重的礼物。一对新人的新房就设在眉公出资刚刚建成的平房里。

但眉公始终放心不下弟弟，他写信让孙中山回夏威夷，佯称“德昌隆”生意上有重要事商量。孙中山于1884年11月奉命第二次赴夏威夷。谁知兄弟俩一见面就闹得不可开交，眉公责骂弟弟不应毁坏神像，更不应受洗信基督教，但孙中山也有自己的立场，坚持他并无过错。眉公要弟弟归还先前赠与的一半财产，以示惩戒，此事在由孙中山口授美国人林百克所著的英文版《孙逸仙传记》中有提及。书中记道：

> 德彰对其弟责备说道：“你要记得，我给你以我财产之一半，是表示我的发达是属于全家。我给你财产的时候，是相信你能效法祖宗的正确法则，但我失望了。因你固执学洋人的法则，忘了祖宗遗留的习俗，你的财产便要浪费，使你个人和家庭发生纷扰。”又说：“我们的政府是好的，倘使继续宣传反对政府，全家将要受害。你倾向洋化，就是反对我们的习俗、传统和所有我们欢喜的事情，可能终身与家庭分离。我现在要收回分给你的财产，这并非不公平吧！”

由此可以看出，眉公这样做，有两个原因：一是认为帝象废弃中国传统，会带来给孙氏全家以损害，二是反清会导致他乃至全家冒杀头的危险。

出乎意料，孙中山对那些财产表示不看重，眉公见状，真的就请律师办了退还财产手续。孙中山还顺从大哥的意思，回到“德昌隆”打理店务，兼做财会的工作。可是，在“德昌隆”的几个月里，因为眉公对孙中山的态度和做法，店员以为孙中山已失宠，眉公放弃了他，于是百般为难他，把店里脏活、苦活特意留给他做，还时时作弄他。十七八岁的孙中山，正是血气方刚，如何受得起这样的气？他觉得再也不能留在茂宜了，况且他真的很想完成自己的学业，这才是最重要的事。

孙中山决定回国，但心里仍然牵挂着大哥，那时二姐妙茜的丈夫杨紫辉也在

茂宜眉公牧场里，孙中山对姐夫说，因为受不了这些无知员工的苛待，自己决定要回国了，希望姐夫能好好帮助大哥做生意，还说：“我的大哥不也就是你的大哥么？”姐夫见他去意已决，也无法阻止他，送他两个银元作路费。孙中山独自跑到檀香山去，遇到老师芙兰·蒂文（Frank Damon），芙兰·蒂文早年曾在广州任教，娶了一位在广州长大的传教士的女儿，所以他在奥鸦湖任教时，非常喜欢与来自香山的孙中山交朋友，他向来很器重孙中山，就把他带到自己的住所里小住，并愿尽力帮助他。老师了解到孙中山的去向后，便慷慨地拿出钱来，孙中山只要了300美元作旅费，答谢过老师，再告诉大哥说要回国，眉公赶到檀香山，希望孙中山能多住些日子，以缓和弟弟的去意。但孙中山执意不肯，又说已订了船票，眉公见状还以无钱给弟弟为由挽留，谁知孙中山竟说“我不要你的钱”，这使眉公颇为无奈。孙中山告别檀香山后，先到美国各埠游历，再返家乡。当年8月，孙中山重返香港中央书院读书。

眉公此时也反省过来，感到对弟弟的确过于严责了，即又汇钱让弟弟继续他的学业。以后孙中山在香港、广州两地读书，用度甚宽，都是眉公源源不断供给。1886年秋，20岁的孙中山进入了广州博济医院附设的医科学校，即南华医学堂学医。1887年9月，孙中山再转学到香港西医书院学医。眉公觉得，弟弟虽然不愿从商，但终于在一个人们认为是高尚职业的学科里学有成就，心里也感到很欣慰。

1887年仲秋后，达成公病重，兄弟俩双双返家侍奉老父。数月相伴，除共尽床前孝子之情外，孙中山也向大哥尽诉感恩之意，兄弟之间尽释前嫌，无所不谈。孙中山还把自己回乡时的遭遇告诉了大哥。1884年孙中山离开檀香山回乡，那年是从香港乘中国沙船回香山，途中，沙船经过了一个设有海关的无名小岛。刚在小岛靠岸，一伙拖着长辫子的清朝小吏和水勇就跳上了船。他们以“缉私”为名进行了无理的搜查，千方百计地向旅客们勒索钱财。凶暴、贪婪的清兵以征海关税、收厘捐、缉鸦片、查火油等名目为借口，对乘客们一下子就进行了四次野蛮勒索。孙中山对这伙强盗无法无天、为非作歹的行为，深感惊愕和愤慨，最后，忍无可忍，挺身抗辩，拒绝检查，并声言要向官府控告这帮害虫。结果，沙船被扣了下来，直到第二天，船主交了一大笔“罚款”才算了事。

孙中山对大哥说，对这件事，他痛心疾首。对比在夏威夷，大哥大量财产买卖都受到法律保障，这正是有没有法制社会的结果，难道中国就掌握在这些腐败万恶的官吏手中？

一向仗义好打不平的眉公，与弟弟对社会、对人生的种种看法有了某种默契。

In May 1879, Madam Yang and her son Sun Yat-sen arrived in Honolulu after more than twenty days at sea. They settled in the backyard of the De Long Store, which also held the residence of Sun Mei and his bride. Sun Yat-sen was just four years younger than his sister-in-law Tam and they got along very well. Great-grandmother Tam had a good memory and would tell her grandsons, my father and uncle, stories about the time of Sun Yat-sen's arrival in Honolulu. She said her little brother-in-law was curious about everything he saw, but he was most impressed by how the large ship which brought them was constructed from such large, heavy pieces of metal. His observations prompted him to ask her whether foreigners could do things much better than the Chinese. Sun Mei told him that foreigners could do many things better, with one example being the invention of the telephone, a few of which were then being used in the royal palace in Honolulu.

On her trip, Madam Yang traveled with the wife of Zheng Qiang. Zheng Qiang had come to Hawaii before Sun Mei, and now also owned a farm in Maui. Sun Mei and Zheng Qiang would later become business partners and best friends. When Zheng came to Honolulu to greet his wife, he learned that she had encountered severe sea sickness during the long journey and that young Sun Yat-sen took good care of her. She was full of praise for Sun Yat-sen. Sun Mei showed his brother the island on horseback, the majestic scenery of Honolulu, but his younger brother seemed to be most impressed by the cleanliness and orderliness of the community here, which stood in stark contrast to the way things were back home.

Soon after his brother's arrival, Sun Mei put him to work at the store, and within a couple of months, Sun Yat-sen had learned to keep books and even enough local language to deal with customers. He had no interest at all in the business but he had a great appetite for learning new things. Sun Mei of course noticed and prepared to send his little brother to school for a real education. Sun Mei never studied formally, only being tutored privately at home for a brief time, so he greatly valued formal education ever since his arrival in Hawaii. In fact, two years earlier, he had sponsored a boy from his hometown to attend a school in town. So when he saw the potential in his little brother, he knew exactly what to do.

At that time, the Chinese in Hawaii did not pay too much attention to the education of their children. There were some privately tutored classes where students were taught to memorize and recite Chinese literary classics, which Sun Yat-sen had already experienced back home, but there were only a few formal schools in Honolulu at the time. One, called McKinley High School, was the oldest

and the largest of the public schools, having been established in 1834 by the Christian church for a small number of English-speaking children. Another one was Iolani College, founded by Pastor Staley of the Church of England in 1862 as St. Alban's College. The King was so pleased with the English way of education given at the school that he donated several thousand dollars to the school and had the school change its name to Iolani. In the Hawaiian language, Io meant "hawk" while lani meant "sky" or "heaven", a name which signified courage and power. The school was originally situated at the entrance of the Bawall valley, but in 1872, Minister Alfred Willis, who was the headmaster at the school, bought land and built a new school on Bates Street, which was only a couple of miles from China Town. Many students, who had come from the other islands, had to board at the school. The school was meant to provide education for local boys, but two years prior to Sun Yat-sen's arrival, it had been opened to Chinese boys as well.

As Iolani's headmaster, Minister Willis established and enforced strict rules for his students. Uniforms, for example, were required, as were sports and military drills. The school provided classes on natural science, politics, economics, law, sociology and the Bible. All classes were conducted by highly-educated ministers, exposing students to a wide range of knowledge. Sun Mei knew the cost would be high, but he felt there was no better place for his little brother to learn the English language and Western subjects than this school.

Sun Mei also realized that a Christian school would provide good disciplinary training for Sun Yat-sen. His little brother would learn to differentiate good from bad and to stay away from worldly temptations. The school was near a Christian church ministered by Pastor Stephens. Students were required to attend morning and evening prayer meetings at the church each and every day. The church even hired a Chinese minister from China to address the Chinese-speaking students. Sun Mei appreciated the non-discriminatory attitude of the white ministers toward the Chinese and felt confident that Iolani would give his brother a good, well-rounded education. Nevertheless, Sun Mei also made sure that Sun Yat-sen would observe traditional Chinese customs whenever appropriate.

At that time, there were not many Christians among the Chinese population in Hawaii. In 1881, among the 14,000 Chinese, there were about 500 Christians, and most of them were Hakka. Non-Hakka were almost all non-Christian. Sun Mei was considered a Punti, a non-Hakka migrant to Hawaii, and a non-Christian as well. Though he never believed his brother would convert to Christianity, Sun Mei surely

thought he had the power to dissuade him if need be.

Two weeks after the school opened in September, Sun Mei took his brother to register. The school's fee was $150 per year, much higher than the other schools. In those days, the typical living standard in Hawaii was low. A typical income for a Chinese laborer, for example, was about $20, possibly $30, a month. Sun Mei was making a good living but the school fee still put some pressure on him, so Sun Yat-sen worked part-time at the school to earn his living at the beginning of his school days.

Tong Phong, Lee Butt, Chung Kun-ai were three Chinese students registered before Sun Yat-sen. They were children of well-to-do Chinese families. Chung Kun-ai was a year older than Sun Yat-sen and was born in Xiangshan. He had just arrived from China in 1879 with his parents. His father had been given 5000 dollars' worth of goods and cash to trade in Hawaii, and he later expanded his business into coffee planting, ranching, fishery and running stores, expanding geographically into Kona. Tong Phong also came from Xiangshan's Tangjiawan (modern day Zhuhai) area and was the same age as Chung. He had come to Hawaii a few years earlier in 1876 with his parents. His father Tong Sing engaged in farming, ranching and operated stores, becoming a good friend of Sun Mei in the process. Tong Phong would later become a Christian, receiving his baptism together with Sun Yat-sen in Hong Kong. Lee Butt was the brother-in-law of Chun Fong, the wealthiest Chinese in Hawaii. Other Chinese students who registered were John Akana, Chun Munhim, Lee Kamlung, Leong Neng, Leong Bun, Look Lee and Chun Long, the son of Chun Fong. There was a total of ten Chinese students registered that year that would become classmates and eventually lifelong friends. Look Lee and Chun Munhim, for example, would later become members of the Xing Zhong Hui, the first revolutionary organization set up by Sun Yat-sen in Hawaii.

Chung Kun-ai later recalled that school life was very difficult in those days. Students had to live "by the book" at all times, conforming to a strict daily schedule (see chart on page79). For every three mistakes made in using English grammar or words, students would be punished by beating; at the fifth mistake, another beating was administered. At nights, after "lights out", the teachers would enter the rooms for inspection, making sure the students were each properly tucked into their blankets, but punishing those who made any noise. Military drills were particularly tough. Still, the school had all the best facilities for a school of that era, equipped as it was with all the necessary teaching tools and instruments, as well

as a well-stocked library with a diverse collection of books. This library was what Sun Yat-sen found the most fascinating, as he was able to read the biographies of many great world leaders. But the school was also dedicated to trying to spread the gospel and getting the students to accept Christianity. The Chinese minister they employed specifically to talk to the Chinese students about Christianity and the Bible was named S.Y. Huang, who was paid six dollars a month. In the three years at Iolani, fellow students got to know a quiet but serious student in Sun Yat-sen. He quickly learned the histories of Washington and Lincoln and of the world at large as well. His English improved vastly, and with his background in classical Chinese literature, he amazed his schoolmates with how easily he could make use of the Christian doctrines he had just learned to discuss big social issues such as equal rights and fairness in Hawaii.

In his three years at the Iolani School, Sun Yat-sen did not disappoint his brother. At the graduation ceremony on July 27, 1882, Sun Yat-sen was awarded the second prize in English Grammar. The prize itself was a book on Chinese culture and history, but what made it particularly meaningful was that it was handed to him personally by King David Kalakaua, with Queen Emma and Princess Liliokulani also in attendance. This was indeed a great honor, and Sun Mei was so thrilled that he held a big party to celebrate at his home. Fellow Xiangshan countryman Lu Huazao, who had worked at Sun Mei's ranch for many years, recalled that over hundred people attended the party and that thrilled Sun Mei happily ran around entertaining his guests.

On June 24, 1881, after four years of marriage, Sun Mei's only son Sun Chong was born in Honolulu. Sun Yat-sen was thrilled too and would take time off from school to care for his nehpew. Later that year, Sun Mei moved to Maui, and opened a new store, naming it "De Chong Long" after his pride and joy. Sun Yat-sen spent his holidays in Maui at the store helping out, and the two brothers had the opportunity to get to know each other. Sun Yat-sen would tell Sun Mei about his school, learning there, and Honolulu, while Sun Mei was prone to steer their conversations to current events and social topics, such as the construction of the royal palace underway, or the recent mistreatment of Chinese laborers, which angered both Sun Mei and his brother.

In 1881, the West Baltimore steamship brought 699 Chinese laborers to Hawaii, with six of them having contracted smallpox. The Hawaiian government hastily quarantined the entire ship, even ordering the ship to leave port with all the laborers

on board. On the several ships that followed, smallpox was also found, but due to the shortage of quarantine officials, all Chinese laborers, healthy or not, were locked up in temporary tents with armed guards keeping them at bay. This triggered protest among the Chinese in Hawaii. Their complaint reached the Minister of the Chinese Embassy in Washington, D.C., and demanded the minister to solicit help from the US government in obtaining fair treatment by the Hawaiian government and fair labor contracts. Sun Mei admired the courage of the Chinese in Hawaii to stage such a protest, as many of those protesting were his good friends.

Of course, the two brothers would occasionally have a difference of opinion on issues as well. On the issue of America's annexation of Hawaii versus the King's slogan of "Hawaii for Hawaiians", Sun Mei, like many other Chinese in Hawaii, was anti-American and anti-annexation, preferring to maintain the monarchy system. But Sun Yat-Sen could also see that the American system of Rule by the People is also a cause for some Hawaiian people to rise up against the monarchy. It was because the progress made on the Hawaiian islands was greatly influenced by the American culture; and America is home of the freedom fighters. Sun Yat-Sen felt that what China needed most urgently is the American style legal system. He therefore became leaning more toward America.

After the discovery of the Hawaiian Islands by British Sea Captain Cook in 1778, Hawaii became a popular stop in the Pacific Ocean, with adventurers, religious missionaries and merchants all coming for their respective activities. Britain, France, Spain and even Russia were all tempted to make Hawaii their own, which greatly alarmed the local inhabitants. Kamehameha, who had become chief of the northern half of the island of Hawaii, eventually brought the entire island under his reign. The other Hawaiian island had been controlled by other kings, but Kamehameha conquered and united them, becoming ruler of the entire island by 1810 when he was crowned King Kamehameha I. In 1840, King Kamehameha III wrote Hawaii's first constitution, allowing its male citizens to vote, guaranteeing religious freedom and establishing a representative legislature. By 1843, the United States, England and France all recognized Hawaii as an independent country.

Sun Yat-sen was most impressed by his brother's sense of justice and generosity. And like his brother, he was also kind to people, treasuring his friendships at school. Chung Kun-ai was a classmate at Iolani but his parents lived and worked in Kona on the big island of Hawaii. Because of the distance, he did not get to go home during short holidays, so Sun Yat-sen would invite him back to Sun

Mei's house to spend holidays. The following, from Chung's "My Pal Sun Yat-sen", was his recollection of his school days:

The year was 1880, when we were students at Iolani, we became friends. I remember in 1880, my first Chinese Lunar New Year in Honolulu, I was the only one who did not go home for the holidays, so I had to spend lonely days in school doing my normal chores. I must explain here that it was the policy of the school that a student must do daily light chores. Iolani was founded by Bishop Staley. It was called St. Alban's College in the beginning. The school was for the education of Hawaiian boys and Eurasians. It was later that the school accepted Chinese students from the Orient. In 1872, Bishop Willis took over from Staley and was headmaster of the school when we got in in 1879. He assigned me to take care of pumping water to the bathroom. This was a non-stop 360-day-a-year work. Tong Phong was responsible for taking out the weeds in the taro pond. Others would be working on the vegetables. During Chinese Lunar New Year, all other 9 boys would go home for the holidays, but because my parents lived far in Kailua-Kona of the big island of Hawaii, I had to stay alone in school and do my daily chores even for this occasion and it was boring. Soon, Sun Yat-sen and I became good friends and in our second Chinese New Year, I was invited to spend the holidays at his big brother's store. Sun Mei would invite other homeless children to his store for the New Year and we spent the most joyful time. We visited with each other and got the lucky money — "Li-shi" red pack from Sun Mei. Those big Hawaiian policemen, who were regulars at the store, also came for food and drinks and for sure took their lucky money red pack. Even those white merchants would come to visit Sun Mei.

Great grandmother Mei Po often told my father that Great-grandfather liked to pass out "lucky money" or "Li-shi". He would do so even in times of hardship, though the amounts in the red packs would be smaller. Great grandfather would tell the happy recipients that the red packs would bring luck and well-being.

One summer, Sun Yat-sen and several other students went to the beach for a swim. At that time, he still wore his hair in a pig-tail, for which a fellow local Kanaka student teased him, trying to loosen his pig-tail. The two struggled for a bit, but Sun was able to break free. As they were swimming moments later, that same

Kanaka student found himself in deep waters and called out for help. Sun Yat-sen dove in and pulled him from the water. When they returned to school, their teacher blamed Sun for being in an altercation and punished him to stand in front of a statue of Christ and pray for forgiveness. Sun Yat-sen argued, "Is saving life a sin"? to which the teacher had no response. His brother Sun Mei, upon hearing about the incident, immediately praised his little brother for his courage and commended his generosity in forgiving the boy and saving his life.

Being the elder brother responsible for raising his little brother, Sun Mei often found himself proud of Sun Yat-sen's accomplishments. They did, however, have a big disagreement when it came to the issue of religion.

Many of Sun Yat-sen's school friends at Iolani had already been baptized and converted to Christianity. Sun Yat-sen wanted to do the same, but when he talked to his brother about his desire to do so, he was surprised to find that his older brother Sun Mei oppose it vehemently.

Following the Opium war in 1840, a series of unfair treaties—the "Nanking Treaty", the "Tianjin Treaty" and the "Peking Treaty"—were signed, and foreigners were free to enter China to spread their religions, travel, trade, lease or buy land and to establish churches or schools. In addition to the many merchants, a large number of religious missionaries came to China to spread the Christian (both Protestant and Catholic) faith. In the early 19th century, Christian missionaries were very active. As early as 1874, Christianity had come to Xiangshan through Macau. The English Anglican church sent a Chinese missionary Mo Shouzeng from Hong Kong into Shiqi to spread the gospel. The missionaries would look for villages in which many people had emigrated overseas, then give out food and medicines, and set up English classes to attract villagers, who would be keen on learning some of the culture that their departed villagers were encountering. Actually, about one year before Sun Yat-sen departure for Hawaii, there was such a class in Cuiheng conducted by an American missionary. The class was even free but children would have to listen to teachings from the Bible as well. That was Sun Yat-sen's first exposure to Christianity and he appreciated it. In the three years of learning in Iolani, Sun Yat-sen became more moved by the teachings of Christianity, which stressed love, peace and freedom. In many ways, those lessons were in deep contrast to the traditional Chinese doctrine of "When the Emporer orders his servant to die, the servant must die; if the father orders the son to die, the son

must die”. To Sun Yat-sen, this so-called loyalty doctrine clearly violated the ideas of human rights or equal rights. Following the Manchu takeover of China to form the Qing Dynasty, queue braids and clothing was imposed on the Han Chinese by the emperor, and noncompliance was punishable by beheading. These symbols of servitude, also did not sit well with Sun Yat-sen's developing sense of justice.

The Qing Dynasty discouraged the spread of Western religion within China, and most traditional Chinese citizens were uninterested in Western religion anyway. As for Sun Mei, he did not have any specific reasons to dislike Christianity, and generally believed that the Chinese should follow traditional Chinese morality and ethics. With Sun Yat-sen become more and more enamored of Christianity, Sun Mei wondered if he had sent his brother to the wrong school. A fellow villager, Yang Kunchi, pointed out to Sun Mei that his brother had exceptional talent and that a little foreign influence should prove harmless, but this sentiment did not offer comfort. Sun Mei had always carried the burden of being a big brother without trouble, guiding his younger brother's education as he saw fit. But now, with Sun Yat-sen asserting his independence, and in a direction with which Sun Mei did not agree, Sun Mei wrote to their father, hoping that Dacheng could exert some influence over Sun Yat-sen. Ultimately, however, the father was too far away to have any meaningful effect on his sons.

So, after graduating from Iolani, Sun Yat-sen was asked to come to Maui to help out in Sun Mei's store for the summer. Sun Mei hoped greater proximity would afford him greater influence, and the added help at the store would also be a positive. To his dismay and the surprise of everyone, Sun Yat-sen tore apart the store's picture of “Guan Gong”, and told the workers there not to worship such false gods for health, but rather to seek real help from trained physicians instead. Sun Yat-sen also began lodging complaints to the store manager on behalf of the workers to improve conditions and implement changes. When his store's manager threatened to quit, Sun Mei became furious, nearly whipping his brother to punish him. Fortunately for both brothers, Uncle Yang Wenna resolved the situation before it could escalate to violence.

Sun Mei, still hoping his brother could someday go into business with him, thought Sun Yat-sen could benefit from studying at a school which offered more training in commerce. Louis College, founded by a Catholic church in 1846, had moved in 1880 to its new location near Honolulu's Chinatown. Many Chinese families began sending their children to this school, which, in addition to customary

classes on classic literature, science, languages and commercial courses, also advertised in the Pacific News the offering of commercial and trade classes in the evening for adults. This was what Sun Mei was looking for, a school that could prepare his brother for future business dealings. He enrolled Sun Yat-sen during the summer months, but after only two months, Sun Yat-sen grew discontent, uninterested in the commercial courses, and unreceptive to the school's Catholic teachings.

Sun Mei, still fully confident in Sun Yat-sen's enormous capacity for knowledge, found another solution. Oahu College was the top academy in Hawaii at the time, and Sun Mei decided to send his brother there. Oahu College was originally founded in 1841 by Christian missionaries, but in Oct, 1882, the school announced in the newspaper that a new curriculum for the university's preparatory program would be offered to students who had completed a 5-year program. Most intriguing to Sun Mei, the school would be managed by a board of governors, and no longer the church. An endowment program had been established by donations from the rich, of which there were many that supported the school. Foreign students, however, could only enter the co-ed college through a very tough entrance examination. The headmaster of the school, a woman at that time, made sure the school offered a wide range of classes: in addition to mathematics, physics and chemistry, there were also courses in logic, natural sciences and Western political studies. The school would later be renamed Punahou College.

After passing the very tough entrance examination, Sun Yat-sen was admitted and started school on Jan 15, 1883. There were fifty new enrollments that year, and all the new students, including friends Chung Lee and Hong Tong, were proud and excited to get into this famous school. Records showed that Sun Mei paid 55 dollars to the school for Sun Yat-sen, who registered under the name of Tai Chui. Sun Mei, having already moved to Maui, asked his good friend Zheng Zhao to act as his brother's guardian, but Sun Yat-sen studied in Punahou for only two terms.

In a grand gesture to show his sincerity, his faith in his brother, as well as to cultivate a closer tie, Sun Mei asked his lawyers to execute a document assigning half of all his assets to Sun Yat-sen. With this arrangement, he believed his brother would be sufficiently motivated to concentrate on his studies. It did not, however, change Sun Yat-sen's desire to become a Christian. After more heated arguments on this matter, Sun Mei wanted to send him home to their father to control him before he could be indoctrinated even more deeply into Western thinking. Sun Yat-

sen had no one to turn to but his uncle Yang Wanna in Honolulu, and wrote to him, complaining that he could no longer stay in Maui and wished to go home. Sun Yat-sen left Maui for Honolulu without a word to his big brother. Sun Mei quickly found out where he'd gone and refused to pay for the ticket for the trip, believing that it would stop his brother. Sun Yat-sen for his part went to see his good friend Chung Kun-ai and a teacher at the school, telling them that his brother would not allow him to study anymore so he wanted to go home in China. Sun Yat-sen spent a few days at the school with his teacher, who also failed in pursuading him to stay, and then went to visit Chung Kun-ai, who had opened a clothing, tailoring, and accessory shop upon graduating from Iolani. In the end, Chung, his teacher, several missionaries, and other schoolmates all chipped in for his fare. In July 1883, Sun Yat-sen, now sixteen, was on his way home. Sun Mei heard about this and quickly went to Honolulu to intercept him, but the ship had already set sail. Sun Mei regretted forcing his brother to leave in such a manner. He quickly informed their father and sent enough money to make sure all of Sun Yat-sen's traveling, living, and schooling expenses would be covered.

In the autumn of 1883, Sun Yat-sen went to the Cuiheng Village Temple with his boyhood friend Lu Haodong and together, vandalized the statue of the North Emporer. His attempt to show the impotence, irrelevance, even falsehood of this god was only met with anger and fear, as the villagers believed that by humiliating the god the entire village of Cuiheng would be punished. The village elders converged onto the homes of the Suns and the Lus, demanding the expulsion of the two boys from Cuiheng. Father Dacheng had to put up the money to repair the statue and sent his son to Hong Kong, while the friend Lu Haodong was sent to Shanghai. In November of that year, Sun Yat-sen entered Diocesan Boys' School and shortly thereafter, Sun and Lu were both baptized as Christians. In April 1884, Sun Yat-sen transferred to Hong Kong's Central School, which was a government school mainly for English children. Classes were taught in English by liberal-minded teachers from England.

Eventually, news of damaging the Northern Emperor's statue at the village temple by his brother reached Sun Mei, who then worried that someday his brother would create such trouble as to jeopardize the whole of the family's financial security. Sun Mei thought that perhaps marriage and raising a family could be a calming influence on his brother. He talked with his good friend Lu Xianyao who lived in Honolulu. Lu had come from Waisha Village in Xiangshan and had been

doing business in Hawaii for about eight years. Waisha and Cuiheng were only a few miles apart and people from both villages would go to the flea markets held in the nearby towns of Nanlong and Shangce on specific dates of each month. In other words, the people of the two villages were often acquainted with each other.

Lu Xianyao had a daughter, Lu Muzhen, living at home who was only one year younger than Sun Yat-sen. She was a refined lady who had learned to read classic poems and literature, and was also good with her needle work. She also had a younger brother. With their father away from home most of the time, the daughter was well trained to take care of the family and her brother as well. Lu Xianyao had a favorable impression of Sun Yat-sen because of his having been handed the 2nd prize for English Grammar by King David Kalakaua himself. The two families quickly came to an agreement on the match.

Although Lu Muzhen had bound feet and Sun Yat-sen thought the custom was abominable, he accepted the matrimonial arrangement because it was the will of his big brother, whom he still greatly respected, their disputes notwithstanding.

In May, 1884, Sun Yat-sen returned to Cuiheng to marry Lu Muzhen. Sun Mei gave his new sister-in-law a wedding present of a gold necklace and a pair of earrings of blue precious stones before returning to Maui.

Sun Mei, though, still harbored doubts as to his brother's reliability. He wrote, asking Sun Yat-sen to return to Hawaii to discuss some serious business matters. In November 1884, around his eighteenth birthday, Sun Yat-sen arrived in Hawaii for the second time. The moment the two brothers met, however, they argued furiously. Sun Mei scolded his brother for defacing the North Emporer's statue at the village temple and criticized his baptism to become a Christian. Sun Yat-sen stood firm on his ideals, refusing to apologize for his actions. Sun Mei then demanded that Sun Yat-sen return his half of the assets that Sun Mei had assigned to him. American judge and writer Paul Linebarger gave a detailed account of what Sun Yat-sen had recounted on the incident, in Sun Mei's words:

"Wen, you will remember that I made over to you your half of our accumulations here in Hawaii. Our prosperity is that of the whole family, but you have in your name half of what I have created here with your aid. When I made the deeds of the property over to you, I believed that you would follow the correct way of our ancestors. In this hope, however, I have been deceived sadly, for you persist in following the foreign ways

and deride those customs which you should honor. Why, therefore, should you consider yourself entitled to half of these properties when its possession will prove your ruin in that you will waste this substance in stirring up trouble for yourself and family? Our Chinese Government is good. If you continue to preach against it, the whole family will be despoiled and dishonored. With your foreign leanings you put yourself against our customs, our traditions, and all that we hold dear. This attitude may lead you eventually to separate yourself even from your family. Is it not just, then that I take back that which so freely I have set aside for you?"

From this, we may be able to see the two primary reasons for Sun Mei's rescinding his brother's share of the assets: first, his brother's wholesale abandonment of Chinese tradition was not only shameful to others in the community, but could bring disaster to the entire Sun family; and second, the anti-Qing propaganda he distributed could likely lead to the execution of everyone in the family.

For his part, Sun Yat-sen had no objection to returning the assets at all, trusting that it would be the first step to mutual trust and forgiveness. He also obeyed his brother by agreeing to return to work at the store as a clerk and keep books. In the next few months, fellow workers at the store assumed that young Sun Yat-sen had lost favor with his brother, with their words and actions to him affording him little respect. Sun Yat-sen was too proud to be treated this way, and indignant, wanted to return to China again. As Sun Yat-sen contemplated his next move, his brother-in-law Yang Zihui came to Maui and Sun Yat-sen told Yang about his decision, asking Yang to help out his older brother. Yang could not dissuade him, so he gave him a few dollars for his trip to Honolulu. Once there, Sun Yat-sen went to see his favorite teacher Frank Damon for help. Damon had him stay in his house for a few days and listened to Sun's plea. He was sympathetic and, in the end, gave Sun 300 dollars for his trip home. When Sun Yat-sen finally told his brother that he planned to return home to China, Sun Mei came to Honolulu and tried to pursuade him to stay longer, thinking that without money, Sun Yat-sen would have to stay. But Sun Yat-sen already had enough to get back, so he just said goodbye. He took a brief tour of some U.S. cities before heading home, and in August of 1885, he returned to classes at the Central College in Hong Kong.

Sun Mei later felt that he had been too harsh on his brother, so he continued remitting money to his brother; it was enough money for Sun Yat-sen to live

modestly and covered all the school expenses in Hong Kong and Guangzhou. In 1885, Sun Mei also sent some money home to his father to rebuild the mud-wall house into a brick house. The new house was 105 square meters large and the entire family could finally live in comfort. The next year, in 1886, 20-year-old Sun Yat-sen entered the Pozi Hospital Medical School (also called the South China Medical College) to study medicine. In September, 1887, he went on to study in the medical college at Hong Kong University. Sun Mei was relieved that his brother had finally settled down, choosing for himself a noble profession.

In the autumn of 1887, both brothers returned to Cuiheng to be with their ailing father, who would pass away the next year. For several months, Sun Yat-sen, opening up for the first time, expressed his true feelings to his older brother. He told Sun Mei how much he appreciated his support and how everyone in the entire family was proud of Sun Mei's success. He also told Sun Mei about an incident he had experienced while on board the ship on his way back home.

In 1885, when Sun Yat-sen was returning home to Xiangshan, he took a Chinese sand barge from Hong Kong. Enroute, the barge passed a small island with a customs station. Just as the barge was drawing alongside the pier, customs officers jumped onto the barge and began searching for no apparent reason. In truth, they were seeking to extort money and valuables from the passengers. Flaunting their authority, they made all kinds of excuses and threats. Sun Yat-sen was sickened by their corruption and, in defiant protest, refused to be searched. He told the officers that he would report their activities to higher authorities, but the barge's detention only ended when the ship's captain agreed to pay a large fine.

Sun Yat-sen told his brother how troubled he was by this incident. Compared to Hawaii, where Sun Mei's large assets were legally protected, China was in dire need of reform if anyone's financial security could be so easily ruined by the greed of corrupt officials. Sun Mei agreed whole-heartedly. With that, the big brother, who had built a reputation for upholding justice, and the little brother, who cared deeply about his people and country, finally saw things eye to eye, and forged a bond that would change the course of history.



第六章
茂宜王

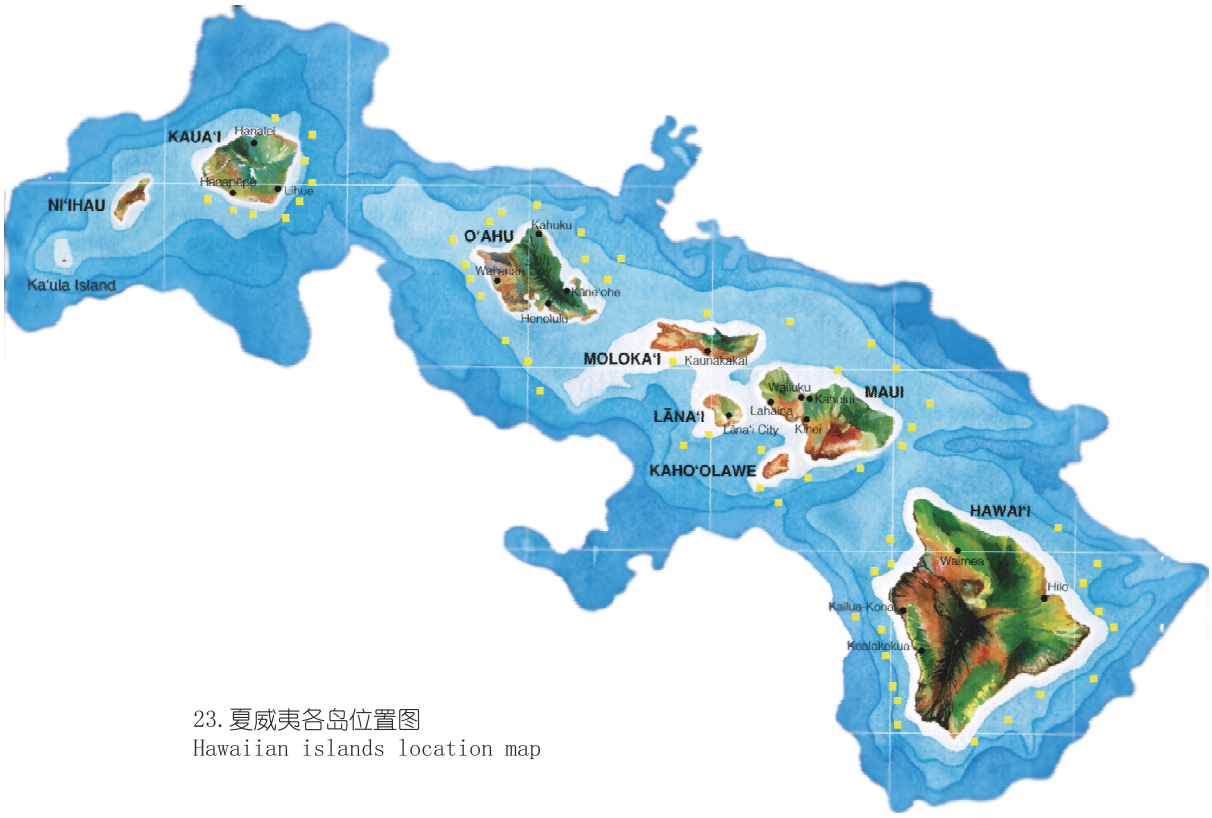
Chapter 6
The Maui King

在檀香山，同乡陈芳的成功创业一直是眉公的榜样。陈芳原与眉公的东家程明桂(又名程植)合伙开办“芳植记”经营贸易获得成功，但陈芳更大成功却是在他收购了希炉(Hilo)岛著名的庇庇娇蔗糖种植园(Pepeekeo Sugarcane Plantation)一半的股权以后。

夏威夷是世界最大的糖产地之一。早在1878年英国人发现檀香山之前，夏威夷各地就已经是甘蔗丛生。1802年，最先有中国人在兰尼岛制糖，其后在夏威夷各岛都有华人师傅在制糖。但到了19世纪中叶以后，当夏威夷糖业大发展时，制糖业却被拥有政治势力和雄厚资本的白人庄园主所控制，华人的制糖业因受到排挤而最终被淘汰。1860年代陈芳在与白人的激烈竞争中脱颖而出，他在希炉收购了1200英亩庶园，创办了卡泼比可（Kaupakuea）甘蔗种植园，开办了960平方英尺的庇庇娇糖榨厂，雇工300多人种植甘蔗。由于甘蔗供给有保证，加上使用当时最先进的蒸汽发动机驱动滚压机榨糖，庇庇娇糖厂日产蔗糖已达到20到25吨，在当年夏威夷近80家农场和榨糖厂中排行第12位，被视为夏威夷最好的农场，陈芳拥有资产达百万美元。另外，陈芳还在碾米业等方面发展，其所建造的碾米厂和米仓，也是当地最早的碾米厂之一。陈芳成为了当地华侨的首富，有“商业王子”和“糖业巨子”之称。眉公因为与东家程明桂的关系，又因招聘华工的事，早与陈芳有交往，他到过陈芳的蔗园和糖厂，看到糖厂规模庞大，加上陈芳多元化的经营途径，尤使眉公受益良多。

同时，许多华人在檀香山创业成功的例子，对眉公启示也很大。1870年代，在檀香山600多间商店中，华商经营的占三分之一，经营者大多数是眉公所熟悉的香山县乡亲。如来自南朗的程利，初来时为蔗农，后租地耕种，再开设朝兰利服记，成为檀香山华侨八大公司之一。程利创办中华会馆，后被任命为檀香山第二任领事。1869年，香山人唐举、卢岳、梁南、林社根、林清华等人创设的升昌公司，拥有4000多英亩的耕地。公司所产的米量占夏威夷米产量的一半，唐举遂成为米业大王。夏威夷华人大量种植的蕉、芋、咖啡、烟草、蔬菜、木耳，以及畜养的猪、牛、水产等农副产品成为市场供应的重要部分，而这些都是华人向政府租赁土地，创立自己的生产基地而获得成功的。眉公意识到，必须要拥有广阔的土地面积，创立自己的生产基地，才能够得到更大的发展。

那时，美国内战虽然结束十多年，但国内的庄园仍然未恢复元气，生产跟不上需要，美国人到夏威夷采购农副产品和粮食，每每先到达檀香山正埠，但檀香山的物品多是来自各岛屿，于是眉公开始在各岛中选择自己的目标，而茂宜岛遂



23. 夏威夷各岛位置图
Hawaiian islands location map

成为眉公的首选。

茂宜岛是夏威夷第二大岛，陆地面积1159平方英里（即3002平方公里），岛的东部有哈利阿克拉（Haleakala）死火山，西部有西茂宜山（West Maui），两山之间夹着平原，适宜耕作和畜牧。当时茂宜岛正处于开发时期，大量的荒地等待开垦，容易找到连片的土地拓展。

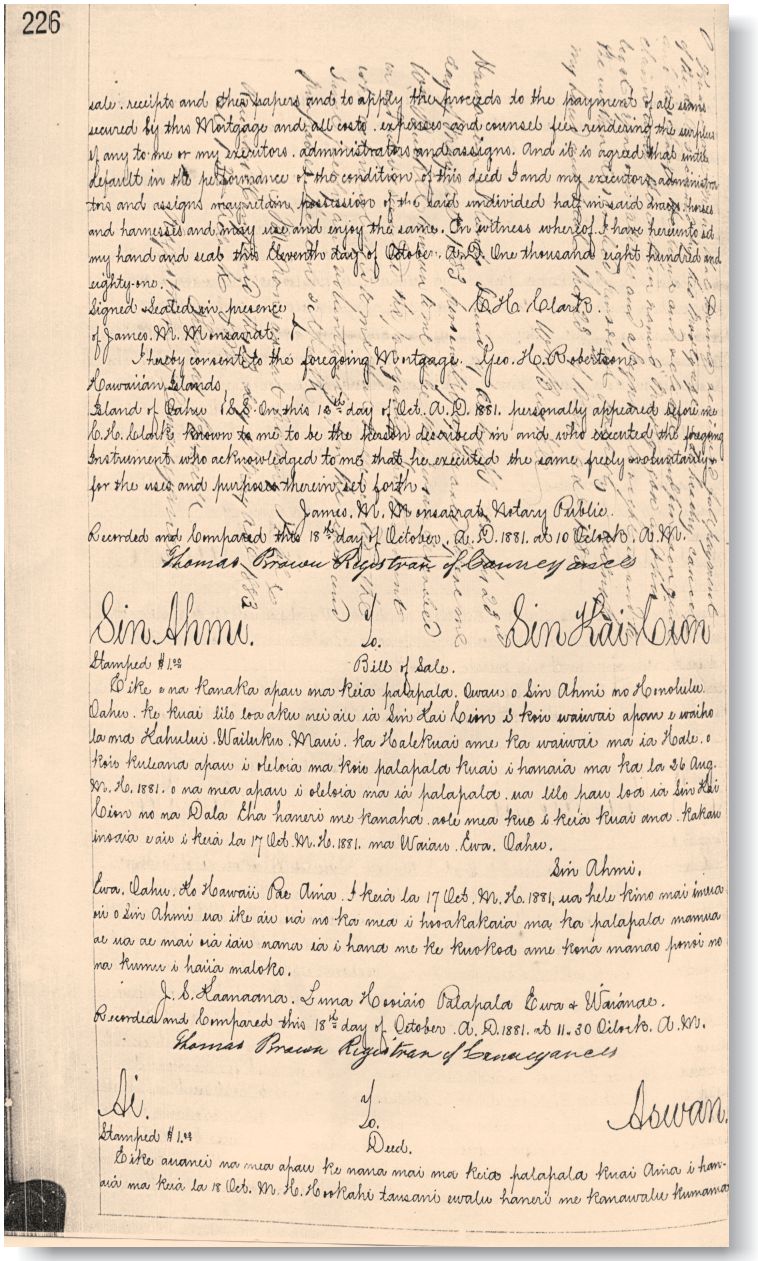
1876年,夏威夷国王与美国签订互惠条约以后，夏威夷的糖免税出口美国大陆，促使夏威夷糖业及农业的发展，而糖、农的发展又需求大量的华工移入。1876年以后，中国移民以两年1000人左右的速度增加，1876年达到1283人，1878年达到2464人，1879年达到3812人，1881年达到3924人，1883年达到4243人。1884年在夏威夷的华侨已达18254人，而记录在案的其他亚洲国家的移民只有116人，这116人都是日本人。从1876年到1899年的23年中，华人已达54095人，成了经济发展的主力。夏威夷群岛甘蔗面积约有25万英亩(1012平方千米)，

茂宜岛约占4万多英亩(162平方千米)。1861年爱尔兰人占姆士·钦波炉（James Campbell）在茂宜岛莱海拉（Lahaina）埠创立先锋糖榨（Pioneer Mill）厂，是夏威夷最著名的糖榨厂之一，茂宜的甘蔗由野生转变为人工种植，吸引了多家白人企业参与，茂宜成了华工最多的地区。茂宜岛上的位碌古埠（WaiLuku）和卡胡卢镇（Kahuilu），是华工最密集的地方。埠内商业旺盛，各行都有，在此开发大有商业前景。

另外，茂宜岛的交通、通讯通达，也是眉公首选茂宜的原因。1859年以后，夏威夷已成立夏威夷航业公司（Hawaiian Steamship Navigation Company），来往于檀香山与茂宜之间的航线很多，在美国订造有汽船。如占姆士·麦基号（James Makee）在旧金山制造，排水量为223吨，船身长度为120英尺(37米)，每小时走10海里(18.52千米)，如以檀香山与茂宜相距80海里(148.16千米)计算，一日便可来回檀香山与茂宜岛之间。而同时期来往于茂宜与檀香山之间的还有吉娄威号(Kilauea)、胡阿拉剌号（Hualalai）、满拿奇号(Maunakea)、哈利阿克拉号（Haleakala）,以及多艘货船。来往于檀香山与旧金山、澳大利亚之间的船只，都会在到达檀香山后再到茂宜卡胡卢镇停留一天。因此，茂宜岛对外的货运和客运远比其他岛屿便捷。

茂宜岛内的交通亦在其他岛屿之上，当时卡胡卢铁路公司已在全岛兴建铁路，1879年7月20日，由卡胡卢镇到派衣亚（Paia）小镇的第一段铁路通车，这是一个华工最集中的小镇。1881年7月，茂宜岛铁路全线建成,总长59英里(92千米)，总站在卡胡卢镇，其余的车站在位碌古、布汝汝等七个地方，几乎贯通全岛。另外，上议员查理士·迪卡利（Charles H.Dickery）已于1878年在岛上设置了电话，这些都为茂宜的开发带来了有利的条件。眉公看准机会，便向茂宜进发。

1881年10月17日，眉公向同乡、房亲孙启球买到了在卡胡卢镇的一间店铺，孙启球还把铺里的货物一起卖给了眉公。（图27）那时我的祖父孙昌刚出生不久，眉公选用自己谱名的德字和儿子的昌字为新铺改名为“德昌隆”。



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sale. receipts and other papers and to apply the proceeds to the payment of all sums secured by this Mortgage and all costs. expenses and counsels fees rendering the surplus if any to me or my executors. administrators and assigns. And it is agreed that until default in the performance of the condition of this deed I and my executors. administrators and assigns may quietly possess & enjoy the said undivided half in said lands and premises and may use and enjoy the same. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this Eleventh day of October. A.D. One thousand eight hundred and eighty-one.

Signed Sealed in presence
of James. W. Mcarara.

I hereby consent to the foregoing Mortgage. Geo. N. Robertson
Hawaiian Islands
Island of Oahu } ss. On this 18th day of Oct. A.D. 1881. personally appeared before me
C.H. Lalakea known to me to be the person described in and who executed the foregoing
instrument who acknowledged to me that he executed the same freely and voluntarily
for the uses and purposes therein set forth.

James. W. McArara Notary Public.

Recorded and Compared this 18th day of October. A.D. 1881. at 10 Oclock A.M.

Thomas Brown Registrar of Conveyances

Sin Ahmi. to Sin Kai Cion

Stamped $1.00

Bill of Sale.

Eike o ma Kanaka apau ma keia palapala. Owau o Sin Ahmi no Honolulu Oahu. ke kuai aku nei au ia Sin Kai Cion i keia waiwai apau e waiho la ma Kahului. Wailuku. Maui. ka Halekuai ame ka waiwai ma ia Hale. o keia kuleana apau i kuleia ma keia palapala kuai i hanaia ma ka la 26 Aug. M.H. 1881. o na mea apau i oleloia ma ia palapala. na lilo pau loa ia Sin Kai Cion no na Dala Eha haneri me kanaha. aole mea keu i keia kuai ana. Aka au inoaia e au i keia la 17 Oct. M.H. 1881. ma Waiau. Ewa. Oahu.

Sin Ahmi.

Ewa. Oahu. Ko Hawaii Pae Aina. I keia la 17 Oct. M.H. 1881. ua hele kino mai imua nei o Sin Ahmi ua ike au ua no ka mea i hoakakaia ma ka palapala mamua ae ua ae mai ia iaw nanao ia i hana me ke kuokoa ame kona manao pono no na kumu i haiia maloko.

J. S. Kaanaana. Luna Hoomalu Palapala Ewa a Waianae.

Recorded and Compared this 18th day of October. A.D. 1881. at 11.30 Oclock A.M.

Thomas Brown Registrar of Conveyances

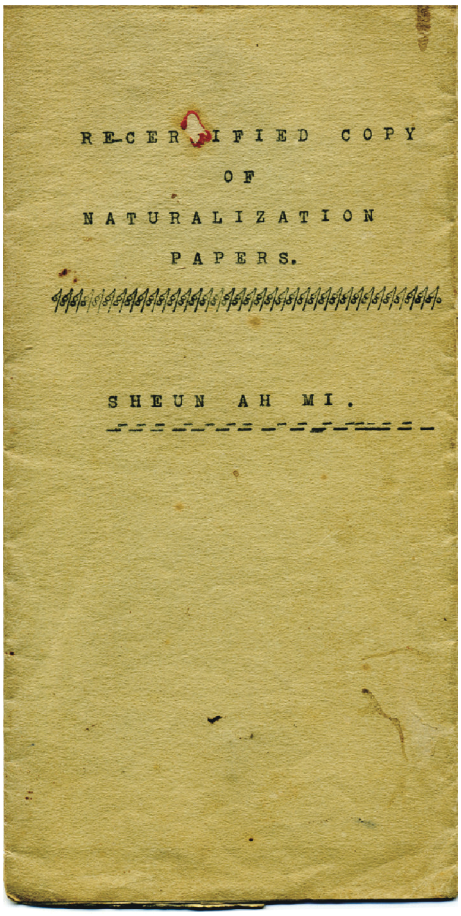
Si. to Aswan.

Stamped $1.00

Deed.

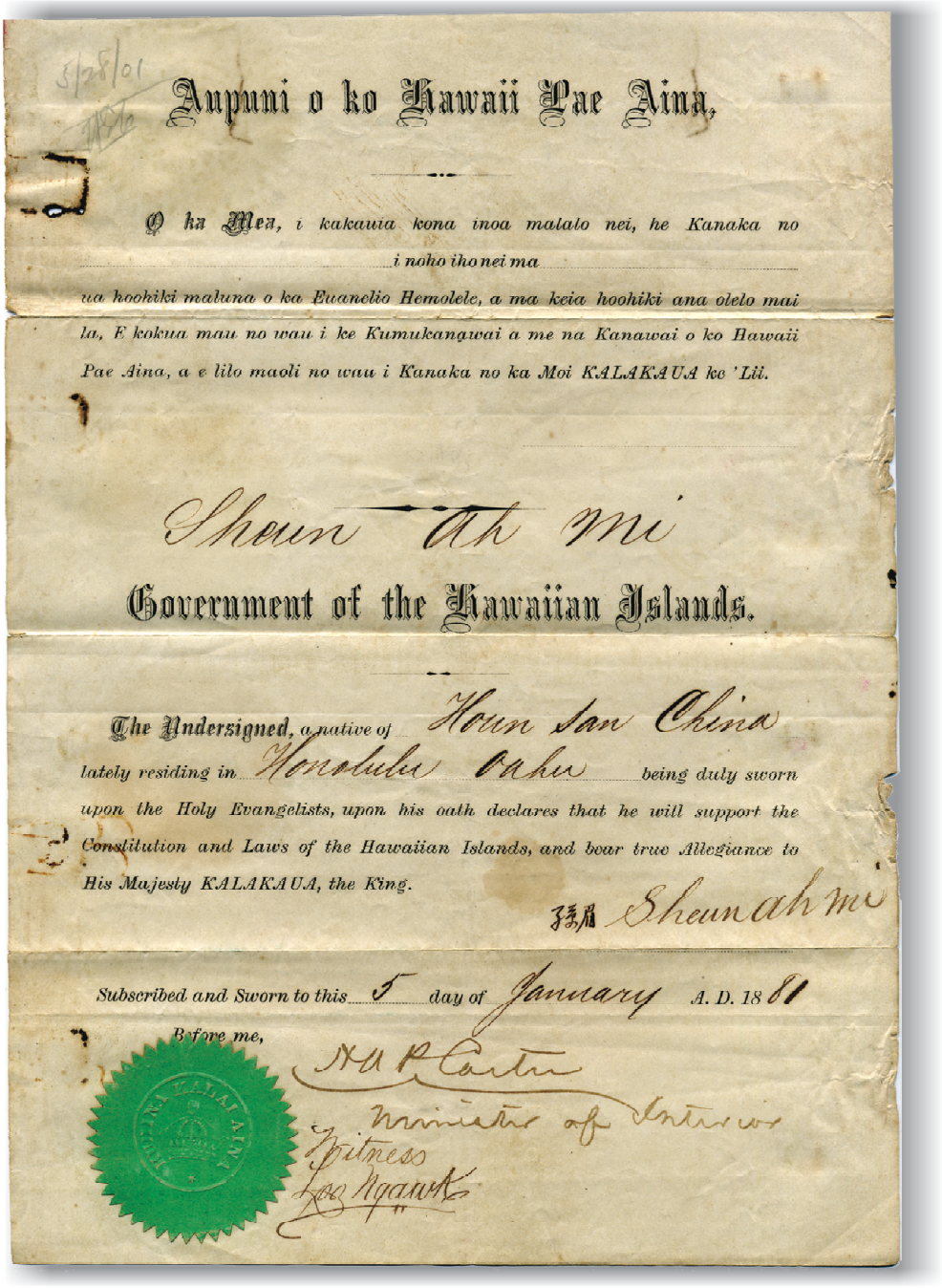
Eike auanei na mea apau ke nana mai ma keia palapala kuai Aina i hanaia ma keia la 18 Oct. M.H. 1881 o Makii kanaka kanaka ewalu haneri me kanawalu kumamaa

24. 孙启球出让在卡胡卢镇店铺的凭据：1881年10月17日孙眉向同乡孙启球买到了在卡胡卢镇的一间店铺连同店内的货物。
Bill of Sale: On Octover 17, 1881, Sun Mei purchased a store, including all the goods in the store, in Kahului from fellow villager Sin Kai Cion.



25.孙眉入籍文件封面
Sun Mei Naturlization papers cover

RE-CERTIFIED COPY OF
NATURALIZATION PAPERS
SHEUN AH MI
孙眉公证入籍文件



5/28/01

Aupuni o ko Hawaii Pae Aina,

O ka Mea, i kakauia kona inoa malalo nei, he Kanaka no i noho iho nei ma ua hoohiki maluna o ka Euanelio Hemolele, a ma keia hoohiki ana olelo mai la, E kokua mau no wau i ke Kumukanawai a me na Kanawai o ko Hawaii Pae Aina, a e lilo maoli no wau i Kanaka no ka Moi KALAKAUA ke 'Lii.

Sheun Ah Mi

Government of the Hawaiian Islands.

The Undersigned, a native of Houn San China lately residing in Honolulu Oahu being duly sworn upon the Holy Evangelists, upon his oath declares that he will support the Constitution and Laws of the Hawaiian Islands, and bear true Allegiance to His Majesty KALAKAUA, the King.

孫眉 Sheun ah mi

Subscribed and Sworn to this 5 day of January A. D. 1881

Before me,

H A P Carter

Minister of Interior

Witness

Loo Ngawk

26. 1881年1月5日宣誓纸
Swearing an oath on January 5, 1881.

我的曾祖父孙眉

Shuen Ah Mi

Government of the Hawaiian Islands

The Undersigned, a native of Houn San, China lately residing in Honolulu, Oahu being duly sworn upon the Holy Evangelists, upon his oath declares that he will support the constitution and laws of the Hawaiian Islands, and bear true allegiance to Hid Majesty KALAKAUA, the King.

Signed: 孙眉 Shuen ah mi

Subscribed and sworn to this 5th day of January A.D. 1881

Before me, signed H.A.P. Carter

Minister of Interior

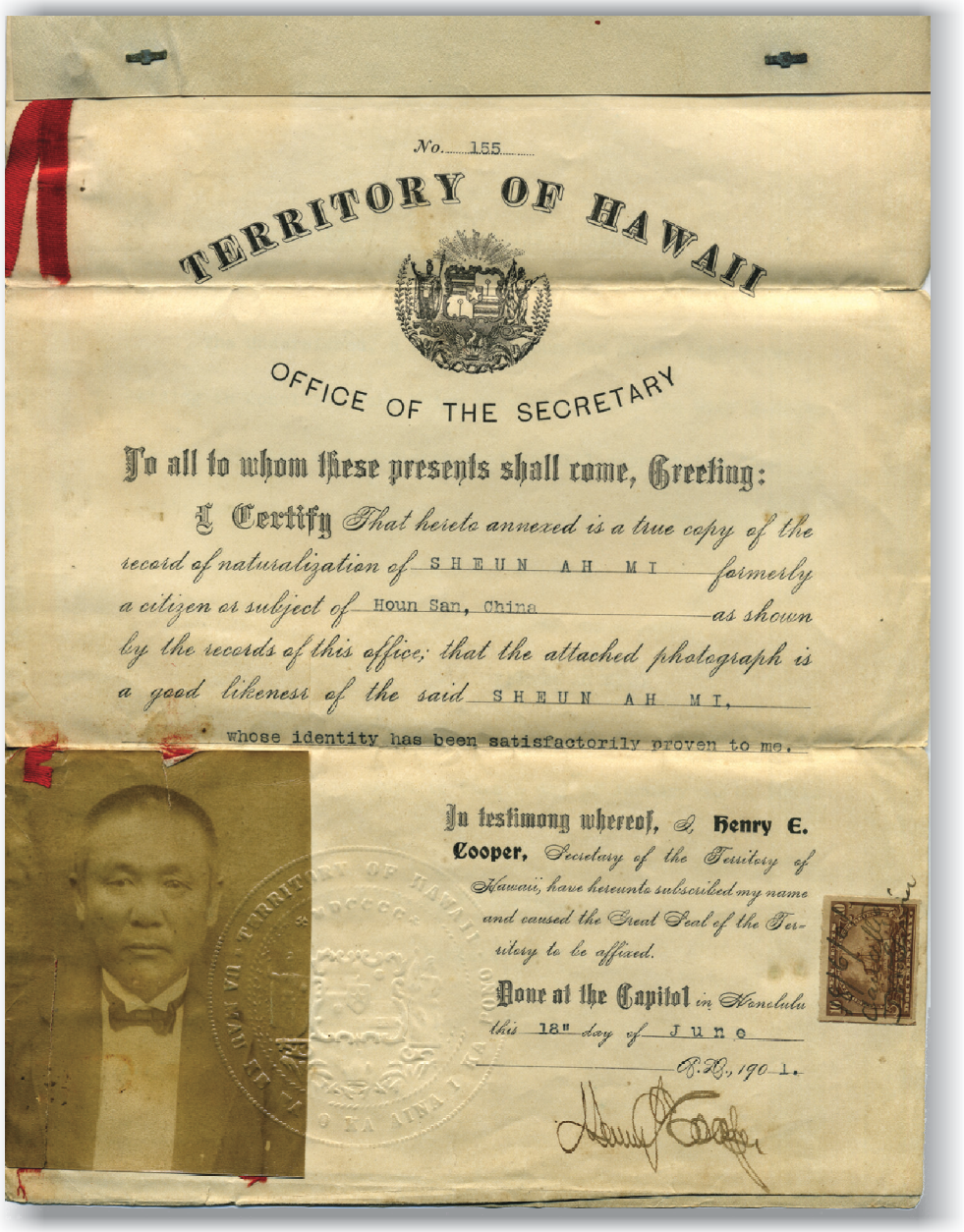
Witness: Leo Ngawk

孙眉，原籍中国香山，现居住在奥雅湖岛的檀香山，虔诚宣誓申明他维护夏威夷岛国的宪法与法律，并对卡拉卡瓦国王忠心。

孙眉　签字

1881 年1月5日在本人面前宣誓

内政部长见证　卡达　签字



No. 155

TERRITORY OF HAWAII

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting:

I Certify That hereto annexed is a true copy of the record of naturalization of SHEUN AH MI formerly a citizen or subject of Houn San, China as shown by the records of this office; that the attached photograph is a good likeness of the said SHEUN AH MI, whose identity has been satisfactorily proven to me.

In testimony whereof, I, Henry E. Cooper, Secretary of the Territory of Hawaii, have hereunto subscribed my name and caused the Great Seal of the Territory to be affixed.

Done at the Capitol in Honolulu this 18th day of June A.D., 1901.

27. 1901年6月18日发的孙眉入籍证明
Naturlization Certificate issued on June 18, 1901.

No. 155
TERRITORY OF HAWAII
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting:

I certify that hereto annexed is a true copy of the record of naturalization of Shuen Ah Mi formerly a citizen or subject of Houn San, China as shown by the records of this office; that the attached photograph is a good likeness of the sand Shuen Ah Mi, whose identity has been satisfactorily proven to me.

In testimony whereof, I Henry E. Cooper, Secretary of the Territory of Hawaii, have hereunto subscribed my name and caused the Great Seal of the Territory to be affixed.

Done at the Capitol in Honolulu
This 18th day of June A.D. 1901
Signed: Henry E. Cooper

夏威夷地区
部长办公室

致有关人士:

本人兹证明附上文件乃孙眉入籍真实文件。孙眉原属中国香山公民。附上照片与孙眉样貌相像。 本人也满意他身份的证明。

本人以夏威夷部长身份特此盖印证明
完成于首都檀香山
1901 年6月18 日
签字: 亨利·古帕

眉公以“德昌隆”为基地，开展各项事业。凭着他自己一口流利的土话，他逐渐建立了自己在土人和当地华人中的人脉。“德昌隆”专为华工供应生活用品、代办食宿，并收集当地的农产品转运檀香山出口美国。在“德昌隆”，华工购物或住宿可赊账，待薪金发给再扣还，这种信任顾客，与人方便之举，得到华工的欢迎，惠顾的人很多，生意越做越好。眉公还常常义务为华工介绍工作，向园主推荐工人，他的热情好客吸引了一批又一批的各式人等常常聚会在“德昌隆”，人们在茶余饭后，大都会聚集在这里，纵谈时事局势、社会百态、华工生活、农事生产等等，使这里成了一个信息中心。每有朋友到访，眉公必以咖啡招待，无论土人或华人，遇有困难问题，眉公还会邀请有识人士，谋求解决。遇有华工受人欺凌，他必仗义执言，主持公道，当地人给他的另一个称呼是“一杯咖啡律师”。他交游广泛，做事深谋远虑，公正不阿，中西人士均以他为主心骨，俨然成了一方的领袖。他与许多华侨建立了深厚的友谊。先期到达的开平人邓荫南，此时已成了经营农场和糖业的大商人，但他对眉公十分仰慕，言听计从，与眉公成了莫逆之交。1895年孙中山准备回国举行起义时，他捐助了一笔款项购买军械，其后更变卖全部家产，追随孙中山回国参加广州起义。当眉公破产回到香港，他又协助眉公在香港进行革命活动，与眉公结下了深厚的革命情谊。

通过“德昌隆”，眉公对外界知之甚多，他了解到，合约五年期满的华工，除部分人返回中国，相当部分选择留下来做些小生意，有了积蓄的华人开始购置少量土地，使自己成为小生产者，因此各岛的土地买卖十分活跃。“德昌隆”开设后，眉公已积累了一定的资金，他认为这些资金唯一正确的用途是投资土地买卖。他从政府方面，或从土人的手上，或从准备回国的华侨手中转手小块土地，将其改造成可耕种的熟地，有小块的则整合成大片，然后经过改造再出让或租赁。

此后多年，眉公以实业家的姿态，活跃在夏威夷的地产市场上。据夏威夷公证登记局的记录：光是在奥鸦湖岛，1881年7月、9月眉公就买入了衣哗区几块土地，1882年他在衣哗农场里入股，1885年，他向糖厂租赁土地，从1881年到1897年间，眉公在奥鸦湖岛买入土地十多宗。

自1881年搬到茂宜后，他在茂宜的土地买卖更为活跃。1891年9月7日，眉公以3500元，买入茂宜哈玛库瓦鲁阿一段1030亩的土地。1895年9月16日，眉公以1500元，买入刘寿一些3亩至160亩的零碎地段，并附有骡马等。1895年9月28日，眉公以1500元买入刘祥在卡胡卢地区六段地，数目巨大。我查阅过夏威夷土

地与天然资源公证登记局的历年眉公土地转让记录，看到了从1881年至1903年的部分记录就有100宗之多。眉公的土地一般是从别人手上买得再交易的，但至少有一块以3450号登记在库拉的160亩土地是由皇室直接授让给眉公的，这也说明眉公当年的声誉以及与皇室的关系。

眉公的地产分布甚广，如奥鸦湖岛的衣哗、位爱鲁阿(Waialua)、檀香山(Honolulu)、库老坡口(Koolaupoko)和茂宜岛的位碌古、库拉、哈玛库瓦鲁阿(Hamakualoa)、莱海那(Lahaina)等地都有他的置业。

除了土地买卖，眉公在各华人集中的地区，还做了很多房产的投资。有买入的，也有租入的。出生在茂宜库拉的老侨陆基曾有过这样的忆述：“阿眉拥有许多商户在卡胡卢，出租予人。我父亲是木匠，也是他的租客。”他在孩童时代曾见过眉公。

但这些房产也常常给眉公带来不少的烦恼。当年的华工，很多都是没有家室的，他们的文化水平不高，常常把在国内形成的很多不良嗜好也带来了，例如赌博及抽鸦片在华工里就被视为较普遍的现象。在1903年2月7日《茂宜日报》（图28）我看到了一个有关眉公因贿赂警员被告上法庭的消息，报道说：

> 孙眉曾以25元去贿赂警员，要这位警员不要妨碍孙眉公在卡胡卢做“白鸽票”的生意。这位警员收到钱后即将孙眉拘捕。在法庭上，孙眉并不否认曾给钱以警员，但这钱是借给警员买马用的，而且是当着其他警员的面给的。虽然有人作证，孙眉还请了两个律师作辩护，但法官仍然决定要立案查处，并要孙眉交出500元作为保证金。

眉公最终被判无罪，不过报章却把当年的一些情况作了详细报道，报上说：

> “白鸽票”的赌博在当时是公开的秘密，在库拉、卡乎等许多地方都有。警察往往很难找到证据去指证，中国人很狡猾，通常“白鸽票”都设在楼上，要经过几道门才能进入赌场，每个门都有人把守，有暗号联络，赌场外设有火炉，佯装煲粥，如真遇有警员查处，便由把守门户的人用暗号通知，迅速把“白鸽票”全部放进火炉中。警员到来时，往往只能看见一两个中国人在看报，或抽烟。“白鸽票”已成灰烬，炉上是一锅正在熬的粥。

眉婆生前曾对我父亲说过一些在夏威夷生活的情况。她说，眉公人太善良了，而且又乐意去帮助别人。在生意顶峰时，雇用的人手也越来越多，有葡籍人士做管工的，有专门看护牛只的“牛仔”，有专种植的本地土人，还有很多华

工，眉公有时还会把店里愿意到牧场工作的人安排到牧场里。人多必杂，管理也不容易。其中有一位华人会计，跟随眉公多年，人很沉静，眉公认为他很可靠。这位会计，每数天就要从牧场出发，带现金到卡胡卢镇结账。不过有一天，他离开牧场后就没有回来。过了很长的一段时间，他的尸体才被人在一个山洞里发现。眉公以为这会计是被人谋财害命，但始终找不到凶手，没有破案。直到1908年眉婆把牧场卖给塔瓦利斯后不久，塔瓦利斯的伙计在牧场大屋账房储藏室的天花板上，发现了几包鸦片，大家分析，可能是那会计暗中做鸦片的买卖，因为利害关系而被杀。那时，不少华工有抽鸦片的陋习，鸦片买卖盛行。眉公声誉高，想嫁祸的人就说眉公是鸦片买卖的大后台，那会计把眉公当作挡箭牌，长期在暗中与人作鸦片交易，怎知聪明反被聪明误，最终死于非命。其实眉公与孙中山对于鸦片的害处，因为鸦片战争都有特别认识。他虽然不能禁止在牧场工作的华工抽鸦片，但是，他是绝对不肯做鸦片买卖的。

多渠道发展亦是眉公投资之道。其他如牲口买卖、海洋煤气及电力、猪宰包装、鞋业、酒业、电话公司等等。他的投资甚至远达三藩市。我在当年交易资料档案中查阅到1903年6月30日，眉公卖出了在三藩市康仁堂公司的股权。

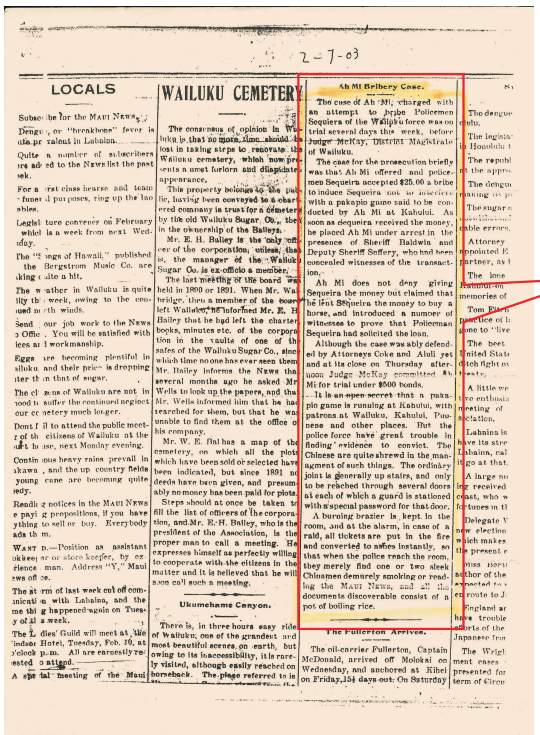
当时，夏威夷的酒业都是由白人控制的。1887年，眉公竟可申请到卖Awa及酒牌。Awa是一种原名为Kava(咔瓦)的植物。生长在斐济(Fiji)、汤加(Tonga)、所罗门群岛(Solomon Islands)、萨摩亚(Samoa)、夏威夷(Hawaii)及密克罗西亚(Micronesia)等南太平洋各岛国。在夏威夷，它被称阿瓦(Awa)。阿瓦在19世纪的夏威夷是一种很有地位的波利尼西亚(Polynesia)文化。

阿瓦可以被视为一种药料，也是一种饮料。它是用植物的根制作而成。用阿瓦制成的饮料，性能可与酒精相比。但是它不像咖啡与酒那样会令人上瘾。人们喝少量阿瓦，就有飘飘欲仙的感觉。那是一种精神松弛、心情愉快的感觉，可维持两三小时，夏威夷的土人称之为友谊之饮料。原先是皇室或有钱的人才能喝到的，后来才成为一般百姓都喜爱的饮料。与酒一样，阿瓦受政府管制，在夏威夷必须领到执照才能售卖。在茂宜岛的莱海那区，眉公是第一位取得经营Awa牌照的人，这使许多人都羡慕不已。

位碌古与卡胡卢是两个相连的小镇，也是眉公在茂宜生意最活跃的地方。眉公在位碌古买入一个叫IAO酒吧的股权，对于其经营发展，以及联络各阶层人士发挥过很大的作用。2009年，我再次访问茂宜时，我的一位50年没有见面的康乃尔大学(Cornell University)的同班同学霍华德·中村(Howard Nakamura)，邀

请我住在他坐落在位碌古的家，那里正是衣阿奥山谷(Iao Valley)的出口处，眉公的酒吧曾以衣阿奥为名就设在附近，可惜沧海桑田，那酒吧已不复存在。我每每远眺山谷那方，仿佛看到眉公当年在酒吧里与各方人士谈笑风生、为正义呼号、创业奋斗的情景，敬仰怀念之情油然而生。

夏威夷经济有四大支柱，其中第二大支柱产业是捕鲸业。莱海那是茂宜的捕鲸中心，各国捕鲸船队、商人来往交易，补给食物及生活用品均在于此，华人也集中于此，十分繁华。眉公在此买入或租赁多处房屋再转租获利，并开了酒吧。各种投资数目之大，交易之频繁，时在茂宜无人可及，可见眉公当年经营魄力之宏大。



LOCALS

WAILUKU CEMETERY

Ah Mi Bribery Case.

The case of Ah Mi, charged with an attempt to bribe Policemen Sequiera of the Wailpku force was on trial several days this week, before Judge McKay, District Magistrate of Wailuku.

The case for the prosecution briefly was that Ah Mi offered and policemen Sequeira accepted $25.00 a bribe to induce Sequeira not to interfere with a pakapio game said to be conducted by Ah Mi at Kahului. As soon as Sequeira received the money, he placed Ah Mi under arrest in the presence of Sheriff Baldwin and Deputy Sheriff Saffery, who had been concealed witnesses of the transaction.

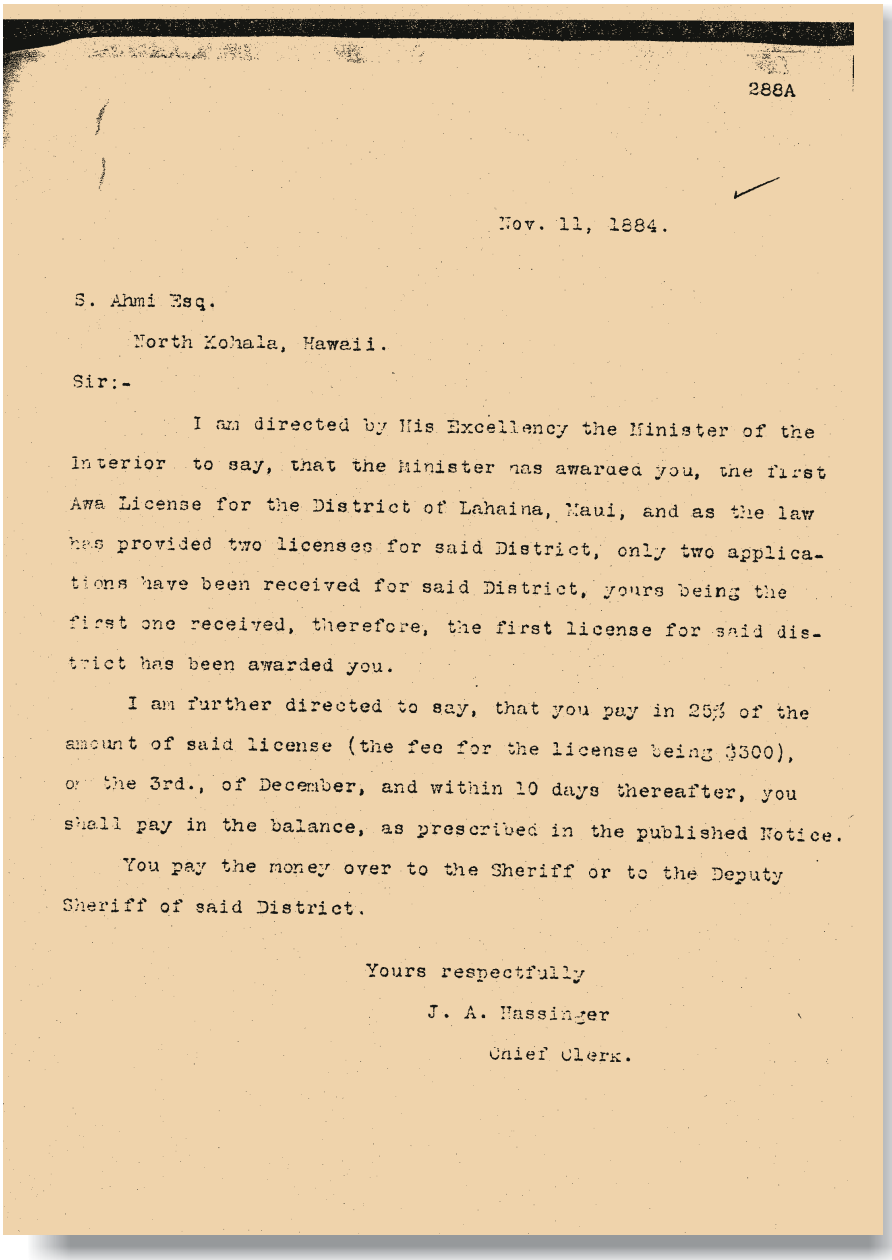
Ah Mi does not deny giving Sequeira the money but claimed that he lent Sequeira the money to buy a horse, and introduced a number of witnesses to prove that Policeman Sequeira had solicited the loan.

Although the case was ably defended by Attorneys Coke and Aluli yet and at its close on Thursday afternoon Judge McKay committed Ah Mi for trial under $500 bonds.

It is an open secret that a pakapio game is running at Kahului, with patrons at Wailuku, Kahului, Puunene and other places. But the police force have great trouble in finding evidence to convict. The Chinese are quite shrewd in the management of such things. The ordinary joint is generally up stairs, and only to be reached through several doors at each of which a guard is stationed with a special password for that door.

A burning brazier is kept in the room, and at the alarm, in case of a raid, all tickets are put in the fire and converted to ashes instantly, so that when the police reach the room, they merely find one or two sleek Chinamen demurely smoking or reading the MAUI NEWS, and all the documents discoverable consist of a pot of boiling rice.

28. 1903年2月7日《茂宜报》报道有关孙眉贿赂警员经过。
A case about Sun Mei bribing a police officer was reported in the Maui News on February 7, 1903.



288A

Nov. 11, 1884.

S. Ahmi Esq.

North Kohala, Hawaii.

Sir:-

I am directed by His Excellency the Minister of the Interior to say, that the Minister has awarded you, the first Awa License for the District of Lahaina, Maui, and as the law has provided two licenses for said District, only two applications have been received for said District, yours being the first one received, therefore, the first license for said district has been awarded you.

I am further directed to say, that you pay in 25% of the amount of said license (the fee for the license being $300), on the 3rd., of December, and within 10 days thereafter, you shall pay in the balance, as prescribed in the published Notice.

You pay the money over to the Sheriff or to the Deputy Sheriff of said District.

Yours respectfully

J. A. Hassinger

Chief Clerk.

29. AWA 执照通知书
AWA licenses notice

1884 年11月11日

孙阿眉 先生，

夏威夷，北库哈拉

本人按内政部长大人的指示通知阁下部长已批发给阁下在茂宜岛拉莱海那区的第一个awa执照。按照法律规定，该区只提供两个执照，而阁下的申请是两个申请人之首，因此发给阁下第一个执照。

本人再按指示，阁下应按发布公告，于12月3日缴付执照费（300元）之25%并于10天内缴付余款。

请阁下到该区的警长处或副警长处缴交。

秘书长 J.A. Hassinger

Nov 11, 1884

S.Ahmi Esq.
North Kohala, Hawaii
Sir:-

I am directed by His Excellency the Minister of the Interior to say, that the Minister has awarded you, the first Awa License for the District of Lahaina, Maui; and as the law has provided two licenses for said District, only two applications have been received for said District, yours being the first one received, therefore, the first license for said district has been awarded you.

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Yours respectfully
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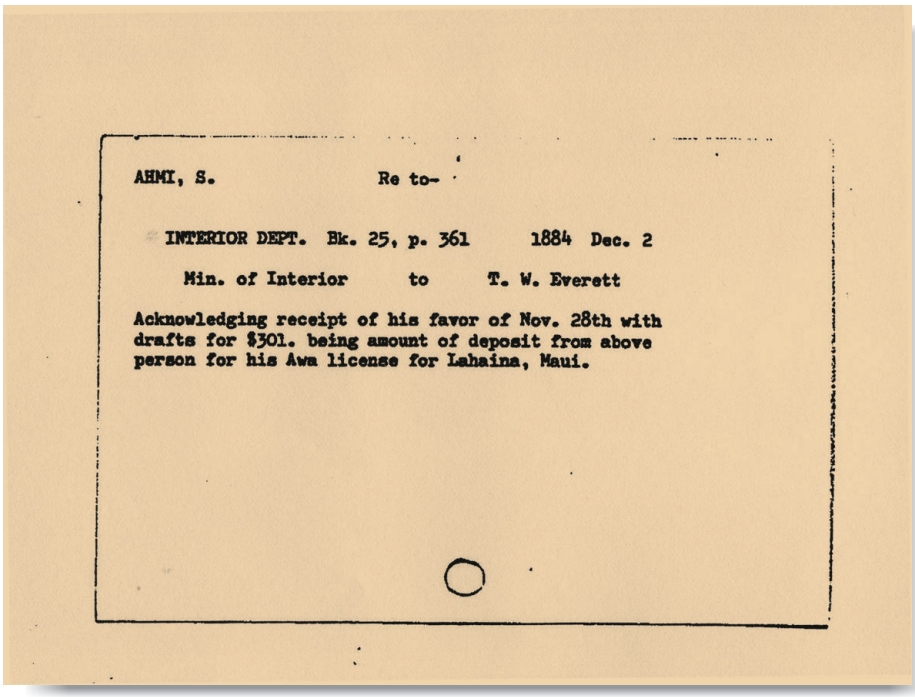
Chief Clerk



AHMI, S. Re to-

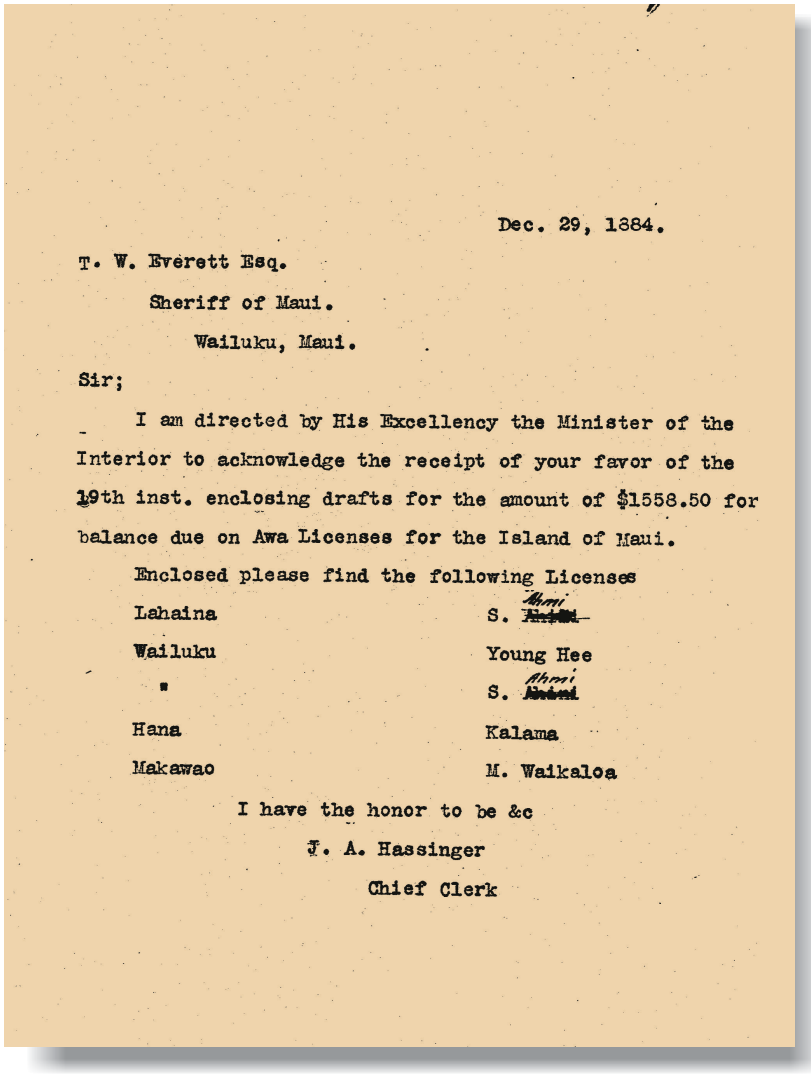
INTERIOR DEPT. Bk. 25, p. 361 1884 Dec. 2

Min. of Interior to T. W. Everett

Acknowledging receipt of his favor of Nov. 28th with drafts for $301. being amount of deposit from above person for his Awa license for Lahaina, Maui.

30. 1884年12月2日内政部档案(第25本；361页）由内政部长给T. W. Everett通知收到孙眉于1884年11月28日付301元的茂宜莱海那地区awa营业执照费。

孙眉档案
内政部　　第25本361页　　1884年12月2日
致　Everett
兹收到于11月28日送来301元汇票作为上述有关人士在茂宜岛莱海那区阿瓦营业执照的按金。



Dec. 29, 1884.

T. W. Everett Esq.

Sheriff of Maui.

Wailuku, Maui.

Sir;

I am directed by His Excellency the Minister of the Interior to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 19th inst. enclosing drafts for the amount of $1558.50 for balance due on Awa Licenses for the Island of Maui.

Enclosed please find the following Licenses

Lahaina	S. Ahmi
Wailuku	Young Hee
"	S. Ahmi
Hana	Kalama
Makawao	M. Waikaloa

I have the honor to be &c

J. A. Hassinger

Chief Clerk

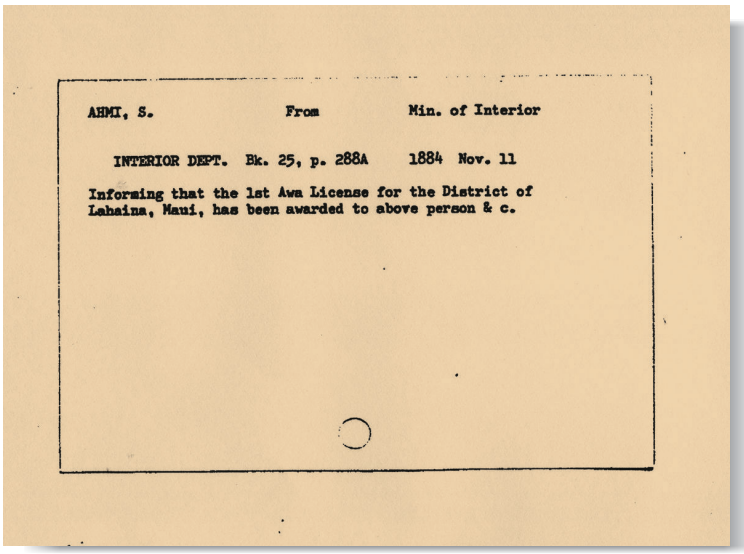
31. 1884年12月29日，夏威夷内政部发给茂宜警长通知他孙眉获茂宜岛莱海那区及位碌古区两区的awa营业执照。

1884年12月29日

致茂宜岛警长

本人按内政部长指示证实收到阁下19日送来的1558.50元汇票作为支付茂宜岛阿瓦执照的余款。以下为执照详细：

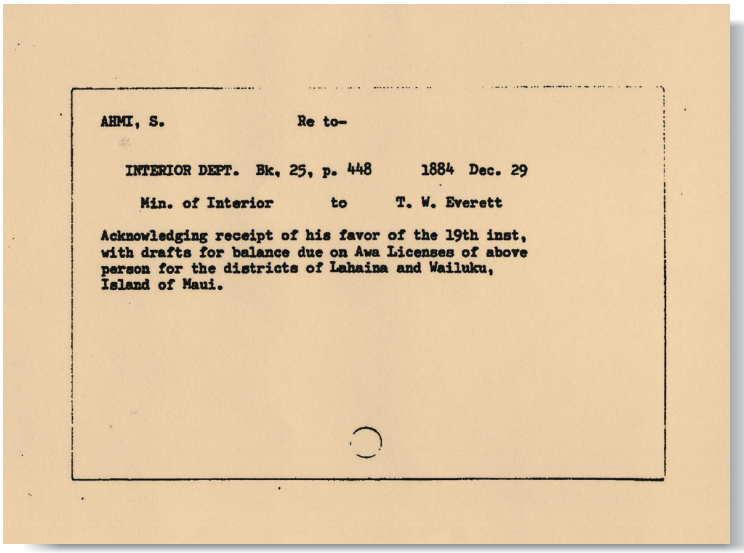
莱海那：孙眉；位碌古：杨喜，孙眉
汉那：Kalama；马卡胡：Waikaloa
秘书长 Hassinger


AHMI, S. From Min. of Interior

INTERIOR DEPT. Bk. 25, p. 288A 1884 Nov. 11

Informing that the 1st Awa License for the District of Lahaina, Maui, has been awarded to above person & c.

32. 1884年11月11日，夏威夷内政部档案（25本，288A页）发给孙眉在莱海拿区第一个AWA营业执照凭据。
孙眉档案
内政部　　第25本288A页　　1884年11月11日
　　通告茂宜岛莱海那区的第一个阿瓦执照已发给上述人士。

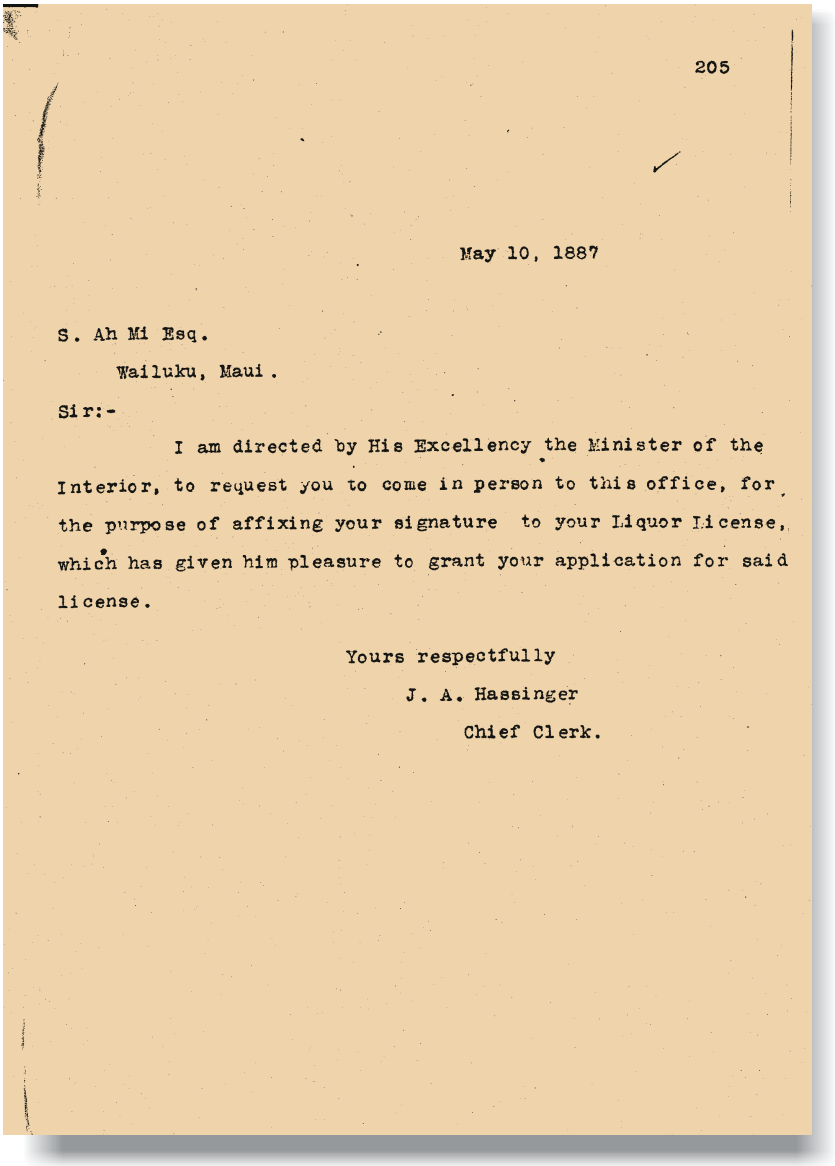

AHMI, S. Re to-

INTERIOR DEPT. Bk. 25, p. 448 1884 Dec. 29

Min. of Interior to T. W. Everett

Acknowledging receipt of his favor of the 19th inst, with drafts for balance due on Awa Licenses of above person for the districts of Lahaina and Wailuku, Island of Maui.

33. 1884年12月29日，夏威夷内政部档案(25本，448页)通知收到孙眉支付位碌古及莱海那两区awa营业执照费尾款。
孙眉档案
　　内政部25本448页　　1884年12月29日
　　致Everett先生
　　确认19日收到上述人士送来茂宜岛莱海那及位碌古区阿瓦执照费的余款。



205

May 10, 1887

S. Ah Mi Esq.
Wailuku, Maui.

Sir:-

I am directed by His Excellency the Minister of the Interior, to request you to come in person to this office, for the purpose of affixing your signature to your Liquor License, which has given him pleasure to grant your application for said license.

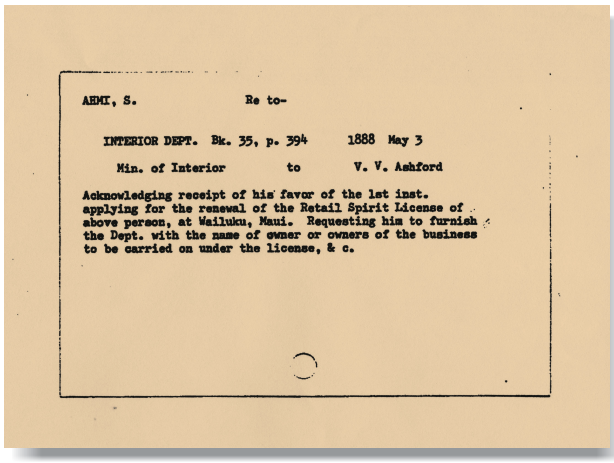
Yours respectfully
J. A. Hassinger
Chief Clerk.

34. 卖酒执照

1887年5月10日

致位碌古孙眉先生，

本人按内政部长指示要求阁下前来本办公室于酒牌上签字。部长已准许阁下申请酒牌



AHMI, S. Re to-

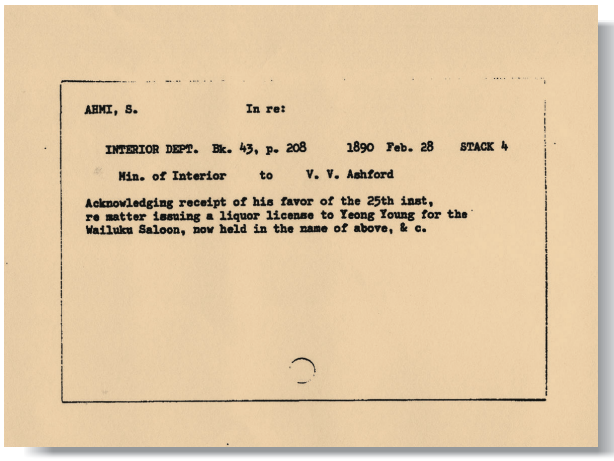
INTERIOR DEPT. Bk. 35, p. 394 1888 May 3

Min. of Interior to V. V. Ashford

Acknowledging receipt of his favor of the 1st inst. applying for the renewal of the Retail Spirit License of above person, at Wailuku, Maui. Requesting him to furnish the Dept. with the name of owner or owners of the business to be carried on under the license, & c.

35. 1888年5月3日夏威夷内政部档案（35书；394页）确认收到孙眉酒类零售执照延期申请，并要求孙眉提供在执照下经营者姓名。

孙眉档案
内政部 第35本第394页 1888年5月3日
致 Asbford先生
兹收到上述人士申请在茂宜岛位碌古区的酒类销售执照。要求他提供营业地点及商号名称。



AHMI, S. In re:

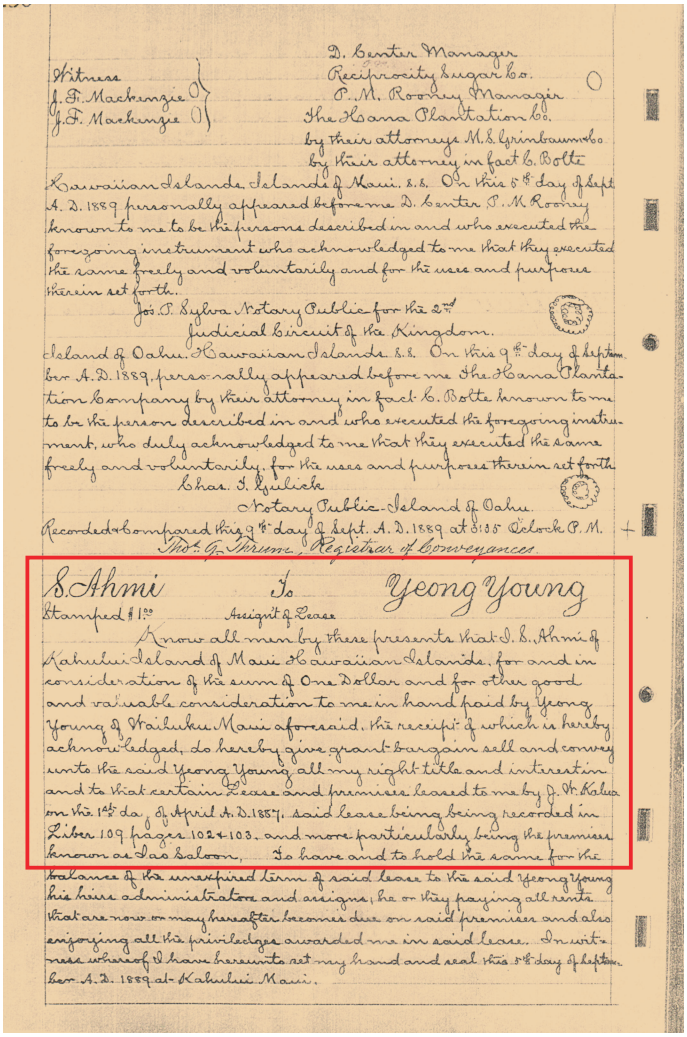
INTERIOR DEPT. Bk. 43, p. 208 1890 Feb. 28 STACK 4

Min. of Interior to V. V. Ashford

Acknowledging receipt of his favor of the 25th inst, re matter issuing a liquor license to Yeong Young for the Wailuku Saloon, now held in the name of above, & c.

36. 1890年2月28日夏威夷内政部档案（43书；208页）孙眉申请把酒牌转给杨然。

孙眉档案
内政部 第43本208页 1890年2月28日
致Ashford先生
兹收到上述人士25日有关发给杨然在位碌古的酒吧的酒牌申请。该酒吧现在上述人士名下。



D. Center Manager
Reciprocity Sugar Co.
P. M. Rooney Manager
The Hana Plantation Co.
by their attorneys M. S. Grinbaum & Co.
by their attorney in fact C. Bolte

Witness
J. F. Mackenzie
J. F. Mackenzie

Hawaiian Islands. Island of Maui. S. S. On this 5th day of Sept. A. D. 1889 personally appeared before me D. Center P. M. Rooney known to me to be the persons described in and who executed the foregoing instrument who acknowledged to me that they executed the same freely and voluntarily and for the uses and purposes therein set forth.

Jos. S. Sylva Notary Public for the 2nd Judicial Circuit of the Kingdom.

Island of Oahu. Hawaiian Islands S. S. On this 9th day of September A. D. 1889 personally appeared before me The Hana Plantation Company by their attorney in fact C. Bolte known to me to be the person described in and who executed the foregoing instrument, who duly acknowledged to me that they executed the same freely and voluntarily, for the uses and purposes therein set forth.

Chas. S. Eulick
Notary Public. Island of Oahu.

Recorded & Compared this 9th day of Sept. A. D. 1889 at 5:35 O'clock P. M.
Thos. G. Thrum, Registrar of Conveyances

S. Ahmi To Yeong Young
Stamped $1.00 Assignt of Lease

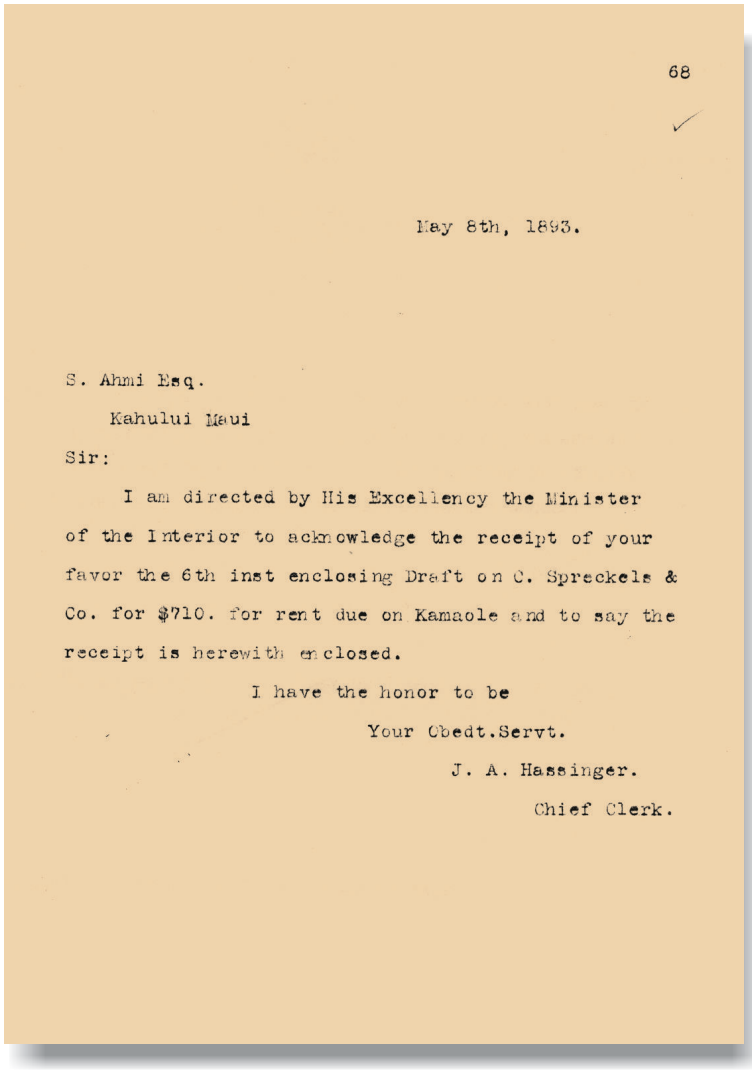
Know all men by these presents that S. S. Ahmi of Kahului Island of Maui Hawaiian Islands, for and in consideration of the sum of One Dollar and for other good and valuable consideration to me in hand paid by Yeong Young of Wailuku Maui aforesaid, the receipt of which is hereby acknowledged, do hereby give grant bargain sell and convey unto the said Yeong Young all my right title and interest in and to that certain Lease and premises leased to me by J. M. Kalua on the 1st day of April A. D. 1887, said lease being being recorded in Liber 109 pages 102 & 103, and more particularly being the premises known as Iao Saloon. To have and to hold the same for the balance of the unexpired term of said lease to the said Yeong Young his heirs administrators and assigns, he or they paying all rents that are now or may hereafter become due on said premises and also enjoying all the privileges awarded me in said lease. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 5th day of September A. D. 1889 at Kahului Maui.

37. IAO 酒吧租约转让：1889年9月5日孙眉把IAO酒吧的租约及设备与经营权以一元转让给杨然。

On September 5, 1889, Sun Mei transferred the lease as well as all the facilities and stocks in the IAO Saloon to Yeong Young for one dollar.

孙眉　　租约转让　　杨然
印花税：1元

本人孙眉，住在茂宜岛卡胡卢，以1元代价把衣阿奥酒吧的所有权益，包括从卡卢亚于1887年4月1日租来的场地并已登载在档案109本第102及103页，转让给住在茂宜位碌古的杨然。特此通告，并以此作为收据。



68

May 8th, 1893.

S. Ahmi Esq.
Kahului Maui

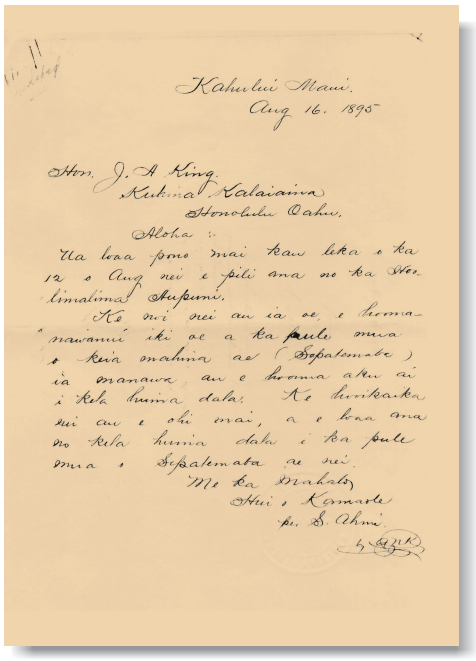
Sir:

I am directed by His Excellency the Minister of the Interior to acknowledge the receipt of your favor the 6th inst enclosing Draft on C. Spreckels & Co. for $710. for rent due on Kamaole and to say the receipt is herewith enclosed.

I have the honor to be
Your Obedt.Servt.
J. A. Hassinger.
Chief Clerk.

38. 牧场租金

1893年5月8日
致 孙眉
卡胡卢，茂宜
本人按内政部长大人指示确认已收到6日送到一纸710元银行汇票支付卡玛奥利土地租金。
秘书长： 签字



Kahului Maui.
Aug 16. 1895

Hon. J. A. King
Kuhina Kalaiaina
Honolulu Oahu.

Aloha :-

Ua loaa pono mai kau leka o ka 12 o Aug nei e pili ana no ka Hoolimalima Aupuni.

Ke noi nei au ia oe e hoomanawanui iki ae a ka pau ole mua o keia mahina ae (Sepatemaba) ia manawa au e hoouna aku ai i kela huina dala. Ke hoohikaika nui au e ohi mai, a e loaa ana no kela huina dala i ka pule mua o Sepatemaba ae nei.

Me ka Mahalo
Hui o Kamaole
per S. Ahmi
by A.N.K.

Translation

Kahului, Maui Aug. 16, 1895

Hon. J.A. King
Minister of the Interior
Honolulu, Oahu

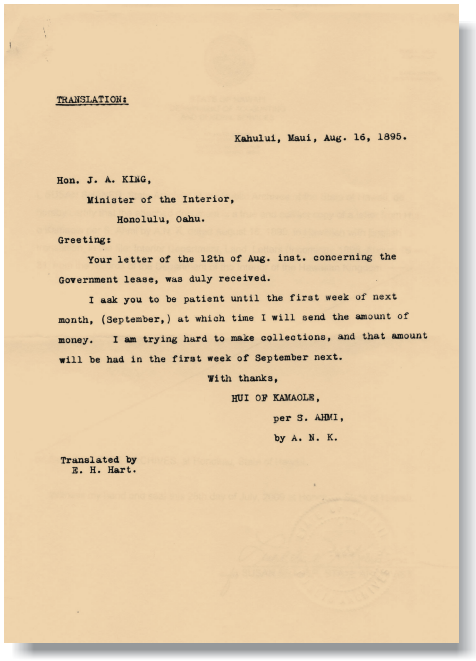
Greeting:

Your letter of the 12th of Aug. inst. concerning the Government lease, was duly received.

I ask you to be patient until the first week of next month, (September) at which time I will send the amount of money. I am trying hard to make collections, and that amount will be had in the first week of September next.

With thanks,

HUI OF KAMAOLE,
per S. AHMI
by A.N.K.



TRANSLATION:

Kahului, Maui, Aug. 16, 1895.

Hon. J. A. KING,
Minister of the Interior,
Honolulu, Oahu.

Greeting:

Your letter of the 12th of Aug. inst. concerning the Government lease, was duly received.

I ask you to be patient until the first week of next month, (September,) at which time I will send the amount of money. I am trying hard to make collections, and that amount will be had in the first week of September next.

With thanks,
HUI OF KAMAOLE,
per S. AHMI,
by A. N. K.

Translated by
E. H. Hart.

*

译文

1895年8月16日　卡胡卢，　茂宜

致　J. A. King
奥雅湖，　檀香山
内政部

您好！

阁下8月12日来函有关政府租约事敬悉。

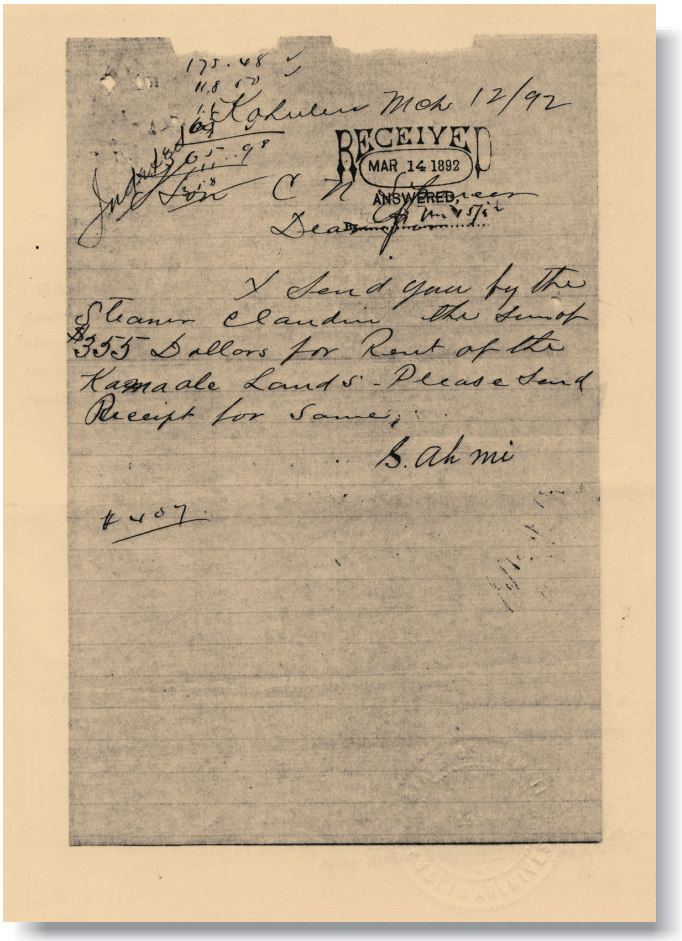
尊请阁下忍耐至下月（9月）第一星期，到时我将会付款。本人正在筹集资金并将于9月第一星期完成。

谢谢

卡玛奥利会
孙眉

由 E. H. Hart 翻译

39. 1895年8月16日，孙眉写信夏威夷内政部要求延期缴付牧场租金，图为原夏威夷本土文信和英文翻译件。
Letter by Sun Mei to the Minister of Interior requesting delay in payment of rent for the Kamaole land in Hawaiian language and English translation.



40. 1892年3月12日，孙眉托邮轮“科罗丁”号汇355元付牧场租金。
On March 12, 1892 Sun Mei sent 355 dollars by Steamer Claudin to pay for rent of the Kamaole land.

实业顶峰

经过几年的积累，眉公决定投资大面积的土地，以建立基地。1888年，即眉公来到茂宜之后的第八年，他看中了在库拉地区3000英尺(914.4米)高的哈利亚克拉(Haleakala)山坡上的一片土地，那片土地是由火山熔岩和火山灰形成的，土壤特别肥沃，其高低不平的山坡和常被薄云遮掩的山林，可耕种，也可畜牧。

当年获得夏威夷政府的土地和租赁、出让等政策事以团体名义申请较为容易，眉公便组织了一个以他为首的叫卡莫奥莱(Kamoale)会社的团体，以这个团体的名义向夏威夷政府内政部租到了一块3900英亩(1578公顷)的土地，眉公是租赁地的负责人。租期由1889年8月1日算起，至1899年7月31日期满，为期十年，这在夏威夷政府档案租赁卷的第407号中有记载。租金是每年710元，当年7月起交上期。其后他又陆续在周围购入多幅闲置土地，使牧场面积扩展至6000英亩(2428公顷)。

库拉在茂宜很有名气。早在1840年时候，库拉人所种植的芋供应到旧金山矿区去，那时在库拉的华人已尝到种植芋仔的好处，华人形容在库拉种芋，就好比是发现了一个新的小金矿，这个种芋的热潮就好像一个新的淘金潮。到了1850年以后，旧金山淘金业开始没落，芋的需求大大减少，在1840年至1850年间因为种芋成功而获得金钱的华人，就改为租地种蔗，许多华人搬到茂宜，有的直接到库拉，1880年至1900年间，有80户，大约700名中国人在库拉，组成了一个繁荣的中国人社区。他们在库拉开办中餐馆、鸦片馆、商店、教堂，有十几户办了牧场。

从事农业的就从政府处租地，种粮食和蔬菜、水果。他们的蔬菜、水果运到卡胡卢或马卡沃(Makawao)出售。有的从那里转运到檀香山去卖。这地区土地很多，但是较干旱，要修蓄水池存水。这一带的中国移民，披荆斩棘，艰苦奋斗，开发夏威夷的处女地。有的省吃俭用，积攒下一些积蓄，慢慢富裕起来。从1910年后，当地政府收回租地，许多中国人失去土地，纷纷离开库拉，搬到其他地方居住。一度繁荣热闹的中国人社区消失了。现在，这里还有当时住在库拉的中国人的后代。

我在库拉的国兴会馆见到了一些现仍住在库拉的华人后裔，他们仍保留着一些中国人的传统习惯，还利用会馆把一些先祖留下来的文物保存下来。其中还有人熟悉眉公的牧场。有一位李察·沈(Richard Shim)的先生，更亲自跑到牧场，



41.2009年，我在茂宜库拉国兴会馆前与当地华人合照。Picture taken at the Kwock Hing Hall in Kula , Maui with the local residents in 2009.

为我拍下了不少当年水利系统遗迹照片。

最早来到库拉的客家人钟木贤(Harry A. Heen)又名钟国柱、钟水养，他是广东五华西河化村人。17岁来到夏威夷，最先在茂宜经商，后来与茂宜岛的大酋长的后代玛丽·马赫乌拉(Mary Maheula)结婚，玛丽名下占有大片土地，钟木贤在库拉经营好几处商店，其商业和地产活动发展到奥鸦胡岛和卡瓦伊岛，1895年以后，钟木贤成为当地华人社会最富有的领袖之一。钟木贤和眉公的关系很好，生意上也有来往。孙中山在檀香山创办兴中会时，钟木贤在眉公的鼓动下，首批加入。1899年，国安会馆成立，这是夏威夷洪门会社的组织之一。钟木贤担任过会馆主席。1903年，眉公找到了钟木贤，让孙中山加入国安会馆，钟木贤是保荐人。那时有人反对孙中山入会，钟木贤说，洪门的宗旨是反清的，孙中山没有加入洪门就已发动武装起义反对清朝，这样的人为什么不能接受加入会馆呢？1914年左右，钟木贤回到了中国，在家乡热心公益活动，1922年在中国去世。他有许多后代仍居住在夏威夷，有的还很有名望，他的儿子威廉曾担任过夏威夷的上议员，钟木贤的孙子瓦尔特也曾担当过法官。

在茂宜，眉公有许多好朋友。来自香山的郑强，早年在茂宜经商、办农场。1871年重返檀香山时，与眉公相识，后成了莫逆之交。眉公租赁的牧场也与郑强

农场相近。郑强育有6个女儿，长女郑金轮，二女郑妙乾，三女郑妙霞，四女郑妙佳，五女郑兆容，六女郑碧莲，两家关系极好，其四女妙佳与我祖父孙昌最为投契，也和太叔婆卢慕贞是好朋友，妙佳后来嫁予黄就，生女黄凤群，凤群嫁姓彭。我在檀香山访问的是凤群姨，她在夏威夷大学读书时，与我母亲是同学。凤群的母亲妙佳在30年代回中国，又同卢慕贞见过面，旧友相逢，十分高兴。眉公、郑强和孙中山是拜把兄弟。后来郑强被马踢伤不治去世，郑妻把郑家部分产业交予眉公经营管理，还带着6个女儿搬到库拉，与孙家为邻居。当郑妻把其中三个女儿包括长女、五女、六女带回香山生活后，另外三个女儿仍然留在眉公的农场里。现在她们的后人仍在夏威夷。2009年我再访茂宜时，又曾与凤群姨通过电话问候。1923年郑强夫人去世，其女儿及孙女等一直与我们孙家交往至今。郑强的第六个女儿郑碧莲嫁给林介眉，他们的三个女儿林志英、林瑞英、林雪英在抗战时跟随我父母北上抗日，与我们的外祖母陈粹芬一起照顾我们兄弟几人，可谓世交。



42.郑强夫人人与六位女儿合照
Picture of Madam Zheng Qiang with her 6 dauhters



43.2006年檀香山，必胜夫妇、秋姑拜访凤群姨(左2)，并合照。
Photo taken at the home of Auntie Huang Fengqun in Honolulu in 2006 with Victor, Nhale and Chen Diqiu.



44.凤群姨对必胜及雅丽讲故事。
Auntie Fengqun telling stories to Victor and Nhale.



45.基奥克镇马路边上的程记
Ching Store on the road side of Keokea town



46. 茂宜岛全图
Map of Maui

2006年8月，我们访问库拉牧场。沿着中国城路(China Town Road)，就是现在的普里普里路(PoliePolieRoad)，我们来到基奥克(Keokea)小镇。基奥克小镇真的很小，没住宅或街道，就我们肉眼所及，几乎就是公路旁那两三间小店。待我们在那里用餐的时候，竟然发现这“唐人街”上开设的程记(Ching Store)、方记(Fong Store)、老奶奶店(Grandma's)几乎都是百年老店。

方家店，百年前华人开的老店“方记”，已几易其手,现在老板是日本人，娶方家后人为妻，仍称方记，使祖宗首创牌子得以保留。方记门口有巴士站，门前有一排长椅供人候车，在长椅上坐着的其中一妇人正是方家一媳妇，她用英文告诉我们她有一半是华人血统，她不但知道孙中山，更知道孙眉，她手指前面的方向，告诉我牧场所在。

沿着库拉公路不远，就到了牧场旧址，牧场入口处有一个“孙中山纪念公园”，那是1989年为纪念华人赴檀200周年，茂宜与台湾的屏东县建立姐妹城时建起的一个公园，公园竖立了孙中山石像以供人纪念，而这座孙中山石像，则遥望着库拉牧场。公园的位置，原先选在眉公送给德佑公的养子孙威的土地上，后来孙威回翠亨和澳门，在澳门去世了，他的儿子们因为贫穷无钱纳税，最后，地也被政府收回了。



47.茂宜岛上孙中山纪念公园
左起：陈迪秋、杨海、孙国雄、彭雅丽、孙必胜
Sun Yat Sen Memorial Park on Maui Island
From Left: Chen Di Qiu, Yang Hai, Leland Sun, Nhale Banh, Victor Sun

从公园出来再走不远，沿着小路就到了牧场。这条小路100年前就存在，几乎没有改动过。眉公的牧场早已丢荒多年，几堆高高的仙人掌，仿佛让人看到100多年前眉公还未开发牧场前的景象。牧场里，所有的建筑物已荡然无存，从山头一直到海边，一望无际，可以想象得出它当年的规模。

走在当年眉公策马驰骋的那段小路上，重温眉公在牧场推行其创业大计，收获其成果，而最后为国家、民族的事业耗尽其财力的那段悲壮历史，令我心潮激荡。

90岁的凤群姨耳聪目明，记忆也很好，她拿着一张她母亲和她们姐妹合影的旧相片逐一向我讲述当年她母亲告诉过她的故事。她说，眉公在签署租约后，就开始有计划地开发库拉牧场，他把几年来各种经营所得，大部分投入到农场的开发里去，为解决牧场水源、土地平整和货物运输等问题，足足用了三年时间。眉公租赁的牧场是荒地，所以开发时十分艰苦，荒地上长了许多比人还高两三倍的仙人掌，仙人掌的刺又尖又长又硬，人们要用船帆上那又厚又硬的帆布，缝制成衣裤穿上，才可以穿行在林中把仙人掌铲除，然后再开出连片可栽种可养畜的土地。凤群姨说，那时眉婆和她的外祖母也曾缝制过这类衣裤。

茂宜虽然土地充足，但却很干旱，眉公为了开发牧场，做了一件在很多人看来是不可思议的事——修筑水坝和水池，储备水源。事隔百年，我仍然可在牧场遗址上找到当年修筑水坝和水池的遗迹。

水坝的设计和建造非常独特。眉公把水坝选择在一个山坳上，它的三面是坚实的岩层，中间是天然的洼地，眉公因地制宜，筑起大坝蓄水。坝面是由一个80英尺宽×22英尺厚及16英尺高的巨大岩壁建成的。水坝围起的水池，犹如一个巨大的碗，眉公在池壁里修了一条管道，把水直接引来灌溉。如今我所看到的水坝，岩石壁基本完整，但其外围墙已有小部分坍塌。

后来，眉公在建筑大屋时，就在屋子的旁边筑了一个大水池，水池用来收集从屋檐流下来的雨水，用来饮用和喂牲口，这就是人们常说的“大本营”。早期的库拉人家，几乎所有的住屋旁边都有这种水池。



48. 大屋的旁边有一个50英尺想30英尺大的蓄水池，水深有7 英尺。专门为牧场内的牲畜提供有水。一部分的水来自邻近建筑物的屋顶。水池底还安装塑料垫底，防止漏水。在离开大屋有一段距离，眉公还修建了一个小水库。水库的设计和建造非常独特。他选了一处形状像碗而且三面有岩层的天然洼地，利用这些天然的特性修建了一个大坝，大坝有80英尺宽×22英尺厚×16英尺高。坝的右方有一6英尺×9英尺×21英尺的通道，把水引至一处14英尺的出口。出口处可以看到一根1英尺口径的金属管，从坝底冒出。

The cistern is located close to the home site, while the dam is some distance away.
The front section of the cistern is constructed some what like the dam, except in a much smaller scale. The front wall is quite thick and is about 60 feet long and 7 feet high. The cistern itself measure 50′ ×30′ with a depth of 7′.
The ranch is using it to provide water for their cattle. They had a plastic liner installed to prevent leakage.
As for the dam, it's quite an impressive structure in its design and construction. I believe the site for the dam was chosen because of it bowl like shape, with a natural depression and solid rock formation on three sides. He utilizes these natural features to build the dam.
In front of the dam, a massive rock wall 80′ ×22′ thick and 16′ high was built.
From the center wall of the dam a little to the right of it is a passage way 6′ 9″ high 21″ wide which leads to a 14″ diameter outlet, also a 1″ metal pipe can be seen protruding from the dam's bottom wall. Below the dam's outlet a slab of concrete is visible, this helps to prevent erosion when water is release.
The main rock wall is intact and in excellent condition. A small outer perimeter wall shows signs of deterioration.
The inside of the dam is 110 feet by 80 feet, 16 feet deep at the front wall and gradually gets shallower toward the back end until it blends into the surrounding terrain.
I don't think they filtered the water. As for the cistern, some of the eater may have come from the roofs of the buildings nearby. Almost all of the home sites in Kula had cisterns right next to their homes in the early days.





49. 水池遗迹
the Remains of Water Reservoir

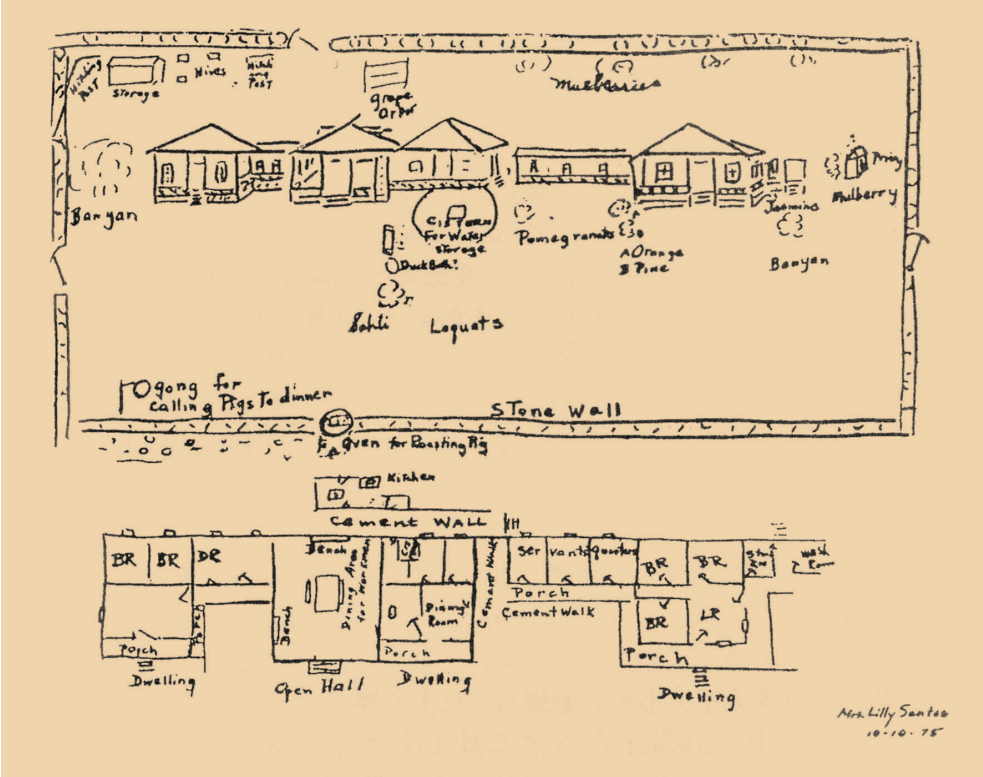
我的曾祖父孫眉

一百多年前，库拉还没有公路，也没汽车，牧场收成的作物用马车或者肩扛运送。绕过山头，用一整天时间才可抵达卡胡卢的港口，卡胡卢是茂宜岛的市区，也是货物集散地。为了解决运输，眉公开辟了一条从牧场直通西面海边的马克那(Makena)港口的小路。只要几个小时就可到达，然后用船再运到檀香山或其他岛屿，牧场所需的物资，也从小路运回。那时，库拉与檀香山的交易，大多数是以物换物，很少是用现金的。库拉生产的芋、鸡、牛、洋葱等用船运到檀香山与仙园和永康园两个商铺交易，换取米、糖、牛油和生活日用品。如今，眉公当年筑的小路早已弃置无人使用了，但我们仍然可以看到遗留下来的很多石头围墙，这就是当年修筑小路的路基石。

1892年，眉公搬进了库拉的大本营，他的大本营规模相当宏大。当我踏足库拉牧场，库拉牧场早已易手他人，牧场那座大宅也不复存在，原址上留下的一棵大榕树，只能让人感受到历史的沉浮。眉公在库拉牧场大举种植和畜牧，在鼎盛时期，这6000英亩(2428公顷)的土地上，牛羊猪马满山跑，养的奶牛在千头以上，以致牛奶太多无法销售，不得不加工成牛油；猪好几百头，马匹几十只，雇佣员工也有几十人之多。种植大量的芋、玉米、黄豆、洋葱、大白菜、甜土豆、稻米等等。在收获时节，雇请的临时工又达数百人之多。1892年，眉公被列为牧场主人兼牲畜养育家。



50.库拉牧场大本营
Kula Ranch Headquarter



51. 孙眉库拉牧场房屋平面配置图
Ranch headquarter house plan



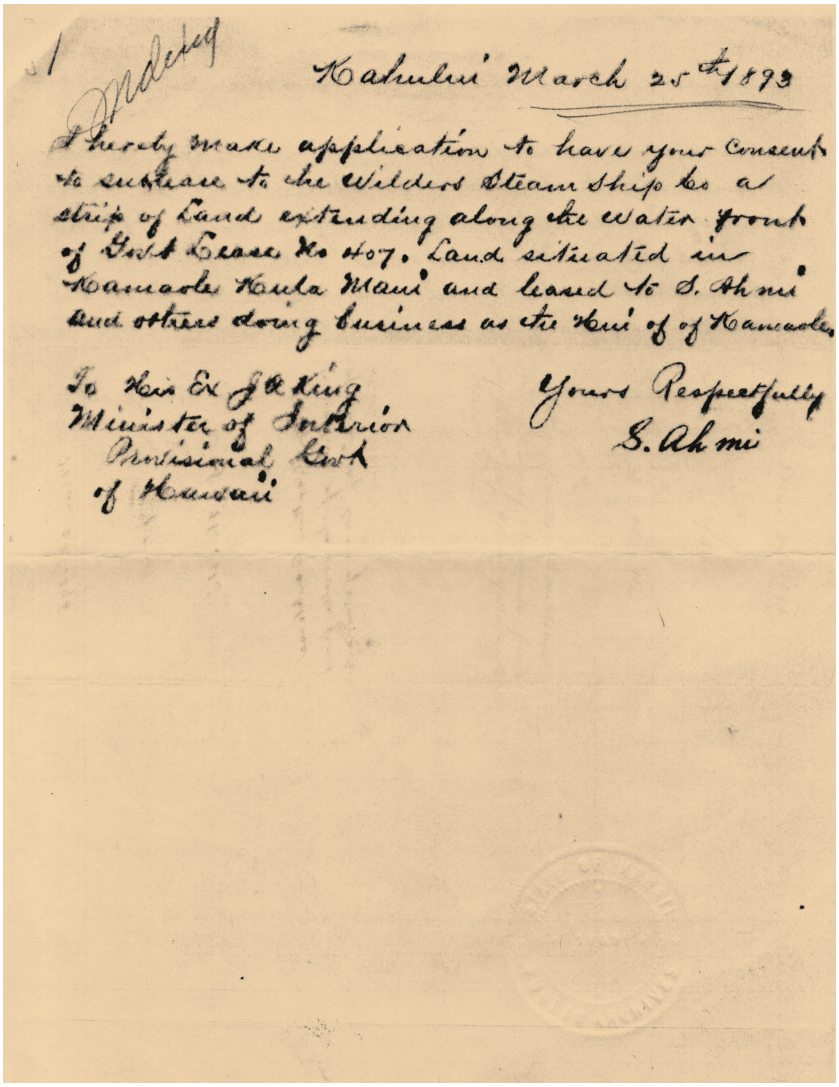
52. 牧场大本营后园
Back garden of ranch headquarter

凤群姨的母亲曾经告诉她，牧场很大，牧场里的人都以马匹代步。眉公规定，凡孙家女眷，必需配备马匹代步。眉公请人教授策骑，结果使农场的女人们都会骑马。眉公养的马很多，他把马染成各种各样的颜色，各种颜色的马匹穿梭在林子里，构成了一幅幅美丽的图画，而眉公的用意还在于让马主更容易识辨自己的坐骑。牧场里的牛是用编号去识别的，牧场里的人都喜欢眉公的这种方法。郑强的几个女儿常常到眉公的农场去玩，就如同在自己家里一样。郑强被马踢伤时，郑凤群的母亲妙佳就在现场，是她骑着马飞快地去找医生求救。

1972年，我的二弟必兴寻访曾祖故地，还见到了当年承买眉公库拉农场的安东·塔瓦利斯的女儿朱丽亚(Julia Tavares)。塔瓦利斯女儿说，照片看到的房子，是塔瓦利斯于1915年建造的。



53.1972年二弟必兴访曾祖故地，见到了当年承买眉公牧场的安东·塔瓦利斯的女儿朱丽亚。照片看到的房子是塔瓦利斯于1915年建造的。
Brother Henry visited the ranch in 1972 and met Julia Tavares, daughter of Antone Tavares. Building in the background was build by Tavares in 1915.



Kahului March 25th 1893

I hereby make application to have your Consent to sublease to the Wildest Steam Ship Co a strip of Land extending along the water front of Govt Lease No 407. Land situated in Kamaole Kula Maui and leased to S. Ahmi and others doing business as the Hui of of Kamaole.

To His Ex J.A. King
Minister of Interior
Provisional Govt
of Hawaii

Yours Respectfully
S. Ahmi

54. 1893年3月25日，孙眉致函夏威夷政府临时内政部部长，请求准许他将政府租给他的坐落在茂宜库拉的牧场其中一块靠海滨的长条地段，分租给怀特士汽船公司。

Kahului, March 25th 1893

I hereby make application to have your consent to sublease to the Wildest Steam Ship Co a strip of land extending along the water front of Govt Lease No. 407. Land situated in Kamaole Kula Maui and leased to S. Ahmi and others doing business as the Hui of Kamaole.

To His Excellency J.A. King
Minister of Interior
Provisional Government of Hawaii

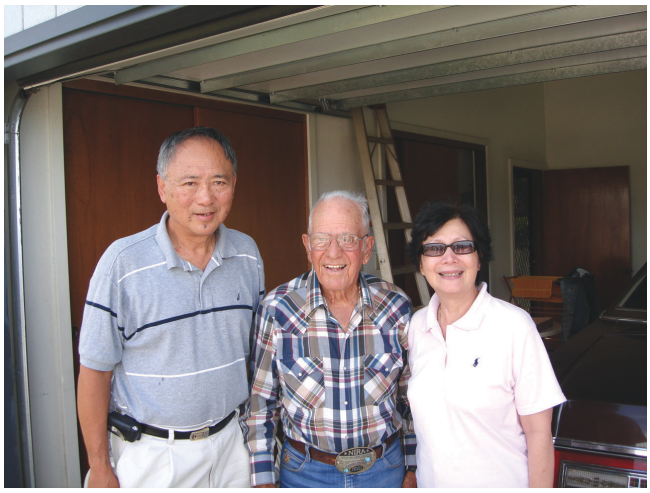
Yours Respectfully
S. Ahmi



55.孙国雄与孙必胜夫妇检看大卫·范图拉保存孙眉牧场遗留下来的农具。
Leland, Victor and Le inspecting farming tools found in the Kula Ranch.



2006年8月，我们很高兴找到大卫·范图拉(David Ventura)，这位于1920年出生的86岁老先生，很热情地在家里接待我们。他父亲安东·范图拉是当年眉公牧场的管工。塔瓦利斯接管牧场后，范图拉继续在牧场为新场主工作。大卫·范图拉四五岁时曾住在牧场的大屋里。他父亲去世后，大卫接管父亲的工作，在牧场工作超过45年。他对牧场上的每一尺土地都很熟悉。他认为眉公在那个时候，能想出那种方式去储水，是一个天才。而他更佩服的是眉公有魄力去完成建设从牧场到马克那的运输道路。眉公的牧场当时已经装上了电话。在大卫的记忆中，牧场养了很多猪，至少有几百只。他说他父亲常提到眉公时期的事情，尤其是华人过年过节的时候，他父亲一定会被邀请参加眉公的家宴，他父亲总忘不了华人的白酒及烧乳猪。



56. 孙必胜、彭雅丽与大卫·范图拉合照
Victor and Nhale taken with David Ventura



57. 孙国雄(右)、孙必胜(左)与大卫·范图拉合照
Leland (right) and Victor (left) taken with David Ventura



58. 大卫·范图拉向我们讲述当年事。左起：彭雅丽、孙必胜、大卫·范图拉、杨海、孙国雄
David Ventura telling us stories. From left: Nhale, Victor, David Ventura, Yang Hai, Leland.

霍华德·中村(Howard Nakamura)同学在《茂宜日报》看到了一张我在翠亨故居与陈广康(Robert Cupchoy)合影的照片，并通过报馆找到了我的联络地址，他邀请我到他的家作客。2009年8月我再次到茂宜寻根，中村同学热情地接待了我。没想到他家就在位碌古，那是眉公当年在茂宜做生意很活跃的地方。相邻的小镇卡胡卢就是德昌隆的所在地。

陈广康是陈甲财第二个儿子亚聘的儿子。陈甲财(Chun Cup Choy)于1864年出生在香山县三灶乡，如今是属于珠海市的地方，他父亲那辈从香山县茶东村搬到了三灶乡，与观成公女儿孙殿的夫家还有戚谊关系哩！1880年，16岁的陈甲财到茂宜谋生。他最早在唐根的蔗园当工人，后来在马卡沃镇开设牛肉杂货店，在生意上与眉公往来密切，交往很深。陈甲财曾担任位碌古黄梁都福善堂的副董事，福善堂成立于1893年。他曾出资支持孙中山革命。

真感谢中村同学，他竟然为我联络到了安东·塔瓦利斯(Antonio Tavares)的儿子比尔·塔瓦利斯(Bill Tavares)。安东·塔瓦利斯就是在1908年从眉婆手中把眉公的整个牧场买去的人。比尔是中村同学的老朋友。一天中午，在卡胡卢的一个西餐厅，80多岁高龄的比尔·塔瓦利斯开了他的车来与我们见面，他是一位退休小学校长，一位非常健谈的老人。他滔滔不绝地把他父亲安东·塔瓦拉斯在茂宜岛的故事告诉我们。他父亲来自葡萄牙，1874年出生，1882年来到茂宜岛，这与眉公到茂宜的时间大抵相同。他父亲早年在一个苏格兰人吉姆·安德森(Jim Anderson)的甘蔗园及他的邮局工作，安德森去世后，他的父亲接管了邮局。安东·塔瓦拉斯非常好学，还考取了律师资格，精通葡语、英语及夏威夷的土语，曾被选为议员，为多种不同种族的人民所喜爱。他的第一任太太朱丽亚



59.中村(左)、塔瓦利斯(中)与必胜
Nakamura (Left), Tavares (middle) and Victor Sun

(Julia)是华商唐根(Tong Kan)的女儿。唐根来自香山，原在库拉种蔗，开设有工场，做糖榨生意，他与夏威夷王室的爱玛王太后认识并成为好朋友。唐根有三位太太，第一任太太去世后，王太后把她的一位叫汉娜(Hannah)的侍女嫁给唐根。爱玛王太后赐了一大片土地给汉娜做嫁妆。因为他娶了土人为妻，本地人给他起了一个名字叫阿坎那(AkanaLiili)，意思是“小个子阿根”。唐根与眉公是好朋友，生意上常有来往。唐根有地有钱后，也经营了牧场和牛奶厂。朱丽叶与安东·塔瓦拉斯婚后共养育了十个儿女。朱丽叶去世后，安东·塔瓦拉斯原想娶朱丽叶的看护为继室，可惜，看护也因病去世了，结果，看护的妹妹马悌达(Matilda)嫁给了他，她就是比尔·塔瓦拉斯的母亲。她比安东·塔瓦利斯的长女儿大五岁。除比尔外，她还有一女儿。比尔说，他父亲曾于1908年至1929年拥有眉公的牧场，可是，安东·塔瓦拉斯对牧场的经营没有多大兴趣，所以唐根有一段时间曾代他经营了眉公的牧场。1929年安东把牧场转让给萨姆·鲍德温(Sam Baldwin)。就是现在的哈利阿克拉公司(Haleakala Ranch Company)。比尔·塔瓦拉斯出生于1921年，对牧场的印象不深，但他的姐姐爱玛·露西·塔瓦利斯(Emma Rose Tavares)凭着她对牧场的印象画了一幅画，这次，比尔也送了这幅画的影印本给我。不过，比尔收藏的另外两件文物，令我感到格外珍贵，一件是一把日本军刀，他说，那是孙中山从日本带回来的，另一件是一张红木长椅。比尔说，这些都是牧场留下的物品。

说起红木长椅，中村同学说，他的一个亲戚与住在檀香山的一位老太太的子女也有亲戚关系，听说这位老太太与孙家有关系，而且家里也有一张红木的长椅。于是，我请他接打电话，跟那老太太聊一下。他把电话接通了，一问之下，原来，那老太太就是凤群阿姨。她说家里也有一张红木椅子，是眉公牧场遗下一套坐椅中的其中一张。可惜我们在2006年到夏威夷访问她时，竟没有发现这张椅子。

中村同学大学毕业后就回到茂宜岛工作，一直没有离开过夏威夷，他曾担任茂宜县政府规划部的主管，对茂宜的历史以及人事非常熟悉，他带我几乎走遍了茂宜的每个角落。当年华人在位碌古那段历史，遗留下来做纪念的已不多，仅存一间小型糖厂和一所只剩一个小门框的洪门会馆旧址。幸好，在茂宜有间糖业博物馆，中村是这间博物馆的理事，他领我参观，使我了解了华人在位碌古的那段历史，填补了这一段空白。从茂宜机场一直到孙眉牧场山脚下，沿途都是一大片一大片的甘蔗园。我想，眉公当年一定是看准了这片土地以及劳工的需求，可以有不少为劳工服务的行业可做，才在此处发展的。



60. 比尔·塔瓦利斯的姐姐爱玛·露西·塔瓦利斯凭记忆绘制的牧场油画
Painting of the ranch by Emma Rose Tavares, sister of Bill Tavares



61. 在孙眉牧场旧居保存着孙中山从日本带回来的日本军刀
Japanese sword kept in the Sun Mei old ranch house was brought to Hawaii by Sun Yat-Sen

1894年以后，随着孙中山革命经费的投入增大，眉公也努力拓展其他的事业以增加收入，接应弟弟从事革命活动的不时之需。1899年，租赁库拉的牧场到期，眉公为延期牧场开始向政府提出诉讼，1900年，卡胡卢大火，德昌隆商店被烧毁。眉公决定再向其他方面投资。

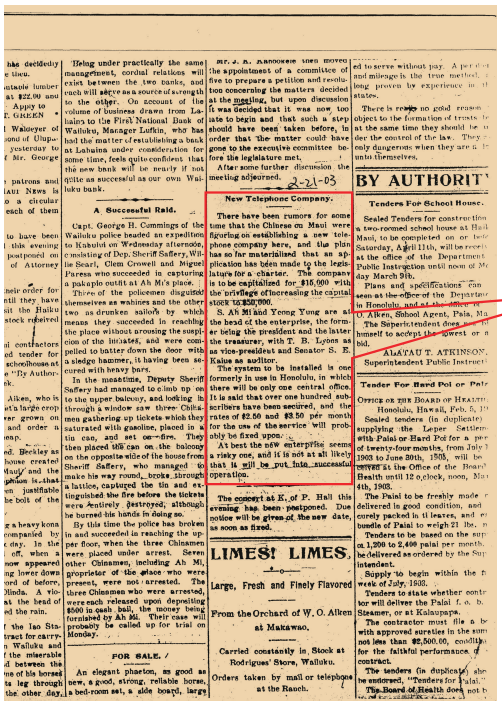
1903年，眉公投资电话公司，在茂宜岛一鸣惊人。在1903年的2月21日茂宜报上我看到一则消息说：孙眉在茂宜投资开办电话公司，孙眉任公司总裁，杨然(Yeong Young)任财务总监，另一西人（参议员）任审计，注册资本为1.5万元，并将会增资至5万元。他们把檀香山原来一套旧的电话系统搬到茂宜去用。据悉当时已有100个人登记使用，每月是2.5至3元的费用。

1880年底，檀香山就有电话公司设立，当时投资6000美元，第一、二年就获利颇厚。1883年又有“苗做炉”电话公司(Mutual Telephone Co.)成立，当然也很成功。但在茂宜，电话公司一直没有得到发展，因为成本的风险太大。眉公酝酿做这件新鲜事儿已有很多年，难怪报上一公布，茂宜人都感到惊讶。我翻阅了许多资料，再没有查到眉公的电话公司的资料，到底开设了多久，成绩如何，我不得而知。但在茂宜，直到1929年，其电话用户才有1583户，这时距离眉公去世已有14个年头了。

1903年5月23日，《茂宜报》刊登了眉公与这位杨然还接办了一家叫瓦河德稻米农场公司(Waihed Rice Plantation Co.)，眉公为主席，代替刚去世的杨亚超(Y.Ah.Chew)，杨然为公司的秘书。

眉公的朋友中的确有一位叫杨然的，他就是后来被孙中山誉为中国空军之父杨仙逸的父亲。杨然即杨著昆，名然，号镜堂。1853年出生在香山县北台村。1873年，新婚不到一年的杨然向人借贷100元龙银来到檀香山谋生，他比眉公迟两年到达檀香山。最初他在蔗田里做工，见当地出售的“新风白”、“钦风”等粗米很不受当地人的欢迎，于是便租地大种优质的“丝苗米”出售，果然大受青睐，于是他一面改良品种，一面购地扩大生产，三四年后有了积蓄便入股“罢霖麻”(Palama)的“东顺围”(Tong Sun Wai)田馆，后又创立“永昌栈”和“新和盛”(Sun Wo Sing)田馆。由于田馆经营得法，年年丰收，又投巨资于“广昌隆”和“永昌隆”两大米业公司，自任名誉司理，并向房地产、银行、教育方面投资，成为檀香山的富商，时称为“杨百万”。

杨然各田馆所产的稻米均由檀香山全和公司 (Chin Wo Co.)代售，该公司坐落在檀香山怒安怒街、夹秘利天尼街，与眉公所经营的德隆商店相距不远，由于



New Telephone Company.

There have been rumors for some time that the Chinese on Maui were figuring on establishing a new telephone company here, and the plan has so far materialized that an application has been made to the legislature for a charter. The company is to be capitalized for $15,000 with the privilege of increasing the capital stock to $50,000.

S. Ah Mi and Yeong Yung are at the head of the enterprise, the former being the president and the latter the treasurer, with T. B. Lyons as as vice-president and Senator S. E. Kaiue as auditor.

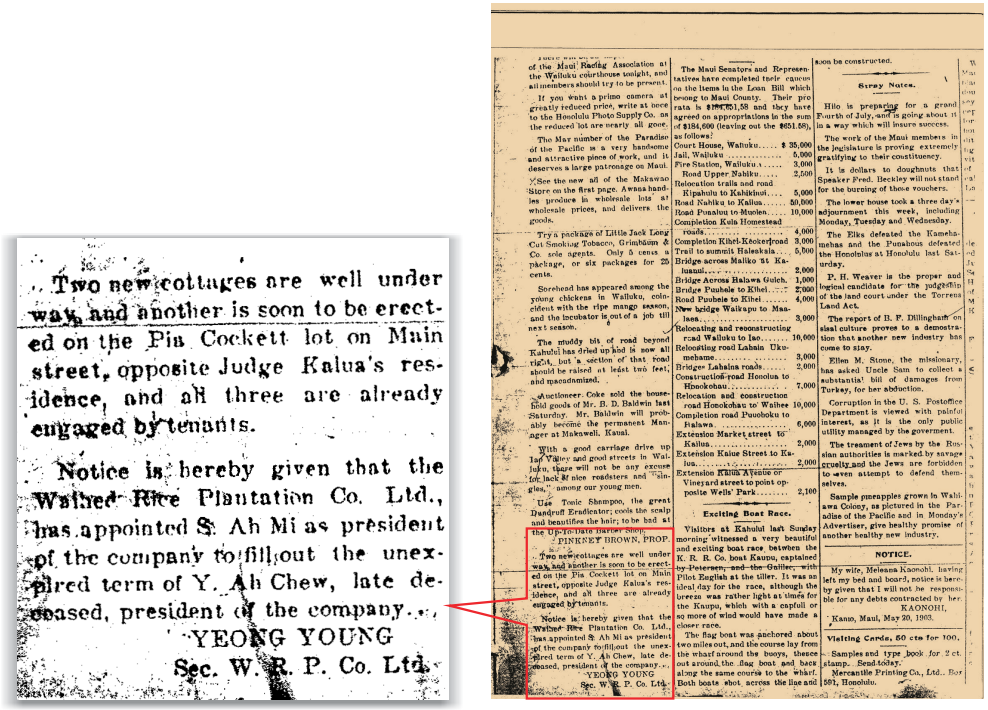
The system to be installed is one formerly in use in Honolulu, in which there will be only one central office. It is said that over one hundred subscribers have been secured, and the rates of $2.50 and $3.50 per month for the use of the service will probably be fixed upon.

At best the new enterprise seems a risky one, and it is not at all likely that it will be put into successful operation.

62. 1903年2月21日，《茂宜报》报道：已有谣传多时，说在茂宜的中国人会组织一间新的电话公司，此计划已成熟，而且已向当局申请，注册资本为1.5万元，并将会增资至5万元。

孙眉与杨然是这公司的头目，孙眉为主席(总裁)，杨然任财务总监，一西人任副总裁，另一西人任审计。他们的电话系统准备把檀香山原来一套旧的电话系统搬到茂宜去用。公司只有一间办公室，听闻已有100个人登记使用，每月是2.5至3元的费用使用电话服务，虽然新的企业似乎有风险，但将来成功与否还是很难预测。

Maui News reported on Feb. 21, 1903 that Sun Mei is establishing a telephone company on Maui.



Two new cottages are well under way, and another is soon to be erected on the Pia Cockett lot on Main street, opposite Judge Kalua's residence, and all three are already engaged by tenants.

Notice is hereby given that the Waihed Rice Plantation Co. Ltd., has appointed S. Ah Mi as president of the company to fill out the unexpired term of Y. Ah Chew, late deceased, president of the company.

YEONG YOUNG
Sec. W. R. P. Co. Ltd.

63. 1903年5月23日，《茂宜报》广告登载有关孙眉接管一家瓦河德的稻米农场公司，孙眉任该公司主席，替代刚去世的杨阿超，杨然为公司秘书。
Maui News announcement on May 23 1903 stated that Sun Mei is replacing the late deceased Y. Ah Chew to be the president of Waihed Rice Plantation Co,Ltd. And Yeong Young being the company secretary.

一来是同乡关系，二来是生意上的往来，眉公与杨然渐成至交。

1882年，杨然夫人萧氏来到檀香山，他们育有五个子女，儿子江松、江善、仙逸，女儿月馨、荪淑。1910年，孙中山在檀香山成立同盟会，杨然响应加入。1915年，杨然响应孙中山航空救国号召，集资创设檀香山“中华飞船公司”，物色有志青年赴美国大陆接受航空训练。他带头把三子仙逸送到美国加利福尼亚州哈利大学机械专科和迪科斯大学航空专科，攻读有关水陆飞机的结构、性能和驾驶技术。

杨仙逸，字学华，号铁庵。后来因仰慕孙中山，改名仙逸。1891年出生于檀香山。小时就读于意奥兰尼学校。1909年就读于夏威夷大学。在校期间，曾任檀香山政府组织的自卫军团团长，并获得美国政府颁发的一等射击手奖章。1916年，杨仙逸在迪科斯大学航空专科毕业，获万国飞行会颁发水陆飞行执照。

1917年奉孙中山命令回到祖国参加护法运动。1919年他组织中国最早的空军飞行队援闽粤军飞行队，驾机参加战斗。1921年，杨仙逸先后到日本、墨西哥、美国等地向华侨筹款购机，共捐购J·M型飞机12架和一些航空设备，并协助中国国民党美洲支部在纽约建立一所航空学校，他的行动感召了一批有志于航空事业的华侨青年回国。1923年2月，杨仙逸任大元帅府航空局局长和广东飞机制造厂厂长，并装配首架国产飞机，以宋庆龄的英文名命名为“洛士文(Rosamonde)”号，宋庆龄曾登机拍照纪念。杨然为支持儿子筹建孙中山的空军飞机队，不惜变卖自己的物业，购买了四架飞机。又于1922年在檀香山捐资



64.杨仙逸夫妇
Mr. & Mrs. Yang Xianyi



65.1923年6月，孙中山与宋庆龄在杨仙逸亲自参加设计生产的“洛士文”号飞机前合影，照片上方的英文为宋庆龄所题，意为：“这是中国制造的第一架飞机，1923年5月出厂，1923年试飞，洛士文是以孙逸仙夫人名字命名”。
This is the first airplane built in China.Designed May 1923,Flown July 1923 The “Rosamonde”, named in honor of Mrs. Sun Yat-sen.



66.杨仙逸外孙杜利威在檀香山家里挂着的孙中山为杨仙逸写的亲笔墨宝。
Sun Yant Sen's personal caligraphy, a gift to Yang Xianyi, hung on the wall of Du Li Wei's(grand nephew of Yang Xianyi) Honolulu home.

创办了第一间华侨公立学校，为孙中山领导的民主革命培养人才。

1923年杨仙逸奉命东征陈炯明叛军，9月20日在博罗梅湖白沙堆前线因试验水雷，不幸遇难牺牲。

仙逸牺牲后，孙中山嘱咐仙逸夫人程度纯效法广州执信中学，回中山创办仙逸学校，纪念先烈。杨然强忍丧子之痛，出资2万元支持儿媳办校。仙逸学校于1925年建成，继又在石岐西林山创办仙逸中学，程度纯自任校长。

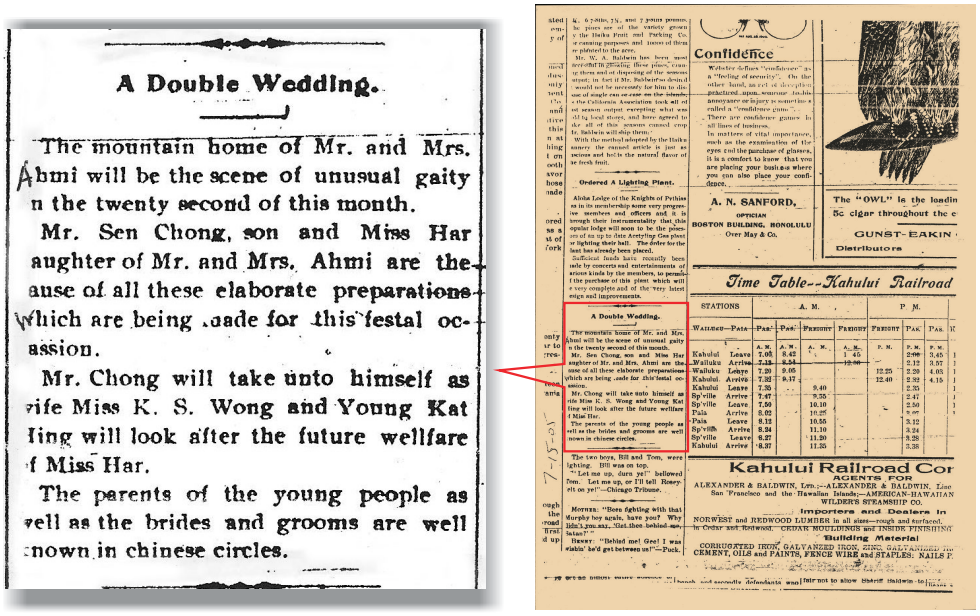
杨然对孙中山的关怀不断，经常接济孙中山的生活，一次，他给仙逸汇去2000元港币，指定500元是给孙中山的，其余1500元，给自己夫人和仙逸夫妇各500元。杨然于1932年病逝于檀香山，但他们的后代仍相交甚笃，杨然的孙子添霭是仙逸独子，与穗瑛、穗华姑姐和孙婿林达文等都住在美国加州，时相往来。1986年，瑛、华姑姐与添霭夫妇在石岐相遇，谈到两家之亲密关系，谈到眉公与

杨然，大家都不约而同地说，是中国革命使两个华侨家庭紧紧地连在一起了。

经过十多年的创业，眉公财力雄厚，并在华侨社会中处处显露出领导才能，被当地中西人士视为领袖，“茂宜王”的称号亦在民间渐次叫响。在1904年1月9日的《茂宜报》中，我看到了一则本地新闻，称眉公是银行家。在茂宜岛，当地人是很少使用现金交易的，多数是以物易物的。1900年，一大袋芋仔价值只有5毛钱，一条法国面包只要5个仙，还搭配奶油赠送，100磅米只值2元，一匹马只值15元，如经过训练的马才值20元。后来有了银行，但人们对银行还是不信任，有钱也不愿放在银行里，许多人把钱换成金，有的人将金子埋在地下。眉婆也常常喜欢买卖金币，当地的华人，很多都跟眉婆买卖金币，然后把钱交给眉公，让眉公为他们汇兑金钱回中国，所以外间就盛传眉公是银行家。

眉公出名了，他的活动都为社会人士所关注。《茂宜报》于1905年7月15日刊登我的祖父孙昌及眉公养女顺霞结婚的消息。

“孙阿眉”名重一时，但他不骄不奢不淫，慷慨大度。每遇中国人的新年，眉公必在牧场中设糖果、糕饼、瓜子、柑橙招待邻人，在那个“恭喜发财”的佳日，每个人可随便拜访，甚至连西人朋友，特别是那些大块头的夏威夷警察和商



A Double Wedding.

The mountain home of Mr. and Mrs. Ahmi will be the scene of unusual gaity n the twenty second of this month.

Mr. Sen Chong, son and Miss Har aughter of Mr. and Mrs. Ahmi are the ause of all these elaborate preparations Which are being made for this festal oc- assion.

Mr. Chong will take unto himself as wife Miss K. S. Wong and Young Kat ling will look after the future wellfare f Miss Har.

The parents of the young people as ell as the brides and grooms are well nown in chinese circles.

Confidence

A. N. SANFORD, OPTICIAN BOSTON BUILDING, HONOLULU Over May & Co.

The "OWL" is the leadin 5c cigar throughout the c GUNST-EAKIN Distributors

Time Table--Kahului Railroad

Kahului Railroad Cor AGENTS FOR ALEXANDER & BALDWIN, Ltd.;—ALEXANDER & BALDWIN, Line San Francisco and the Hawaiian Islands;—AMERICAN-HAWAIIAN WILDER'S STEAMSHIP CO. Importers and Dealers in NORWEST and REDWOOD LUMBER in all sizes—rough and surfaced, Building Material CORRUGATED IRON, GALVANIZED IRON, CEMENT, OILS and PAINTS, FENCE WIRE and STAPLES. NAILS F

67. 1905年7月15日，《茂宜报》报道了孙昌与孙眉养女顺霞结婚之喜。
Maui News reporting a Double Wedding at the Sun Mei residence on July 15, 1905.



MILITARY MUSICALE

GAVE BIRTHDAY LUAU

VISITING RELATIVES

ALICE BEVINS HOSTESS

DAUGHTERS LISTEN CONVENTION REPOR

INFORMAL DINNER

REWELL DINNER FOR HANNA BRAND

68.《茂宜报》于1898年5月30日报道孙眉为母亲设宴，庆祝母亲71岁生辰。
Maui News reporting Sun Mei celebrating his mother's 71st birthday with a birthday Luau at his home in Kamaole, Kula on May 30, 1898.

店的老主顾们，都喜欢到牧场来分享眉公分派的利是。遇到生日、婚嫁等喜事，眉公都会邀请大家来牧场聚会，甚者竟达三四百人之多，茂宜岛的一些知名富商，均唯眉公马首是瞻。80多岁的大卫·范图拉也这样告诉我，他的父亲很喜欢在节日里参加眉公农场里的活动。

作为侨领，眉公对公益，尤其是华人的公益事业不遗余力。当时位碌古的一家糖厂捐出一块土地，专门作为安置由中国来的新移民的徙置区。徙置区后面有空地，准备建一间学校和一间教堂，而在茂宜的中国人都很热衷为这件事筹款，他们办了一个筹款会。眉公带头捐了100元，跟着有22位富有的商人也捐了款，共筹得2500元，建了学校和教堂，还有幼儿园。糖厂每月捐出50元，作为学校的经费，如买书本给图书馆使用等，教堂由一位叫“天娜”的女士主持。徙置区虽然地方不大，但从中国来的新移民不但可以在此住宿，还可以受到教育，相当于是一个新移民的生活区，对于这些，当地的报章都给予了关注（图76）。

眉公对于华工子弟关怀爱护，设立私塾，使华侨子弟接受教育，在茂宜也是有口皆碑的。

早期，茂宜没有华文学校，即使在华人较多的檀香山，也只有家塾，教授二三十人，课程只有三字经、千字文、千家书等，对程度较高一些的学生，则授以四书五经、故事琼林之类。檀香山最早的私塾在1886年成立，直到1899年才有香山人王谷香（即王贵，时为商董任副领事）和陈兰生创立的中西学院。而在茂宜，华人多为农工，加上多散居各处，学童不多，办学校是件难事。1898年，眉公在库拉大本营里设立书塾，使华侨子弟接受教育。科叔公也曾对我谈及他在库

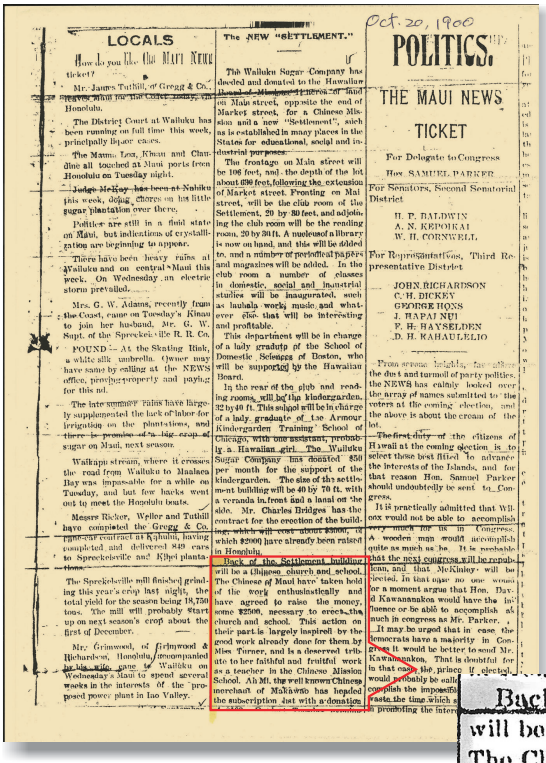
拉读书塾的日子。当时他才五六岁，1895年冬天来到茂宜岛，只是跟随母亲读读千字文、唐诗之类。眉公设立私塾后，从中国请来斗门人黄端祥教读四书五经，学童除了科叔公、孙昌、孙威、孙顺霞外，眉公还邀请邻近的华工子弟一同入学。当时一起读书的就有郑照的儿子爱迪、谭斗的半土生儿子谭东升以及郑贵恩等十多人。科叔公因为母亲卢太夫人曾教他三字经、千字文、幼学诗，并临摹字帖等，所以在一班学童中显得特别聪明，很得先生喜爱，他随黄老师学习五年，国文基础扎实，也是归于黄先生和母亲教育之功。后科叔公担任广州市长的时候，黄老师曾来访，竟一无所求，只希望见上一面而已，足见昔日师生感情之深。

科叔公还记得，那私塾就在牧场大本营的大房子里，很是宽敞的，眉公时时会来巡视，犹如督课。对于邻近来读书的幼童，眉公有时就留他们在牧场吃饭，有时则赠送瓜果让学童带回家享用，关怀备至，眉公所办之私塾达数年之久。

眉公创造的财富不但使家人的生活得到了改善，而且惠及乡里。1900年，牧师喜嘉里从澳门来到翠亨，他是这样形容当时达成公一家的生活的。“观其家室服御，知其为殷裕之家，资产在中人以上”。1883年底，眉公汇钱回家，建平房一间，占地达105平方。1892年，眉公汇钱两三千元回乡，再将此平房扩建，此屋共用白银934两7钱，这在当时也是一笔不小的数目。当时的乡村并没有建筑师，孙中山就特地回乡，自己设计绘图，然后雇泥水木工兴建。新建的房屋与当时澳门的洋房式样相似，一楼一底，但内部却与西式洋楼不同。房子的七个拱门之内是一个宽大的正厅，供奉神和祖宗灵坛，厅后两侧和楼上是住房，前后楼梯，上落方便。原先用泥土、蚝壳、石灰筑成的老屋，约有80年的历史，直到1912年以后才被拆除，留下了一口水井作为纪念。

对于家乡祖先庐墓、庙宇修葺，眉公也贡献良多。1880年8月，为了清明祭祖方便，由达成公主持，把涌口村孙氏祖墓一并迁到翠亨犁头尖山竹篙龙安葬。搬迁费用由檀香山各叔侄捐输，其中以眉公出资最多。

1896年翠亨北极祖庙重修，时孙中山的革命事业受到重挫，但眉公仍能捐资



LOCALS

How do you like the Maui News ticket?

Mr. James Tuthill, of Gregg & Co., leaves Maui for the Coast today, on Honolulu.

The District Court at Wailuku has been running on full time this week, principally liquor cases.

The Mauna Loa, Kinau and Claudine all touched at Maui ports from Honolulu on Tuesday night.

Judge McKay has been at Nahiku this week, doing chores on his little sugar plantation over there.

Politics are still in a fluid state on Maui, but indications of crystallization are beginning to appear.

There have been heavy rains at Wailuku and on central Maui this week. On Wednesday an electric storm prevailed.

Mrs. G. W. Adams, recently from the Coast, came on Tuesday's Kinau to join her husband, Mr. G. W. Supt. of the Spreckelsville R. R. Co.

FOUND — At the Skating Rink, a white silk umbrella. Owner may have same by calling at the NEWS office, proving property and paying for this ad.

The late summer rains have largely supplemented the lack of labor for irrigation on the plantations, and there is promise of a big crop of sugar on Maui, next season.

Waikapu stream, where it crosses the road from Wailuku to Maalaea Bay was impassable for a while on Tuesday, and but few hacks went out to meet the Honolulu boats.

Messrs Ricker, Weller and Tuthill have completed the Gregg & Co. ranch-car contract at Kahului, having completed and delivered 849 cars to Spreckelsville and Kihei plantations.

The Spreckelsville mill finished grinding this year's crop last night, the total yield for the season being 18,750 tons. The mill will probably start up on next season's crop about the first of December.

Mr. Grimwood, of Grimwood & Richardson, Honolulu, accompanied by his wife, came to Wailuku on Wednesday's Maui to spend several weeks in the interests of the proposed power plant in Iao Valley.

The NEW "SETTLEMENT."

The Wailuku Sugar Company has deeded and donated to the Hawaiian Board of Missions, a piece of land on Main street, opposite the end of Market street, for a Chinese Mission and a new "Settlement", such as is established in many places in the States for educational, social and industrial purposes.

The frontage on Main street will be 106 feet, and the depth of the lot about 630 feet, following the extension of Market street. Fronting on Mai street, will be the club room of the Settlement, 20 by 30 feet, and adjoining the club room will be the reading room, 20 by 30 ft. A nucleus of a library is now on hand, and this will be added to, and a number of periodical papers and magazines will be added. In the club room a number of classes in domestic, social and industrial studies will be inaugurated, such as lauhala work, music and whatever else that will be interesting and profitable.

This department will be in charge of a lady graduate of the School of Domestic Sciences of Boston, who will be supported by the Hawaiian Board.

In the rear of the club and reading rooms, will be the kindergarden, 32 by 40 ft. This school will be in charge of a lady graduate of the Armour Kindergarden Training School of Chicago, with one assistant, probably a Hawaiian girl. The Wailuku Sugar Company has donated $50 per month for the support of the kindergarden. The size of the settlement building will be 40 by 70 ft. with a veranda in front and a lanai on the side. Mr. Charles Bridges has the contract for the erection of the building, which will cost about $3000, of which $2000 have already been raised in Honolulu.

Back of the Settlement building will be a Chinese church and school. The Chinese of Maui have taken hold of the work enthusiastically and have agreed to raise the money, some $2500, necessary to erect the church and school. This action on their part is largely inspired by the good work already done for them by Miss Turner, and is a deserved tribute to her faithful and fruitful work as a teacher in the Chinese Mission School. Ah Mi, the well known Chinese merchant of Makawao has headed the subscription list with a donation

Oct. 20, 1900

POLITICS.

THE MAUI NEWS TICKET

For Delegate to Congress

Hon. SAMUEL PARKER

For Senators, Second Senatorial District

H. P. BALDWIN
A. N. KEPOIKAI
W. H. CORNWELL

For Representatives, Third Representative District

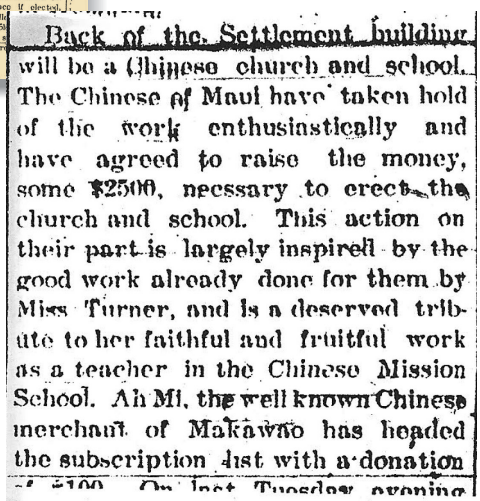
JOHN RICHARDSON
C. H. DICKEY
GEORGE HONS
J. HAPAI NUI
F. H. HAYSELDEN
D. H. KAHAULELIO

From serene heights, far above the dust and turmoil of party politics, the NEWS has calmly looked over the array of names submitted to the voters at the coming election, and the above is about the cream of the lot.

The first duty of the citizens of Hawaii at the coming election is to select those best fitted to advance the interests of the Islands, and for that reason Hon. Samuel Parker should undoubtedly be sent to Congress.

It is practically admitted that Wilcox would not be able to accomplish very much for us in Congress. A wooden man would accomplish quite as much as he. It is probable that the next congress will be republican, and that McKinley will be elected. In that case no one would for a moment argue that Hon. David Kawananakoa would have the influence or be able to accomplish as much in congress as Mr. Parker.

It may be urged that in case the democrats have a majority in Congress it would be better to send Mr. Kawananakoa. That is doubtful for in that case the prince if elected would probably be called ... complish the impossible ... waste the time which ... in promoting the inter...



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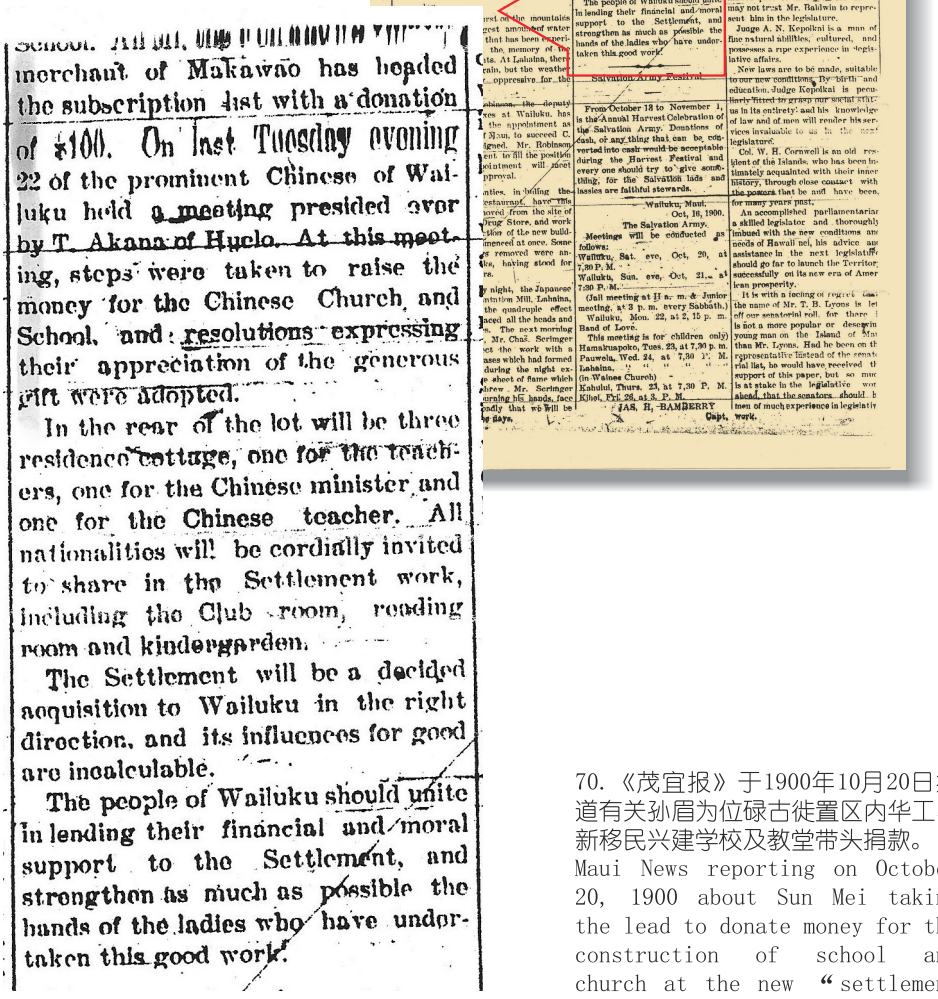
69.《茂宜报》于1900年10月20日报道有关孙眉为位碌古徙置区内华工、新移民兴建学校及教堂带头捐款。
Maui News reporting on October 20, 1900 about Sun Mei taking the lead to donate money for the construction of school and church at the new "settlement area" in Wailuku for the newly arrived Chinese workers.



merchant of Makawao has headed the subscription list with a donation of $100. On last Tuesday evening 22 of the prominent Chinese of Wailuku held a meeting presided over by T. Akana of Huelo. At this meeting, steps were taken to raise the money for the Chinese Church and School, and resolutions expressing their appreciation of the generous gift were adopted.

In the rear of the lot will be three residence cottage, one for the teachers, one for the Chinese minister and one for the Chinese teacher. All nationalities will be cordially invited to share in the Settlement work, including the Club room, reading room and kindergarden.

The Settlement will be a decided acquisition to Wailuku in the right direction, and its influences for good are incalculable.

The people of Wailuku should unite in lending their financial and moral support to the Settlement, and strengthen as much as possible the hands of the ladies who have undertaken this good work.

70. 《茂宜报》于1900年10月20日报道有关孙眉为位碌古徙置区内华工、新移民兴建学校及教堂带头捐款。
Maui News reporting on October 20, 1900 about Sun Mei taking the lead to donate money for the construction of school and church at the new “settlement area” in Wailuku for the newly arrived Chinese workers.



71.铁钟铭文照以及四修翠亨祖庙碑记
Stone tablet in the Northern Pole Temple showing names of people who donated to the repair of the temple

四修翠亨祖庙碑记

自圣人以神道设教，而人心之感应于神者，咸肃将敬恭焉。吾乡庙祀玄天上帝，兼奉天后圣母、金花夫人，神灵丕应，匪今斯今。读重修、三修碑文，帝德神恩，暨夫山川之秀灵，坐向之美善，固已言之详明矣。今夫庙者，何貌也？貌也者，将以仿佛而形容之也。观瞻于是乎存，寅畏于是乎深，拜祷于是乎切，庇荫于是乎广。前之人若曰：必庙貌之庄严，斯神光之显赫耳！重修之距初基，其年岁盖难确考，迨三修则仅越二十有八年，执事慎敏，可不谓敬恭神明欤？比年来，以斯庙经今且四十一年，翠墨既不免销磨，栋宇且时虞飑。每一瞻拜，心实难安，正议捐修，迁延未果，适六月十九日飓风为虐，佥曰雨师警我，起风伯逼人来，其为神之示，应意可知也。爰即倡修，诹吉秋八月七日巳时兴作，随即劝捐，以季冬十三日丑时奉神升座斯庙也。由创而继，既因且仍，前代定之，后世守之，人事之所振兴，悉神功之所保佑。向使因循，姑待年过年来，将视先人所云："以崇庙貌，以妥神灵"之谓何抑？又何以彰感应之灵，而摅敬恭之志哉？庙既成，仍如旧列，各捐项若干，如左语有之。有人心，有神心。人惟能以其心心乎神，斯神亦将以其心心乎人。明圣经曰：日在天上，心在人中，以心即心者，正谓此也。诗云：惟桑与梓，必恭敬止，庶几哉！乡人士女，有感必应，惟恭则寿，惟敬则吉焉。

值理：杨启文 陆庆怀 杨义辉 陆廷深 杨礼谦

杨启文捐银玖百柒拾柒员柒毫

敬送花草人物香案台壹张

杨启文正室程氏捐银伍拾员

杨启文副室郭氏捐银肆拾员

杨启文副室梁氏捐银肆拾员

杨礼华 杨礼浚 杨礼桓 杨礼耀 杨礼灿 杨礼周 孙德彰 杨礼钦 杨礼烜 杨礼泰 杨礼润 杨锡宗 杨德初

以上每捐银叁拾员

杨礼和捐银贰拾大员

杨联甲 陆雄明 杨存乐 钱福传 杨礼珍 苏浦庸 杨启寿 钱福昌 杨焕文 杨韶乐

以上每捐银壹拾员

杨文乐 杨秉俭 陆雄邦 杨锡初 陆望华 陆立本 陆远怀 杨镇乐 陈受邦 冯德纶 陆献文 陆四全 杨贞义堂 陆华造

以上每捐银伍员

杨德初程氏捐银伍员

杨礼铨 麦礼容 孙拔贤 陆雄和 陆廷义 杨帝荣

以上每捐银贰员

杨启文 杨礼华 杨礼钦 杨礼浚 杨礼烜 杨礼桓 杨礼泰 杨礼耀 杨礼润 杨礼灿 杨锡宗 杨礼谦 杨礼明 陆庆棉 杨郁文 冯建周 陆植怀 杨万胜 杨成乐 杨礼祥 杨振国 杨信乐 苏沛庸 陆雄国 陆雄明 冯德纶 杨 彭 孙德修 钱福传 冯贵全 冯帝明 杨启科 杨焕文 冯庆光 杨德初 杨启寿 陈寿英 苏声庸 麦礼容 杨礼周 杨镇乐 杨广文 陆树昌 陆华显 杨礼让 陆振怀 陆远怀 陆廷魁 杨义辉 杨联甲 冯国纶 冯裕纶 杨正乐 陆廷深 孙集贤 杨礼庄 杨炳楚 陈受邦 陆廷芳 杨文乐 杨邦文 杨礼铿 陆献德 陆作庸 杨礼禧 杨礼沣 杨咏周 陆廷开 梁配祥 陈寿祥 陈天接

以上每户捐银壹员伍毫

陆文成 陆可道 陆可盛 陈钟沛 陆 昌 陆华熙 陆帝时 孙德修 杨 荫 钱 爱 钱金 冯建周 杨礼权 杨士彪 陆庆怀 杨礼南

以上每捐银壹员

杨 显 杨帝江 冯帝尧 杨 贯 杨 耀 苏宗铬 苏宗兆 孙 胜 冯帝光 杨 沛 杨 本 杨礼彤 杨炳灿 杨炳炘 陈钟悦 杨帝麟 杨帝关 杨帝清 陆庆庄 杨广文谭氏 陆树昌方氏 杨礼铿母程氏 苏沛庸陈氏 杨万胜母程氏 冯建周谭氏 杨礼权母林氏 杨礼权刘氏 杨礼铿梁氏 陆植怀程氏 梁配祥詹氏

以上每捐银壹拾员

续捐杨礼登捐银贰拾员

光绪贰拾贰年岁次丙申季冬吉旦勒石

30元。现还保存在翠亨孙中山故居纪念馆内的翠亨村祖庙北极殿铁钟铭文里，就有眉公等村人出钱建造的记载。

Even while busy in the daily operations of his businesses, Sun Mei would always consider new ways to expand his businesses. He was inspired by the success of his fellow countrymen, particularly Chun Fong (陈芳). Chun Fong had at one time, been in partnership with Sun Mei's old employer Cheng Minggui (程名桂) in the "Afong & Achuck Company" (芳植记), one of the largest trading companies in Hawaii at the time, but Chun's greater success came from his majority stake in the Pepeekeo Sugarcane Plantation.

Hawaii was one of the the largest sugar producing countries in the world, and had done so, long before the British had come. In 1802, the Chinese were growing sugar on the island of Lanai, later spreading to the other islands of Hawaii. But from the middle of the 19th century, sugar production had fallen completely into the hands of the white immigrants, who had capital and political backing. The Chinese sugar producers were gradually wiped out, and by the 1860s, Chun Fong was the only Chinese left able to compete against the whites. He bought a 1200+ acre sugarcane field in Kaupakuea, built a 960 square foot mill, and employed over 300 workers on his Pepeekeo Sugarcane Plantation. With the assurance of a steady supply of sugar cane and the advanced steam-driven sugar cane processing machine, his planatation was capable of producing 20-25 tons of sugar each day. Among the 80 or so sugar production facilities in Hawaii, the Pepeekeo Plantation was ranked among the top 12 and was considered one of the best run plantations in Hawaii. He became a millionaire. Chun Fong reinvested his earnings, setting up a rice mill and storage facilities, and became well-known as the top Chinese entrepreneur in Hawaii. Sun Mei got to know Chun Fong through his employer Cheng Minggui and their business dealings in labor recruitment. Sun Mei was impressed by Chun's versatility in successfully operating different businesses.

Chun was not alone. There were many other cases of Chinese success in Hawaii which inspired Sun Mei. In the 1870s, of the 600 or so merchant shops in Hawaii, over one third were owned by Chinese, many of whom were fellow villagers from Xiangshan that Sun Mei knew well. There was Cheng Li (程利) from Nanlong, Xiangshan, who came as a sugarcane worker, then branched out into cultivating rice fields, and ended up founding the famous "Zhao Lan Silk Trading Company" (朝兰公司), which became one of the top eight Chinese companies in Hawaii. Cheng was elected head of the United Chinese Society (中华会馆) in Hawaii and was later

appointed as the second consul general of the Qing government. Xiangshan immigrants Tang Ju (唐举), Lu Yue (卢岳), Liang Nan (梁南), Lin Xiegeng (林社根) and Lin Qinghua (林清华) founded the Sing Chong Company (升昌公司), which owned more than 4000 acres of rice paddies. The company was the largest rice producer in Hawaii, responsible for more than half of Hawaii's total rice production. Many Chinese also became major suppliers of farm animals, vegetables, coffee, bananas, fishery products, et cetera, in the Hawaii markets. Many of them had leased government land on which to begin building their production facilities. All these examples convinced Sun Mei that, in order to grow, he must first have a vast amount of land on which to develop his own production base.

Although the American Civil War had ended ten years prior, most of the farms on the US mainland had not yet recovered and the production of food products still lagged behind demand for them. The Americans companies generally came to Honolulu to purchase food products, although these were generally produced on the other islands of Hawaii. Maui, being the second largest island and the closest to Honolulu, became Sun Mei's first choice in his search for a base of operations.

With a land mass of 1159 square miles (or 3002 square kilometers), Maui was the second largest island in Hawaii. Sandwiched in between the Haleakala crater east of the island and the Maui Hill was a plain suitable for ranching and sugarcane growth. It was not especially difficult to obtain large pieces of land for cultivation in those days, as the Hawaiian government subsidized such efforts.

Following the signing in 1876 of a bilateral treaty between the US and the Hawaiian Kingdom, which allowed the export of sugar into the mainland duty free in exchange for the rights to install an American naval base, the Americans invested heavily into the Hawaiian sugar industry which then caused the demand for Chinese labor to increase tremendously. Subsequently, labor immigration increased at the rate of about one thousand workers every two years. Chinese labor immigration totaled 1,283 in 1876; 2,464 in 1878; 3,812 in 1879; 3,924 in 1881; and 4243 in the year 1883, bringing the total Chinese living in Hawaii to 18,254 by 1884. The only other nationals living in Hawaii the Japanese numbered 116. Within the 23 years between 1876 and 1899, the number of Chinese living in Hawaii ballooned to 54,095, making the Chinese the driving force behind the Islands' economic development. There were a total of two hundred fifty thousand acres of sugarcane fields in Hawaii, forty thousand acres of which were in Maui. In Lahaina, Irishman James Campbell built Pioneer Mill, considered one of the most famous sugar mills in Hawaii. Many

white entrepreneurs from the US invested in the transformation of Hawaii's wild sugar cane fields into sugar-producing plantations, with Maui taking on the most Chinese laborers. The towns of Wailuku and Kahului became popular gathering places for these Chinese immigrants and offered many opportunities for all sorts of business.

Transportation and communication infrastructure on the island of Maui was developing, which gave Sun Mei even more reason to pick Maui for his base of operations. The Hawaiian Steamship Navigation Company had several ships made in the United States to take people and cargo between Honolulu and Maui. One of the ships, the SS James Makee, was built in San Francisco with the specifications of 223 tons, 120 feet long and a speed of ten nautical miles per hour. With the distance of eighty nautical miles between Honolulu and Maui, a round trip could easily be completed within twenty-four hours. Other ships going between Oahu and Maui included the SS Kilauea, SS Hualalai, SS Maunakea and SS Haleakala along with several cargo ships. Maui's city of Kahului also became a busy port in those days for ships that needed to stop overnight between Honolulu and San Francisco or Australia.

Transportation on the island was also superior to that of the other islands. The Kahului Railroad Company was building a rail system on the island, and on July 20, 1879, the section between Kahului and Paia was opened for traffic. Both towns were popular gathering places for the Chinese laborers. In July 1881, the rail network of 59 miles was completed. There were 7 stops on the rail system with Kahului being the main station. In 1878, Councilman Charles H. Dickery had already set up a telephone system on the island of Maui. Sun Mei was ready to move to Maui for the establishment of a base.

On Oct 17, 1881, Sun Mei purchased a store, including all the goods and assets already inside, located in Kahului from the previous owner Sin Kai Cion (孙启球). Also that year, my grandfather Sun Chong (孙昌) was born, so Sun Mei inserted his son's name into the original name of his store "De Long"(德隆) and called the new store "De Chong Long"（德昌隆）.

Using "De Chong Long" as a base, Sun Mei began to expand his business. With his fluency in the local language and English, he soon made the store the most popular gathering place in town, as "De Chong Long" not only sold groceries and daily supplies to the Chinese laborers, but also provided other services, such as room and board for the new arrivals. The store also collected agricultural products

from local farmers for transport to Honolulu and the US mainland. Special treatment was given to the Chinese laborers, who were allowed to purchase goods, food and lodging, all on credit. This kind of service was greatly welcomed by the new arrivals, as many could only pay after they were first paid by their employers. Sun Mei also helped new arrivals to find work and to solve whatever problems they may have had, including any mistreatment by their employers or locals. Word spread of Sun Mei's service and excellent reputation and soon plantation owners themselves came to the store looking for qualified workers or for help in resolving disputes. The store became an information center, a marketplace for labor, opportunities and ideas. People from all walks of life came to talk about work, business, politics, life and weather. Sun Mei, who would always offer all of his guests a cup of coffee, was soon called "the lawyer with a cup of coffee". He was fair and just and was admired not only by the Chinese laborers but the locals and the white people as well.

He soon built strong relationships with the leaders of the Chinese business community in Maui. These relationships would prove critical in later years, when the Sun brothers pushed their pro-revolution agenda. One exemplary community leader was Deng Yinnan (邓荫南), who had come from Kaiping much earlier and found success in ranching and the sugar business in Maui. Because Sun Mei and Deng had become the best of friends, when Sun Yat-sen later set up the Xing Zhong Hui (China Revival Association 兴中会) in Honolulu, Sun Mei invited Deng to join. Not only did Deng quickly recruit fifteen others to join with him, Deng would later become the organization's branch chairman in the town of Paia. Deng also donated a large sum of money for Sun Yat-sen's first revolt in Guangzhou and, following Sun Mei's lead, later sold everything he owned in Hawaii to support the revolution, returning to China to participate in the Guangzhou revolt. Deng spent the rest of his life following Sun Yat-sen throughout the revolution, and when Sun Mei returned to Hong Kong after his bankruptcy, also helped Sun Mei with his underground work to consolidate anti-Qing militias.

Sun Mei had become very knowledgable through his "De Chong Long" activities. He became aware that after their five-year labor contracts expired, some of the Chinese laborers intended to return to China, while many others would choose to stay to start their own businesses. Some had saved enough to buy small pieces of land for cultivation, and others still, who had bought land and stayed, would change their minds and want to liquidate their assets and return home a rich man. Therefore, the real estate market was quite active. As Sun Mei had made and

saved quite a bit of money to put into other businesses, he chose to invest in land property, acquiring land from the government, from locals, and from the Chinese laborers who wanted to return to China. He would then apply his expertise and cultivate the land for leasing or for resale.

In the many years that followed, Sun Mei was active in the real estate market in Maui and Oahu. Records obtained from the Bureau of Conveyances in Honolulu show some of the activities: in July and September of 1881, he bought several pieces of land in the Ewa district on Oahu; in 1882, he acquired shares in an Ewa farm; in 1885, he leased land from a sugar mill in Maui; and between 1881 and 1897, Sun Mei had more than ten land transactions on the island of Oahu alone.

Following his move to Maui, his dealings in land transactions became even more numerous:

On September 7, 1891, Sun Mei bought 1,030 acres of land at Hamakualoa for 3,500 dollars; on September 16, 1895, he bought from Lou Shou (刘寿) various pieces of land, ranging in size from 3 to 160 acres together with some farm animals for 1,500 dollars; and less than two weeks later, on Sept 28, 1895, he bought from Lou Xiang (刘祥) six pieces of land at Kahului also for 1,500 dollars. From my search at the Bureau of Conveyances in Honolulu, I found over 100 transactions between the years 1881 and 1903. Almost all the properties were purchases from other owners, but there was one 160-acre piece registered as RP3450 which was directly granted by the royal family, which suggests that Sun Mei must have cultivated a good reputation or a connection with the royal family to be awarded such a land grant.

At his peak, Sun Mei came to own land all over Hawaii, in Ewa and Honolulu on Oahu, and Wailuku, Kula, Koolaupoko, Kahului, Paia and Hamakualoa on Maui.

In additon to land and agricultural investments, Sun Mei also invested in building properties. He acquired them through leasing or outright purchase. Most of these were shops or residences. One overseas Chinese Lu Kee from Kula was a child when he met Sun Mei, recalling: "Ah Mi owns many shops on Kahului for leasing out. My father was a carpenter and was one of his renters."

However, some of the properties Sun Mei rented out also brought him trouble. Many of the Chinese laborers in Hawaii in those days did not have families. Their education level was often not very high and they frequently brought with them from China their bad habits. Gambling and opium smoking, for example, were common activities. An article published in The Maui News on February 7, 1903(Fig.28),

reported that Sun Mei (Ah Mi) was arrested for bribing a police officer 25 dollars, asking the officer not to interfere with the operation of a Chinese lottery game called "Pigeon Ticket" ("pakapio" 白鴿票). This officer arrested Ah Mi immediately after he took the money and in court, Sun Mei did not deny giving the officer money. He insisted, however, that the money was a loan to the officer so he could buy a horse. Besides, he had given the money to the officer in front of two other officers. Sun Mei paid a $500 bond and hired a defense attorney. He was found not guilty.

But the description in the newspaper was quite interesting:

It is an open secret that a pakapio game is running at Kahului, with patrons at Wailuku, Kahului, Punnene and other places. But the police force had great trouble in finding evidence to convict. The Chinese are quite shrewd in the management of such things. The ordinary joint is generally upstairs, and only to be reached through several doors, at each of which a guard is stationed with a special password for that door.

A burning brazier is kept in the room, and at the alarm, in case of a raid, all tickets are put in the fire and converted to ashes instantly, so that when the police reach the room, they merely find one or two sleek Chinamen demurely smoking or reading the Maui News, and all the documents discoverable consist of a pot of boiling rice.

Sun Mei's assets and reputation had grown to such a magnitude that they inevitably led to envy and alarm within the white business community. Despite Sun Mei's enormous wealth and connections, life was not always smooth for the Sun Mei family. Great-grandmother Tam told my father and uncle some memorable stories, which they passed on to me. She told them that Sun Mei was very kind-hearted, perhaps to a fault, as he was always ready to help people, welcoming people into his business and home. When the ranch was operating at its prime, they had to hire many people, including a Portugese superintendent, some cowboy-types who specialized in rounding up the herds, local planters and of course Chinese laborers. When they closed "De Chong Long" to move to the ranch, Sun Mei offered all those willing to move to Kula a job at the ranch. One of the many who accepted his offer to work at the ranch was an accountant who had been with the store for many years. He was quiet, never saying much, but he was reliable. One of his jobs was to carry cash from the ranch to Kahului to settle payments every few days. One day after leaving the ranch, however, he disappeared. His body, robbed of all valuables including the cash, was found much later in a cave on the side of a hill. The murderer who robbed him was never caught and the case was never solved. Years

later, as Tam was selling the ranch to Antoinne Tavares in 1908, some ranch hands found some old packages of opium hidden in the attic space overhead. After much questioning, Tam concluded that the opium belonged to the accountant and that he was likely selling it to the workers who could not get rid of the old habits they brought from China. Some people wondered if Sun Mei, who had become wealthy and influential in the Chinese community, was in fact the mastermind behind some of the island's opium activities. In my research, I found newspaper articles of Sun Mei's brushes with the law, but these pertained to a property he'd rented out being used as a gambling hall and a charge of bribing a police officer for which he was acquitted. I did not find any article linking Sun Mei to opium trafficking. Regardless, Sun Mei knew quite well the harm of opium consumption because he had seen its effects while growing up in Xiangshan. Both he and Sun Yat-sen opposed the smoking of opium, although there was little he could do to stop his workers from smoking it.

Sun Mei's investment activities expanded into other areas, including trade in farm animals, investments in gas and electric companies, meat packaging, telephone communications, shoe making and selling liquor. Records show that he sold interests in a San Francisco trading company, Hong Yan Tong & Company in 1903.

Most of the liquor business in Maui in those days was controlled by Caucasians. In 1887, however, Sun Mei was able to obtain a license to sell not only liquor but "Awa", a stimulant-infused drink favored by the local people, as well. In fact he was the first to obtain the license in Lahaina and Kahului for selling Awa, which was restricted as it had similar effects on the drinker as alcohol.

Wailuku and Kahului were adjacent towns in which Sun Mei was most active in his business dealings. He bought interest in a Wailuku bar called IAO, where he spent a lot of hours entertaining friends and business clients. When Sun Mei moved to his ranch in Kula later, he asked his friend Yeong Young to take over the bar.(Fig.37)

Lahaina was a busy port, famous for its whaling activity in the early years. Whaling fleets as well as merchants from all over the world would gather here for supplies. Sun Mei had several properties here to rent out to the businesses here, many of which were Chinese-run. (Copies of some of the licenses can be seen in Fig.29-36)

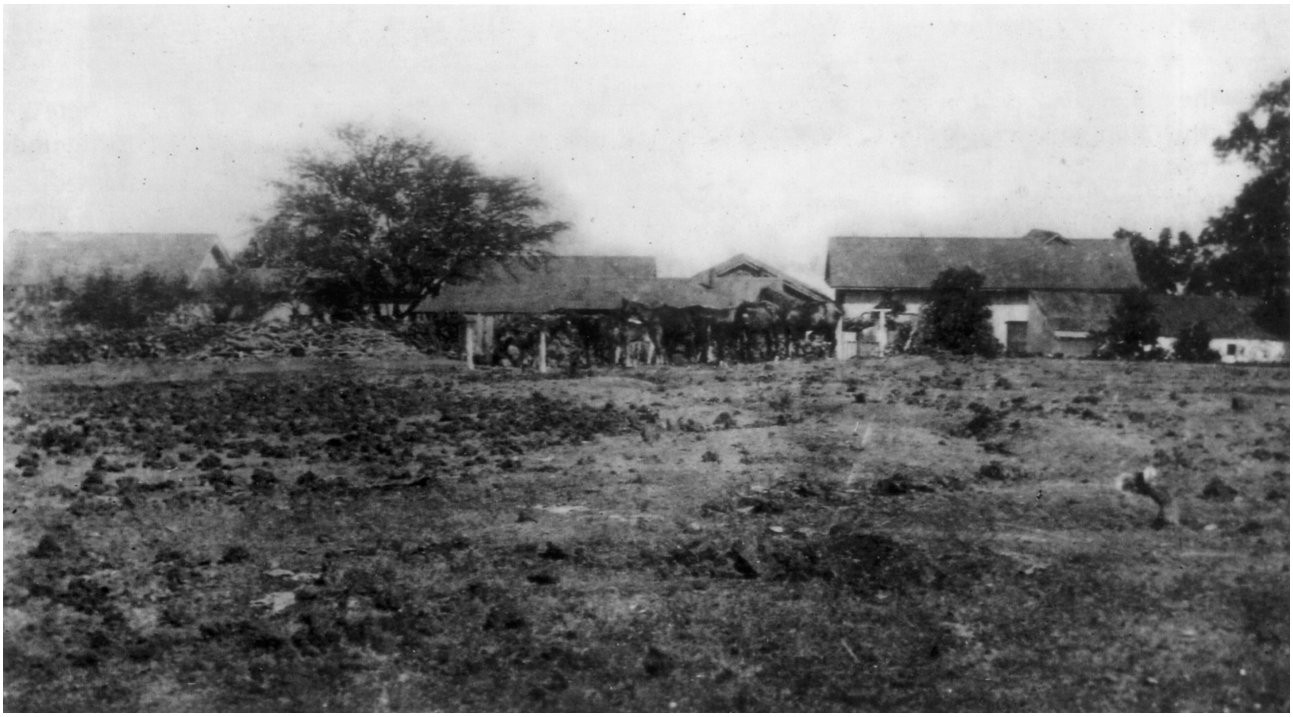
Carving out a Business Empire

After several years of accumulating profits, Sun Mei decided that it was time to set up his base for future development. In 1888, eight years after his arrival in Maui, he identified a piece of land on the slope of the 3000-ft high Haleakala Mountain in the Kula district. The land, covered in fertile volcanic soil, was ideal for both farming and ranching.

At that time, it was easier to apply for land in the name of an institution. Sun Mei formed an organization called the Kamaole, which he headed, and applied to the Hawaiian Interior Department to lease 3,900 acres in Kula for a term of ten years, beginning from August 1, 1889 and expiring on July 30, 1899, at a cost of 710 dollars per year to be paid in advance. Sun Mei later bought over 2000 acres of adjacent land, expanding the ranch's size to over 6000 acres.

Kula had always been known for its taro. As early as 1840, when San Francisco miners demanded large quantities of taro, Kula was the chief supplier and many farmers became rich by growing it. But after 1850, when the San Francisco gold rush faded, the demand for taro fell sharply, causing many Chinese taro farmers to either move away, or change to planting sugar cane. Between 1880 and 1900, there were still an estimated 80 families, or 700 or so Chinese, living in the Kula community, running restaurants, opium dens, shops, churches and several ranches.

People engaged in the farming industry normally leased land from the government to grow vegetables like taro, corn, and the like, which they then sold in Kahului or Wakawao nearby or shipped to Honolulu. Land was plentiful in this area but the shortage of fresh water made it necessary for the farmers to build water storage facilities. The immigrants in this area worked hard to cultivate and maintain the land for their economic survival. When government policy changed in 1910 to take back leased land, many Chinese farmers left Kula for other towns, nearly transforming it into a ghost town. Over time, only a few Chinese families remained in the area. I came to Kula one weekend and joined many of the Chinese residents at the Kwock Xing Association lodge. They met regularly, trying to preserve some of the traditions and family histories in the lodge, and a few were familiar with Sun Mei's ranch. One of them, Richard Shim, was kind enough to give me a report on his personal investigation of the ranch, pointing out the intricacies of the water storage



72. 孙眉库拉牧场房屋旧貌
Picture of Sun Mei ranch house in Kula

system built by Sun Mei.

One of the very first Chinese in Kula was a Hakka gentleman by the name of Harry A. Heen, who had come to Hawaii from Wuhua, Guangdong Province, at the age of 17. He started a small business in Maui and later married Mary Mahaula, the daughter of a descendent of Maui's chief. She owned several large pieces of land in Maui, and enabled Harry to operate several shops in Kula and expand his activities into real estate, buying and selling properties on the islands of Oahu and Kauai. He and Sun Mei became good friends through some business dealings, and through an introduction by Sun Mei, Heen became one of the first to join the Xing Zhong Hui (China Revival Society). He returned to China in 1914 and passed away in 1922.

There was also Zheng Qiang (郑强) from Xiangshan who had come to Hawaii years before Sun Mei. They met on board a ship while Zheng was returning to Hawaii after visiting his homeland and became close friends who would later become business partners as well. Sun Mei's ranch in Kula was close to Zheng's ranch and the two families grew to know each other well. In fact, Sun Mei, Sun Yat-sen and Zheng Qiang later became blood brothers. Zheng had six daughters and the two families considered matching the fourth daughter with my grandfather Sun Chong. I was told by her daughter Auntie Fengqun that she had declined because she wanted to pursue higher education at the time. In the 1930s when she visited China, she

paid a visit to Great-grandaunt Lu Muzhen. After Zheng Qiong died from a lengthy illness resulting from injuries he sustained when he was kicked by a horse, his wife entrusted his entire business to Sun Mei and moved next door to the Suns. Later on, Zheng's wife took three of her daughters back to China with her while the other three stayed in Hawaii. Even after Madam Zheng's passing in the 1920s, our two families have remained in touch. In fact, three of Zheng's granddaughters were with us during the Japanese invasion and took care of me and my brothers.

In August 2006, I, my wife, and some researchers from Zhongshan visited Sun Mei's ranch in Kula. Along the Chinatown Road, now called Polipoli Road, we came to the small town of Keokea. The town was so small there were hardly any streets or houses and we only saw three little shops: Ching Store, Fong Store and Grandma's Coffee House.

The Fong Store was over a hundred years old. It had changed hands a few times and the owner now is a Japanese who married a Fong and kept the name of the old store. We were fortunate to meet the lady of the store, a Chinese who knew not only Sun Yat-sen, but also a little about Sun Mei. She pointed us in the direction of Sun Mei's ranch.

Not far along the Ulupalakua road (also known as State Highway 37), we came to the Sun Mei Ranch site. On the site now sits the "Sun Yat-sen Memorial Park", which was founded in 1989 on the 200th anniversary of Chinese arrival in Hawaii. Maui and Taiwan's Pingdong City (屏东) were sister cities and the statue of Sun Yat-sen was a gift from the Pingdong. The plot of land where the park is located had originally been a gift from Sun Mei to Awai (Charles Awai Sun), the son Sun Mei adopted for his brother Deyou. After Awai left for China and passed away there, his children were too poor to keep up with property tax payments and the government repossessed the land.

We reached the ranch site along a small path and noticed that there seemed to have been no change to the grounds in the last 100 years. Human-high cacti were all over, as if the place had never been cultivated before. There were no buildings or structures left on the site at all and about the only thing that resembled what we saw in pictures of the old ranch was the large tree still standing in the middle of the ranch site. It was unbelievable and incomprehensible to me that this place could have been the base of operations for a family that had generated so much wealth as to have initiated enough momentum for a revolution that changed the history of China. I was excited and moved to have stood on that ground.



73. 1972年，二弟必兴到访过牧场。
Brother Henry visited the ranch in 1972.



74. 1972年，必兴拍摄牧场水坝。
Picture of reservoir dam taken by Henry in 1972.

I visited Zheng Qiang's granddaughter Huang Fengqun (黄凤群) in Honolulu. She was 90 years old, but still had a good memory. She told me that she met my mother while they were students at the University of Hawaii, showed me some of the old photos of her family, and related some of the things her mother used to tell her. She said Sun Mei invested a lot of time and money cultivating the ranch after signing the lease with the government. He spent three years building roads, leveling the land, building a water reservoir, and constructing the ranch house before he actually moved in to live on the ranch. She said the land was full of cactus and the lady folks had to use canvas to make clothes and chaps for the laborers working in the fields. Both Tam and her mother had worked on sewing these clothes for the farmhands. Traces of Sun Mei's ingenious irrigation designs to address the frequent shortages of water supply could still be seen after a century.

The design of Sun Mei's water storage system was unique. Having chosen a site with a solid rock foundation, he formed a large reservoir by building a dam 80 feet wide, 22 feet thick and 16 feet high. Conduit was placed inside the wall to bring water to different levels.(Fig.49)

Sun Mei also dug a pond along the side of the large ranch house to collect water coming down from the eaves of the roof, which ensured that the farm animals would always have enough to drink. In the early days in Kula, almost every house had this kind of pond on the side of the house.

Over a hundred years ago, there were no motor vehicles or even roads, and people either traveled on horseback or just on foot. It would take a whole day just to go from Kula to Kahului, which was Maui's main business center as it had port facilities. To take his goods to the Kahului port, Sun Mei built a road to go from his ranch to Makena, a waterfront town. Products from his ranch could reach Makena in a few hours for loading onto ships bound for Honolulu or other islands. In those days, bartering was a popular way to trade for goods, and Sun Mei had two companies in Honolulu, the Xian Yuan and Wing Hong Yuan, with whom he often traded. He would ship Kula's products of taro, chicken, beef, pork and onion, and bring back rice, sugar, butter and other supplies to Maui. We could not find the roads he had built, but we did find traces of a few retaining walls along the side of the road.

Sun Mei moved into his ranch house in 1892. The house was large and had enough rooms to accommodate many people. (Fig.51 for the ranch layout). The house was no longer there but we did come across the old banyan tree still standing.

Looking at the landscape, we could imagine the activities of the ranch at that time. Within the 6,000-acre ranch, Sun Mei had employed hundreds of people, raising thousands of heads of cattle, hundreds of pigs and sheep and other farm animals. The fields were full of taro, onion, beans, corn, rice, coffee, and there was even a dairy for milk production.

Auntie Fengqun was told by her mother that the ranch was so big that everyone had to learn how to ride a horse. It was a rule set by Sun Mei that all woman folk were to be assigned a horse, and the women were taught how to ride them. There were many horses on the ranch, so in order to recognize one's ride, the horses were painted in different colors. The cattle on the ranch were identified by numbers but some would use Sun Mei's method of using color. Zheng Qiang's daughters often went riding on Sun Mei's ranch. When Zheng Qiang was thrown by his horse, it was Fengqun's mother who rode her horse to get help.

In 1972, my brother Henry visited the ranch and met Julia, a daughter of Antoinne Tavares who bought the ranch from Tam in 1908. (Fig.53)

In addition to raising farm animals and farming, Sun Mei also tried planting coffee, the only one in Kula doing so. But during a drought in October of 1896, half of his 17,000 coffee plants died, and Sun Mei eventually gave up planting coffee altogether.

Ever the entrepreneur, Sun Mei also built a pier on part of the leased land in Makena and sub-leased it to a steamship company.(Fig.54)

In August 2006, I was able to visit with David Ventura at his home in Maui. David was born in 1920 and when I met him, he was 86 years old. His father Antoinne Ventura supervised the ranch hands working for Sun Mei at the ranch. After the ranch was sold to Antoinne Tavares, Ventura continued to work as a supervisor at the ranch until David took over his father's job, working there himself for another 45 years. He told us he had lived at the ranch house back when he was four or five years old. He knew every inch of the land well, with the two things that impressed him most being Sun Mei's construction of the water storage system and the road to Makena. He also remembered that a telephone was installed at the ranch and that the pig farm was quite large. His father used to talk about Sun Mei, particularly about the times of Chinese festivities like Chinese New Year and the Moon Festival, when he always got invited to the feasts of rice wine and roasted pig, when he received the "red envelopes of lucky money".

Howard Nakamura was my classmate at Cornell University, but we had not seen

each other for fifty years. One day, he saw a photo of me taken with Robert Cupchoy at the Cuiheng museum that was published in the Maui Daily News. He obtained my contact address through the newspaper and invited me to stay at his home in Wailuku during my visit in 2009. I was delighted to discover that his home was very close to Kahului where Sun Mei had his store and carried out most of his business dealings.

As for Robert Cupchoy, he was the grandson of Chun Cupchoy. Chun was born in 1864 in Xiangshan and was related to Sun Mei's cousin Sun Dian. In 1880, 16-year-old Chun Cupchoy came to Maui, working for Tong Kan at the sugar plantation for a while and later on opening his own meat and grocery store at Makawao. He and Sun Mei got to know each and became friends. He was vice chairman of the Fook Sin Tong Society founded in 1893, of which Sun Mei was also a member. He later contributed heavily to Sun Yat-sen's revolution.

Thanks to Howard, I was able to meet with Bill Tavares, the son of Antoinne Tavares who bought the ranch from my great grandmother Tam in 1908. Howard and Bill were friends for many years. One afternoon in a Kahului restaurant, this 80-plus-year-old retired school principal told me stories about his father. His father Antoinne Tavares was born in 1874 and came to Maui in 1882 from Portugal. He worked for Jim Anderson at his sugar plantation and his post office, taking over the post office when Jim Anderson died. He worked hard and studied on his own to pass the bar examination, qualifying him to practice law. He became fluent in English and the local language and was popular among locals and the whites. He even served as a congressman for a while. His first wife Julia was the daughter of the Chinese merchant Tong Kan, who was a native of Xiangshan. Tong worked as a suger planter and later owned a sugar mill, and later still became friendly with Queen Emma. After his first wife passed away, Tong Kan married Queen Emma's maid Hannah, paying part of the dowry with a large plot of land. For marrying a native Hawaiian, the local people gave him a new name, Akanaliili, meaning little Ah Kan. Tong Kang made money as a rancher and dairy owner, and had many business dealings with Sun Mei.

Julia and Antoinne had ten children. After Julia passed away, he wanted to marry Julia's nurse but the nurse too became ill and died. So Antoinne married the nurse's sister Matilda and they had two children, Bill and his sister. Bill said his father operated the ranch from 1908 till 1929. In the beginning, Antoinne was not too interested in ranching, so his father in law Tong Kan operated on his behalf for a

while. In 1929, he sold the ranch to Sam Baldwin, but today it is under the name of Haleakala Ranch Company. Bill was born in 1921 and did not remember too much about the ranch. But his sister Emma Rose Murphy painted a picture of the ranch from memory and I was given a duplication of the painting. (Fig.60) Bill had two things in his possession that he treasured: one was an antique Japanese sword and the other was a Rosewood bench which his father had found at Sun Mei's old ranch house. He believed that the sword was given to Sun Mei by his brother Sun Yat-sen. (Fig.61)

While talking about the rosewood bench with Howard, he mentioned that one of his relatives knew a elderly lady who had a similar bench that had also belonged to the Suns. I called the lady, and was surprised to find that she was Auntie Fengqun! She had forgotten to show me the bench on our last visit to her home in 2006.

Howard Nakamura had returned to work in Maui after graduation. At one time he was the director of the Planning Department in the Maui city government and was very knowledgable about the people and history of the island. There were not many historical remains of the Chinese communities in Wailuku for me to see except for the Sugar Plantation Museum where Howard is a director. From the Kahului airport



75. 2009年8月，孙必胜与比尔·塔瓦利斯合照。
Photo taken with Bill Tavares in August, 2009.

to the foot of the mountain, we could see large sugar cane fields thriving in the rich soil. I could easily see why Great-grandfather saw the enormous potential for this land and why he had made Maui his base.

Ever since he made his first contribution to the revolution in 1894, Sun Mei found ways to diversify and expand his businesses in order to support his brother's activities. Even after the fire that destroyed his "De Chong Long" store in Kahului and the failed legal battle to keep the lease, Sun Mei still found other areas of business to move into.

In 1903, a newspaper writeup on Sun Mei's intention to start a telephone company caught the island by surprise. (Fig.62)

Actually, a telephone company had already been established in 1880 in Honolulu with 600 dollars and it had reached profitability within two years. In 1883, Mutual Telephone Company was formed and became successful as well. In Maui, no one dared to invest in the telephone business because of the risk and the amount of capital investment required. Unfortunately, we could find no other records pertaining to Sun Mei's attempt in this endeavor. In any event, Maui had only 1,583 telephone subscribers in 1929, and that was a full fourteen years after Sun Mei's death.

Another newspaper clipping showed that Sun Mei took over as Chairman of the Waihed Rice Plantation Company, replacing the deceased Y. Ah Chew. A man named Yeong Young was the company secretary. (Fig.63)

Speaking about the Youngs, there was among Sun Mei's close friends a man named Young Ying (杨然). Although I searched for historical evidence to ascertain whether Yeong Young was in fact Young Ying, I could not find definitive proof. Records show that both names were attached to men who conducted a great deal of business in Honolulu at the time, and as spellings of Chinese names in English had not been standardized, it seems likely the various articles may have referred to the same person. Young Ying was the father of Yang Xianyi (杨仙逸), who would later help found China's airforce. Young Ying was also called Yang Zukuen. He was born in 1853 in the village of Beitai in Xiangshan. In 1873, one year after his marriage and two years after Sun Mei' s arrival in Hawaii, Young Ying came to Honolulu with 100 dollars that he had borrowed. He worked on a sugar plantation first and later on a rice farm. He saw that the locally produced low quality rice was not selling well so he leased land and planted the "Xi Miao Rice" which became popular. He then leased more land and in three to four years, became part owner of the Palama Rice Plantation and the Tong Sun Wai rice farm. He later established his own rice



76. 眉公在茂宜照的全家福
Sun Mei family photo in Maui

plantations called "Wing Chang Chan" and "Sun Wo Sing". With his own production facilities established, he then ventured into trading by setting up two companies called "Guang Chang Long" and "Wing Chang Long". With enormous profits pouring in, he started investing in real estate, banking and education, and became known to the many Hawaiian Chinese as "Millionaire Young".

His rice production was distributed by the Chin Wo Company, which was located between Nuanuu Street and Britannia Street, not far from Sun Mei's store. Being fellow villagers and business partners, they soon became close friends.

In 1882, Young's wife Xiao Shi arrived in Honolulu. The Youngs have three sons — Jiangsong, Jiangsan and Xianyi, all born in Hawaii. When Sun Yat-sen was in Hawaii promoting the cause of revolution, Young Ying supported his efforts by setting up the China Airship Company and recruiting young men to go to the United States mainland to train in flying aircraft. He took the initiative of sending his third

son Xianyi first to California's Harley University to study mechanical Engineering, and then to the Fortes University to study design and construction of aircrafts along with the technique of operating aircrafts. Yang Xianyi was born in 1891 and attended the Iolani School. In 1909, he enrolled in the University of Hawaii and joined the Self Defense Corps, becoming a captain. He was even awarded the top prize in marksmanship by the US government. In 1916, he was granted an International License for operating both land and sea aircrafts, and in 1917, to answer the call of Sun Yat-sen, he returned to China to join the movement to defend the constitution. In 1919, he formed one of the first airforce platoons in China, the Fujin-Guangdong aircorps, to engage in warfare. In 1921, Yang Xianyi went to Japan, Mexico and the United States, successfully raised funding, purchased twelve J.M. class aircrafts and other accessories, and helped form the Kuomingtang branch military school in New York. He also recruited a bunch of young men to return to China. In February 1923, he was named Bureau Chief of the Air Force attached to the Grand Marshal and also the head of the Guangdong Aircraft Company. He built the first aircraft manufactured in China and named it "the Rosamonde", after Madam Soong Ching-ling. In 1923, he joined the fight against the rebel Chen Congming. On Sepember 20, he was killed during torpedo testing. Seven days later, Sun Yat-sen promoted his rank to Lieutenant General and founded the Airforce Academy in his honor.

To support Sun Yat-sen and the formation of China's airforce, Young Ying sold some of his properties to buy four aircrafts. After the death of Yang Xianyi, Sun Yat-sen asked his widow Madam Cheng (程度纯) to build a school to commemorate Yang Xianyi. Young Ying donated the first amount of money and the school was built in 1925 with Madam Cheng serving as its first principal.

In 1932, Young Ying died in Honolulu. The Suns and the Youngs were always very close. While Yang Xianyi was very close to Sun Yat-sen during the time they spent in Guangzhou, his son Tim Aoi (杨添霭) was friendly with Auntie Pearl, Uncle Andy and Auntie Rose while living in California. During one of their meetings in Shiqi, Zhongshan, in 1986, they all agreed that it was the Chinese Revolution that bound the two families together.

In a report printed in the January 9, 1904 edition of the Maui News, Sun Mei was identified as a banker(Fig.79). I believe he was considered a banker because he was not only wealthy and trustworthy, but because he likely handled remittance for workers who wanted to send money home. In those days, Chinese workers often held onto their cash, rather than deposit the money in a bank. Also, his wife Tam was a

collector of gold coins and was always ready to trade with the workers, which may also have contributed to Sun Mei's being listed as a banker.

After more than ten years of developing his empire on Maui, his reputation as a civic leader grew among both the Chinese community and the whites. The nickname "Maui King" began to grow in popularity on the island.

Once he became famous, newspapers would report his many activities. The followings are some of the reports:

On July 15,1905, for example, they reported a double wedding at the ranch for Sun Chong and his sister.(Fig.67) On May 30, 1898, Maui News reported Sun Mei celebrating his mother's 71st birthday with birthday Luau at his home in Kamaole.(Fig.68) And on October 20, 1900, there was a report of Sun Mei's contribution to a Chinese community center. (Fig.69-70)

Sun Mei also saw the importance in educating his people. In the early days, there were no Chinese schools on Maui. Even in Honolulu, where there were more Chinese, there was only one private tutor who taught at most twenty to thirty students. Classes were taught in the Chinese traditional ways: reciting poems, memorizing classics, etc. The earliest privately-tutored class was founded in 1886 but it was not until 1899 that a school teaching in both Eastern and Western cultures was established by Wang Gui (王贵) (Deputy Consul General at the time) and Chen Lansheng (陈兰生). It was more difficult to set up schools in Maui as the workers' camps were scattered all over and there were not that many Chinese children. In 1898, Sun Mei set up a private school at the ranch for the children who lived around the ranch. Granduncle Sun Fo recalled that he was about five or six years old when he came to Maui in the winter of 1895 so for a few years, his mother first taught him some elementary Chinese classics. After Sun Mei set up the school, Sun Mei hired a teacher from Xiangshan called Huang Ruixiang (黄瑞祥) to teach the Chinese classics. Sun Fo, Sun Chong, Sun Shunxia, Awai (Sun Mei's adopted nephew, who was brought into the family per Chinese custom to continue the lineage of Sun Mei's brother De You who had passed away at the age of seven), Eddie (who was the son of Chang Chow (郑照), Tam Dongxing (谭东升) (who was the son of Tam Dao (谭斗) and a Hawaiian woman), Zheng Gui Eng (郑贵恩) and several other children of the Chinese workers were the first to be enrolled. Granduncle Sun Fo was far ahead of the others because of his head start from the earlier lessons his mother had given him. However, the next five years of learning under Master Huang gave him a solid foundation in his Chinese language skills. Years later, when

Granduncle was mayor of Guangzhou, Master Huang visited him at his office. He had no requests or demands, but had merely wanted to see him as he was justifiably proud of his former pupil.

Granduncle remembered that classes were conducted inside the large ranch house. Sun Mei would come to inspect once in a while. Sun Mei would sometimes get the kids that had come from nearby farms to stay for lunch and even gave them some fruit to take home after class. This private tutoring was carried on for a few years.

Sun Mei's wealth not only benefited his family but his village as well. In 1900, when a missionary named Higares came to Cuiheng from Macau, he described the Sun household: "……judging from its interior and decoration, this is a well-to-do, above middle-class family." In 1885, Sun Mei sent money home to build a one-story house on a 105-square meter site. In 1892, Sun Mei sent two to three thousand dollars home to acquire more land from the neighbor and expanded the house at a cost of 934.7 ounces, a considerable amount at the time. There was no architect available, so Sun Yat-sen himself created the design and hired workers to do the construction. The exterior of the house was similar in style to the western houses popular in Macau in those days, but the interior was quite different from the western style. The main hall was placed at the entrance with living rooms on both sides and upstairs. Stairs were located in both the front and back for easy access. This hundred-year-old house was built with mud, shell and limestone. The old house was torn down in 1912.

Sun Mei also contributed heavily into his village's welfare. In August 1880, he organized among the relatives living in Hawaii donations for the purpose of relocating the Sun family's ancestral graves from Congkou Village to the hillside in Cuiheng Village. Sun Mei contributed the most. All the donors' names were inscribed on a memorial stone plate at the North Emperor Temple, which is now stored at the Sun Yat-sen Memorial School in Cuiheng Village. In 1896, when the



第八章
革命者孙眉

Chapter 8
Sun Mei the Revolutionary

我的曾祖父孫眉

说起来，开始分挑孙家重担的眉公也是一位思想保守的中国农民，但他从15岁因家贫而外出打工，再而远涉重洋到夏威夷谋生，就已经体会到国家落后、朝廷腐败带给中国人的痛苦与灾难。在夏威夷的35年间，眉公经历了夏威夷许多重大的社会变革，夏威夷民主法治的建立和逐步完善，使眉公在创业中获益良多。但自1882年美国实行排华政策，渐而波及至夏威夷，尤其是1893年夏威夷发生政变后，华侨正当权益受到莫大的损害，更使眉公深知外人之所以欺我侮我，皆因国家不强大，他也迫切地希望有一个强大的祖国作为华侨的后盾，以改变华侨屈居异邦，受人欺凌的地位。所以当孙中山要推翻封建王朝，建立一个民主共和的社会时，眉公就认同了弟弟的做法，千方百计为革命慷慨捐输，并且直接投身到革命斗争中去，成为一位职业革命者，这也可以说是眉公的生命逻辑。

Sun Mei was originally a law-abiding, conservative Chinese farmer by nature. But his experience of working as a laborer at the age of 15 and later making a living in far away Hawaii convinced him that the backwardness of China and the impotency of its government were the scourges of Chinese peoples' suffering at home and abroad. During his 35 years in Hawaii, Sun Mei witnessed many major social changes. Democracy and laws were put in place and gradually improved, much to the initial benefit of Sun Mei and his businesses.

However, the passing of the 1882 "Chinese Exclusion Act" in the United States started to affect Hawaii, especially after the revolt in 1893 when the rights of all Chinese immigrants were greatly curtailed. Sun Mei realized that such unfair treatment stemmed from China's weakness on the international stage. Like many Chinese then, he was anxious to see China become stronger and more able to support and defend Chinese working overseas. When Sun Yat-sen aspired to overthrow the Qing government and establish a democratic society, Sun Mei was more than ready to give his support, making generous donations and devoting himself to the cause as a revolutionary.

祖国政治动荡的影响

1840年的鸦片战争，改变了中国的社会性质和历史发展进程，使中国发生了“千古未有之奇变”，进入灾难深重的半殖民地半封建时代。

对于发生在家门口的这场战争，眉公在幼年时就常常听他的父亲达成公说起。达成公早年在澳门谋生，耳闻目睹在澳门发生的这场战事，这位平实、言语不多的农民总是担心战事会牵及至翠亨村。当年世界上最强大的英国殖民主义者，把中国看作是一块“肥肉”，蓄谋“开放”中国，控制中国这个东方最大的市场和原料产地。1793年和1816年，英国政府曾两次派遣使团来华，企图通过外交讹诈、正常贸易等手段冲开中国的大门，但他们的目的未能达到。1832年英国侵略者就暗中在中国沿海侦察，制订了详细的侵华军事计划，准备武力征服中国。更严重的是，他们竟丧心病狂地利用鸦片这种毒品，作为侵略中国的武器。以英国为首的殖民主义者猖狂地向中国偷运和倾销鸦片，甚至采取贿赂官吏、武装走私等卑劣手段。在香山县东部的金星门，英国的鸦片趸船就停泊在那里进行交易。二婶学成的妻子程氏常在金星门看到外国船只和那些有火一样红的头发的洋人，总感到害怕，回家后，总会嘱咐眉公等小孩子们不要靠近那个地方，因为那里有红须绿眼的洋鬼子。

正当侵略者在中国门外磨刀霍霍的时候，清朝的统治者却还在睡梦之中。等到鸦片已泛滥成灾，危及清廷自身的统治时，英国的炮舰已兵临国门，清廷终于到了要立即采取坚决措施不可的地步。1835年，邓廷桢接任两广总督，下令把鸦片趸船全部逐出金星门，香山知县田博和水师副将秦裕昌截获梁显业的贩卖鸦片船只，搜出烟泥1.4万斤。

1839年，清政府派遣的钦差大臣林则徐到广东禁烟。四月，林则徐派遣佛山同知刘开城、澳门同知蒋立昂、香山知县三福、香山县承彭邦晦等人到澳门清查户口，并督同葡官搜查外国人住地有无私藏鸦片。

七月初八，林则徐和两广总督邓廷桢在虎门销烟后，率军进驻香山县城，坐镇丰山书院，封锁香山各要隘，通令澳门葡萄牙当局，把驻在澳门的57家英商会全部驱逐出境。1839年9月至11月，英国侵略者挑起九龙、川鼻、官涌战事，广东水师关天培等坚决自卫还击。1840年6月，英国“东方远征军”封锁珠江口，入侵香山县海域，鸦片战争正式爆发。面对侵略者的挑衅，林则徐动员香山县军民合力抗击，击退进犯英军；提督关天培在香山县的磨刀洋海面迎击英国海军，

直至壮烈牺牲。1841年，英国海军由义律率轮船潜入香山县内河，攻破湖州、沙涌两炮台，攻入渡头村，渡头村民英勇抗敌，英军被迫退走，雷兆成等14位村民在战斗中牺牲。1841年5月，广州市三元里103乡民发动了反英抗暴斗争，英军遭到前所未有的沉重打击，英国侵略者在广东遭到失败。8月后，英军扩大侵华，向闽浙的厦门、定海、镇海和台湾进攻，并深入长江下游的上海，进犯吴淞口等处。虽然处处受到中国军民奋起抵抗，但昏庸腐败而又落后的清廷，对拥有坚船利炮的侵略者非常恐惧，并对中国军民的奋起抵抗力量不能容纳甚至敌视，因此，爱国军民在反侵略斗争中虽然取得局部的、个别的胜利，亦无法扭转整个战争的局势。1842年8月，英军兵临南京城下，清政府屈辱投降，签订了丧权辱国的《南京条约》。中国割让香港岛，赔偿2100万西班牙银元，广州、厦门、福州、宁波、上海五个口岸城市对外通商，此外英国还享有协议关税，而由于清政府官员长期以天朝自居，不熟悉国际关系，在随后的《南京条约》两个补充文件谈判中遭受了进一步的利益损失：《五口通商章程》和《虎门条约》的签订使英国得到了领事裁判权、片面最优惠国待遇和开设租界等特权。此后，外国侵略者接踵而来,美国、法国、俄国趁火打劫，威迫清政府签订了割地、赔款、开放商埠、给予领事裁判权和协定关税等特权的不平等条约，使中国的领土、领海、司法、海关、外贸等主权开始遭到破坏。

1883年12月，法国为了占领越南北部，打开中国西南地区的门户，进而侵入中国西南腹地，发动了一场中法战争。中国军民与法军展开激烈战斗，在镇南关大战中获得大胜。

1884年8月，中国人费时七年建成的福州马尾造船厂和十余艘兵船，竟被法国海军在七分钟内炸毁。当时中英文报道：福州海战，中国官兵伤亡惨重。广州《述报》一再呼吁官商合力救援伤兵，美国旧金山华侨闻讯捐款50万两、旅日华侨捐款100万两，此外还有古巴等地华侨同样掀起义举，支持抗法。香港民众冲破英国殖民政府的种种压制，拒绝修理受伤的法舰。1884年9月，一艘在马尾海战中受伤的法国兵船开到香港修理，香港中国工人拒绝工作，迫使法国人将该船拖往日本修理。一艘受伤的法国水雷炮艇驶入九龙船坞修理，香港的居民和华工秘密商议要将这艘炮艇烧毁，港英当局闻讯后连忙派警察日夜守护，并公开强制香港民艇为法国船只运送给养与货物。强制无效之后，港英当局居然逮捕艇民，克罚重金。结果引起了香港居民的极大愤怒，艇民宣布全体停工，码头工人响应全面罢工，迫使港英当局释放被捕艇民，退还罚金。港英当局要求艇民复工，再

次遭到艇民的严词拒绝。港英当局恼羞成怒，采取武装镇压，工人奋起反抗。对抗中，一名华工被打死，另有多人被捕；而英国士兵也有十一人被打伤。这就更激起了广大香港居民的强烈义愤，香港爆发全面罢工、罢市运动，而九龙的秘密会社天地会也准备发动起义，响应罢工、罢市运动，运煤、搬运、驳船等行业的工人，以至人力车夫、轿夫、旅馆差役等也不为法国人服务，极大地妨碍了法军作战的物资运输，局势十分紧张。港英当局十分恐慌，赶忙找来有身份的华人出面调停。调停的结果是：港英当局释放所有被捕工人，给被英国士兵击毙的华工家属200元抚恤金，以后港英当局对于工人不为法国船只搬运货物的行为不再干涉，听任工人自由行动。这次抗法罢工罢市斗争取得了全面胜利，给全国人民以极大的鼓舞。但李鸿章等人却把这一系列事件当作寻求妥协的绝好机会，他们主张“乘胜即收”，害怕“兵连祸结”会激起“民变”、“兵变”。1885年，清政府派李鸿章在天津与法国订立《中法和约》。承认越南是法国的保护国；中法两国派员会同勘定中国和越南北部边界；同意在云南、广西两省的中越边界指定两处开埠通商；中国今后修铁路，应与法国商办。从此，法国侵略势力伸进我国云南和广西，大大加深了我国西南边疆的危机。

这场中法战争以“法国不胜而胜，中国不败而败”的结果激起了中国人民极大义愤。檀香山报纸连篇累牍报道中法战争，使华人义愤填膺，为清廷的妥协而感到蒙羞。眉公常在他的德昌隆商店里，与华侨们一起痛骂清廷的无能。1885年，孙中山回到檀香山，他把在香港的所见所闻告诉眉公，并表示自己有倾覆清廷的志向，引发了眉公的同感。

1884年孙中山从香港乘中国沙船回香山，途中，沙船经过了一个设有海关的无名小岛。刚在小岛靠岸，一伙拖着长辫子的清朝小吏和水勇就跳上了船。他们以“缉私”为名进行了无理的搜查，千方百计地向旅客们勒索钱财。凶暴、贪婪的清兵以征海关税、收厘捐、缉鸦片、查火油等名目为借口，对乘客们一下子就进行了四次野蛮勒索。孙中山对这伙强盗无法无天、为非作歹的行为，深感惊愕和愤慨，最后，忍无可忍，挺身抗辩，拒绝检查，并声言要向官府控告这帮害虫。结果，沙船被扣了下来，直到第二天，船主交了一大笔“罚款”才算了事。

父亲也告诉他，孙家数代前陆续变卖过一些田产，因未花重金向官府换红契，变卖时按一般习惯用白契转让，因此在官府的粮册上，孙家仍是这些已变卖田地的田主，因此每年还照样要交纳赋税，以及要向征税的官吏行贿才能减税，家里每年都要向官府缴交许多冤枉钱，眉公无奈中更感到气愤。

乡间治安不靖，常有盗贼光顾村子，村民生命财产得不到保障，也使眉公感到非常不满。当他知道弟弟在乡中改良乡政，如采取轮值方式由壮丁担任夜勤，防止盗贼；发动乡人修道路、设街灯、在本村办教育、在村人中公开谴责县衙税吏横征暴敛等等，不但赞成，还给予金钱支持。

不过，孙中山还告诉他大哥，当时他要在乡中改良乡政，遇到了很大困难，比如修路时涉及到乡村土地所有权而引起乡人纠纷，孙中山请求县令协调，县令同情愿出面调解，并让他待下个假期来帮忙，而当下个假期来到时该县令已更换。新县令是捐官，花了5万元买的官位，当然对此毫无兴趣，孙中山很失望。再到广州高一级官员处试问，结果比县中官员更腐败。

眉公当然希望中国可以改变这种社会状况，但对于清廷这样无能的政府，眉公是很失望的。但是，他的弟弟却努力地尝试着去改变，孙中山在1890年向病休返回故乡香山县城石岐居住的清朝官员郑藻如写信，信中主张效法西方国家进行改良，提出“兴农会，以倡革农桑业”，“立会设局以禁绝鸦片”和“兴学会设学校普及教育”三条具体意见，建议先在香山县倡行，然后逐渐推广到全国各地。

郑藻如是香山得都濠头乡人，1882年至1886年出使美国、西班牙、秘鲁三国。那时正是美国首开以国内立法破坏国际条约的恶例。

1882年初，在美国第47届国会上，加州参议员米勒（John F.Miller）提出20年内不准华人进入美国，已在美的华工必须登记并发身份证；华工如犯欺诈罪即遣送回中国等内容的排华议案。郑藻如照会美国国务院，提出抗议，使20年内不准华人进入美国缩短为10年。排华法案通过后，郑藻如又再三与美国政府交涉，终于使美国政府同意离美返华的华工所需证明可由中国领事馆签发，以便华工仍可回美；准许往还古巴的华工经由美国过境；中国在纽约设立领事馆以照料来往华工。

1884年8月，郑藻如派欧阳明（即欧阳辉庭，香山大岭村人）、赖鸿逵两委员到檀香山倡议创建中华会馆，联络侨情，排除纠纷。郑藻如特电李鸿章，阻止檀香山施行禁用华工等的政策，而后，郑藻如的种种维护华侨利益的事迹在檀香山、广州、香港、香山等地的中英文报纸常有刊载，证明他已闻名于檀香山了。

1892年，孙中山以优异成绩毕业于香港西医书院，并获得了由香港医学局签发的行医执照。执照附加“并由书院当局授予香港西医书院医学及外科等硕士(jicentiate)的学位称号”。康德黎老师推荐他和同学江英华到北洋大臣李鸿章

1881年在天津开办的西医学院任教。香港总督罗便臣写信给北京英公使，托英公使转给李鸿章。信中说，孙中山和江英华是绩优业良，能耐劳苦，请予任用。李鸿章复书罗便臣总督说，可以来京候缺，每人暂给月薪50元，并授孙中山和江英华“钦名五品军牌”。当时孙中山已立志革命，他希望借此机会秘密宣传革命，于是准备赴京。他们与老师康德黎前往广州找两广总督发出介绍信，怎奈总督衙门诸多为难，要他们填写家庭三代履历，方可领牌，这令孙中山十分不满，最后他拒绝了赴京任职。

孙中山后在澳门、广州行医，借此聚集同志，秘密筹建革命团体。他有着各种各样的计划：当他从一个英国人和一个华商口中得知“日本人就要打进来了”，他就想到津京一带看个究竟。1894年春，他从报上得知津山（天津至山海关，唐山处于中间段）铁路开通的消息，又想到唐山去找同乡和宗亲帮忙筹集革命款项。1894年6月，孙中山上书李鸿章，提出“人尽其才，地尽其利，物尽其用，货畅其流”的改革主张，但未得到李鸿章的重视，孙中山由此深感清朝的腐败已经到了不可救药的地步了。失望中，孙中山却由罗丰禄代领得农桑会发出的准许“游历泰西各国”的护照，这使孙中山到檀香山寻求革命道路的决心得以实现。原来孙中山的护照早已过期，重新申请，希望不大。因为就在这一年，美国又重新签订了中美条约，规定十年内中国人除学生、教员、官吏、商人及旅行家外，概不得入美国国境，这一规定也波及到了夏威夷。

从中国返回檀香山的华侨向眉公报告，说孙中山在家乡时作歌颂太平天国及反清复国言论，对此，眉公也并不以为耻。在孙氏亲戚中，也有怕担心抄家灭族的，要眉公劝阻弟弟的言行，但眉公对此也是一笑置之，因为在眉公心中，早已赞同了弟弟的言行。

夏威夷政治改革的影响

夏威夷本来是一个群雄角逐、酋长割据的群岛，各岛之间的战事断断续续，纷争持续两千多年。1810年，英勇贤明的檀香山国王卡美哈美哈一世统一了夏威夷诸侯割据的各岛，使夏威夷农业逐步振兴。1819年卡美哈美哈一世死后，王位传给了他的儿子卡美哈美哈二世，王太后卡胡玛努当了摄政王，她为了提高女人的地位而打压祭司的势力，打破了男女不能共同进餐的戒律，与卡美哈美哈共同进餐。当人们看到神的惩罚没有降临到这对母子身上时，夏威夷的宗教法律终于被打破了，卡美哈美哈二世为人们带来了平等的理念。1824年二世和王太后死于天花和麻疹。1825年，卡美哈美哈三世继承了王位。1839年10月，夏威夷宣布宪法，并建立了一个由王室组成的上议院和由平民组成的下议院的立法机构，给男性选举权。1843年，英、法、美国承认王国为独立国家，政府增设了外交部、司法部、教育部。卡美卡美霞五世去世之后，议会通过竞选，产生了大伟·卡拉卡瓦为国王。时茂宜岛上捕鲸业的大发展，引起了欧美各国的注意，美国想吞并夏威夷，但卡美哈美哈三世联合了其他各国制止了美国的做法。1848年，他颁布了《大玛赫利》法(*The Great Mahele*)，第一次拿出数百亩土地出售，他希望帮助平民百姓拥有自己的土地，但不幸的结果是，大部分土地落在以美国人为主的外国人手中。

因为时疫流行，死亡的人数急剧增加，夏威夷的人口大大地减少，夏威夷所以允许从中国移入华工。1852年，中国广东、福建两地的第一批契约华工抵达夏威夷，此后陆续来到夏威夷的还有葡萄牙、日本、菲律宾、韩国、萨摩亚及美国本土的移民。夏威夷的移民勤奋进取，一旦契约期满，他们就会离开凤梨园、甘蔗园，建立自己的小企业，购买土地，为子女提供良好教育。

1863年，仅29岁的卡美哈美哈四世去世，他的兄弟洛特(Lot)当了卡美哈美哈五世，在他的王朝里，聘请了许多外国人当他的顾问，他修改了宪法，扩充了自己的权力，使出口增加，外国人的权利也多了保障，实际上，此时夏威夷王朝的权力大多已操纵在白人的手里。1872年，眉公到达夏威夷的第二年，卡美哈美哈五世去世，在选举新国王时，声望较高的爱玛王太后(Queen Emma)却落选。他们选出了卡美哈美哈一世兄弟的后裔威廉·伦那李鲁(William Lunalilo)当皇帝，可是他在位只一年多又去世了，他们又选出了酋长大卫·卡拉卡瓦(David

Kalakaua)继任，这就是眉公因为孙中山获奖而认识的这位国王。国王上任不久，就去访问华盛顿与美国谈判并签订互惠互利贸易条约，使夏威夷的糖大量出口美国，美国人的资金大量投入夏威夷。但同时，这位国王喊出了“夏威夷是夏威夷人的夏威夷”的口号，希望增加王室的权力，这样又大大地威胁到外国生意人的利益。而且，他也大量浪费公帑，建造了欧洲风格的皇宫，办派对，花很多钱去环游世界，长时间由妹妹莉李奥卡兰妮(Liliuokalani)摄政。1887年，一群白人极端分子发动了一次武装暴动，强迫国王接受“刺刀宪法”(Bayonet Constitution)，使国王变成一个傀儡。而这个宪法规定，只有白种外国人才能参加选举，日本人、华人及其他亚洲裔的居民都不能参加选举。而要取得夏威夷选举权的基本条件是要有600美元的经济收入或者财产的总额达3000美元，这实际上是允许有钱的外国人参加选举，换句话说，就是把政权交给了少数的白人。1891年，卡拉卡瓦国王在访问三藩市时去世，他的妹妹莉李奥卡兰妮继承了王位，这位女王志向远大，登基伊始就迫不及待声称要推翻1887年通过的“刺刀宪法”，试图重振皇家威仪，她的舆论激发了人民对王室的效忠。白人农场主意识到他们即将在选举中陷于孤立地位，联合了早就主张夏威夷应和美国合并的颠覆分子，在1893年1月17日，乘美国一艘军舰在夏威夷靠岸之机，以要求保护美国公民免受“恶毒的女王进行人身和财产的迫害”为由，20名美国水兵持枪闯入了王宫。当时，宫里有许多土著民众正在举办派对，为了使自己的臣民不致流血牺牲，女王接受了夏威夷群岛由王权统治改为共和政体的条件。1894年1月，夏威夷临时政府成立。

临时政府延续美国的排华政策，禁止中国侨民参加政治活动，拒绝中国侨民参加选举。1894年7月26日，政府的一篇公告中说：因为中国侨民不是夏威夷人，不给他们选举权是正确的。政府还散布谣言说“只要给一角钱的茶叶，他们就会把选票卖掉”来污蔑中国人。夏威夷的司法部长史密斯还提交了一份有关营业许可证的法案，建议政府通过：“从事商业或工业的中国侨民必须每人交纳一元作为领取营业许可证的费用。而以前未参与商业或工业的中国侨民不得领取营业许可证。”

1894年2月14日晚，3000名中国侨民在檀香山中国大戏院举行抗议大会。这天，除了饭店，中国侨民的商店和工厂都提前下班，人们从四面八方来到会场，原来只坐2500人的戏院水泄不通，很多人站在街上。在大会上有50位社会知名人士，还有白人朋友和当地人坐在主席台上，带领着3000中国侨民抗议，中国侨民

指出：“中国人交纳给夏威夷政府的税金比任何外籍人交纳的都多，如果没有中国人的惨淡经营，檀香山的商业早就一蹶不振了”。“中国侨民一向在夏威夷奉公守法，以前和其他外籍人的待遇相同，但近十年来中国侨民的处境每况愈下，虽然中国人从未参与夏威夷的政治活动，但在不同的岗位上为夏威夷的繁荣富强而发挥力量。夏威夷政府在征收中国侨民的税收时是笑嘻嘻的，但当中国人受欺负时，不但不说公道话，反倒和对方一块打击中国人。夏威夷宪法明明规定对各民族各阶层人民一律平等，但如果通过了这项中国人必须有许可证才可以做生意的法案，这就说明临时政府是有意歧视中国人。”

眉公的好朋友郑金和张澄新，被指派为大会的秘书。郑金那时是斯·韦·厄示福德律师事务所的职员,郑金在大会上说：“夏威夷政府为了给葡萄牙人特权，而剥夺了中国人做生意的权利，中国人已忍耐得太久了，大概夏威夷政府以为无论对中国人多么不公平，中国侨民都会忍受下来，不会反抗的，但是，他们错了，连同条虫子被人踩了都会翻一下身，何况人呢？难道我们不是炎黄子孙？我们能任意让人践踏？白种人有什么权力统治我们？难道就因为我们的皮肤没有他们白吗？”他号召所有的中国人团结起来抵制白种人强加在中国人头上的不公平待遇。大会由黄华恢、斯永南、雍魁、赵锦、郑金、何堂、卓麟、张其、蒙瓦、陈恩、朱文、嘉伯、刘章等13人起草决议书递交调查委员会，向政府提出严正的抗议。

不久，传来了中日战争爆发的消息，夏威夷最大的西文报纸《太平洋商业广告者》（*The Pacific Commercial Advertiser*）（华侨译为《西字早报》），经常刊载有关中日战争的报道：中国海军被日军击溃，中国海军军舰被击沉，清政府所属的陆、海军落败于日本。夏威夷《太平洋商业广告者》在1894年10月6日的专论还分析中国之所以失败的原因，以及中国将于战后被瓜分的报道和评论，更大篇幅地刊登专文赞扬日本战胜中国的海军将领等人，当《马关条约》（*The Treaty of Shimonoseki*）签署后，欣喜若狂的日侨在檀香山市区内，举行胜利游行等盛大的庆祝活动。这极大地伤害了在夏威夷的中国人，更令华侨气愤的是，在中国战事吃紧的情况下，清政府还派驻夏威夷商董为慈禧太后的60岁生日举办庆贺活动，这招致华人的极大不满。

1898年，夏威夷归并美国，成为美国属地，但夏威夷人却不能享受美国宪法赋予的权利，如：无权选举总统和行政长官；驻国会代表只有发言权无否决权；缴纳中央政府税，却无权过问中央税务法则，美国从不支付属地经费；无权参议

制定法律；属地人民的自由，受地方政府的钳制等等。而当中，中国移民的利益受到的损害最大。

目睹夏威夷王朝消亡的过程，以及华人的遭遇，给眉公以极大的震撼，长期居住在夏威夷的眉公，加上他与王室有较多的交往，不仅对新生事物易于接受，而且对民主制度也有相当程度的认同，已是“茂宜王”的眉公，与中国封建达官贵人有着截然不同的观念，他对朝廷的封建统治早已没有留恋，他希望有一个强大的祖国，有一个良好的政府，一个能关心华侨在国外的疾苦，保护华侨在国外利益，一个能使华侨扬眉吐气的政府。但是，眉公已经失望了，他认定，他的这种愿望在腐朽的清政府的统治下，是不能实现的。联想到祖国日益被强权蚕食，国家几乎已近沦亡的边缘，眉公内心充满着焦虑。正在这个时候，孙中山喊出了“驱除鞑虏，恢复中华”的口号，喊出了眉公的心声，博得了他的认同，使他成为孙中山在檀香山创立革命团体的有力支持者。

名列兴中会五杰

1989年，为纪念华人赴檀200周年，夏威夷华人历史研究中心出版了由宋谭秀红和林为栋合编的《兴中会五杰》一书，书中孙眉名列五杰之首。

1894年的中国，康有为、梁启超等维新派的势力已经很强大，他们寄希望于清朝当权者推行维新变法，以和平方式解决中国面临的问题，因此逐渐得到国内广大知识分子和朝中大臣及光绪帝的赞同，响应的人如潮水般涌来，形成了强大的社会舆论。而以孙中山为首的革命派力量就显得十分薄弱，追随者只有陈少白、陆皓东、杨鹤龄等为数不多的几个密友。推翻清朝统治的言论被认为是大逆不道，会招致杀头之罪，他们只能秘密进行活动，力量发展受到掣肘，孙中山选择了避开朝廷去建立反清力量，实现推翻清廷的目的。

1894年，眉公接到了孙中山的来信，告知要来夏威夷发动革命。这些年来，孙中山没有间断过向眉公报告他的革命思想，兄弟间在推翻清廷的认识上，已基本上达成了一致的看法。眉公意识到，弟弟离开檀香山已有八年之久，要寻找拥护者也不是易事，所以从接到孙中山的来信开始，眉公就认定了自己的位置，选择了义无反顾地去帮助弟弟的道路。

那时的檀香山，众多来自广东的华侨，已不再是19世纪50年代每月只挣三美元的中国劳工了，许多人已在美国新兴资产阶级的影响和自己的勤奋努力下，变成了农场主、银行家和商人，在各行各界中都涌现了许多领袖人物。这些华侨很多是眉公所熟悉的亲朋好友，生意场上的伙伴，眉公决定把他们作为一股支持孙中山革命的重要力量。

夏威夷的华侨为求自保，联络乡情，早有多个社团成立。如成立于1880年的“中华总会馆”是全檀华侨最早成立的社团，也是全檀华人最高的权力组织。程利、古今辉等曾以商董衔代正副领事职。1887年组织的“保安局”，总局设在檀香山市，在华侨聚居的城市都设有分局。保安局是华侨的一个自卫组织，1894年，保安局又创设“联卫会”，以反驳不当的排华言论。1893年檀香山隆记报馆设立了一个“中西扩论会”，华侨们经常聚集在那里“高谈阔论”或“交换知识”，这些团体都成了眉公联络华侨、发动华侨的重要网络，后来加入兴中会的会员，大多是来自这些社团的主要成员。

眉公首先向自己亲朋好友传递孙中山来檀组织推翻清廷革命的信息，虽然那时华侨对于中国革命也知之不多，还担心破家灭族。但夏威夷华侨，尤其是年轻

一辈都在夏威夷接受过西方的教育，他们喜欢新的、自由的生活方式，他们都不喜欢旧的中国体制，而且十分热切地盼望着把夏威夷的这种变化带到中国去。眉公凭着在华侨社会的地位和影响力，他获得了支持。

在眉公的大力串连发动下，在孙中山抵达檀香山短短一个月后，兴中会就宣告成立了。1894年11月24日，孙中山召集了一批响应者在何宽家里举行了第一次会议。孙中山以“振兴中华，挽救危局”的号召，博得了与会者的支持。参加会议的人越来越多，最后他们转到李昌家里，在那里举行宣誓入会的仪式，通过章程，缴纳会费等。此时人数已达25人，香山籍人占了半数。计有何宽、李昌、宋居仁、郑照、刘寿、刘卓、邓荫南、林鉴泉、李多马、黄亮、钟工宇、钟木贤、程蔚南、许直辰、夏百子、黄华恢、郑金、李禄（六）、刘祥、卓海、曹彩、侯艾泉、李杞、陈南等。成员人数虽少，但都是檀香山华人中一群突出的人物。

邓荫南是眉公最要好的朋友，他是最坚决的支持者之一。人尊称“邓三伯”的邓荫南比眉公大八岁，有人说他“生平好猎，善枪法，能背后反射击鸟，百无一失，又能自制炸弹、炸药”。他原是广东开平白木迳上村人，青年时代，遇广东天地会首领李文茂在鹤山起义，鹤山与开平相邻，邓加入会党，得以训练此功夫。后因惧怕清廷捉捕，逃到香港，再充契约华工到古巴谋生，未得发展再偷渡美国转茂宜，在蔗园当工人。因略知英语，又知骑击，便获任为工头，月领工资七元，另代支工人交通、膳食等费，得酬劳两三元。有积蓄后便在卡胡卢的新广安杂



96. 邓上将荫南纪念碑：邓荫南于1923年逝世于澳门，1924年迁葬广州，1929年6月，夏威夷茂宜岛华人捐助，在邓荫南墓上竖立十米高纪念碑。
Deng Yinan Monument: Deng Yinnan passed away in Macau in 1923 and was burried in Guangzhou in 1924. In June 1929, With donation from Hawaiian Chinese living in Maui, a 10 meter high monument was erected at his grave.

货店投入股份，为股东之一。后又开有盐厂，雇有十余名工人。邓荫南为人爽快，因同在卡胡卢开设有杂货铺，眉公与邓荫南往来很多，是眉公的莫逆之交。当眉公告知，孙中山为“振兴中华，维持国体”要在檀香山创办兴中会，以“申民志而扶国宗”时，邓荫南不但首先响应，还串连发动了15位华侨加入。邓荫南担任了茂宜白衣分会会长。1895年，他卖掉了所有的家产，得款数万元，全部给了孙中山，跟随孙中山回国参加武装起义，再没有回到夏威夷。1907年，眉公破产后在香港致力革命时，邓荫南又与眉公并肩战斗，参加孙中山领导的革命，终生不改其志。

何宽，这位从香山县三乡黄竹朗乡来到檀香山的华侨青年，是卑涉（Bishop & Co.）银行的经理，眉公因为生意财务的关系成了银行的老主顾，多年的交往，彼此成为好友。故他是眉公发动的重要对象之一。

1881年，何宽和程蔚南合办《隆记报》，何宽后来还在檀香山三家革命报纸担任司理和记者。1889年，面对美国掀起的排华恶浪，企图制造苛刻条例，妄想以武力侵占华埠、迫使华侨离开檀香山的时候，就毅然决然地站在反排华斗争的前列，当时他被控参与韦尔郭氏反叛乱阴谋，被罚款250元。何宽曾担任保安局协理，组织侨胞成立保安局实行武装自卫。他是第一位华人陪审员。兴中会秘密成立，他开放家门，让兴中会在家中举行会议。会上被推举为副会长，刘祥退出后，他接任会长。他与李昌首先即席缴纳会费，表示坚决支持孙中山的革命行动。他保存 “兴中会宣言书、会规及会员人名与收入会银日与进支数薄”三十年，成为当年历史的有力见证。

程蔚南，我们孙家的一位亲戚，他创办的《隆记报》最初是以报道当地各行业行情为主，还刊登中国大陆尤其是侨乡的消息，同时刊登广告。兴中会成立时，程蔚南当选为正文案（书记）。

1903年，孙中山把《隆记报》改名《檀山新报》作为兴中会机关报，在该报上刊载文章，与保皇党的《新中国报》进行论战。曾刊有孙中山的《敬告同乡书》、《驳保皇报书》等文章，成为兴中会的喉舌，积极宣传孙中山的革命思想和主张。1907年，程因年老，无力经营，由曾长福主办，改名为《民生日报》，1908年又改名《自由新报》。1910年，科叔公曾在此报担任编辑。现在檀香山仍有一条街叫程蔚南大街，是纪念这位檀香山华人报创办者的。林鉴泉是程尉南《隆记报》的助手，也是首批兴中会会员，后来，他在改组后的《檀山新报》担任主编。

钟木贤是广东五华县西河王化村人，他17岁到夏威夷，最初在茂宜岛经商，与茂宜酋长的后代玛丽结婚，玛丽名下拥有大片土地，钟木贤从商业发展到地产业，成为华人社会最富有的领袖之一。

通过眉公的发动，亲朋好友、华侨领袖的串连，从兴中会第一次会议召开，到第一次广州起义之前，夏威夷参加兴中会的人数已达126人（第一次交纳会费为113人），其中，檀香山有95人、茂宜9人、希炉13人、奥鸦湖3人、位碌古5人。香山籍人约有70人，占了五成六（56%），眉公出任兴中会卡胡卢分会主席。

1895年10月，第一次广州起义失败，陆皓东、朱贵全、丘四等壮烈牺牲，广东当局悬赏1000元缉拿孙中山，悬赏100—200元缉拿杨衢云、陈少白、李杞、侯艾泉等人，并派人到香港要求英国官员引渡革命党人。消息传到茂宜，眉公心急如焚，十分担心弟弟和在家乡亲人的安危。孙中山托同乡好友陆灿把母亲和妻子儿女带到茂宜眉公那里去。陆灿是首批兴中会员，他的父亲陆兰谷在眉公农场的私塾里教习中文，1898年前后，陆兰谷因为涉嫌在翠亨参加反清起义被捕，无辜入狱六年。后来，孙中山为他题书“博爱”条幅相赠。

母亲对小儿子很失望，她也无法理解孙中山为何把好端端的医生工作放弃了，所做的事情却使一家人不得安宁，同时也十分担忧儿子的安全；太叔婆卢夫人常常听到丈夫遇到麻烦和危险，更是终日担心，她一听到“革命”两字就只会流泪。眉公告诉他的母亲，孙中山做的是为全中国人民谋幸福的事情。眉公给他的母亲和弟妇一家以最安定的生活，以解除她们的抱怨和顾虑。从此，眉公义无反顾，担负了赡养母亲和弟妇一家的责任。

1895年11月，孙中山逃出中国，来到茂宜见到了家人，他向眉公解释这次起义失败的原因，希望得到兄长的理解，眉公反倒劝勉弟弟不要气馁，切莫改变志向。当孙中山继续在茂宜和各岛活动，发展组织的时候，眉公仍继续为孙中山联络各岛华侨，他找来了一帮活跃在中华总会馆的侨领与孙中山认识。时任檀香山中华会馆副总理的王贵（别号王香谷、殿璋），是南朗王屋村人，1838年出生。1855年17岁时随亲友从加州来到檀香山，初时在依哗种稻米，后在亲友的帮助下，在檀香山华埠（摩诺奇亚街）开铺经营米业，还在两三间铺头经营干货，是富有的商人。眉公初到檀香山时亦在依哗种稻米，后把稻米园卖去，在檀香山华埠开设“德隆商店”，与王贵的商店邻近不远，因为是乡里，又是同行，王贵几乎天天都会到眉公的店铺找眉公谈天，相交甚笃。当年眉公回乡娶妻回檀后，宴

请亲友，甚至杨太夫人大寿，我祖父弥月摆酒等喜庆，王贵都是眉公的席上贵宾。王贵的妻子，是夏威夷王后卡玛玛鲁的亲戚。1882年，郑藻如倡议创办中华会馆，王贵与一帮志同道合的华侨积极响应，从1894年起王贵连任中华会馆副总理。眉公搬到茂宜后，王贵每年都到茂宜探望眉公，而眉公因为有生意在檀香山，经常返檀香山，必定去看望王贵。当王贵知道孙中山回到檀香山，便联合了郑金、郑照兄弟、简永照等几位曾鼎力支持孙中山、与眉公至交的好友，一起在家中宴请孙中山。席中，眉公起立答谢各位支持孙中山革命的功劳，谈及起义失败之事，各人皆鼓励孙中山不要气馁，要坚持下去，为鼓士气，王贵还即时倡议效法古人桃园结义的做法，结果，王贵、眉公、简永照、郑金、孙中山、郑照六人结拜为兄弟，王贵为长，称为大哥，郑照年最幼，大家称之为六弟。

简永照，又名简崇光，字世普。1875年出生，南朗南塘村人，少年时来檀香山。1895年4月20日交纳会费，加入兴中会。后来，他一直负责筹款工作，走遍南北美洲，为孙中山筹得巨款。1917年孙中山在广州成立中华民国海陆军政府大元帅府时，任命他为海陆军政府委员。1921年，孙中山在广州任非常大总统时，电召他回国担任会计，后又任总统府参议。简永照于1945年去世。

郑金、郑照两兄弟与眉公交往最深，兄弟两人在眉公经济不景时，曾多次帮助眉公偿还债务。1907年，眉公破产后回香港，郑照在数月之后亦紧随眉公回港，并应孙中山召唤，齐赴越南河内，筹备起义各事，多月后才返回檀香山。民国成立后，郑照多次回国与眉公相聚。1920年，孙中山任大总统，郑照回国任总统府顾问。总统府设在广州观音山，今越秀山。1922年陈炯明叛变，攻打总统府，郑照幸脱险返檀，以后郑照曾多次回国服务。1944年，国民政府为纪念兴中会成立50周年，特颁中山大勋章给郑照，在檀香山，能获得这种勋章的华侨只有郑照和钟工宇两人。

误信保皇党

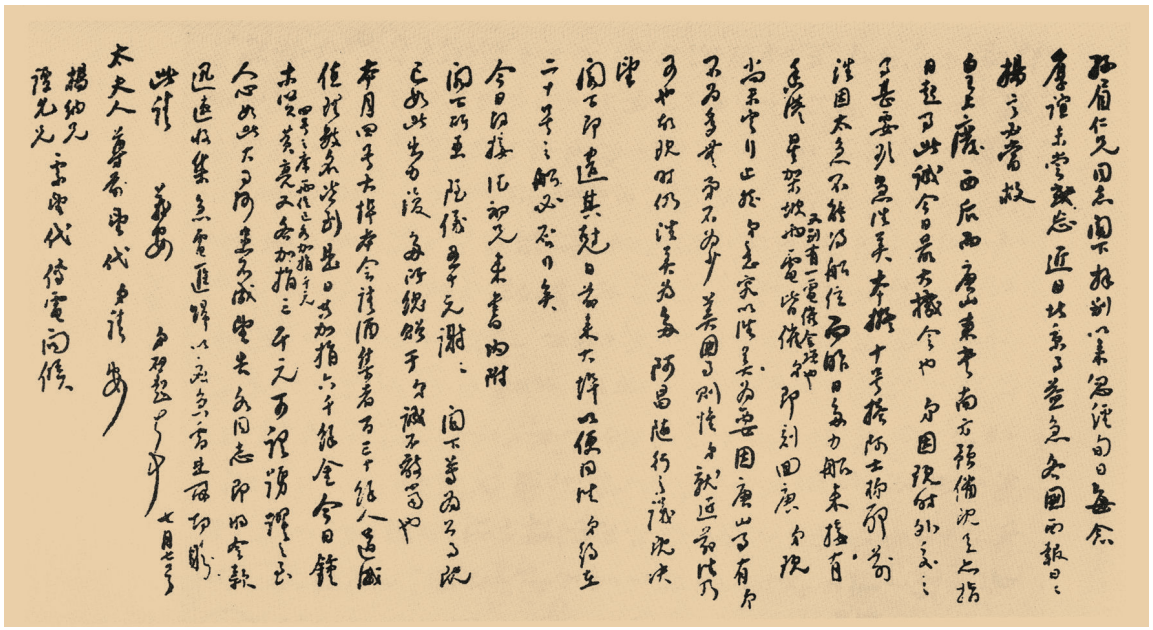
1899年夏秋，经过多次协商，以孙中山和梁启超为代表的两派在日本横滨形成一个初步合并的方案，由孙中山任会长，梁启超任副会长。然而，康有为获悉学生梁启超与孙中山合作之事，怒不可遏，立即派叶觉迈携款赴日本，勒令梁启超立即赴檀香山，开办保皇会。梁启超深感师命不可违。临行前，他特约孙中山密谈，一再表示“合作到底，至死不渝”，可惜，孙中山没有看清其用心，他还向眉公及其他朋友写介绍信，予以引荐。

1899年12月31日，梁启超抵达檀香山，但此时茂宜岛正发生瘟疫，并未即时拜访眉公，只有通信问候而已。十天后，梁启超给孙中山信说，“此间同志皆已会见”。梁启超在檀香山积极活动，他创办《新中国报》，亲自主笔，宣扬保皇。兴中会会员以及广大华侨信以为真，纷纷加入保皇会。梁写信报告康有为说，“此间保皇会得力之人，大半皆中山旧党”，钟工宇是可参与保皇会机密的十人之一。梁启超拿着孙中山的信，找到了我的太舅公杨文纳和孙家的亲属谭允，到茂宜访问眉公，得眉公热情接待，还骑马导游，令梁启超遍游库拉牧场。当梁启超看到孙眉经营的牧场竟需一日才游毕，大惊牧场规模宏大，他大为感慨地对眉公说：“人称君为茂宜王，今乃知为名不虚传。”眉公为人正直憨厚，听了梁启超的话十分高兴。梁启超乘机向眉公游说组织保皇会的宗旨，说保皇会“名为保皇，实则革命”，与孙中山的宗旨是殊途同归的。孙眉听了，以为梁启超成立的保皇会已经得到孙中山同意，于是便应允加入，且被推为茂宜分会总理。

1900年的8月1日（农历七月初七）梁启超写信给眉公；

孙眉仁兄同志阁下：

拜别以来，忽经旬日，每念厚谊，未尝或忘。近日北京事益急，各国西报日日扬言必当救皇上废西后，而唐山来书，南方预备既足，亦指日起事，此诚今日最大机会也。弟因现时外交之事甚要，欲急往美，本拟十号搭阿士梯耶前往，因太急不能得船位，而昨日多力船来，接有香港星加坡两电，皆催弟即刻回唐，又别有一电催会项也。弟尚未定行止，然弟意究以往美为要，因唐山事有弟不为多，无弟不为少，美国事则淮弟就近前往乃可也。故现时仍往美为多。阿昌随行之议既决，望阁下即遣其克日前来大埠，以便同往，弟约在二十号之船必启行矣。今日



97.梁启超于7月7日致孙眉信
Letter from Liang Qi Chao to Sun Mei July 7.

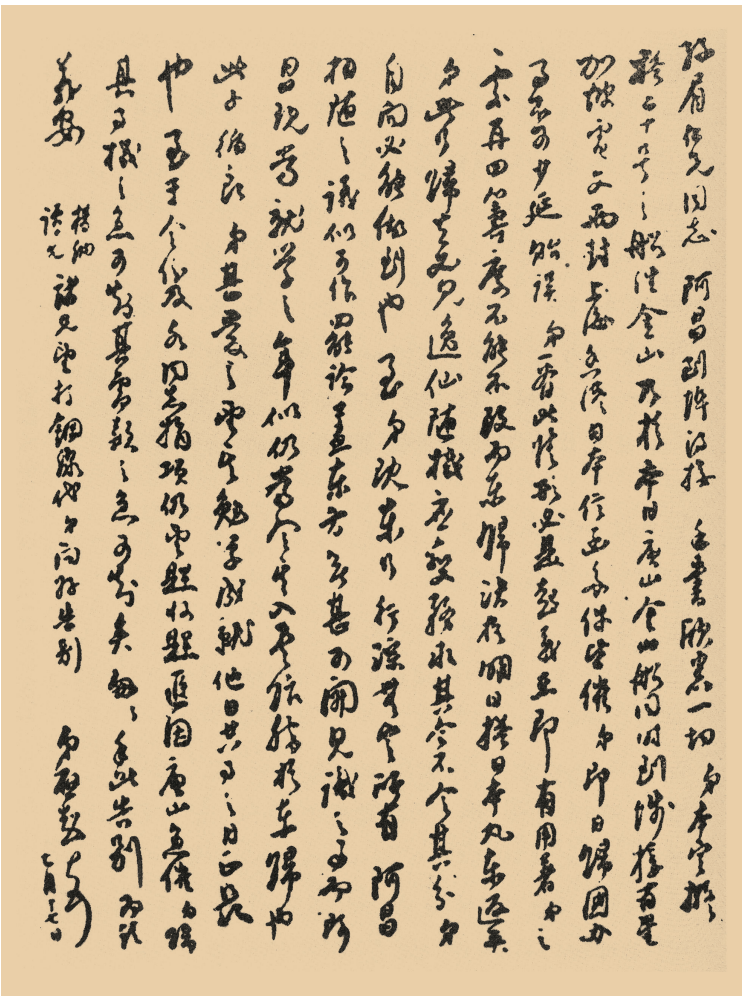
得接德初兄来书，内附阁下所惠隆仪五十元，谢谢！阁下前为公事？既已如此出力，复多所馈赠，于弟诚不敢当也。本月四号大埠本会请酒，集者百三十余人，道威值理数名皆到，是日共加捐六千余金，今日锺木贤、黄亮又各加捐三千元（四号之会两位已各加捐千元）。可谓踊跃之至。人心如此，大事何患不成？望告各同志即将会款迅速收集，急需汇归，以应急需，是所切盼。此请义安！太夫人尊刚望代弟请安！杨文纳兄、谭允兄处望代传电问候。

弟启超顿首。七月七号。

事隔不几日，梁启超又来一信，催促眉公筹款。

孙眉仁兄同志：

阿昌到埠得接手书，欣悉一切。弟本拟搭二十号之船往金山，乃于本日唐山金山船同时到埠，接有星加坡电文两封，上海香港日本信函多件，皆催弟即日归国办事，不可少延贻误。弟看此情形，必是起义在即，有用着弟之处，再四筹度，不能不改而东归，决于明日搭日本丸东



98. 梁启超于7月17日致孙眉信
Letter from Liang Qi Chao July 17

返矣。弟此行归去，必见逸仙，随机应变，务求其合，不令其分，弟自问必能做到也。至弟既东行，行踪无定，所有阿昌相随之议，似可作罢论。盖东方无甚可开见识之事，而阿昌现当就学之年，似仍当令其入书馆，胜于东归也。此子循良，弟甚爱之，望其勉学成就，他日共事之日正长也。至于令侄及各同志捐项，仍望赶收赶汇，因唐山急催弟归，其事机之急可知，其需款之急更可知矣。匆匆手此告别，即颂义安！杨纳谭允诸兄望打纲线代弟问好告别。

弟启超顿首。七月十七日。

眉公仍相信梁启超，让儿子跟随梁启超到日本入读于康有为门徒开办的大同

学校。连华侨罗登桂之子罗昌、何蕙珍的弟弟何望、梁荫南的弟弟梁文贤等都一起到了大同学校读书。连我八岁的科叔公，眉公也让他拜梁启超为师，不过，科叔公最终未得到梁启超的授业。

当时，祖父在日本的学费是由孙中山代管的，孙中山渐渐发现眉公已经上当，遂写信给眉公，指出这是一个骗局，但可惜眉公等受毒已深，不能自拔。孙中山想阻止我祖父到日本读书，但我祖父说，这是父亲的命令，孙中山也没有办法。

梁启超为了推行保皇党，怕孙中山反对，竟叫叶觉迈、麦孟华监视孙中山的行动。梁启超竟然还说，孙中山还没有真的肯投诚过来，他的哥哥却反而真的服从了我们，真是怪事。见眉公等已上当，梁启超竟多次写信，要眉公等筹款保皇。

眉公及檀香山的同志抱着对革命的一股热情，前后为汉口起事捐助军饷超过十万元（中国银）。但按钟工宇估计，并无十万元之多，最多四五万也已是夸大了。但在梁启超的年谱里却是这样写道：“他在檀香山半年，统计所得，当不过八万元，除了掷孤注二万外，实余六七万耳。”此时檀香山的华侨确实是竭尽了全力。其中钟工宇、黄亮、钟木贤等最为踊跃，眉公曾向保皇会捐过1000元，也曾给过50元与梁启超，这在梁启超的信中有说。梁启超原打算赴美国继续扩大他的保皇党活动计划，还准备接受眉公所托带我的祖父去美国深造。后梁启超改道日本，孙中山在日本听到眉公等檀香山的兴中会会员受迷惑，加入了保皇会，十分气愤，他写信给梁启超，责问梁启超背信弃义，也写信给眉公，责备眉公为什么要加入保皇会。

1901年4月9日，孙中山由日本横滨抵达檀香山，发现檀香山兴中会的阵地渐已被保皇党骗夺，“华侨误入保皇党者颇众，故保皇势力盛极一时”，尤其是大哥也误信加入，心情十分焦急。康有为曾将从美国华人中募得的80万元捐款，以其女儿名义投资墨西哥电车公司，加上光绪皇和慈禧相继去世，康有为的作用降低，兴中会会员大多数都深悔受梁启超的欺骗，有的甚至对孙中山介绍梁启超来檀颇有微词，眉公对此也十分懊悔。认清保皇党的面目后，眉公把我的祖父从日本召回檀香山，此时，祖父已在日本留学一年。

出谋策划

1895年第一次广州起义失败后，檀香山的许多兴中会员，对于刚刚失败的起义，抱着悲观的态度，很多会员有退却之意，200多位兴中会员，仅有郑金、郑照、何宽、李昌、程蔚南、陆灿、刘登、谢万宽、黄亮、许直臣等20余人继续支持孙中山。孙中山希望在檀香山重新组合力量，扩大兴中会，但孙中山留岛数月，遍游各岛，宣传革命，虽多方活动，仍不见成效。

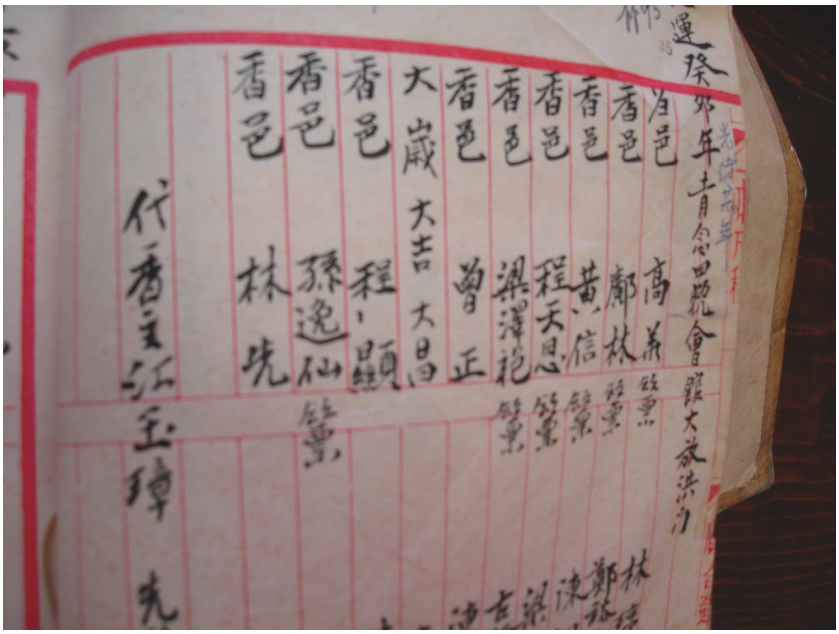
或许是站在一个企业家的角度，眉公认为，不如到一个新的地方，用新的方法去宣传，发动，或许会打开新局面。孙中山接受了眉公的献议。兄弟两人又从长计议了一番，眉公因早在旧金山有生意上的投资（他投资在康仁堂股份后于1903年出让给杨然），也深知在旧金山的广东四邑华侨很多，香山华侨为数也不少，可以联络，便建议孙中山到美国本土去。1896年6月18日，孙中山首次抵达旧金山，以后再到了英国。

1896年10月，孙中山在伦敦蒙难，被诱入清朝驻英公使馆囚禁，后得康德黎老师和孟生营救获释，孙中山也因此名声大震，檀香山的中英文报纸都报道了这件事情，眉公更由此深知革命之艰难，则更加着力去发展自己的事业，因为他知道，弟弟革命需要的许多金钱，必须由自己去承担。眉婆后来常对我的父亲和伯父说，你们的祖父和叔祖父是世间少有的好兄弟，他的钱财不但任由弟弟用于革命，而且倾尽全力去赚取，为的是尽力供给弟弟，实则是为了一个国家而已。父亲和伯父谨记祖母的话，相依为命90多年，不管生活遇到如何困难，他们总是相互扶持，这种和睦的家风一直延续至现在我们这一辈。

因为保皇党的破坏，檀香山兴中会的阵地几乎被保皇党占领，没有参加保皇党的郑金、郑照、李昌、程蔚南、许直臣、何宽、李安邦等，也慑于保皇党的声势，未敢反对，他们都在等待孙中山重来檀香山再次发动革命。1903年10月5日，孙中山抵达檀香山，10月7日，檀香山的《西字早报》即报道孙中山来檀的消息。孙中山把兴中会会员程蔚南主办的《檀山新报》改组为党报，亲自撰写论文，揭露梁启超所鼓吹的“名为保皇，实则革命”的谬论，号召侨胞“毋惑保皇，奋起革命”。通过一番激烈的较量，革命党的力量重新在檀香山确立，广大华侨终于明白保皇与革命是两回事，误入保皇党者纷纷退出。



99. 在檀香山国安会馆看到了孙中山加入洪门的名册。
The Hong Men registration book where Sun Yat Sen's name was recorded.



100. 檀香山国安会馆入会名册上有孙逸仙的名字。
Sun Yat Sen's name was recorded in the registration book of new members registration at the Honoluou Guonan Society.

同样，保皇党的势力在旧金山仍十分强大，孙中山继续与保皇势力作斗争，眉公也认为对付保皇党，必须要有庞大的组织和力量，而美国大陆华侨历史的悠久和力量是不容忽视的。他向孙中山建议两件事：

第一件事是建议孙中山加入洪门。洪门在中国是一个秘密的组织，由三合会演变而成，它的宗旨是 “反清复明”，它在美洲及南洋一带的华人社区都有组织，华侨为了保护自己的生存与权益，都纷纷加入。在眉公抵达夏威夷前两年，夏威夷的洪门组织已建立，眉公对洪门在夏威夷的发展是很熟悉的。夏威夷的洪门在1899年定名为“国安会馆”，在檀香山正式登记入册。眉公认为孙中山反清革命收效甚微的关键在于他没有参加洪门。他认为洪门组织不但能帮助孙中山发动现有的海外力量，而且更能保护自己的生命安全。母舅杨文纳在檀香山经商多年，对洪门也很熟悉。他也力劝孙中山加入洪门组织，以壮大革命力量。时任洪门主席的钟木贤，是眉公多年好友，也是兴中会骨干成员。钟木贤对会友说，孙中山革命的目标中的“反清复明”，与洪门宗旨一致。钟木贤还强调，中国仍在清朝宰割之下，孙中山是汉人，于是获得了会众的赞成。1904年1月11日晚，孙中山在檀香山国安会馆加入洪门，这天同时拜盟的有60多位华侨。孙中山被封为“洪棍”（图100）。

第二件事就是，建议孙中山加入美国国籍。当时美国正加紧排华，眉公便建议弟弟领取檀香山的出生证，一是方便入境，二是为防止保皇党从中作梗。1904年3月9日，在眉公和舅父杨文纳的帮助下，孙中山办理了檀香山的出生证。（图101）孙中山到法院宣誓领到了美国岛居人民所持的护照。3月31日，孙中山乘“高丽号”邮船赴旧金山。孙中山此行的旅费由李安邦出资。李安邦原是香山县大涌岚田村人，早年出洋谋生，后在檀香山警察厅当侦探。1894年经何宽、李昌介绍加入兴中会。1895年筹款支持广州起义。1901年因反对保皇党，险遭暗杀。1911年，他回到家乡，组织香山民军起义。

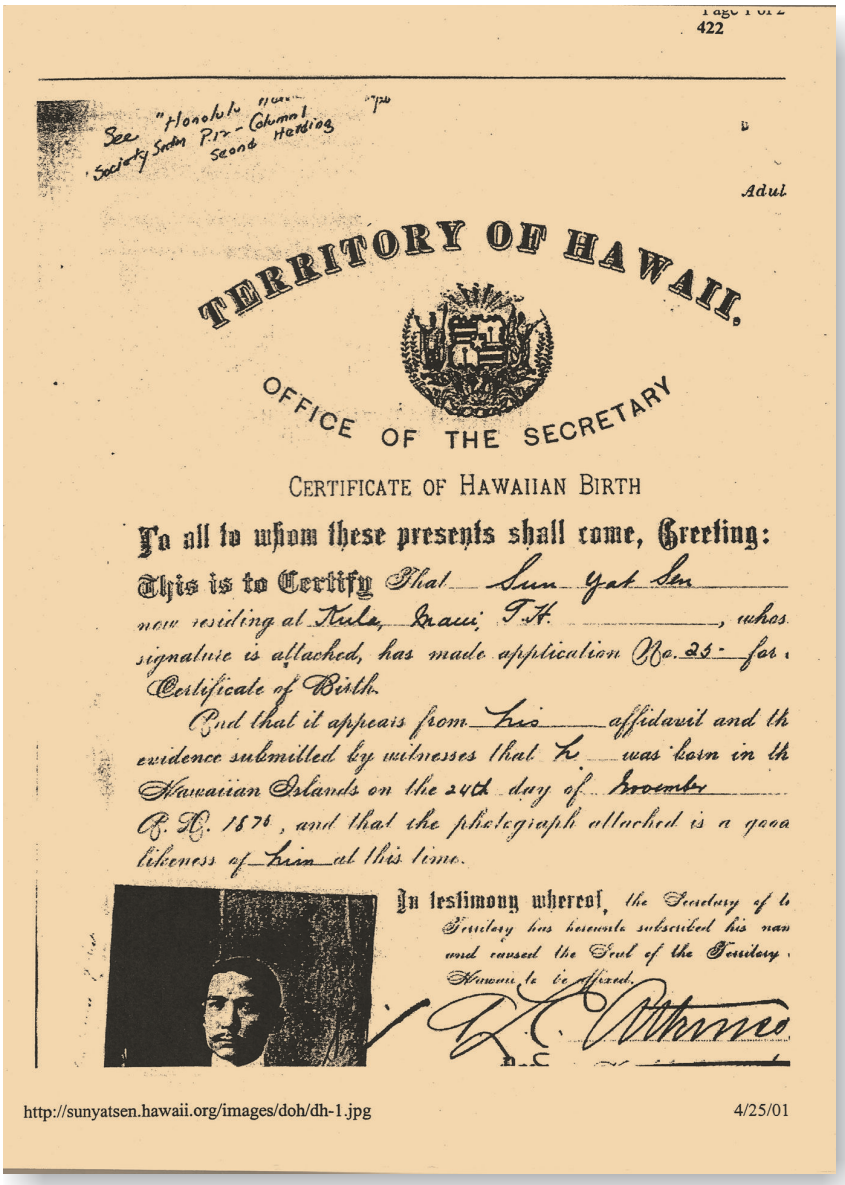
不出眉公所料，在孙中山入境时，檀香山保皇党已预先通知旧金山同党设法阻止孙中山入境，乘机报复。那时美国正在举办博览会，清廷派溥伦参加博览会，预定4月20日抵达美国。美国政府为避免届时发生暗杀溥伦事件，便下令官员以孙中山持用错误文件为借口，将孙中山扣留三周。孙中山抵旧金山，移民官先以孙中山为中国乱党，后又以孙中山所持护照为伪造，扣留孙中山不准登岸。后孙中山急求旧金山的伍盘照，伍盘照当时是领事馆顾问，他通知旧金山的致公总堂龙头老大黄三德及干事唐琼昌等，仗义代请律师向美国政府抗争，多方营救

才获释。

孙中山在1904年4月21日扣留中心写的申诉书内容大意如下：

为提供本人因生在夏威夷而有权进入美国国境以及本人从没有宣布对美国不效忠之证明，下面的补充说明与其他文件一并呈华盛顿的部门：

夏威夷成为美国属土后，所有夏威夷居民必须登记确认国籍。本人曾于 1901年三四月间在茂宜岛库拉区登记为夏威夷出生华人。那是本人于夏威夷归属美国后为证明本人国籍所做的第一件事。其次就是于今年3月取得护照再次证明本人国籍。虽然本人是中国血脉，但从没有入中国籍或受过中国政府的保护。反之，本人的政治观点与中国政府大有分别，而且，被中国政府视为敌人。1896年上海政府发给本人的学生纸让本人入境美国，完全是因为友谊而并非因与效忠中国政府有关。发该学生纸的官员与本人有私交，该文件只适用于入境美国用。 (图102)



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See "Honolulu ..." Society Section P.12 - Column 1 Second Heading

Adul

TERRITORY OF HAWAII.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

CERTIFICATE OF HAWAIIAN BIRTH

To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting:

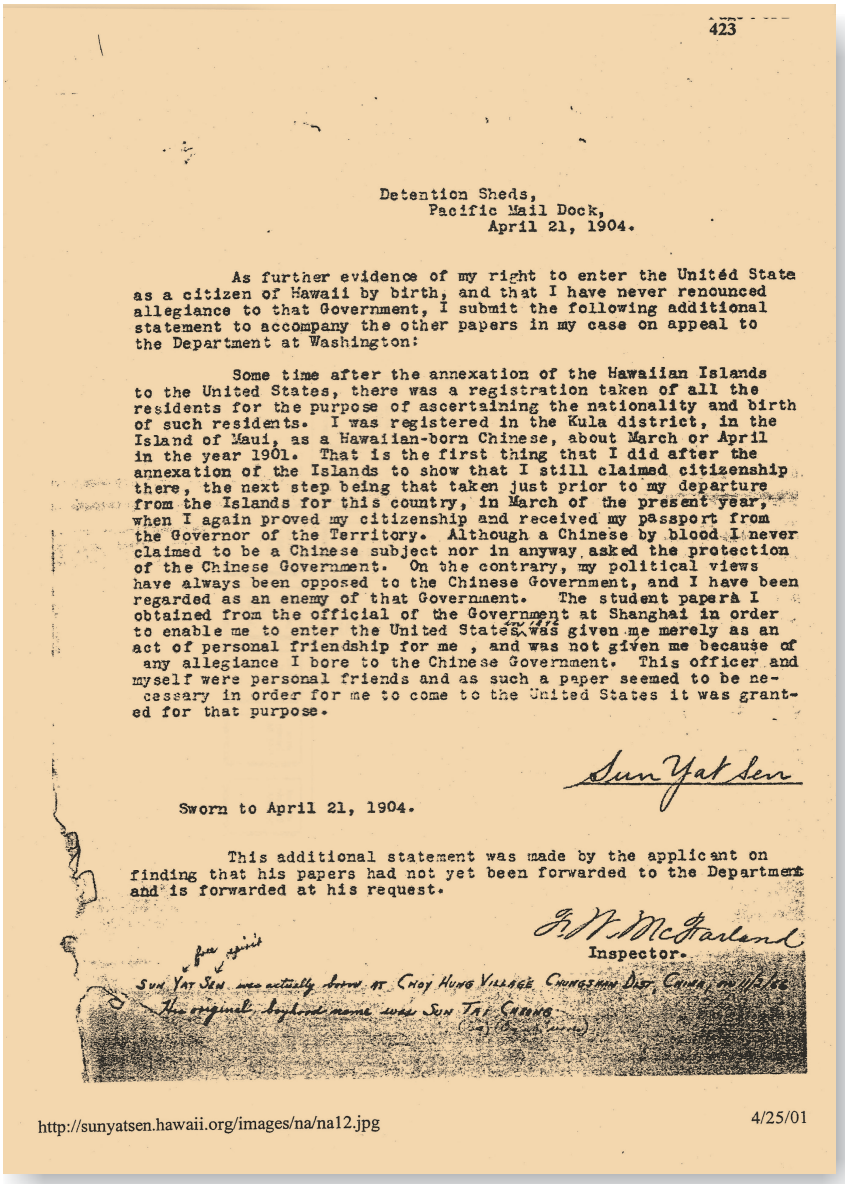
This is to Certify That Sun Yat Sen now residing at Kula, Maui, T.H., whose signature is attached, has made application No. 25 for a Certificate of Birth.

And that it appears from his affidavit and the evidence submitted by witnesses that he was born in the Hawaiian Islands on the 24th day of November A.D. 1876, and that the photograph attached is a good likeness of him at this time.

In testimony whereof, the Secretary of the Territory has hereunto subscribed his name and caused the Seal of the Territory of Hawaii to be affixed.

http://sunyatsen.hawaii.org/images/doh/dh-1.jpg 4/25/01

101. 孙中山的出生证明书
Sun Yat-Sen's certificate of Hawaiian Birth



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Detention Sheds,
Pacific Mail Dock,
April 21, 1904.

As further evidence of my right to enter the United State as a citizen of Hawaii by birth, and that I have never renounced allegiance to that Government, I submit the following additional statement to accompany the other papers in my case on appeal to the Department at Washington:

Some time after the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States, there was a registration taken of all the residents for the purpose of ascertaining the nationality and birth of such residents. I was registered in the Kula district, in the Island of Maui, as a Hawaiian-born Chinese, about March or April in the year 1901. That is the first thing that I did after the annexation of the Islands to show that I still claimed citizenship there, the next step being that taken just prior to my departure from the Islands for this country, in March of the present year, when I again proved my citizenship and received my passport from the Governor of the Territory. Although a Chinese by blood I never claimed to be a Chinese subject nor in anyway asked the protection of the Chinese Government. On the contrary, my political views have always been opposed to the Chinese Government, and I have been regarded as an enemy of that Government. The student papers I obtained from the official of the Government at Shanghai in order to enable me to enter the United States, was given me merely as an act of personal friendship for me , and was not given me because of any allegiance I bore to the Chinese Government. This officer and myself were personal friends and as such a paper seemed to be necessary in order for me to come to the United States it was granted for that purpose.

Sun Yat Sen

Sworn to April 21, 1904.

This additional statement was made by the applicant on finding that his papers had not yet been forwarded to the Department and is forwarded at his request.

F. W. McFarland
Inspector.

for spirit
Sun Yat Sen was actually born at Choy Hung Village Chungshan Dist. China, on 11/2/66
The original boyhood name was Sun Tai Chong

http://sunyatsen.hawaii.org/images/na/na12.jpg 4/25/01

102. 1904年4月21日，孙中山在三藩市被扣时上诉书说明有权入境理由。
Affidavit made by Sun Yat-Sen during his detention in San Francisco dated April 21, 1904.

眉公的捐献

从兴中会成立时起，眉公就已确立在金钱上全力支持孙中山的思想。1894年10月孙中山来茂宜告诉眉公，此行最重要的是筹集革命经费，回国举行武装起义，眉公大赞孙中山“言大志大”，并即划拨了自己一部分财产作为孙中山革命活动的费用。在筹集起义经费时，眉公又毅然以贱价六七元一头，售出他牧场里的一部分牛，这部分牛的价值是多少？我在夏威夷交易局档案里，查到了1895年11月2日，眉公把牧场里912头牛卖给威廉姆·库安瓦(William H. Cornwall)的档案记录，原本这些牛可以十六七元一头出售的。

在眉公的带动下，邓荫南把他的商店及农场全部变卖捐出，表示一去不返之决心。兴中会成立之初，收得经费甚少。从1894年11月24日开始收取126位会员的“会底银”、“股份银”共得美金1388元。加上眉公和邓荫南的捐出，合共6000美元，折合1.3万港元。加上孙中山在香港筹划到的经费，总共3.1万港元，这是发动这一次广州起义的基本经费，夏威夷华侨的捐献占四成多。邓荫南、宋居仁、李杞、侯艾泉、陈南等一批兴中会会员陆续回国，追随孙中山举行第一次广州起义。

1909年10月下旬，孙中山在给吴稚晖的信里回忆说：

> 当日图广州之革命以资助者，固无几人也。所捐助者，香港一二人出资数千，檀香山人出资数千，合共不过万余耳。及于羊城失事时所发现之实迹，已非万余金所能办者，则人人皆知也。其余之财何自来乎？皆我兄及我所出也。

眉公全力支持弟弟的革命事业已由此得到证明。

先辈们告诉我，孙眉资助革命的总额可能达70万美元。这在当年，是一个惊人的数目。从1894年起，眉公在经营他的事业的时候，就处处以革命的需要为盈利目的。夏威夷档案馆保存着眉公历年在夏威夷两岛奥鸦湖和茂宜的各种交易档案超过100多宗的买卖记录，包括财产所有权或股份，也包括地权、租约、特许营业证等。但在眉公的财产登记里，我找不到有一宗是眉公用来自己享受或挥霍的。即使1892年在故乡建的房子，比起村里许多华侨的房子也不算最好的，那房子的厨房还是在1912年孙中山辞去大总统职务回乡前，由眉公着手建的。

眉公当年的财富有多少？我们没法统计，仅从交易局的一些记录看到一些价值可观的数目如：1895年9月16日刘寿(Lou Shou)让给眉公3～160亩连畜生，价

值1500元。1895年9月28日阿祥(Ah Cheong)让给眉公在卡胡卢6段地连同吉字标帜共1500元。1896年7月3日，阿朱(Ah Chew)让给眉公6段土地共3000元。还有许多投资生财的企业未计算在内。此时，茂宜王眉公的生意正值红火，财源滚滚，但全都流入到革命的洪流中去了。

从1895年到1907年，孙中山陆续在国内举行了多次起义，还不停地到各国去宣传革命，每当孙中山要成立组织，发动起义，或发起与革命有关的行动，当中所需的费用，多由眉公给予。据夏威夷公证登记局的记载，1895年至1899年期间，眉公在奥鸦湖曾10次出售自己名下的地产。在茂宜，1890年至1894年共卖出12次；1895年卖出7次；1896年卖出5次；1897年卖出12次；1898年卖出3次。

1899年7月，库拉牧场十年的租约合同期满，眉公无法获得续约，牧场已无收成，仅靠眉公原先在周边买下的土地耕作，收成当然减去大半。原来在檀香山代理茂宜牧场经售牲畜菜蔬的永源商号，亦以来货不继而不再与眉公交易，使眉公的生意更是困难重重，债务越欠越多，有时也不得不用拆东墙补西墙的办法去解决，有时还得靠郑照等老友去救急，我的祖父当时就住在郑照家中，由郑照负责我祖父的生活及读书费用。即使境遇不济，但眉公仍不缺对孙中山革命经费的支援，他再度卖出土地，以解决孙中山的用钱困境。1900年到1902年眉公卖出地产达26次之多。同时，眉公还不惜变卖一些在当时还很赚钱的企业。如1899年出售库拉猪肉包装公司(Kula Pork packing Co.)，1903年把大洋煤炭和电力公司的股份以及一家名叫红仁堂的公司转让给杨然等。

1903年，孙中山准备赴美洲发动华侨与保皇党作斗争，眉公慷慨资助胞弟旅费，还赠送家中珍藏的、十分珍贵的龙涎香一支，以备日后必要时变卖。

转战香港

眉公破产后，并没有气馁，十多年来因为支持革命而致破产，他也没有半句怨言，当他看到越来越多的中国都在支持这场推翻封建王朝的斗争时，他相信革命一定会成功。他对家人说，有钱出钱，没有钱也可以出力，他重新选择了人生的另一条道路，那就是全力投身到革命斗争中去。

其时，眉公已经知道，清廷因为孙中山是革命的主谋，已要求日本驱逐孙中山出境，而孙中山也已在3月离开日本，辗转新加坡到了越南，在河内设立机关指挥粤桂滇三省起义。对于孙中山的处境，眉公十分担忧，决定立即回国助弟弟一臂之力。1907年7月，眉公和老友杨德初、郑仲等从檀香山回香港，留下了妻子谭氏、母亲杨太夫人、弟妇卢夫人以及三个侄儿女。此时，老友郑强已去世，他的妻女搬到了眉公牧场附近，和杨太夫人她们作伴。

杨德初，翠亨村人。早年来到檀香山，一向跟随眉公，是眉公的得力助手，杨德初、培初、锡初兄弟三人都在眉公处工作，与眉公结下了数十年的生死至交。

郑仲是香山南屏乡（今属珠海市）人，曾与眉公在檀香山合办过一个畜牧场，规模颇大，有牛羊过万头，收入不菲，在檀香山也很有名望。郑仲敬重眉公对革命的一片热忱，首批加入兴中会以响应，并时时以财力支持孙中山。由于对革命事业志趣相投，他和眉公、孙中山三人结义金兰，郑仲年长眉公4岁，为大哥。他们三人签字的金兰谱，以及郑仲的兴中会员证、缴纳兴中会的现金收据等等珍贵文物，均由他的后代悉心保存，可惜，当日寇侵入南屏时，他的儿子恐怕日军搜出而受迫害，尽为烧毁，甚是可惜。

郑仲于1895年回乡娶妻及照料在澳门的物业。这年秋天，广州起义失败，孙中山逃到澳门，郑仲安排孙中山住到婢女顺霞在澳门石墙街“翁均利”铺号的家里。郑仲年轻时便是个侠义之士，据说他曾与南屏各界上书皇帝，要求清政府收回澳门。1907年，眉公返港时，郑仲亦有年老落叶归根的念头，故将物业变卖，与眉公一同回国，到香港后，郑仲回家乡南屏去了。郑仲在乡仍关心国事，对乡中各事甚为关心，很得乡人拥护爱戴。

眉公在澳门的时候，郑仲经常去探望眉公。1912年，孙中山到前山，郑仲发动南屏乡民前往欢迎。后来，孙中山曾为勘探矿务事到过南屏，郑仲做向导，率中外矿业专家多人，到将军山探测矿务，后因此矿尚未成熟，不能开采作罢。郑

仲子金祚结婚，孙中山还派人送来喜幛等礼物，卢夫人与郑仲交往也很深。1922年1月，郑仲在家乡去世，学校停课，全乡村民和师生主动送殡。孙科叔公也率领多人前来吊唁。

眉公和杨德初甫抵香港，得同盟会员冯自由接待，寄寓在中国日报社内，两人随即投身革命活动。那时，革命党人发动的广东潮州黄冈、惠州七女湖、云南河口起义相继失败，起义人员撤来香港，再转南洋等地，眉公肩负着在中途的接济工作。同盟会员居正因河口起义失败，逃到香港，得眉公帮助，找到了革命党人何畏，又得何畏资助舟资，逃亡新加坡。居正在他后来的回忆录里说，1908年，他“由香港走新加坡，与眉公同船，见其魁伟豪爽，肃然起敬。公同行梁某能普通话，因此通问。公谓在檀香山茂宜岛，如何开垦如何成就，对总理如何资助，如何促成，大有光武乃兄之概。”此时因为孙中山和陈粹芬在新加坡与槟榔屿筹划起义，眉公便到新加坡协助孙中山工作。

不久，眉公从新加坡返回香港，老友郑照也从檀香山来到香港。1907年9月8日（农历八月初一），接孙中山从河内发来的指示，眉公郑照、杨德初三人去越南河内协助处理起义各事。当时，王和顺领导的广西钦州王光山起义，曾占领防城，但17日即宣告失败。眉公他们在越南坚持数月，直到1908年1月广西镇南关起义失败后，才和杨德初、郑照返回香港，郑照随即又返回檀香山。

从河内返回香港后，眉公租了陈少白的荒地开垦农场。眉公与陈少白也是多年老友，1899年，眉公接到孙中山从日本寄来的信件，说反清革命正处于低潮，为扩大革命影响，振奋人心，准备筹办《中国日报》，请求眉公捐款资助。但当时檀香山已归并美国，华侨经营的企业受到种种限制，眉公和许多华侨一样生意亏损，但他仍不顾一切地典出一部分不动产，按孙中山的要求把一大笔钱汇给在香港的陈少白。1900年1月25日《中国日报》问世了，陈少白是发行人、总编辑。《中国日报》极力鼓吹革命，深受海内外革命志士仁人、爱国华侨的欢迎，成了中国革命派第一张革命报纸。

后来，陈少白以数年协助富商陈赓如、杨西岩等反对粤汉铁路官办，获得酬劳费9000元，买下了在香港九龙牛池湾十数亩荒地，眉公便与陈少白商量，租赁陈少白荒地的一半来开辟农场，并承诺在收到变卖檀香山剩下的财产款项后偿还地价。

眉公和杨德初及其他乡人一起，搭建猪舍、鸡棚，养鸡养猪、种瓜种菜，不管是泥工、土木，甚至缝纫针线诸等琐事，都亲力亲为。时眉公已54岁，但他仍

像当年初到檀香山创业那样，抱着一股信心，不怕艰苦，重头再干。他希望把农场经营好，使母亲和家人能赖以维持生活，甚至可以为革命捐输经费。

1908年11月30日，眉婆卖去了最后一笔财产，眉婆把眉公牧场上的个人财产，包括牧场的土地及房屋，另有牛只120头、马16匹、骡4头、猪231只及家禽、牧场、农场及厨房所有工具和器具；牧场已登记之标志，但乳酪分离器及室内用之家私除外，即契据内的14批物品卖给了A.F.Tavares及其继承人或其委托者，收得A.F.Tavares 3710元金币（相当于8500美元）。郑金、麦坚、孙阿眉（即眉婆）、程就各人签名作证，并作为事实律师。眉婆的签字是画了一个“X”字。(图104-105)

可是，眉婆收到这笔钱仅够支付诉讼费、律师费及其他欠款，眉公很失望，原先以为可以付给陈少白的地租已无法支付了。陈少白知道后，不但不给予通融，反而紧紧追讨，这令眉公很生气，想到当年支持陈少白办报，自己多次无偿捐赠，便愤愤地对陈少白说：“你办《中国日报》时，我因为得弟弟的信，曾多次汇款帮助你，而且数目不少，如今你却以区区小数与我相逼？”陈少白听了眉公的斥责，也一时无言以对，只好让步，但对此也耿耿于怀，他对陈景华、冯自由说：“弟是华盛顿，兄是拿破仑；华盛顿容易商量，拿破仑则无法应付。”陈少白几乎为此事与眉公反目，后经冯自由从中斡旋，双方才和解。

1908年12月16日，杨太夫人、卢夫人、孙娅、孙婉、眉公养女顺霞、郑强妻女等一起离开了茂宜。孙科叔公留在檀香山，靠半工半读继续学业。郑强妻也把三个女儿留在檀香山，带着另外三个女儿跟随杨太夫人等返香港。眉婆独自一人去了三藩市。那时，我的祖父正在那里，我的父亲孙乾出生不到半年，她要到那里照顾儿子的一家。(图106)

以上消息证实，眉公在1907年春夏间返港时，并未偕同他的母亲等同时返港。眉公是个至孝之人，他孝顺父母，关爱亲人，当他富有时，尽量使亲人们生活安定，富足。贫困潦倒时，也竭力保障家人的生活。想当年在檀香山为他人做工，仅得15元工钱，仍往家中寄去10元。连理发也是工友之间帮助，就是为了省下一毫几仙。父亲病重，眉公回国数月侍奉父亲终老。此次破产回港，他仍然尽力筹划好母亲和家人生活，在九龙牛池湾开辟农场，目的之一也在于此。

1909年年初，杨太夫人一行抵达香港，眉公租借了名伶朱次伯的父亲在九龙东头村24号的一间一楼一底的小屋，让母亲和弟妇，两侄女共住。杨太夫人住在楼上，客厅亦在楼上。当时杨太夫人80岁，双目已失明。眉公在九龙城宋皇台左

近处有一罾（注：罾，一种渔网）棚，每日到棚，拗（注：拗，广府话，捕鱼之意）鱼奉母。如今，东头村已建了许多高楼大厦，宋皇台早已被填成陆地，昔日一切已不再现。然而，眉公侍母至孝，“拗鱼奉母”却成了孙家的好家风。

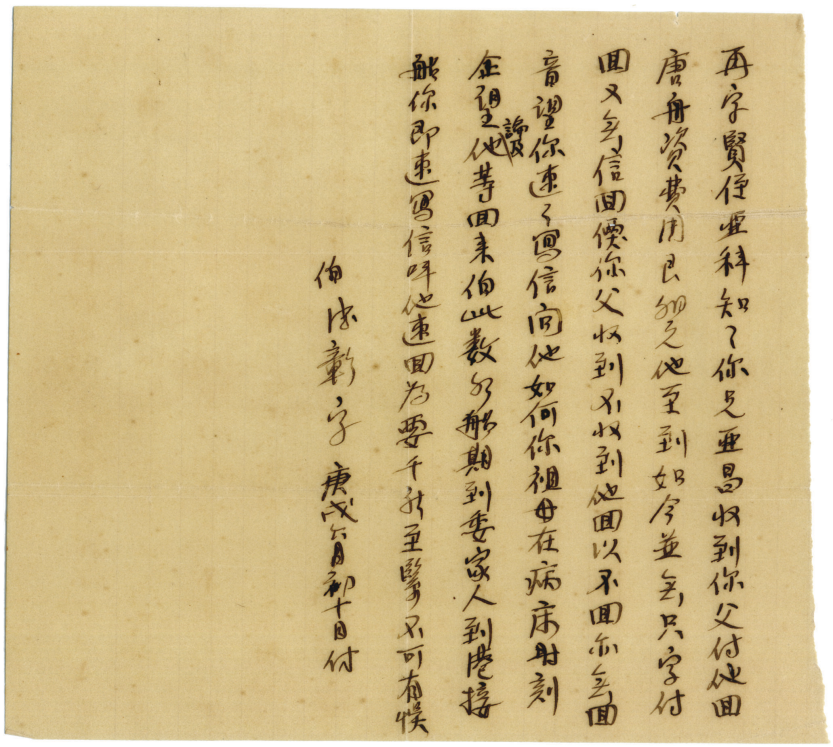
已抵达三藩市的眉婆，生活也十分艰难，当我的祖父希望回国需用盘缠时，刚遇杨太夫人病重，孙中山只好把所筹到的钱先寄回为母亲治病。所以直到杨太夫人去世，我的祖父也无法解决旅费，带着他的家人回香港见祖母一面。

1910年7月19日（农历六月十三日）午时，83岁高龄的杨太夫人病逝在东头村24号。常与眉公交往的朋友罗延年（九龙警署通译）、钟景南（长春药店店主，铺在九龙城横街）等在场目睹杨太夫人殓葬一幕。

罗延年先生曾有长信致冯自由，言及此事：

……杨太夫人去世时，弟亦在场。她在东头村二十四号，因年老（患）病去世，其尸体系用白绸，包裹全身，始入殓。钟景南先生与弟，及同志等，向西贡坑口百花林村之乡人，以二十两银购买百花林之山地一穴安葬。又由弟照例以五毫银币，向洁净局，取一葬地凭纸，此纸于民国成立后，即交回孙眉先生。(图111-112)

杨太夫人墓地作人字坟形，墓碑很细，题云：“香邑孙门杨氏太君墓。”碑上坟头，作朱色圆形，坟背左侧，筑为后土，题云“孙山后土”。根据堪舆家所说：这个墓地风水甚胜，是新界一带不可多得的地方。按百花林踞地处飞鹅岭东北支的半山腰，属新界蚝涌地区。自蚝涌坑口，步行上山，须半小时始达。惟今日自清水湾道海关坳向北已筑有飞鹅山道，汽车循此道斜上，可至百花林界顶，且立有“百花林”界石。自立石处，向北下山，行数分钟，即可达杨太夫人墓地，较之昔年，便捷多矣。杨太夫人墓踞飞鹅岭东北支正脉，为高低最适宜处。其山之左右分支，回环拱护，面对西贡各山，则耸秀超拔，故即就自然风景言之，亦一望便知其为佳胜所在也。一百多年来，港人都以此处为风水宝地，纷纷把先人葬于此地，香火甚盛，杨太夫人长眠于此，不寂寞矣！ (图113-115)



103. 孙眉写信给孙科说孙中山很久没有消息
Letter from Sun Mei to his nephew Sun Fo saying that Sun Yat Sen has not contected him for a while.

再字贤侄亚科知之你兄亚昌收到你父付他回唐舟资费用艮(银)租元他至到如今并无只字付回又无信回覆(复)你父收到不收到他回以不回亦无回音望你速速写信问他如何你祖母在病床时刻企望论及他等回来伯此数行船期到委家人到港接船你即速写信叫他速回为要千秋至紧不可有误

伯　德彰字　庚戌六月初十日付

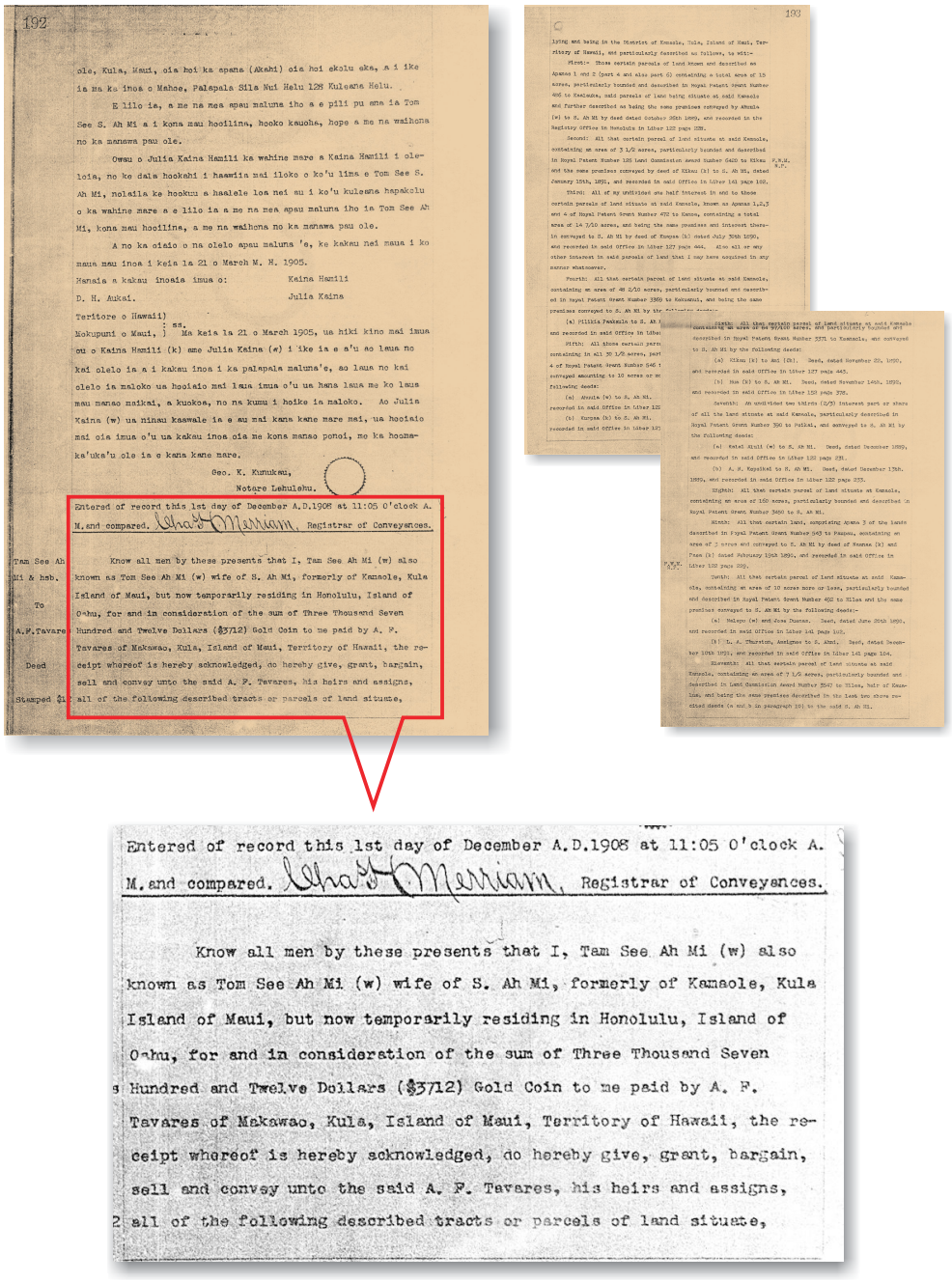
Letter from Sun Mei to his nephew Sun Fo saying that Sun Yat Sen has not contected him for a while:

Dear Nephew Ah Fo:

Your brother Ah Chong received the 500 dollars for traveling expenses sent by your father but up to now he did not reply to me or to your father about whether he has received the money or whether he will return to China or not. I hope you will write to him asking him what happen. Your grandmother is ill and anxious to see him and his family. As soon as I know the ship schedule, I will send people to meet them in Hong Kong. Please write and tell him to return immediately. Do not delay.

Your uncle Dezhang

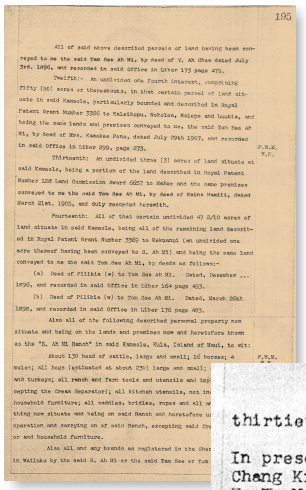
June 16, 1910



Entered of record this 1st day of December A.D.1908 at 11:05 O'clock A. M. and compared. Chas. L. Merriam, Registrar of Conveyances.

Know all men by these presents that I, Tam See Ah Mi (w) also known as Tom See Ah Mi (w) wife of S. Ah Mi, formerly of Kamaole, Kula Island of Maui, but now temporarily residing in Honolulu, Island of Oahu, for and in consideration of the sum of Three Thousand Seven Hundred and Twelve Dollars ($3712) Gold Coin to me paid by A. F. Tavares of Makawao, Kula, Island of Maui, Territory of Hawaii, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, do hereby give, grant, bargain, sell and convey unto the said A. F. Tavares, his heirs and assigns, all of the following described tracts or parcels of land situate,

104. 孙眉夫人谭氏于1908 年把牧场卖给塔瓦利斯的卖买合约。
Sales contract as recorded in the Hawaiian Bureau of Convenyance dated December 1, 1908.



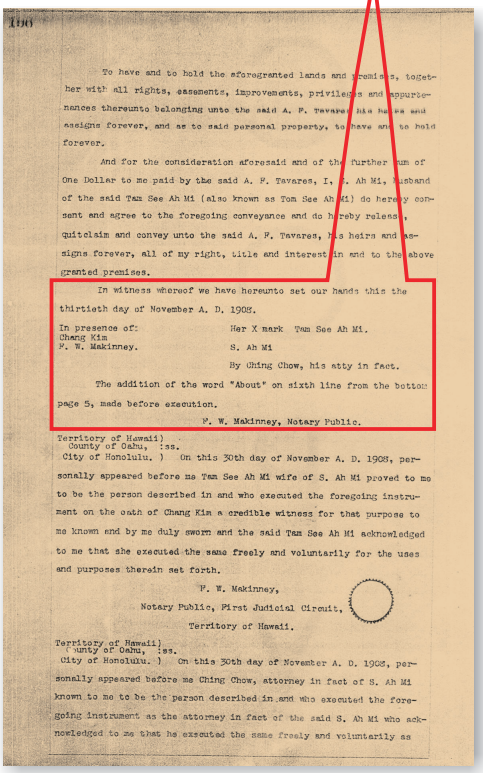
In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands this the thirtieth day of November A. D. 1908.

In presence of:
Chang Kim
F. W. Makinney.

Her X mark Tam See Ah Mi.
S. Ah Mi
By Ching Chow, his atty in fact.

The addition of the word "About" on sixth line from the bottom page 5, made before execution.

F. W. Makinney, Notary Public.



To have and to hold the aforegranted lands and premises, together with all rights, easements, improvements, privileges and appurtenances thereunto belonging unto the said A. F. Tavares, his heirs and assigns forever, and as to said personal property, to have and to hold forever.

And for the consideration aforesaid and of the further sum of One Dollar to me paid by the said A. F. Tavares, I, S. Ah Mi, husband of the said Tam See Ah Mi (also known as Tom See Ah Mi) do hereby consent and agree to the foregoing conveyance and do hereby release, quitclaim and convey unto the said A. F. Tavares, his heirs and assigns forever, all of my right, title and interest in and to the above granted premises.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands this the thirtieth day of November A. D. 1908.

In presence of:
Chang Kim
F. W. Makinney.

Her X mark Tam See Ah Mi.
S. Ah Mi
By Ching Chow, his atty in fact.

The addition of the word "About" on sixth line from the bottom page 5, made before execution.

F. W. Makinney, Notary Public.

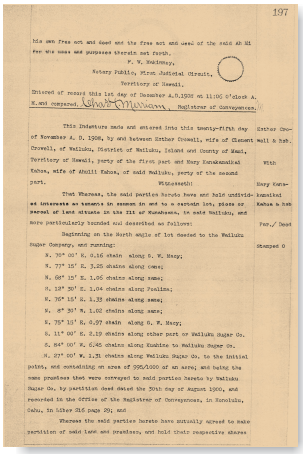
Territory of Hawaii)
County of Oahu,) ss.
City of Honolulu.)

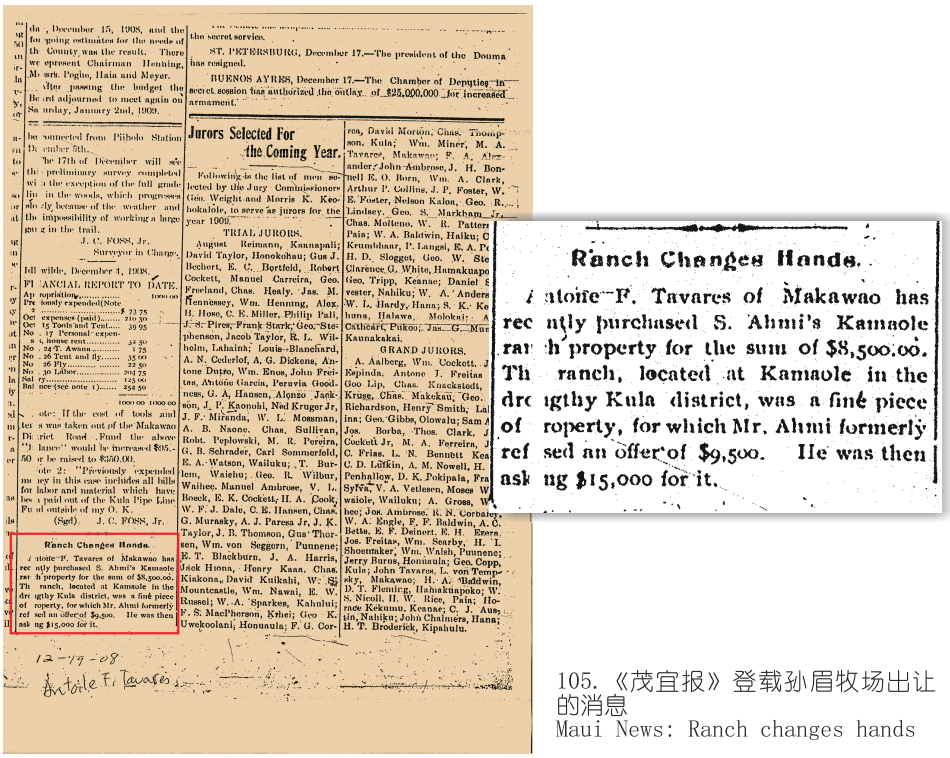
On this 30th day of November A. D. 1908, personally appeared before me Tam See Ah Mi wife of S. Ah Mi proved to me to be the person described in and who executed the foregoing instrument on the oath of Chang Kim a credible witness for that purpose to me known and by me duly sworn and the said Tam See Ah Mi acknowledged to me that she executed the same freely and voluntarily for the uses and purposes therein set forth.

F. W. Makinney,
Notary Public, First Judicial Circuit,
Territory of Hawaii.

Territory of Hawaii)
County of Oahu,) ss.
City of Honolulu.)

On this 30th day of November A. D. 1908, personally appeared before me Ching Chow, attorney in fact of S. Ah Mi known to me to be the person described in and who executed the foregoing instrument as the attorney in fact of the said S. Ah Mi who acknowledged to me that he executed the same freely and voluntarily as





Jurors Selected For the Coming Year.

Following is the list of men selected by the Jury Commissioners Geo. Weight and Morris K. Keohokalole, to serve as jurors for the year 1909.

TRIAL JURORS.

August Reimann, Kaunapali; David Taylor, Honokohau; Gus J. Bechert, E. C. Bottfeld, Robert Cockett, Manuel Carreira, Geo. Freeland, Chas. Healy. Jas. M. Hennessey, Wm. Henning, Alex. H. Hose, C. E. Miller, Philip Pali, J. S. Pires; Frank Stark; Geo. Stephenson, Jacob Taylor, R. L. Wilhelm, Lahaina; Louis Blanchard, A. N. Cederlof, A. G. Dickens, Antone Dutro, Wm. Enos, John Freitas, Antonio Garcia, Peruvia Goodness, G. A. Hansen, Alonzo Jackson, J. P. Kaonohi, Ned Kruger Jr, J. F. Miranda, W. L. Mossman, A. B. Naone. Chas. Sullivan, Robt. Peplowski, M. R. Pereira, G. B. Schrader, Carl Sommerfeld, E. A. Watson, Wailuku; T. Burlem, Waiehu; Geo. R. Wilbur, Waihee. Manuel Ambrose, V. L. Boeck, E. K. Cockett, H. A. Cook, W. F. J. Dale, C. E. Hansen, Chas. G. Munsky, A. J. Paresa Jr, J. K. Taylor, J. B. Thomson, Gus Thorsen, Wm. von Seggern, Punnene; E. T. Blackburn, J. A. Harris, Jack Hiona, Henry Kaan. Chas. Kiakona, David Kuikahi, W. S. Mountenstle, Wm. Nawai, E. W. Russel; W. A. Sparkes, Kahului; F. S. MacPherson, Kihei; Geo K. Uwekoolani; Honuaula; F. G. Corron, David Morton, Chas. Thompson. Kula; Wm. Miner, M. A. Tavares, Makawao; F. A. Alexander; John Ambrose, J. H. Bonnell E. O. Born, Wm. A. Clark, Arthur P. Collins. J. P. Foster, W. E. Foster, Nelson Kalon, Geo. R. Lindsey, Geo. S. Markham, Jr., Chas. Molleno. W. R. Patten, Paia; W. A. Baldwin, Haiku; C. Krumbhaar, P. Langsi, E. A. Pe. H. D. Sloggat, Geo. W. Ste. Clarence G. White, Hamakuapo. Geo. Tripp, Keanae; Daniel S. vester, Nahiku; W. A. Anders. W. L. Hardy, Hana; S. K. Ke. huna, Halawa, Molokai; A. Cathcart, Puko. Jas. G. Mur. Kaunakakai.

GRAND JURORS.

A. Aalberg, Wm. Cockett. J. Espinda, Antone J. Freitas. Goo Lip, Chas. Knackstedt, Krueg, Chas. Makekau, Geo. Richardson, Henry Smith, Lai. inn; Geo. Gibbs, Olowalu; Sam A. Cockett Jr, M. A. Ferreira, J. Jos. Borba, Thos. Clark, J. C. D. Lufkin, A. M. Nowell, H. Penhallow, D. K. Pokipala, Fra. Sylva, V. A. Vetlesen, Moses W. waiole, Wailuku; A. Gross, W. hee; Jos. Ambrose. R. N. Corbaley. W. A. Engle, E. F. Baldwin, A. C. Bette, E. F. Delnert. E. H. Evers. Jos. Freitas, Wm. Searby, H. I. Shoemaker, Wm. Walsh, Puunene; Jerry Burns, Honuaula; Geo. Copp, Kula; John Tavares, L. von Tempsky, Makawao; H. A. Baldwin, D. T. Fleming, Hahakuapoko; W. S. Nicoll. H. W. Rice, Paia; Horace Kekuuna, Keanae; C. J. Austin, Nahiku; John Chalmers, Hana; H. T. Broderick, Kipahulu.

Ranch Changes Hands.

Antoine F. Tavares of Makawao has recently purchased S. Ahmi's Kamaole ranch property for the sum of $8,500.00. The ranch, located at Kamaole in the drogthy Kula district, was a fine piece of property, for which Mr. Ahmi formerly refused an offer of $9,500. He was then asking $15,000 for it.

12-19-08

Antoile F. Tavares

105.《茂宜报》登载孙眉牧场出让的消息
Maui News: Ranch changes hands

The Maui News December 19, 1908

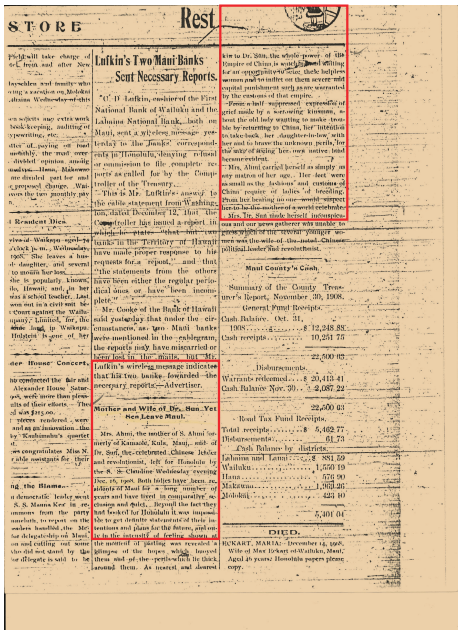
Ranch Changes Hands

Antone F. Tavares of Makawao has recently purchased S. Ahmi's Kamaole ranch property for the sum of $8,500.00. The Ranch, located at Kamaole in the drougthy Kula district, was a find piece of property, for which Mr, Ahmi formerly refused and offer of $9,500. He was then asking $15,000 for it.

《茂宜报》 1908 年12 月19日

Antone F. Tavares(塔瓦里斯)最近以8500元买了孙眉的卡马噢立(Kamaoli)牧场。该牧场位于干旱的库拉区，是一块很好的土地。孙眉曾拒绝过9500元的出价。当时他的要价是1.5万元。

出让人为谭氏阿眉， 这是谭氏在夏威夷的最后一次财产转让。



STORE

Rest

Lufkin's Two Maui Banks Sent Necessary Reports.

Mother and Wife of Dr. Sun Yet Sen Leave Maui.

Mrs. Ahmi, the mother of S. Ahmi formerly of Kamaole, Kula, Maui, and of Dr. Sun, the celebrated Chinese leader and revolutionist, left for Honolulu by the S. S. Claudine Wednesday evening Dec. 16, 1908. Both ladies have been residents of Maui for a long number of years and have lived in comparative seclusion and quiet. Beyond the fact they had booked for Honolulu it was impossible to get definite statements of their intentions and plans for the future, and only in the intensity of feeling shown at the moment of parting was revealed a glimpse of the hopes which buoyed them and of the perils which lie thick around them. As nearest and dearest kin to Dr. Sun, the whole power of the Empire of China is watching and waiting for an opportunity to seize these helpless women and to inflict on them severe and capital punishment such as are warranted by the customs of that empire.

From a half suppressed expression of grief made by a sorrowing kinsman, about the old lady wanting to make trouble by returning to China, her intention to take back her daughter-in-law with her and to brave the unknown perils, for the sake of seeing her own native land became evident.

Mrs. Ahmi carried herself as simply as any matron of her age. Her feet were as small as the fashions and customs of China require of ladies of breeding. From her bearing no one would suspect her to be the mother of a world celebrate.

Mrs. Dr. Sun made herself inconspicuous and our news gatherer was unable to guess which of the several younger women was the wife of the noted Chinese political leader and revolutionist.

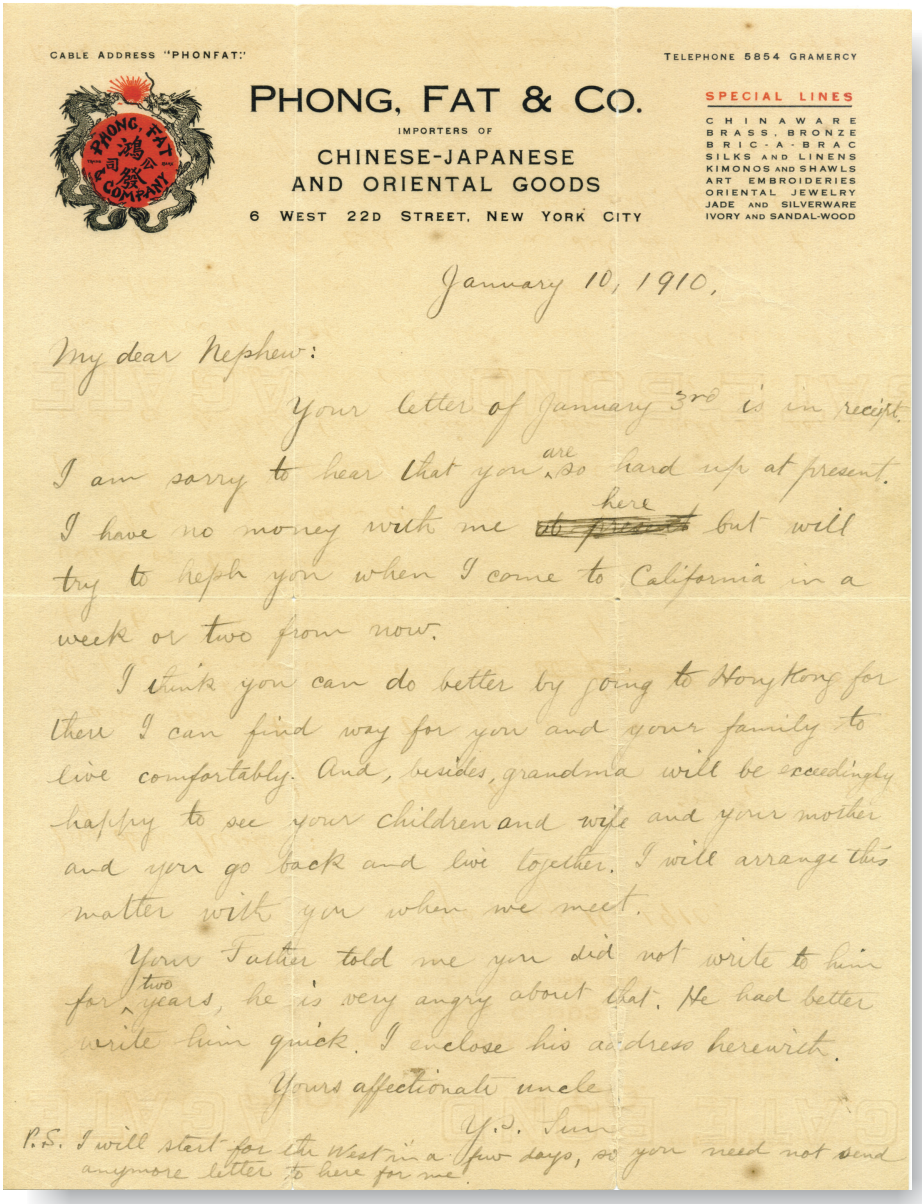
106. 杨太夫人离开《茂宜岛》的报道：

孙夫人，孙眉及出名革命家孙医生的母亲，于1908年12月16日星期三晚乘可罗丁号气船离开茂宜去檀香山。两位夫人在茂宜岛居住多年，但生活低调。除了知道他们确实订了船票外，我们无法从他们口中打听他们今后的计划。我们只能从他们要离开的时候那种紧张的表情看到了一种希望支撑着他们，也看到了危机围绕着他们。作为孙中山最亲的家属，整个中国帝国都在等待时机去捉拿这些无助的妇女并会按帝国的惯例对他们施以重刑。

一位亲属用伤感的声调说老夫人回国有难，可以证明老夫人这次带着媳妇返家园的决心。孙夫人的风度与其他有声望的妇女差不多。她的缠足代表了中国有教养妇女的风气。从她的举止，没有人会看出她是一位世界名人的母亲。

孙中山夫人打扮不显眼，我们的采访员无法从几为较年轻的女士们中辨认出哪一位是有名的中国政治领袖及革命家孙中山的夫人。

Reporting by the Maui News the departure of Madam Yan, mother of Sun Yat Sen and family leaving Maui on December 16, 1908.



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IVORY AND SANDAL-WOOD

January 10, 1910.

My dear Nephew:

Your letter of January 3rd is in receipt. I am sorry to hear that you are so hard up at present. I have no money with me here but will try to help you when I come to California in a week or two from now.

I think you can do better by going to Hongkong for there I can find way for you and your family to live comfortably. And, besides, grandma will be exceedingly happy to see your children and wife and your mother and you go back and live together. I will arrange this matter with you when we meet.

Your Father told me you did not write to him for two years, he is very angry about that. He had better write him quick. I enclose his address herewith.

Yours affectionate uncle

U. S. Sun

P.S. I will start for the West in a few days, so you need not send anymore letter to here for me.

107. 孙中山与给孙昌信
Letter from Sun yet-sen to Sun Chong

January 10, 1910

My Dear Nephew,

You letter of January 3rd is in receipt. I am sorry to hear that you are so hard up at present. I have no money here at present but will try to help you when I come to California in a week or two from now.

I think you can do better by going to Hong Kong for there I can find way for you and your family to live comfortably. And, besides, grandma will be exceeding happy to see your children and wife and your mother and you go back and live together. I will arrange this matter with you when we meet.

Your father told me you did not write to him in two years, he is very angry about that. He had better write him quick. I enclose his address herewith.

Your affectionate uncle,
Y.S. Sun

P.S. I will start for the west in a few days, so you need not send anymore letter to here for me.

*

1910年1月10日

亲爱的侄儿：

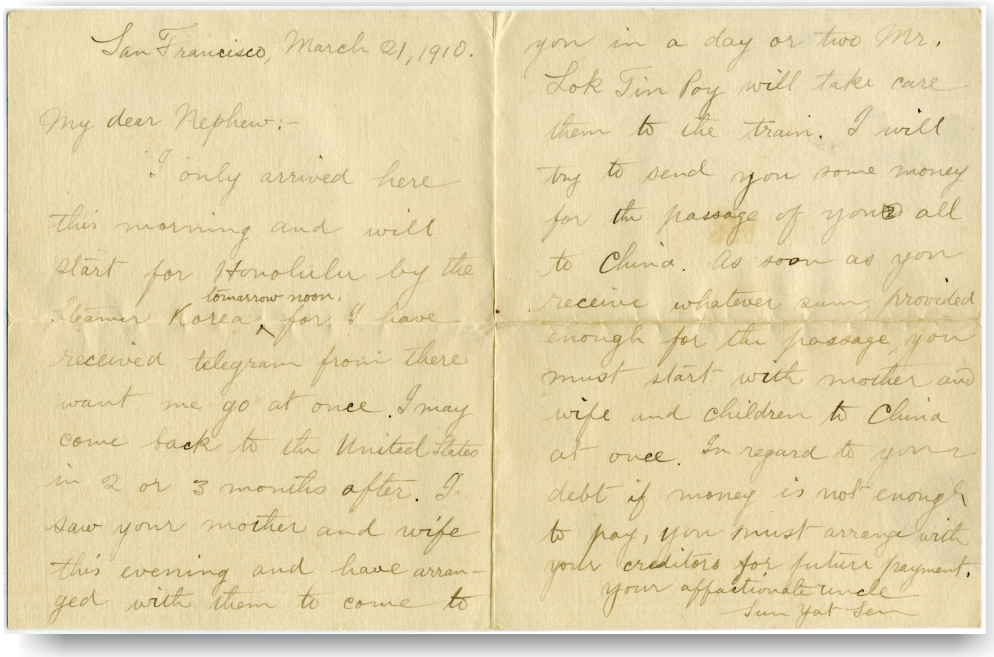
已收到您1月3日来信。听到了您目前经济困境使我很难过。我在此没有钱，但我于两三周后来加里福利亚时会帮助您。

我想您最好是去香港，因为我可以安排您及您的家人生活过得舒适些。 况且，祖母将会特别高兴看到您的小孩，您太太与母亲及您回去一起生活。见面时我会替您安排此事。

您的父亲告诉我您已两年没有写信给他。他很生气。您尽快给他写信为好。随函附上他的地址。

您慈爱的叔父，
孙逸仙

附：我将于数日后去西部， 您不必往这里来信。



San Francisco, March 21, 1910.

My dear Nephew:-

I only arrived here this morning and will start for Honolulu by the tomorrow noon, steamer Korea, for I have received telegram from there want me go at once. I may come back to the United States in 2 or 3 months after. I saw your mother and wife this evening and have arranged with them to come to you in a day or two Mr. Lok Tin Poy will take care them to the train. I will try to send you some money for the passage of you all to China. As soon as you receive whatever sum provided enough for the passage you must start with mother and wife and children to China at once. In regard to your debt if money is not enough to pay, you must arrange with your creditors for future payment.

your affectionate uncle
Sun Yat Sen

108. 孙中山与给孙昌信
Letter from Sun yet-sen to Sun Chong

San Francisco March 21, 1910

My Dear Nephew:-

I only arrived here this morning and will start for Honolulu by the steamer Korea tomorrow noon, for I have received telegram from there want me to go at once. I may come back to the United States in 2 or 3 months after. I saw your mother and wife this evening and have arranged with them to come to you in a day or two. Mr. Lok Tin Poy will take care them to the train. I will try to send you some money for the passage of you all to China. As soon as you receive whatever sum provided enough for the passage, you must start with mother and wife and children to China at once. In regard to your debt, if money is not enough to pay, you must arrange with your creditors for future payment.

You affectionate Uncle,

Sun Yat Sen

*

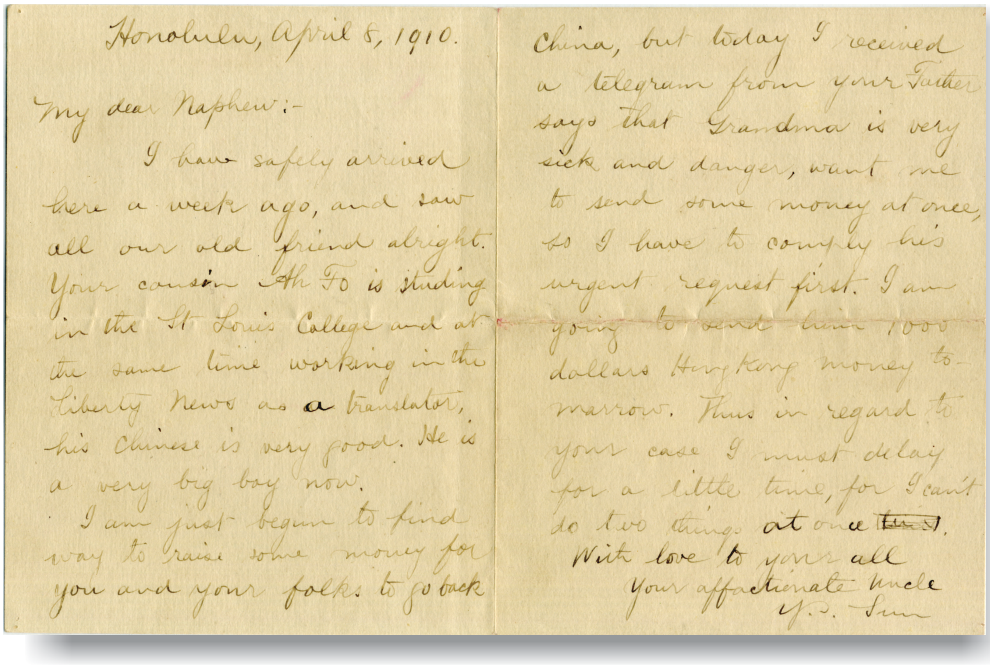
三藩市 1910年3月21日

亲爱的侄儿:

我今早刚到此地，明天中午将乘汽轮“高丽号” 去檀香山。我可能两三个月后再回美国。我今晚见到你的母亲及太太并已安排他们一两天后到你那里。 陆天培先生将会送他们上火车。 我将想法寄给你们回中国的旅费。 当您收到足够的旅费时，您应立刻与母亲，太太及小孩起程回中国。关于欠款事，假如钱不够付债，您应与债权人商议往后还债。

您慈爱的叔父，

孙逸仙



Honolulu, April 6, 1910.

My dear Nephew:-

I have safely arrived here a week ago, and saw all our old friend alright. Your cousin Ah Fo is studing in the St Louis College and at the same time working in the Liberty News as a translator, his Chinese is very good. He is a very big boy now.

I am just begun to find way to raise some money for you and your folks to go back China, but today I received a telegram from your Father says that Grandma is very sick and danger, want me to send some money at once, so I have to comply his urgent request first. I am going to send him 1000 dollars Hongkong money to-marrow. Thus in regard to your case I must delay for a little time, for I can't do two things at one time.

With love to your all

Your affectionate Uncle

Y. S. Sun

109. 孙中山与给孙昌信
Letter from Sun yet-sen to Sun Chong

Honolulu April 8, 1910

My Dear Nephew,

I have safely arrived here a week ago, and saw all our old friend alright. Your cousin Ah Fo is studying in the St. Louis College and at the same time working in the Liberty News as a translator. His Chinese is very good. He is a big boy now.

I am just begun to find way to raise some money for you and your folk to go back to China, but today I received a telegram from your father says that Grandma is very sick and danger, want me to send some money at once, so I have to comply with urgent request first. I am going to send him 1000 dollars Hong Kong money tomorrow. Thus in regard to your case I must delay for a little time, for I can't do two things at once.

With love to you all,

Your affectionate uncle.

Y.S. Sun

*

檀香山 1910年4月8日

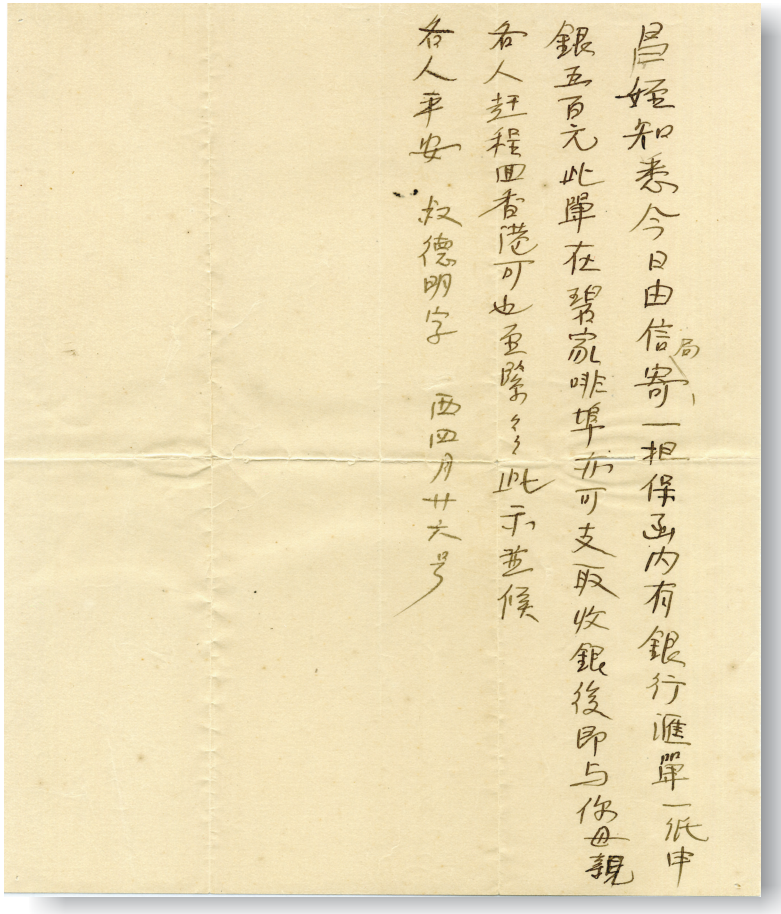
亲爱的侄儿:

我一周前已安全到此地，并见到了旧朋友都很好。您的堂弟阿科正在圣路易学院读书但同时也在《自由报》工作当翻译员。他的中文很好。他已长大成人。

我正在设法为您及您的家人回中国的旅费筹款。但今天您父亲来电说您祖母病重需钱，因此我必须尊照他的要求。 我明天将寄他港币1000元。因此，您必须再等一下，我不能同时两面兼顾。

您慈爱的叔父，

孙逸仙



昌姪知悉今日由信局寄一担保函内有銀行滙單一紙申
銀五百元此單在碧家啡埠亦可支取收銀後即与你母親
各人赶程回香港可也至緊々々此示並候
各人平安 叔德明字 西四月廿六号

110.1910年4月26日孙中山致孙昌信：孙中山寄上500元银行汇票给孙昌，命他收款后立刻与家人启程回香港。

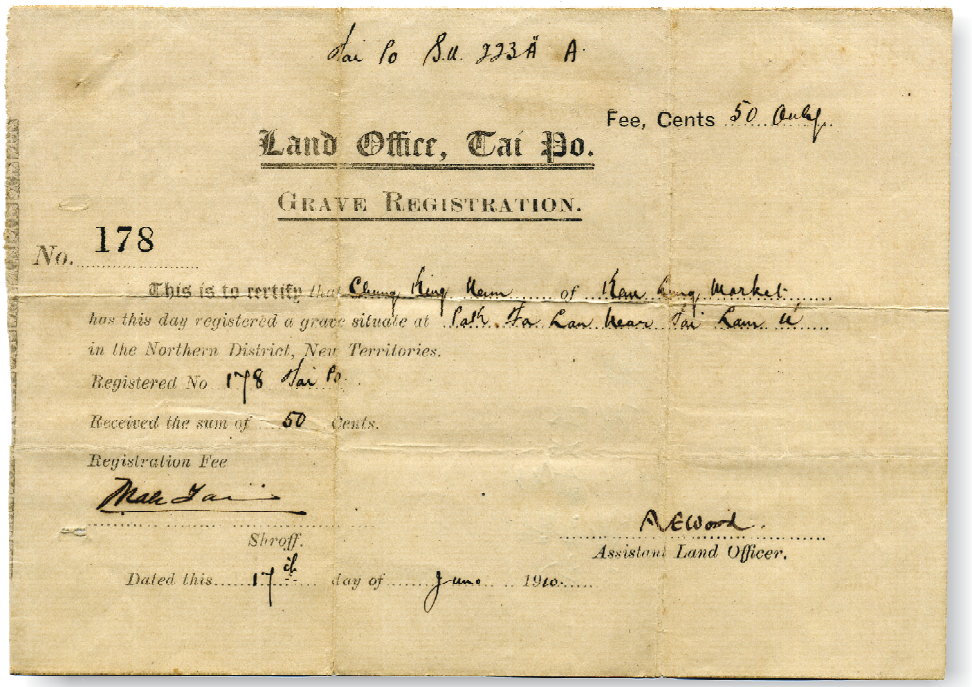
Letter dated April 26, 1910 from Sun Yat-Sen to Sun Chong:

Dear Nephew Chong:

I have today sent from the post office a registered letter inside of which is a bank draft for 500 dollars. Your can cash it in Bakersfield. Upon receipt of this money, you and your mother and family should immediately return to Hong Kong.

Regards,

Uncle De Ming April 26



Tai Po S.U. 223Ä A

Fee, Cents 50 Only.

Land Office, Tai Po.

GRAVE REGISTRATION.

No. 178

This is to certify that Chung King Nam of Kau Lung Market has this day registered a grave situate at Path Fa Lan near Tai Lam U in the Northern District, New Territories.

Registered No 178 Tai Po.

Received the sum of 50 Cents.

Registration Fee

Shroff.

A E Wood
Assistant Land Officer.

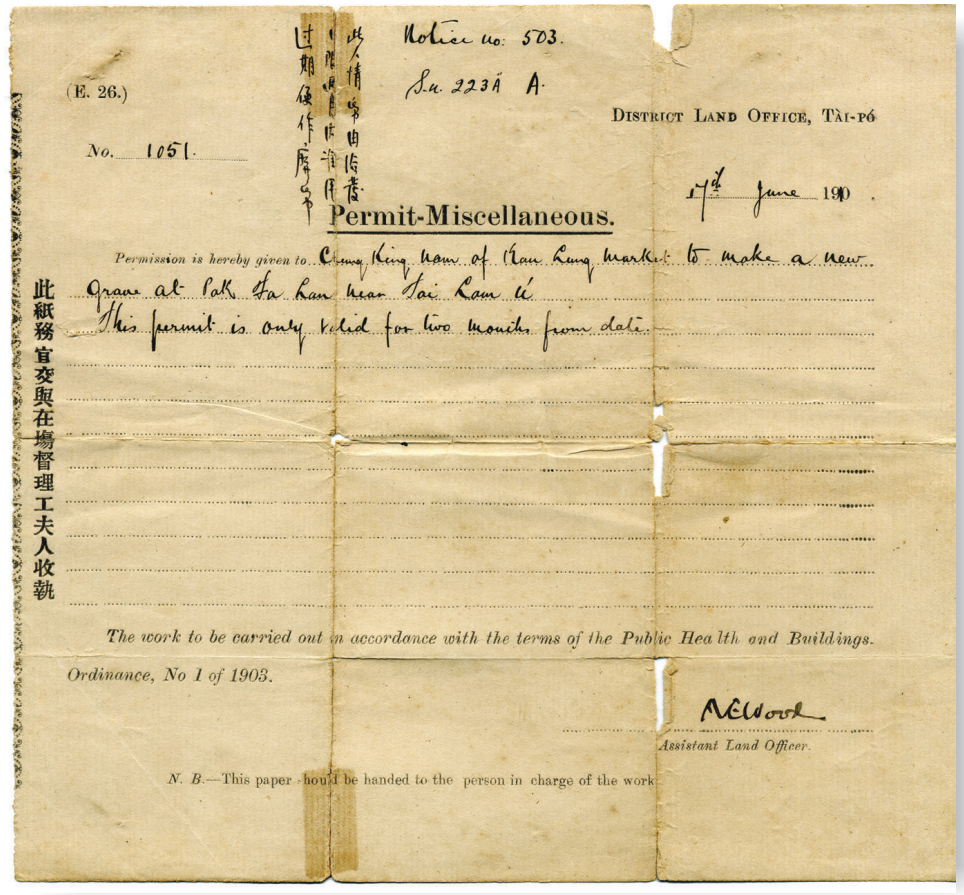
Dated this 17th day of June 1910.

111. 杨太夫人墓地登记纸
Registration for Great-Great Grandma's grave

大埔土地局
坟墓登记　178号　费用：5毛

兹证明九龙市场钟景南于本日登记一处坟墓位于新界北区靠近大林屿的百花林。
登记号：　大埔　178号

收核登记费5毛
1910年6月17日　助理土地官　签名



Notice no: 503.
Su. 223A A.

(E. 26.)

No. 1051.

District Land Office, Tài-pó

17th June 1910.

Permit-Miscellaneous.

Permission is hereby given to Chung King Nam of Kau Lung market to make a new grave at Pak Fa Lan near Tai Lam ú.
This permit is only valid for two months from date.

此紙務宜交與在場督理工夫人收執

The work to be carried out in accordance with the terms of the Public Health and Buildings Ordinance, No 1 of 1903.

McWood
Assistant Land Officer.

N. B.—This paper should be handed to the person in charge of the work.

112. 杨太夫人墓地许可
Permit of Great-Great Grandma's grave

大埔区土地局
No1051　　1910年6月17日
执照说明
特此允许九龙市场的锺景南在大林屿附近的百花林建造墓地一座。此执照只限于由本日起两个月内有效。
　　助理土地官　　签名

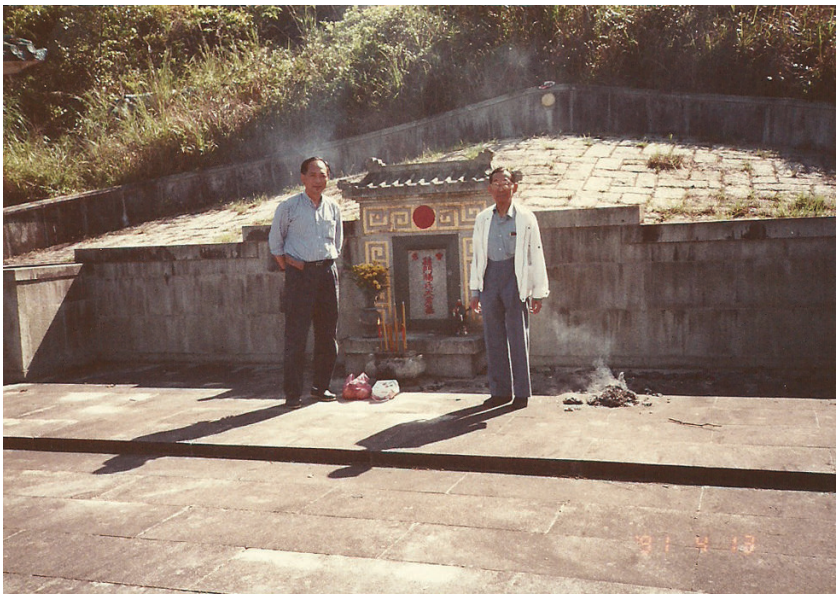


113. 1912年5月14日，眉公与家人照于香港九龙百花林杨太夫人墓地。伯父孙满于1989年8月在美国加州对他的长女孙绍如口述照片中他认识的人物，由姐夫许保樑笔录：
前排女士左起：郑太太(夏威夷华侨)、孙细银(容当夫人)、陈粹芬(阿太)、太叔婆卢慕贞、太婆谭氏(孙眉夫人)、祖母王金顺、姑婆孙婉、容珍(容当女儿)、郑强女儿(孙眉干女儿)。
后排左起站立者：第二人：缪居白；第三人：黄绎书(林介眉襟兄)；第五人：陈艾文(胡汉民秘书)；第六人：孙智兴(永安公司创办人之一)；第七人：欧阳雨；第九人：叔父孙科；第十二人：祖父孙眉；第十五人：杨锡初（孙眉管家）；第十七人：父亲孙昌；第二十一人：林焕庭（胡汉民亲家）； 第二十二人：舅父王惠永。
中排左侧坐者：契姑丈林介眉（郑强女婿）。
中排站立儿童左起：表兄容海襟（容当儿子）、弟孙乾（年4岁）、孙满本人（年6岁）。

Picture taken on May 14, 1912 with Sun Mei and his family and friends at his mother's grave at Bai Hua Lin, Kowloon, Hong Kong. Uncle Sun Moon identified those he knew by telling his daughter Norma with her husband Roland Hui taking notes.



114. 杨太夫人在百花林墓地，摄于1962。
左起：容妙（容吉兴与孙顺霞女儿）、姨妈苏雪贞、戴成功、伯母孙妙娟、伯父孙满、姑婆孙婉、孙必胜、孙必立、父亲孙乾、表弟苏佩枝。
Picture of the Bai Hua Lin grave site of Great-great grandma Yang Shi in 1962.



115. 1975年，孙治平（右）与孙必胜在百花林墓地拜祭杨太夫人。
Picture of the Bai Hua Lin Grave site of Great-great-grandma Yang Shi in 1975 with Uncle T,P.Sun and Victor Sun.

被逐出境

1909年冬，同盟会策划广州新军起义，决定在广州发难。起义旗帜制作交给眉公和冯自由家的女士们承担。这时制作青天白日旗有两处地方：一是在香港湾仔东海傍街76号楼冯自由的住处，由冯妻李自平、庶母卢桂屏，胡汉民妻陈淑予负责。另一处是牛池湾眉公农场，农场主人是陈少白，因为担心因此惹起当地警察干涉，再三制止。眉公只好将布料缝车等，移到湾仔冯宅合力缝制，数日内赶制成三色旗百余幅，样式就是仿照当年为共和牺牲的第一人陆皓东设计的首义旗帜。1910年2月12日，倪映典率广州新军起义所用的旗帜均为眉公他们所制，起义失败，倪映典牺牲。但此次战役后，眉公便在九龙一带，秘密发展会党。

1910年3月，孙中山再次到檀香山，改组兴中会为同盟会。4月，杨太夫人病重。但此时革命形势已十分险恶。6月10日，孙中山由檀香山赴日本，与黄兴等会合，商议再发动起义，眉公亦同时抵达日本，他和孙中山住在日本友人宫崎寅藏的家中。

杨太夫人去世后，卢夫人和两个女儿离开了香港，到庇能投奔孙中山去了。眉公留在香港，投入广州起义前紧张的组织工作中去，九龙城东头村二十四号成了秘密联络点。这引起了清廷的注意，清政府通过香港政府以眉公是“乱党”为由，要把眉公驱逐出境。我在1910年12月香港政府内部公文档案中，翻出了几份翔实记载“眉公被逐”的材料，今把它连接起来，让这段历史清晰地浮现于世。（图116-121）

1909年11月1日，清朝驻檀香山总领事梁国英秘密禀告清朝外务部，称孙文的胞兄孙眉在九龙种植，接受外洋军械，供给土匪。1910年，孙眉被逐前不久，两广都督李翰璋致函大英帝国驻广州领事，函称：“乱党孙逸仙的兄弟孙眉也是革命分子，正与其同伙在大英殖民属地香港结党聚会，谋图推翻清廷。”港英政府接函后，立即派线人前往查探。 港英警署找到的线人是一家商铺的店主，这人辗转找到“长春堂”药铺老板钟景南，他先是自我表白一番，说自己如何如何地痛恨清廷，骗得钟景南相信，便带他到九龙城东头村荔枝园24号，即孙眉的租住屋。

下面是线人的口供：

钟景南带我见孙眉，人很魁梧，不到六十。屋里还有几个人，我交了两元给钟景南后，他把我叫到门外，耳语几句教我一会如何宣誓，之后我又回到屋里。

宣誓场地不大，包括我在内的新加盟者排成列，站在我们前面的人喊：

“反清，杀满洲人，报祖仇！”

“反清，杀满洲人，报祖仇！”我举起左手，高过于头，跟着喊了一次。过了一会儿，钟景南告诉我说：“刚才你交的这两元将寄往日本，等证书寄返过来后，你还会得到一本书和一个铜牌，而且还要按同盟会誓词再宣誓一次。”

钟还告诉我，现在已经发展到有一万追随者。他还让我保密，说在政府部门还有许多追随者，而九龙城警署一个警察的翻译官罗延年就是其中者。我见过这个翻译官，有一次，我见他和钟景南一起为孙眉母亲买棺木，后来还参加送葬，左手还戴黑纱，但他只去到半路，因正好遇着一个英国探长。后来他还投诉到警署说有人监视他。（图118）

港英政府派人查实后，于1910年9月19日捕捉眉公，并决定驱逐孙眉出境，据罗延年当年的忆述，孙眉当时的处境十分危急，险象环生。

……宣统三年某日，余在尖沙咀水师警署当值，约下午三时后，由总警署一电话接线生转来急电云：我之好友孙眉先生，已在九龙城被差人带到警总署，约于晚上八时将用广东轮船解上广州，其家人未知悉。弟闻之，即向水师警署号值日沙展，话弟肚痛，告假离署。即往通知孙眉另一好友、同盟会员钟景南，他即往上环水坑口中国报社，通知党人，他们即往访美国领事，时美国领事已下班，他们又往其公馆。六点钟左右美国领事便同他们一起言总警署，美国领事声明孙眉先生系美国籍，美利坚合众国有义务保障其子民权益，未接到你们知会及我们答复之前，你们不可解往广州。

美国领事于9月23日以领事馆名义致函署理港督梅轩理：

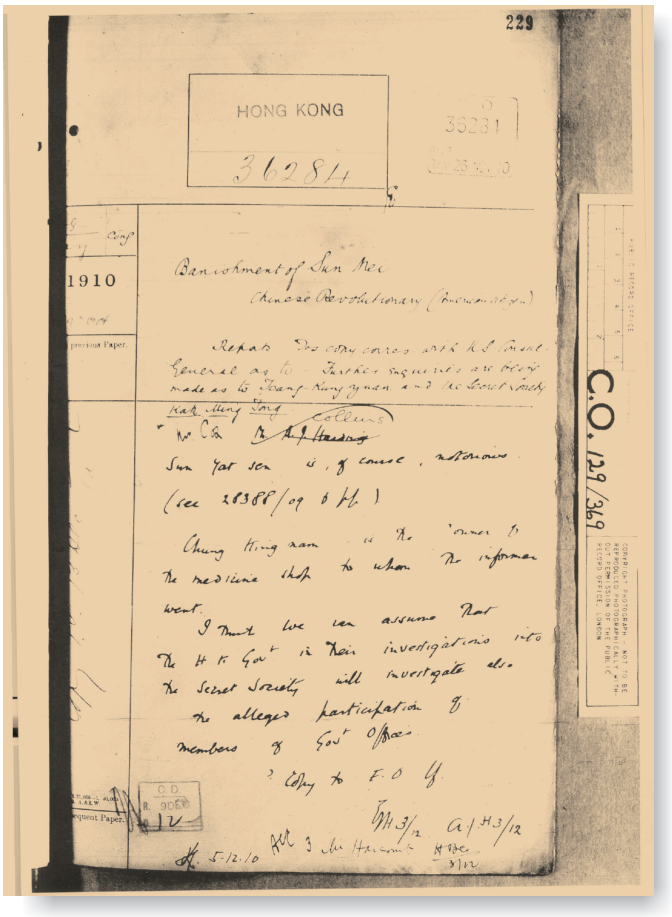
梅轩理（HenryMey）先生，有一事提醒阁下注意，本馆从电话获知，有一美籍华人孙眉受贵警署调查，并已经被行政当局决定将放逐出境，其现时处境十分困难，鉴于本馆对此事了无所知，我们希望能得到贵府告知真正原因。

三天后，署理港督梅轩理(Francis Henry May) 就逮解孙眉出境事致函英国殖民地部，并辅以港府辅政司致美国驻港公使 George. E. Anderson：

公使先生，此复23日的来文，现正式知会阁下，行政当局已正式决定放逐孙眉，因为他是反对朝廷的革命党，实际上他负责在本地进行发展组织的行动。

领事馆接函后，又前往交涉，港署最后便以香港不喜欢孙眉，可令他自由选择离境的去处，不得把他解往他不愿去之地达成了协议。

孙眉选择前往新加坡，以帮助孙中山重新整顿团体，使党的势力进步。9月28日，眉公被逐出境，农场交还陈少白。



116. 香港政府档案36284 有关孙眉被逐出香港文件：

孙眉被放逐

中国革命人士 （美国籍）

此报告附上与美国领事通讯有关查询曾公任及革命党的秘密组织。

孙中山当然是声名狼藉，钟景南是一个药店老板。密告者去过药店。我想这次秘密组织的调查也应包括调查政府部门工作人员是否有参与。

This is a document kept at the Hong Kong government archive showing the events of Sun Mei's banishment from Hong Kong.

Banishment of Sun Mei

Chinese Revolutionary (American Citizen)

Reports shs copy corres with U.S. Consul General as to further enquiries are being made as to Tseng Kung Yuan and the Secret Society Kah Ming Tong.

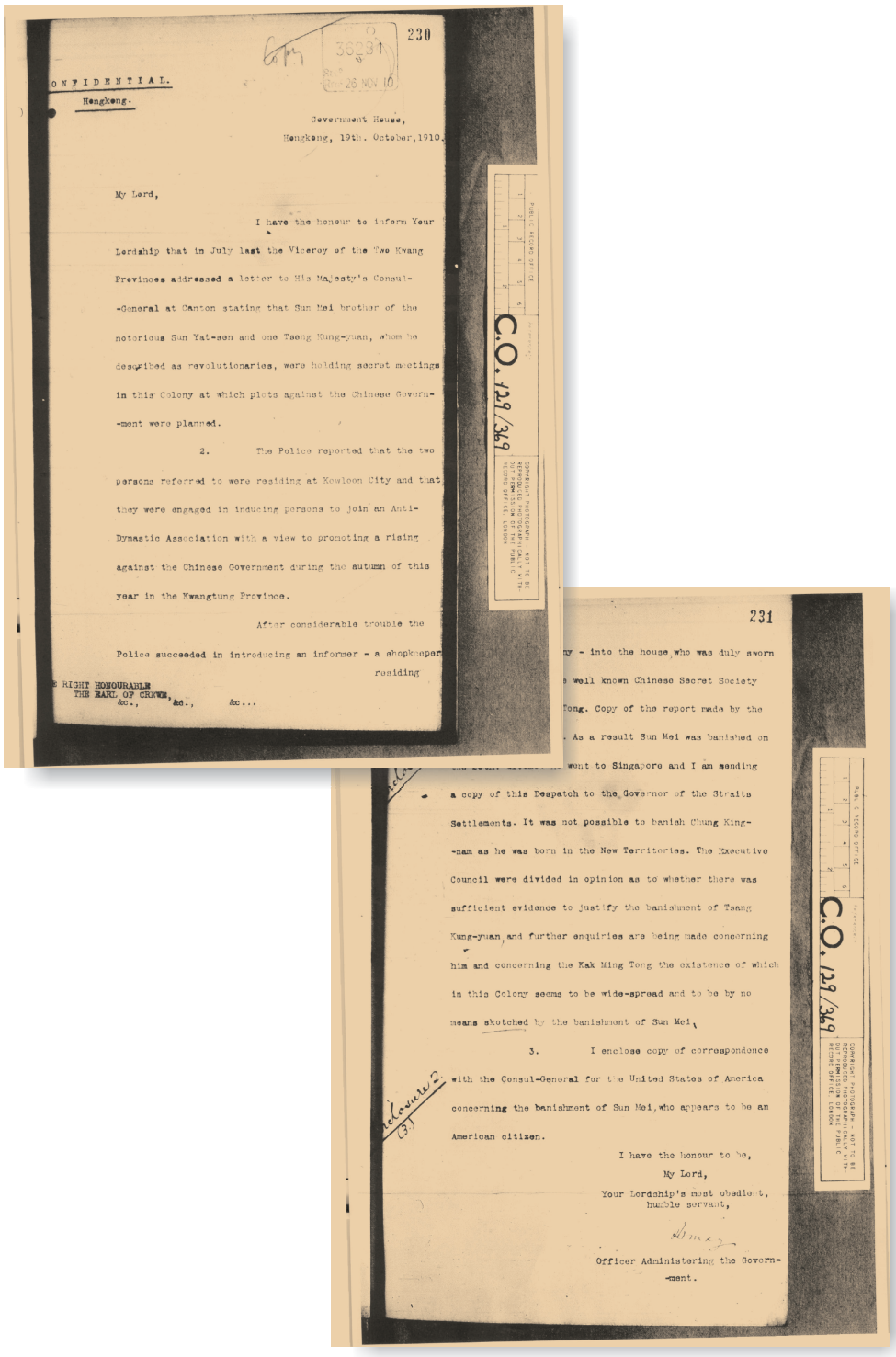
Collins

Sun Yat Sen is, of course, notorious.

Chung King Nam is the owner of the medicine shop to whom the informer went.

I think we can assume that the H.K. government in their investigation into the Secret Society will also investigate the alleged participation of members of government offices.

5.12.10



230

CONFIDENTIAL.

Hongkong.

Government House,
Hongkong, 19th. October, 1910.

My Lord,

I have the honour to inform Your Lordship that in July last the Viceroy of the Two Kwang Provinces addressed a letter to His Majesty's Consul-General at Canton stating that Sun Mei brother of the notorious Sun Yat-sen and one Tsang Kung-yuan, whom he described as revolutionaries, were holding secret meetings in this Colony at which plots against the Chinese Government were planned.

2. The Police reported that the two persons referred to were residing at Kowloon City and that they were engaged in inducing persons to join an Anti-Dynastic Association with a view to promoting a rising against the Chinese Government during the autumn of this year in the Kwangtung Province.

After considerable trouble the Police succeeded in introducing an informer - a shopkeeper residing

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE EARL OF CREWE,
&c., &c., &c...

C.O. 129/369

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...y - into the house who was duly sworn
...well known Chinese Secret Society
...Tong. Copy of the report made by the
... As a result Sun Mei was banished on
...went to Singapore and I am sending
a copy of this Despatch to the Governor of the Straits Settlements. It was not possible to banish Chung King-nam as he was born in the New Territories. The Executive Council were divided in opinion as to whether there was sufficient evidence to justify the banishment of Tsang Kung-yuan, and further enquiries are being made concerning him and concerning the Kak Ming Tong the existence of which in this Colony seems to be wide-spread and to be by no means skotched by the banishment of Sun Mei.

3. I enclose copy of correspondence with the Consul-General for the United States of America concerning the banishment of Sun Mei, who appears to be an American citizen.

I have the honour to be,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient,
humble servant,

Officer Administering the Govern-ment.

C.O. 129/369

117. 香港政府辅政司往上级的报告：

一、今年七月，两广都督曾有致大英帝驻广州的领事的一封信，指声名狼藉孙逸仙的兄弟孙眉，以及一个叫曾公任的人，都是被形容为革命分子，而且在殖民地时常有聚会，计划谋图推翻中国政府。

二、警方部门报告说，这两个人都住在九龙城，他们在这里诱导人去参加反帝国的聚会，而他们的主要目的计划是要在今年的秋天在广东省发生叛乱。

经过多番的麻烦才找到一个线人，他是一个住在香港商店的主人。经过许多艰苦，使这个线人才入到这间屋，线人去宣誓参加入了革命党。兹附上线人的报告，结果使孙眉于28号被放逐。孙眉去了新加坡。我同时会将这个报告送到新加坡。

我们没有可能驱逐钟景南，因为他是香港新界出生的。行政局有对于放逐曾公任的放逐有不同的意见，有在曾的问题，要作进一步调查。而有关这个革命党，他在香港似乎已经相当广泛了，散播很大，而孙眉的放逐，亦不会影响这个党的存在。

我附上与美国领事的来往信件有关属于美国籍孙眉被放逐的事件。（辅政司）

This is a report by the officer in charge of the Hong Kong government to his superior.

Government House
Hong Kong 19th October, 1910

My Lord,

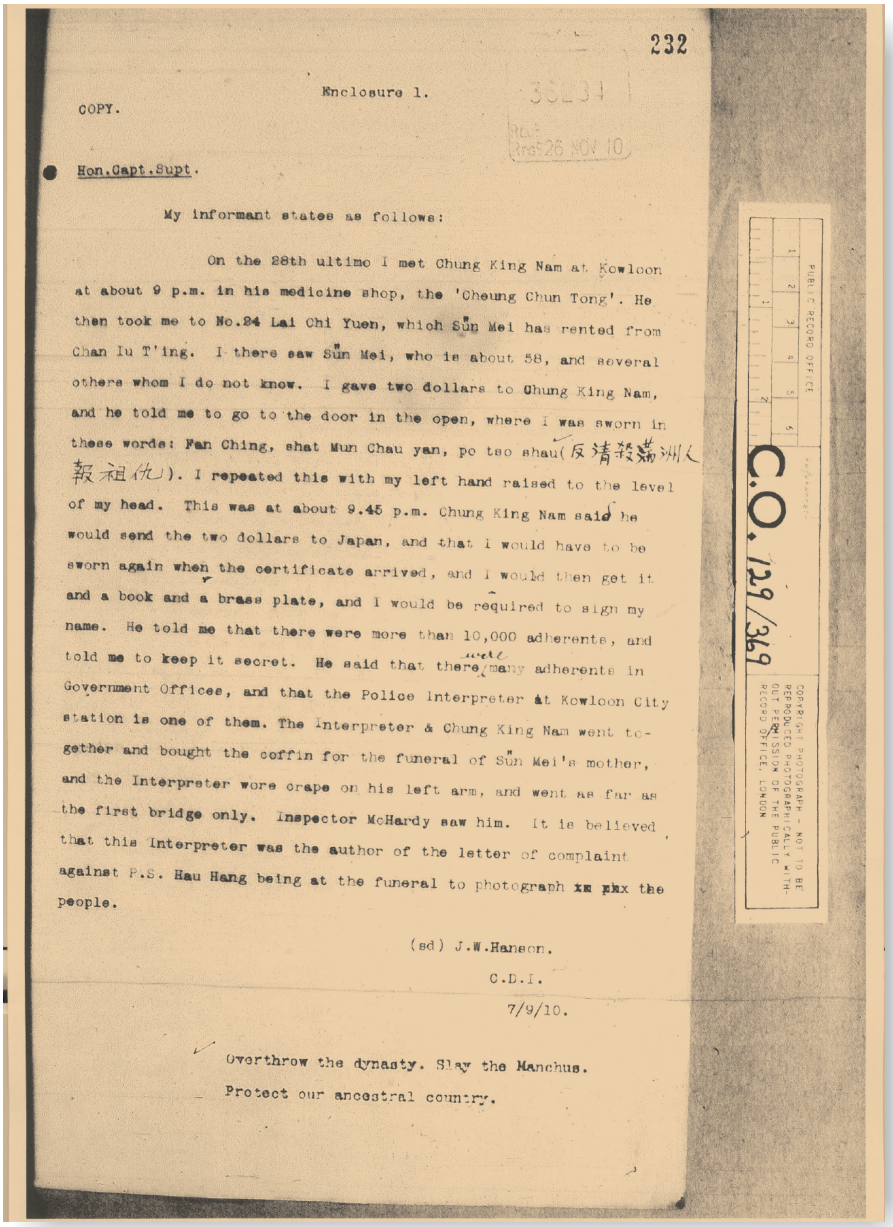
I have the honour to inform your Lordship that in July last the Viceroy of the Two Kwang Provinces addressed a letter to His Majusty's Conlsul-General at Canton stating that Sun Mei brother of the notorious Sun Yat-Sen and on Tseng Kung-Yuan, whom he described as revolutionaries, were holding secret meetings in this Colony at which plots against the Chinese Government were planned.

2. The Police reported that the two persons referrred to were residing at Kowloon City and that they were engaged in inducing persons to join an Anti-Dynastic Association with a view to promoting a rising against the Chinese Government during the autumn of this year in the Kwangtung Province.

After considerable trouble the Police succeeded in introducing an informer- a shopkeeper residing in the Colony-into the house who was duly sworn in as member of the well known Chinese Secret Society called the Kak Ming Tong. Copy of the report made by the informer is enclosed. As a result Sun Mei was banished on the 28th. Ultimo. He went to Singapore and I am sending a copy of this despatch to the Governor of the Straits Settlements. It was not possible to banish Chung King-Nam as he was born in the New Territories. The Executive Council were divided in opinion as to whether there was sufficient evidence to justify the banishment of Tsang Kung-yuan and further enquiries are being made concerning him and concerning the Kak Ming Tong the existence of which in this Colony seems to be wide-spread and to be by no means skotched by the banishment of Sun Mei.

I enclose copy of correspondence with the Consul-General of the United States of America concerning the banishment of Sun Mei, who appreas to be an American citizen。

I have the honour to be,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient,
humble servant,
sign
Officer Administreing the Government



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Enclosure 1.

COPY.

Hon.Capt.Supt.

My informant states as follows:

On the 28th ultimo I met Chung King Nam at Kowloon at about 9 p.m. in his medicine shop, the 'Cheung Chun Tong'. He then took me to No.24 Lai Chi Yuen, which Sun Mei has rented from Chan Iu T'ing. I there saw Sun Mei, who is about 58, and several others whom I do not know. I gave two dollars to Chung King Nam, and he told me to go to the door in the open, where I was sworn in these words: Fan Ching, shat Mun Chau yan, po tso shau(反清殺滿洲人報祖仇). I repeated this with my left hand raised to the level of my head. This was at about 9.45 p.m. Chung King Nam said he would send the two dollars to Japan, and that I would have to be sworn again when the certificate arrived, and I would then get it and a book and a brass plate, and I would be required to sign my name. He told me that there were more than 10,000 adherents, and told me to keep it secret. He said that there were many adherents in Government Offices, and that the Police Interpreter at Kowloon City station is one of them. The Interpreter & Chung King Nam went together and bought the coffin for the funeral of Sun Mei's mother, and the Interpreter wore crape on his left arm, and went as far as the first bridge only. Inspector McHardy saw him. It is believed that this Interpreter was the author of the letter of complaint against P.S. Hau Hang being at the funeral to photograph the people.

(sd) J.W.Hanson.
C.D.I.
7/9/10.

Overthrow the dynasty. Slay the Manchus.
Protect our ancestral country.

C.O. 129/369
PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE
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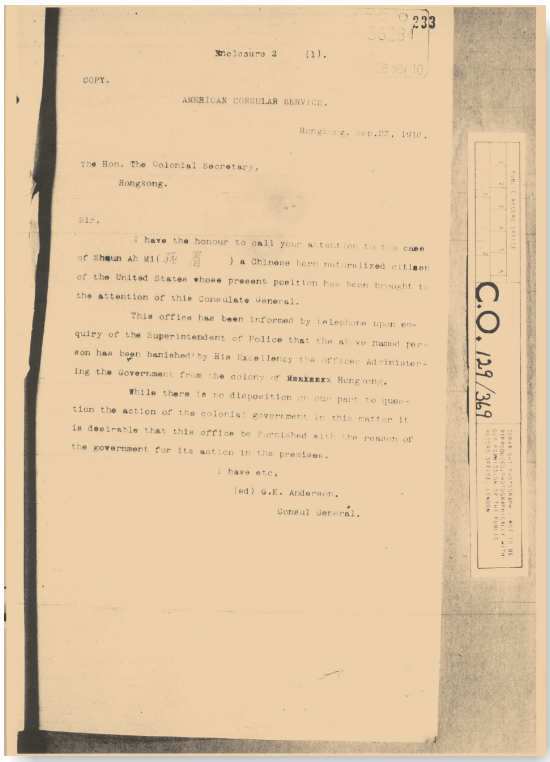
118. 线人的口供
Informant's testimony


Enclosure 2 (1).

COPY.

AMERICAN CONSULAR SERVICE.

Hongkong, Sep.23, 1910.

The Hon. The Colonial Secretary,
Hongkong.

Sir,

I have the honour to call your attention to the case of Sheun Ah Mi(孫眉) a Chinese born naturalized citizen of the United States whose present position has been brought to the attention of this Consulate General.

This office has been informed by telephone upon enquiry of the Superintendent of Police that the above named person has been banished by His Excellency the Officer Administering the Government from the colony of Hongkong.

While there is no disposition on our part to question the action of the colonial government in this matter it is desirable that this office be furnished with the reason of the government for its action in the premises.

I have etc,

(sd) G.E. Anderson.

Consul General.

C.O. 129/369

119. 美国领事给香港辅政司的信
Letter from the American Concul General to the Colonial Secretary of Hong Kong dated September 23, 1910

1910年9月23日：

先生，我提醒你注意，有一个美籍的华人，他的现时处境，已经引起了本馆的注意。

本馆从电话得到的消息，在警察局调查中，上述孙眉已经被政府（辅政司）放逐出境。

但我们没有准备向贵政府对这件事件提出质疑之前，我们希望得到的真正原因，请你们提供你们政府要驱逐的原因。

Enclosure 2 (1)

COPY

AMERICAN CONSULAR SERVICE

Hongkong, Sep. 23, 1910

The Hon. The Colonial Secretary,
Hong Kong

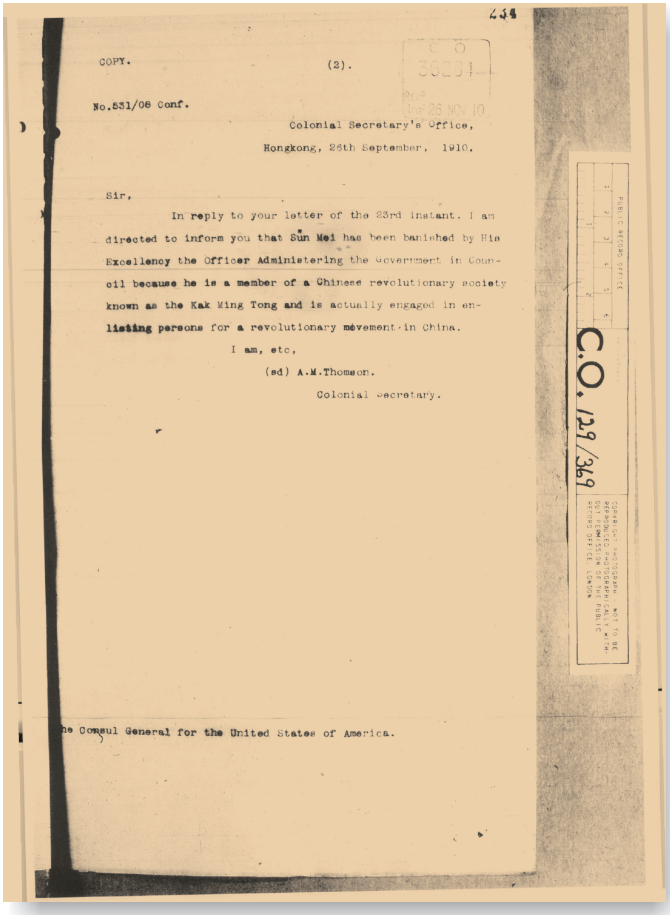
Sir,

I have the honour to call your attention to the case of Sheun Ah Mi (孙眉) a Chinese born naturalized citizen of the United States whose present position has been brought to the attention of this Consulate General.

This office has been informed by telephone upon enquiry of the Superinterdent of Police that the above named person has been banished by His Excellency the Officer Administering the Government from the colony of Hongkong.

While there is no disposition on our part to question the action of the colonial government in this matter it is desirable that this office be furnished with the reason of the government for its action in the premises.

I have etc,
(sd) G.E. Anderson.
Consul General.



COPY. (2).

No.531/08 Conf.

Colonial Secretary's Office,
Hongkong, 26th September, 1910.

Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 23rd instant, I am directed to inform you that Sun Mei has been banished by His Excellency the Officer Administering the Government in Council because he is a member of a Chinese revolutionary society known as the Kak Ming Tong and is actually engaged in enlisting persons for a revolutionary movement in China.

I am, etc,
(sd) A.M.Thomson.
Colonial Secretary.

he Consul General for the United States of America.

C.O. 129/369

120. 1910年9月26日，香港辅政司回美国领事信

先生，答复你们23日的来文，我正式通知你，行政局已正式放逐孙眉，因为他是中国革命党，实际上他是在引导人参加乱党的入会，为反对清廷。

Hong Kong Colonial Secretary replied to the American Consul General dated September 26, 1910

COPY (2)

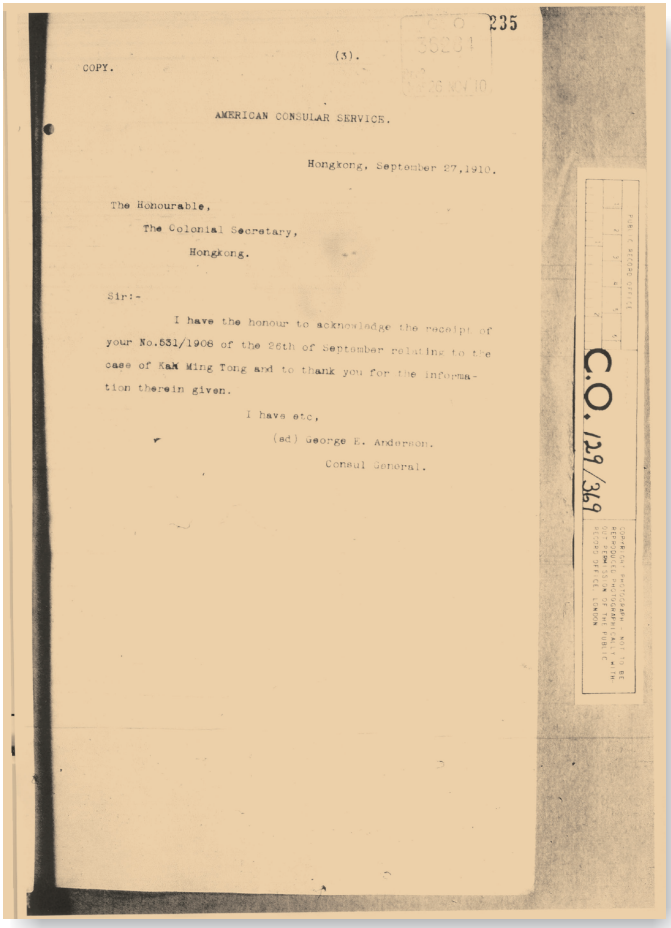
Colonial Secretary's Office,
Hongkong, 26th September, 1910.

Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 23rd instant, I am directed to inform you that Sun Mei has been banished by His Excellency the Officer Administering the Government in Council because he is a member of a Chinese revolutionary society known as the Kak Ming Tong and is actually engaged in enlisting persons for a revolutionary movement in China.

I am, etc,
(sd) A. M. Thomson
Colonial Secretary.

The Consul General for the United States of America



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COPY. (3).

AMERICAN CONSULAR SERVICE.

Hongkong, September 27,1910.

The Honourable,
The Colonial Secretary,
Hongkong.

Sir:-

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your No.531/1908 of the 26th of September relating to the case of Kak Ming Tong and to thank you for the information therein given.

I have etc,
(sd) George E. Anderson.
Consul General.

C.O. 129/369

121. 1910年9月27日，美国领事回信

26日来信收悉，有关于革命党的案件已收到。多谢你的来信。

American Consul General replied on September 27, 1910

COPY (3)

AMERICAN CONSULAR SERVICE

Hongkong, September 27, 1910

The Honourable,
The Colonial Secretary,
Hongkong

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your No, 531/1908 of the 26th of September relating to the case of Kak Ming Tong and to thank you for the information therein given.

I have etc,

(sd) George E. Anderson.

庇能会议

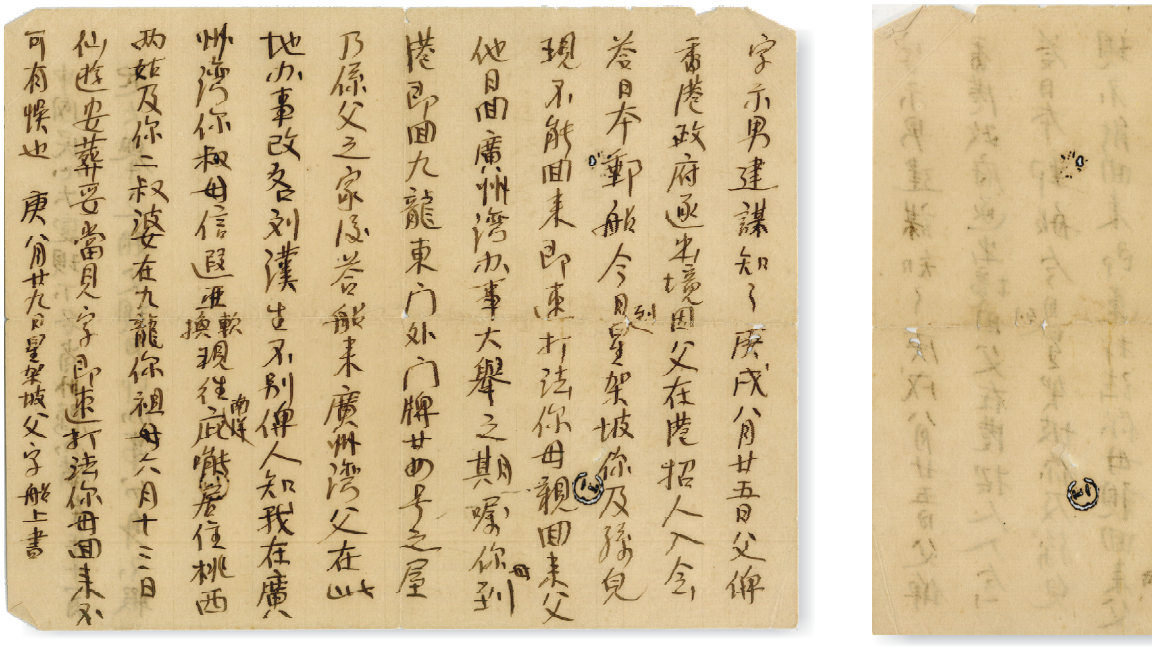
1910年10月，眉公从香港启程到新加坡，乘船途中，他匆匆写信给远在美国三藩市的儿子，信上说：

字示男建谋知之:

庚戌八月廿五日（公历9月28日），父俾(给)香港政府逐出境，因父在港招人入会。搭日本邮船今日到星(新)加坡。你及孙儿现不能回来，即速打法(发)你母亲回来。父他日回广州湾办事。大举之期，嘱你母到港即回九龙东门外门牌廿四号之屋，乃系父之家。后搭船来广州湾。父在此地办事，改名刘汉生，别俾(给)人知我在广州湾。你叔母偕阿娗、阿婉现往南洋庇能居住；桃、茜两姑及你二叔婆在九龙；你祖母六月十三日仙游，安葬妥当。见字即速打发你母回来，不可有误也。

庚戌八月二十九日新加坡父字船上书

背页：中国民心大变，现下各省州县办备本年十一月起大举之期，父现日即办事，分身不暇。

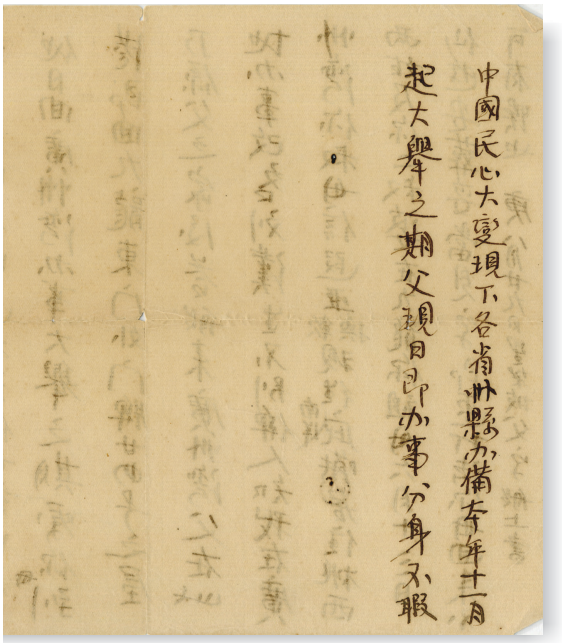


122. 孙眉在赴新加坡船上写信给孙昌。
Sun Mei wrote to his Son Sun Chong while on board ship on his way to Singapore after being deported from Hong Kong.

令眉公和孙中山都意想不到的是，新加坡亦无他们容身之地。刚抵步，新加坡政府便敦促他离境。原来，眉公刚一离开香港，新加坡政府就接到了香港政府发出的知会，被告知“孙眉属革命分子”，不能逗留新加坡。11月13日，眉公奉孙中山命令到庇能参加会议，决定广州起义的事。

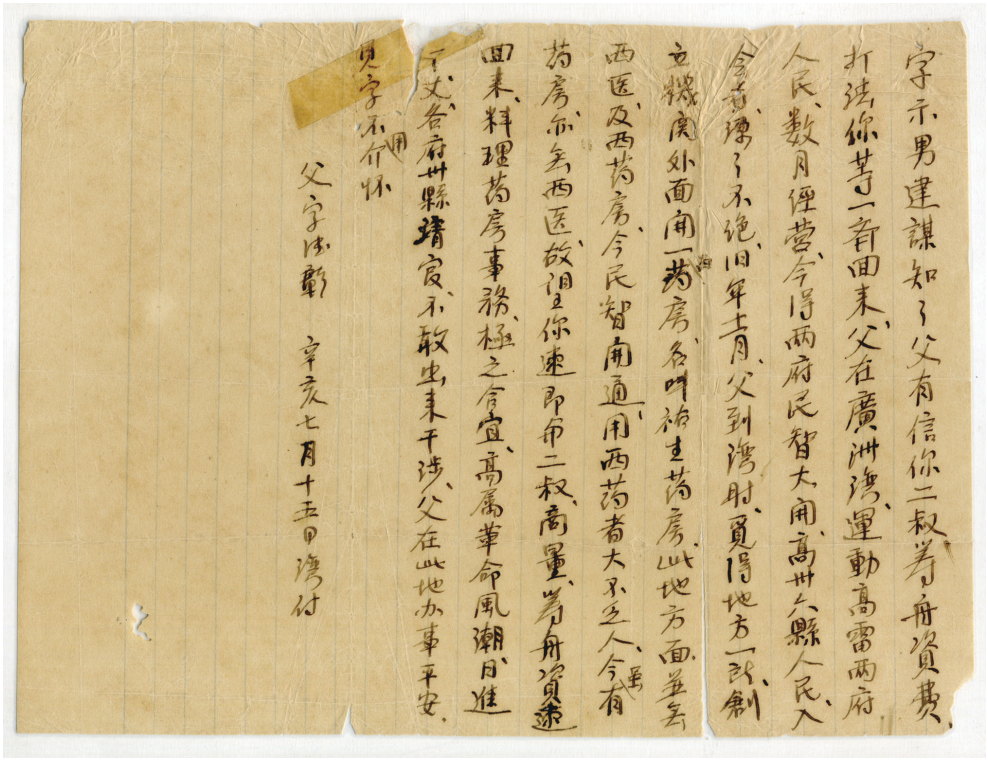
庇能会议在孙中山的寓所，拿督克拉马特律400号，即柑仔园400号举行，这是一个秘密会议。黄兴、赵声、胡汉民、孙眉，还有庇能的黄金庆、吴世荣、林世安，怡保的李孝章，芙蓉的邓泽如，坤甸的李义侠等都参加了。会议决定以新军为骨干，组织500选锋，在广州起义，为筹集款项，以中国教育义捐为名，发捐册，募集十万元。英何各属各五万元，暹罗安南三万元。将全党人力财力投入准备。计划广州得手后，由黄兴统一军趋湖北，赵声统一出江西、趋南京。长江流域各省举兵响应，会师北伐。

同日，孙中山在打铜街120号槟城阅书报社再开大会，讨论新军起义的有关问题，并发表演说。孙中山说“光复大业，在此一举，固将尽倾吾党人才物力以赴之”。他动员“海外同志捐钱，国内同志捐命，共肩救国之责任”。孙中山词恳意切，慷慨激昂，使在场的同志十分感动，当场筹得8000余元。



庇能会议决定袭取广州，为了筹集起义的经费，他们以“中国教育义捐”的名义，宣称筹款目的旨在振兴中国教育，向庇能的华侨和海外的侨胞劝捐。当时眉公与卢太夫人、陈粹芬及孙中山的两个女儿都住在庇能，杨德初再返广州湾。1911年年初，眉公返回广州湾继续革命活动。

庇能，记录了眉公从实业家走向职业革命家的一段十分重要的历程，此外，庇能还与孙家另一位重要成员陈粹芬有着千丝万缕的关系，这位深受孙府上下几十口爱戴的南洋婆“阿太”在这里度过了生命中最宝贵的时光，也是她，为孙家后人留下了珍贵的口传革命历史。



123. 孙眉于1911年7月15日去信给孙昌
July 15, 1911, Sun Mei wrote to his son about his situation in Zhan Jiang. Telling im about the operation of a pharmacy is his cover for his revolutionary work.

July 15, 1911, Sun Mei wrote to his son:

To my Son Jian Mou: I have written to you uncle about raising money to send you and your family home. I am now in Guangzhou Bay campaigning for support from the people in the two territories of Gao and Lei. After several months of painstaking efforts, the people of these area have awaken. Large number of people in the 36 counties of the Gao territory now joined our party. In November last year when I came to Guangzhou Bay, I set up my operation base with a pharmacy store called the "You Sheng Pharmacy" as the front. There was no western medical doctor or western medicine pharmacy here before. But now people have learned to be treated by western medicine. Even though we have the western pharmacy, there is no western doctor. I hope you will discuss with your uncle to raise money for your trip to return to manage this pharmacy which is suitable for you. At the height of this revolutionary tide, many officials of the Qing government dare not openly interfere. I am quite safe here so you need not worry about me.

Father De Chang
July 15, 1911 in Guangzhou Bay

组织发动广州湾起义

广州湾是眉公从支持革命到成为一位职业革命者的地方。我们到过湛江昔日的广州湾（Guangzhou Bay）访问，在当地档案馆查阅了这段如今湛江人并不陌生的历史：

广州湾是明清时期形成的名称，是广东、广西、海南的交通要道。经广州湾可直通西南各省，南下可达越南，历史上是战略的“天南重地”。1897年，法国军舰白瓦特号(Bayard)的舰长因避台风闯入广州湾，而为这个深水良港而动心，献计法国政府“租借”广州湾。1898年4月，法国侵略者强占广州湾的海头汛（今霞山），当地人民愤起抗击，斗争持续一年多。1899年11月16日，昏庸的清政府却与法国签订了《中法互订广州湾租界条约》，把广州湾租借给法国99年。1943年，广州湾被日军占领，1945年抗战胜利，广州湾归回中国，从此定名为“湛江”。

法国租借广州湾后，宣布广州湾为免税贸易自由港,使广州湾的对外贸易曾繁盛一时，诸如大宗洋药进口、鸦片贩运等，因此有钱的人相对较多，革命筹款较易。加上广州湾由法国管辖，开展革命活动可以避开清朝镇压，所以，广州湾也是孙中山革命活动出入的地方。

1909年，革命党的势力发展极为迅速，香港同盟会部分会员建议于香港分会外另设南方支部，以扩大革命组织。10月，同盟会南方支部在香港黄泥涌道成立，负责南方各省的军事和会务，由胡汉民为支部长。1910年，眉公被孙中山任命为同盟会南方支部副支部长，随即受孙中山派遣，化名黄镇东、刘汉生，与老友杨德初一道，秘密潜入广州湾，筹建同盟会机关，开辟新的革命根据地。眉公不辱使命，他依靠当地乡绅志士，成立了同盟会广州湾机关，并不断地扩大组织。在朋友的介绍下，眉公首先认识了在赤坎的商人杨益三。杨益三是遂溪县文车人，当时37岁，是广州湾商会的董事，在商界很有影响。杨益三青年时曾当过雇工、做过豆腐的小本生意，有了积蓄才开铺经商，但他对丧权辱国的清政府极之不满，他拥护孙中山推翻封建帝制，建立共和的革命，他认为只有这样，中国人才能摆脱贫困落后和被外国帝国主义者欺凌的处境。杨益三为人忠厚讲义气，和眉公性格相投，两人一谈即合。由眉公介绍，杨益三成了广州湾的第一位同盟会会员。入会后，杨益三把在赤坎大通街的荣兴号商铺作为据点，让眉公住在商铺里，以经商为掩护，发展会员。不久梁海珊、陈鹤舫等加入。同盟会广州湾支

部正式成立后，负责发动高雷八属民众为孙中山的武装起义及其他的地方起义输送志士及筹集经费。为了发展同盟会员，眉公在赤坎开设了三泰利号经营药店，作为同盟会的通讯处，重点在吴川、化州、高州一带活动。眉公还代表孙中山审批发展同盟会组织，签发委任状。高雷各县先后成立了同盟分会，并配备了领导成员。

吴川人陈鹤舫对清廷对外丧权辱国对内腐败殃民的行径十分痛恨，1908年末他经朋友介绍结识了眉公。眉公以《民报》等革命宣传品，向陈鹤舫宣传孙中山的武装革命思想，引导陈鹤舫加入了同盟会，并任命陈鹤舫为机关的领导人之一。眉公与陈鹤舫深入到吴川一带活动发展同盟会员。第一次，眉公随陈鹤舫从广州湾的西营到梅菉，就发动了陈鹤舫的挚友陈玉臣加入了同盟会。陈玉臣是清朝首任驻美公使陈兰彬的侄儿，陈兰彬后来失宠慈禧太后，被撤了官职，连带陈玉臣的父亲也失去了盐务使的肥缺，陈玉臣因此对清朝不满。陈玉臣入会后，眉公交给他筹集革命经费的任务，陈对此事十分热心，出了不少力。眉公先后四次到吴川梅菉、泗岸一带吸收同盟会员，传播革命的火种，使吴川成为同盟会在南方的一个重要据点。在泗岸陈鹤舫的家中，眉公以营商为掩护，发展革命组织。在泗岸的塘缀乡有一位乡村教师杨舜堂，为人很正义，他知道刘永福在越南打胜仗，但清廷却与法国订立了辱国的条约，接着广州湾又被法国占领，杨舜堂对此感到十分悲愤，眉公发动他加入同盟会后，他的热情很高，1911年秋天，同盟会在化州等地首先起义，他带着儿子杨德西参加了民军，攻打县衙，光复化州。他的儿子在这次战斗中牺牲了。1910年“三二九”广州黄花岗起义失败后，眉公再次来到广州湾。1911年辛亥革命爆发，眉公立即发动同盟会员组织民军起义响应，年底，吴川、廉江等高州六属、徐闻、海康、遂溪、雷州等全部起义成功，雷州半岛光复后，建立了共和政权。

眉公在与陈鹤舫的革命活动中结下了深厚的友谊，两人结拜金兰，眉公比陈鹤舫年长18岁，是大哥，化名为黄镇东的眉公亦因此而被当地革命党人称为“黄大哥”。当时同盟会的主要任务是组织反清武装起义的军事力量，他们策反清军反正，联络会党，善导绿林。争取绿林投入革命队伍也是当时一项重要的措施，高属绿林有太平天国遗留在广西、广东边境的残余队伍，他们以“劫富济贫”为口号，在化州一带活动，眉公和陈鹤舫便在他们当中宣传推翻清廷创立民国的道理，吸收中间坚定分子加入同盟会。辛亥年初，黄士龙在高州清乡“清剿”革命党人，命令信宜县令逮捕了陈鹤舫，向他施以酷刑，陈四肢瘫痪仍坚贞不屈，眉

公通过陈兰彬等及会党人士营救，均不奏效。直到高州起义成功，才救出陈鹤舫，并推举陈出任首届高州府都督。1912年1月，陈因伤势过重，不抓紧治疗则会导致终身残废，省政府派员送陈到广州医治，虽当时政府财政十分困难，但尽力对陈医理，眉公更是亲自延聘内科、骨科为陈疗诊，时一老中医提出，可用野生人参调理，眉公即想法筹得数千元，为陈买得五支人参，经过一年治疗，陈得痊愈。“二次革命”失败后，孙中山、黄兴出走日本。陈鹤舫也随眉公逃往澳门，待风声稍缓，陈改名陈寿昌，报名广东公立法政专门学校读书，潜入广州。后还任过孙中山大元帅府、总统府秘书等职务。

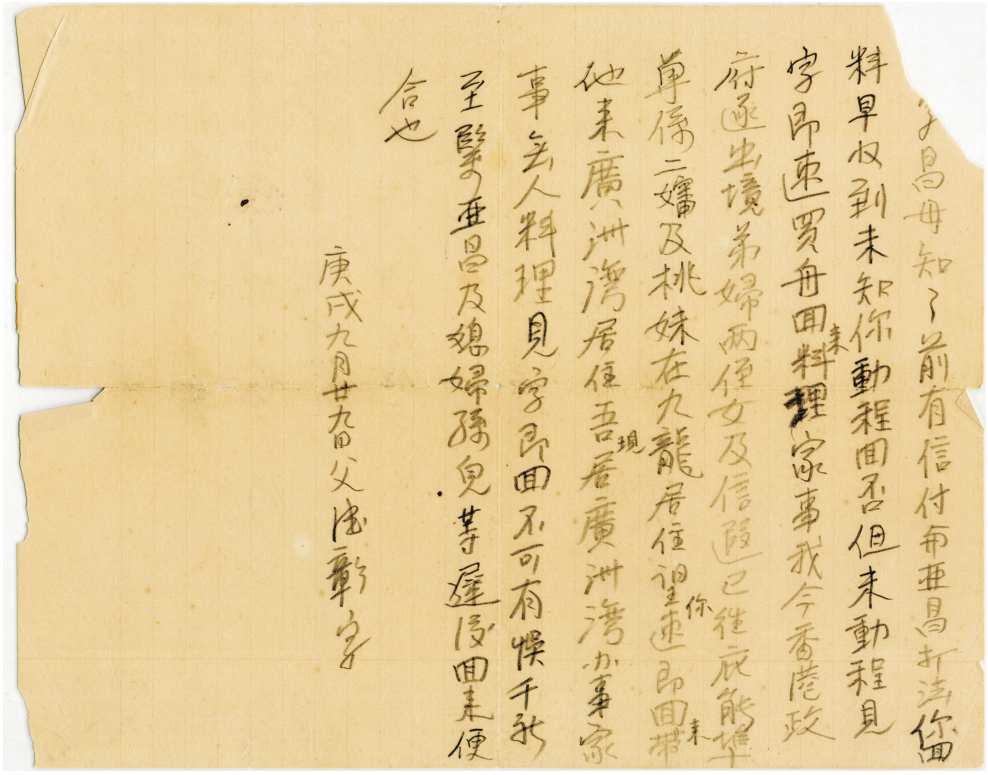
杨益三在高雷六属起义成功后，未以功臣自居，继续经营商业，晚年时见国事仍未有起色，也十分失意，但仍教导子女坚持爱国，不可忘国忘家。凡有公益，杨益三从不落后于人，为乡人敬重。1924年6月病逝于家中，享年52岁。后人为缅怀杨益三对孙中山革命的支持，修一座两层小楼以为纪念，时有国民党主席林森题词“光大”刻于堂前正门额上，门后刻有时任广东省公安厅长徐闻人何荦题词“继往开来”四字。然时过境迁，又多遭动乱，惟门前“益三公纪念堂”六个大字还依稀可见。在湛江时，我专程到益三墓园拜祭，其墓园气势宏伟。在墓园的纪念亭上，叔公孙科和当时国民党多位要员如林森、居正、刘纪文、陈济棠、汪兆铭等均有题字。陵园保存完好，可见当地人民对于这一段历史是记忆深刻的。

眉公在广州湾开创的革命活动，让我们更加感悟到当年孙中山派孙眉赴广州湾的明智之举。眉公在广州湾各处活动，所筹得的银两由眉公往返奔波于西南边陲，交给同盟会作反清武装起义经费。孙中山先生先后在西南边境领导的六次武装起义，有力地打击了清朝地方势力，鼓舞了反清革命士气，动摇了清朝统治，眉公及其战友功不可没，这有汪兆铭为杨益三写的墓碣为证：

当年总理提倡革命，密令同志孙眉在广州湾组织机关，相机行事。君慷慨慕义，毅然加入同盟会，对防城，镇南关，钦廉，上思诸役，始终相从，所有筹饷密谋，事靡巨细，恒视其力之所至，未尝诿责。

当年眉公在广州湾行动低调，人们只知 “黄大哥”而不识孙德彰，更不知当年“茂宜王”。据杨益三后人回忆：“孙眉常出入荣兴号,闲时还向益三之女讲说男女平等、女人应读书求自主的道理。”

我在孙家的祖传遗物中找到了当年眉公从广州湾寄出的一封家书，可作为佐证：



124.孙眉给孙昌信
Letter from Sun Mei to Sun Chong

字昌母知之，前有信付与亚昌，打法（发）你回，料早收到，未知你动程回否，但未动程，见字即速买舟回来料理家事。我今（被）香港政府逐出境，弟妇两侄女及信遐（顺霞）已往庇能埠，单系二婶及桃妹在九龙居住，望你速即回来，带他来广州湾居住。吾现居广州湾办事，家事无人料理，见字即回，不可有误，千祈至紧。亚昌及媳妇孙儿等迟后回来便合也。

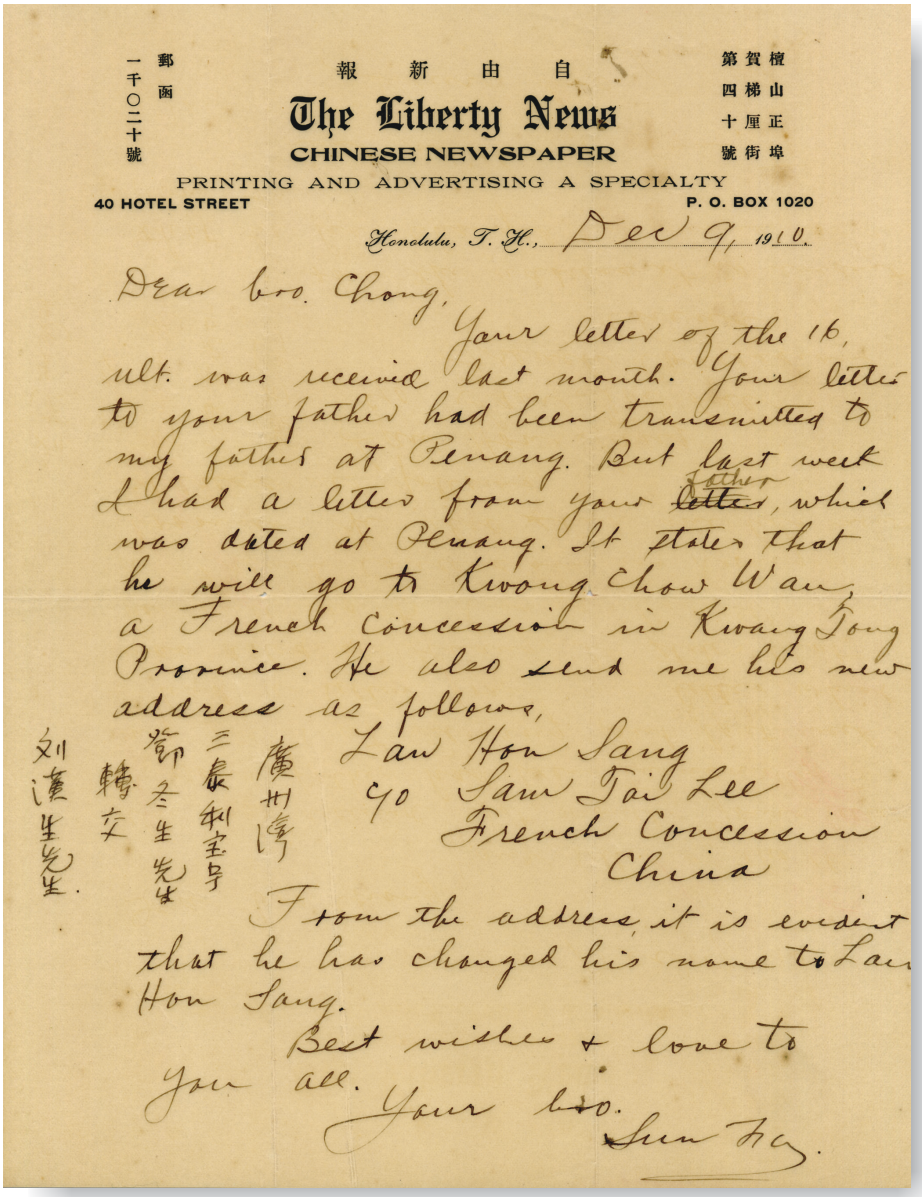
庚戌九月廿九日父德彰字

在往返广州湾发动起义中，眉公还曾在顺德等地联络革命同志梁璧联等，扩大组织吸收梁璧联加入同盟会。4月27日，农历三月廿九日，黄兴率领选锋攻打两广总督衙门，广州起义爆发。在同盟会员朱执信、胡毅生策动下，顺德两龙、甘竹、马宁、容桂地区九支民军1000多人在乐从举义反清，并与南海队伍会合，一举攻下团练分局，击退前来镇压的清军水师，渡江北进，攻占佛山，有力地策应了广州起义。起义失败后，黄兴、朱执信等负伤，化装逃脱，喻培伦、方声

洞、林觉民等86人牺牲。

但此次起义对世界各国的影响非常之大，海内外的同胞，无不以此而大生感奋。“革命之声威从此愈振，而人心更奋发矣”。“三二九”起义后，眉公发动顺德民军首领罗景良加入同盟会，授予梁璧联委任状，组织顺德民军，伺机响应。

1911年10月，武昌起义爆发，广东革命形势急剧发展，梁璧联、罗景良策动举义响应。在进驻广州的十八路民军中，由顺德人统领的就占了三路，有力地推动了广东革命形势的发展。



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40 HOTEL STREET

P. O. BOX 1020

Honolulu, T. H., Dec 9, 1910.

Dear bro. Chong,

Your letter of the 16, ult. was received last month. Your letter to your father had been transmitted to my father at Penang. But last week I had a letter from your ~~letter~~ father, which was dated at Penang. It states that he will go to Kwong Chow Wan, a French Concession in Kwang Tong Province. He also send me his new address as follows,

Lau Hon Sang
c/o Sam Tai Lee
French Concession
China

From the address, it is evident that he has changed his name to Lau Hon Sang.

Best wishes & love to you all.

Your bro.
Sun Fo.

廣州灣
三泰利宝号
節冬生先生
轉交
刘漢生先生.

125. 孙科致孙昌信
Letter from Sun Fo to Sun Chong

Dec 9, 1910 Honolulu

Dear Brother Chong,

Your letter of the 16 ult. was received last month. Your letter to your father has been transmitted to my father at Penang. But last week I had a letter from your father, which was dated at Penang. It states that he will go to Kwong Chow Wan, a French Concession in Kwong Tong Province. He also send me his new address as follows,

Lau Hon Sang	广州湾
c/o Sam Tai Lee	三泰利宝号
French Concession	邓冬先生 转交
China	刘汉生先生

From the address it is evident that he has changed his name to Lau Hon Sang.

Best wishes and love to you all.

Your brother
Sun Fo

*

1910年12月9日 檀香山

昌兄

16日来函已于上月收悉， 致尔父函弟已转至庇能家父处。

上周收到一封尔父从庇能发出的信函，称兄不日将赴广东省境内之法属广州湾，还给了一现址如下：广州湾三泰利宝号邓冬先生转交刘汉生先生。

如此看来，尔父已更名为刘汉生。

祝一切

安好

都督之争

广州光复之后，胡汉民、陈炯明先后担任广东都督。

“辛亥广州光复之后，胡汉民陈炯明迭任都督，一部同盟会员及华侨之不慊于胡陈者，乃有恢复旧兴中会之议，群拥德彰为首领，以与军政当局相抗衡。德彰忠厚性成，颇为所用。实则辛亥以前旧兴中会会员之参预其事者，殆无一人，德彰特供其傀儡品而已。”

1911年12月23日，孙中山从海外回到上海。12月29日，孙中山被选为临时大总统。同日，香港《华字日报》刊登了孙中山给眉公的电报。电文：

孙寿屏鉴：精卫尚谦让，当力催之来。约旬日可归粤。文

此时，眉公正在积极为孙中山革命筹款。从电报可见，孙中山力主胡汉民出任广东都督。

1912年1月1日，中华民国成立，在南京举行开国大典。

陈炯明屡言辞都督职，粤省党人军人及各社团各自选举都督，电请孙大总统委任，中以举德彰者为最多。南京总统府收此电文凡百数十通。



126. 眉公签押军需票
Sun Mei signed for military bond

2月5日，广州和香港两地的商人分别打电报给孙中山，提议由眉公当广东都督。2月21日，各社团在广州江边的怡园召开大会，专门讨论派代表会晤眉公，请他立即来广州担任都督。但孙中山却反对眉公任都督，同日，孙中山在给广东各团体报馆的电报中说：

连接各界议举家兄为粤督之电，文未作答，非避嫌也。家兄质直过人，而素不娴于政治，一登舞台，人易欺以其方。粤督任重，才浅肆应，决非所宜。若为事择人，则安置民军，办理实业，家兄当能为之。与其强以所难，将来不免覆悚，何如慎之于始。知兄者莫若弟，文爱吾粤，即以爱兄也。

就在这一天，眉公也收到了弟弟劝他不要担任都督的信。孙中山在信中写道：

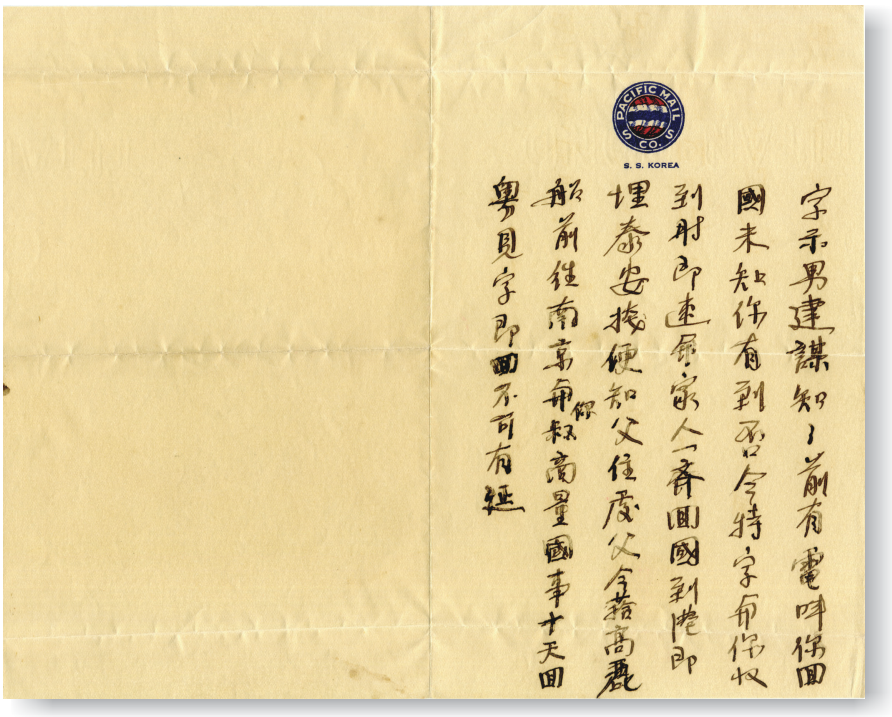
孙寿屏大哥鉴：粤中有人议举兄为都督，弟以为政治非兄所熟习。兄质直过人，一入政界，将有相欺以其方者。未登舞台，则众人属望，稍有失策，怨亦随生。为大局计，兄宜专就所长，专在一事，如安置民军，办理实业之类，而不必当此大任。且闻有欲用强力胁迫他人以举兄者，以此造因，必无良果，不可不避也。弟文叩

2月22日，“孙逸仙反对他的哥哥孙眉为广东都督，他再次电令陈炯明继续担任都督。”2月24日，孙中山致电广州强调，一旦袁世凯抵宁就任总统后，汪精卫南下广州就任粤督。都督陈炯明在就任者来穗前必须留任。任何团体均不得推选其他人担任粤督。

当时，“粤省民以兵力要挟省议会令举孙眉为都督”，而且南京总统府收到推举孙眉任都督的电文，前后“凡百数十通”，可见呼声之高。教育总长蔡元培也极力推荐眉公出任广东都督。孙中山复函蔡云：“惟才能是称，不问其党与省”。

2月24日，孙中山在致陈炯明及广东各界电中强调由陈炯明任都督，各界不可再举他人。2月26日，孙中山在致电陈席儒等时亦重申：“家兄之事，文期期以为不可，前已有电劝家兄及电省城各界矣，昨再电粤，许令精卫、汉民俱回，请省会毋庸另举他人。”同日，孙中山打电报给眉公，让他立即离开广州。

此时眉公已写信给儿子，告诉他要到南京去与孙中山商量。（图127）



127. 孙眉致孙昌信
A letter from Sun Mei to his son

字示男建谋知之，前有电叫你回国未知你有到否今特字与你收到时即速命家人一齐回国到港即埋泰安栈便知父住处父今搭高丽船前往南京与你叔商量国事十天回粤见字即回不可有延

I have previously cabled you to return to China. I now write to you and ask you to bring your family back to Hong Kong. Go to Tai An Hotel and you will know where I can be reached. I am now taking a Korean steamer to Nanking to discuss things with your uncle. I shall return to Guangdong in ten days. Return home immediately.

眉公到南京会见孙中山。他带了孙中山的好朋友飞南弟的信向弟弟报告广东的情况，并指责孙中山让位给袁世凯是失策。（图128）对陈炯明、胡汉民在治理广东不当之处提出了自己的意见。但孙中山却劝眉公从此勿干预政事。

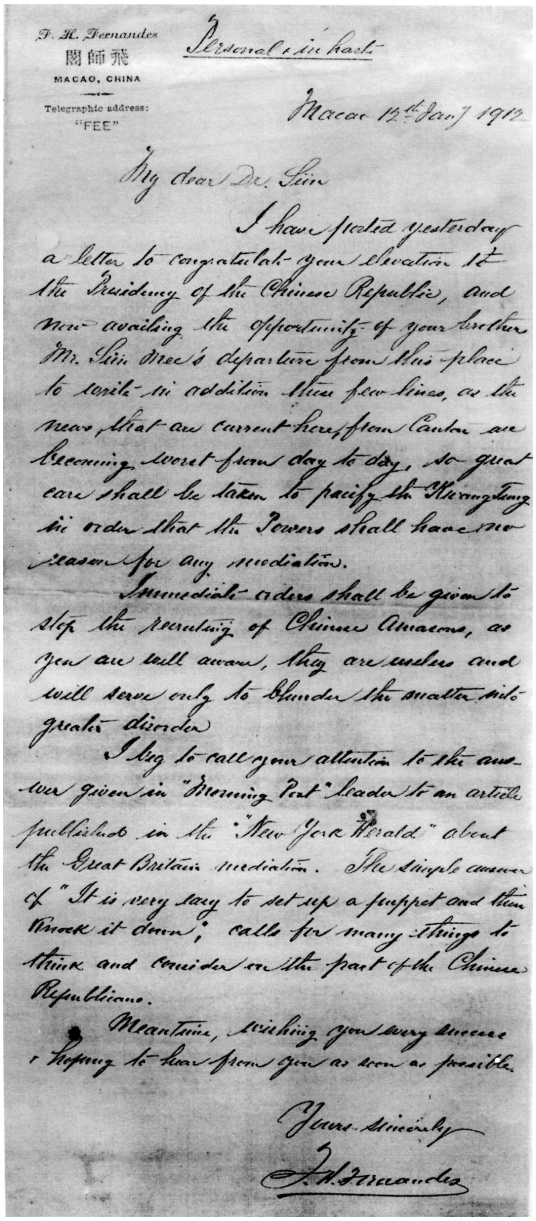
3月9日，孙中山以临时大总统的名义通电全国，宣布袁世凯就任临时大总统。

3月10日，袁世凯在北京就任第二任临时大总统。4月1日，孙中山正式解除临时大总统职务，专事全国铁路督办，致力实业救国。4月25日，孙中山回到广州。4月底，眉公仍为都督事到广州会见孙中山。此时的眉公并不是为一官位而争，也不是自恃对革命有功而博一官以盈利，而实在是为施展抱负，达成其为一方百姓造福的理想。

5月14日，眉公偕同孙家数十口人到香港百花林祭扫母亲杨太夫人墓。（图113）灵前毋忘告慰母亲。

5月20日，孙中山在香港与《士蔑西报》记者的谈话中，表示拟在澳门建屋给眉公居住。虽然此时的孙中山经济仍十分困窘，但对兄长的感激、爱戴之情仍丝毫不减。据胡汉民自传中说：自从他离开广东之后，民军石锦泉等更加跋扈专横，陈炯明指使魏邦平将石锦泉杀害，使王和顺、关仁甫、杨万夫等人人自危，他的同党就想法迫使陈炯明让位，而眉公和黄士龙等到南京时，也面陈孙中山。孙中山对王和顺等的为人很了解，已劝眉公不要受其欺骗。5月22日，辞职后的孙中山从香港来到澳门，再次调停眉公、王和顺、关仁甫之间的意见。

孙中山让位给袁世凯后，全国的局势更为动荡，广东尤为严重。当时王和顺领导的民军解散后曾组织“扶正同盟会”，以反对广东的军政府，扰乱广东社会秩序，并遥传孙眉是这个会的首领。孙中山对此十分反对，他发表了《通告粤中父老昆弟书》，劝告粤中父老：“毋轻信此等谣言”，号召“凡我同志，务宜万众一心，维持粤局”。眉公知道后，在孙中山发表《通告粤中父老昆弟书》的同时，亦于1912年6月8日在广州的《民生日报》发表了声明，表明了自己的立场：“民国成立，革命业已告成功。鄙人正拟约集海内外同志，提倡实业，以裕民生。乃近有不肖之徒，私立‘扶正同盟’会冒用鄙人名字，煽惑愚民，妄希第二次革命。似此不法行为，鄙人并未与闻，亦断不敢承认。鄙人爱护国民，唯恐不及，此种扰乱治安之举，稍有识者不为。鄙人惟有禀请政府严行查办，以为冒名作乱者戒而已。特此告白。”



F. H. Fernandes
閣師飛
MACAO, CHINA
Telegraphic address:
"FEE"

Personal & in haste

Macao 12th Jan'y 1912

My dear Dr. Sun

I have posted yesterday a letter to congratulate your elevation to the Presidency of the Chinese Republic, and now awaiting the opportunity of your brother Mr. Sun Mee's departure from this place to write in addition these few lines, as the news that are current here from Canton are becoming worst from day to day, so great care shall be taken to pacify the Kwong Tung in order that the Powers shall have no reason for any mediation.

Immediate orders shall be given to stop the recruiting of Chinese Amaems, as you are well aware, they are useless and will serve only to blunder the matter into greater disorder.

I beg to call your attention to the answer given in "Morning Post" leader to an article published in the "New York Herald" about the Great Britain mediation. The simple answer of "It is very easy to set up a puppet and then knock it down", calls for many things to think and consider on the part of the Chinese Republicans.

Meantime, wishing you every success, I hoping to hear from you as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely

F. H. Fernandes

128. 飞南弟致孙中山信

A letter from Fernandes to Sun Yat-Sen

阁师飞，中国·澳门　　1912年1月12日

亲爱的孙医生：

日昨寄出一封书信恭喜您就任中华共和大总统，而今等待令兄孙眉离此地的机会多加数言。正借近日广州传来消息越变越坏，切要小心把广东安定下来，使到权力不需再调解……

F.H. Fernandes

Macao, China　Macao 12th Jan., 1912

My Dear Dr. Sun,

I have posted yesterday a letter to congratulate your elavation to the Presidency of the Chinese Republic, and now waiting the opportunity of your brother Mr. Sun Mee's departure from this place to write in addition these few lines, as the news that are current here from Canton are becoming worst from day to day, so real care shall be taken to pacify the Kwong Tung in order that the powers shall have no reason for any mediation……

兄弟回故里

1912年5月27日，孙中山在辞去中华民国临时大总统职务后回到家乡。此时眉公对弟弟的抉择已有所理解，为了弟弟的回乡，他提前三天先行回到翠亨村打点一切。在乡期间，眉公见乡人对孙中山的拥戴，热烈的欢迎，已知民心所向。

孙家兄弟荣归故里，指名要见两个女人。一位是陆皓东的老母亲，陆皓东是孙中山的同乡与战友，为共和革命牺牲第一人，如今见其母代行子孝，自在情理之中；另一位便是郑强遗孀，孙眉一早就吩咐人把郑强婆接到翠亨来了。眉公和孙中山亲切慰问她们，回首往事，不胜唏嘘。

孙眉在家门口张罗了十几桌酒席宴请乡亲，一家人在故居门口合照了一张全家福。左起：孙婉、宋蔼龄、卢夫人、孙中山、孙眉、谭夫人、亲属、孙娅。兄弟俩还偕眷前往左坡村与宗亲聚会。



129.兄弟故居前合照
Picture of the two brothers taken in front of the family home
左起：孙婉、宋蔼龄、卢夫人、孙中山、孙眉、谭夫人、(亲属)、孙娅。

The Effect of China's unrest and corruption Overseas

The Opium War of 1840 had changed the nature of Chinese society, altered the course of its history, and introduced a tragic era of semi-feudel and semi-colonial reign.

When he was a child, Sun Mei had often heard stories from his father about the war happening right in front of the village. Father Dacheng had learned quite a lot about the war while apprenticing in Macau. A quiet, shy and peace-loving farmer, he worried about the safety of his home village.

Britain, at that time the most powerful colonialist, viewed China as a great source for raw materials and tried to force China to open its gates for control. Britain sent envoys in the years 1793 and 1816 to China in an attempt to establish deceptive agreements with the Chinese government through which trade would crash open the doors to China; but they failed to achieve their goals. In 1832, British invaders conducted reconnaissance along the Chinese coast to make plans for a military invasion of China. The chilling plot involved the blatant use of opium as a weapon.

The West's colonialists, led by Britain, sold opium to the Chinese people, making use of all of the most despicable means, including bribing officials and smuggling with military escorts. Most of the opium trade by ship was actually carried out on Venus Island just offshore from Xiangshan Village. Sun Mei's aunt Madam Cheng often told the children not to get too close to the water, warning them that there were red-bearded, green-eyed devils nearby.

While invaders were sharpening their knives, the rulers of China were obliviously enjoying their opium. Smoking opium had become widespread, endangering the stability of the Qing dynasty. Not until British warships had reached the country's front door did the Qing Government finally resolve to tackle the problem with any kind of determination. Deng Yanzhen (邓廷桢), who was appointed the governor of both Guangdong and Guangxi in 1835, gave orders to dispel the opium pontoons on Venus Island. Upon investigation, local officials found more than 14,000 pounds of opium on board these pontoons.

In 1839, the Qing government sent special envoy Lin Zexu (林则徐) to Guangdong to enforce the ban on opium. Lin dispatched the top officials of the

surrounding cities to Macau to register all households and joined local Portuguese officials in their search of foreigners' residences for opium. On July 8, after Lin and the governors of Guangdong and Guangxi burned the opium, Lin sent soldiers into Xiangshan to barricade all roads and notified the Portuguese government to deport all 57 English companies from Macau. Between September and November of 1839, the British initiated armed conflicts at Kowloon, Chuanbi and Guanchong. The Chinese Navy, headed by Admiral Guan Tianpei (关天培), resisted and fought back. In June, 1840, the British warship "Oriental Expedition" blockaded the Pearl River's outlet and invaded the waters of Xiangshan. The Opium War officially began.

At this critical juncture, Lin mobilized people in Xiangshan to join the soldiers in their fight against the foreign invaders. Admiral Guan fought the invaders off the coast of Xiangshan bravely until his death. In 1841, the British ships sneaked into the waterways inside Xiangshan, took two battery positions and attacked the village of Dutou. In the villagers' hard fight to defend the village, Lei Zhaocheng and fourteen others were killed. In May 1841, 103 people from the village of San Yuanli in Guangzhou started fighting against the British, dealing a heavy blow to the British forces. The British invasion in Guangdong ended in failure. Eight months later, the British forces expanded their invasion in China by attacking cities in Xiamen, Taiwan, Zhejiang and deep into the Yangtze River. Even though the Chinese soldiers and local farmers fought hard, they were betrayed by corrupt officials, who were intimidated by the powerful weapons and warships of the foreigners. These officials became hostile to the resistant forces organized by the people, and despite some single victories, the people never had a chance to turn the situation around. In August 1842, British troops arrived in Nanking and forced the Qing government to sign the humiliating "Nanking Treaty", in which China ceded Hong Kong to the British, paid a total of $21 million, and opened the five port cities of Guangzhou, Xiamen, Fuzhou, Ningbo and Shanghai to foreign trade. Further, the British would enjoy special tax treatment. Because the Chinese officials of the Qing were inexperienced in negotiating international trade policy, the two supplementary treaty agreements to the "Nanking Treaty" further undermined China's interests. The British gained the privileges of favored nation status, consulate right of judgment and building foreign settlements. Other nations such as the United States, France and Russia followed successfully with similar demands in the years to follow. These unfair treaties greatly damaged the sovereignty of the nation.

In December 1883, in order to control the northern part of Vietnam for the

purpose of opening up a gateway to faciliate the invasion of China's southwest, the French military initiated what would become the "Sino-French conflict". The Chinese soldiers and farmers fought bravely and eventually repelled the French military.

In August of 1884, the Mawei Shipyard in Fuzhou and the seven warships that took seven years to build were blown up and destroyed by the French Navy within seven minutes. Both the Chinese and English media reported at the time that Chinese soldiers suffered heavy losses in the Fuzhou Sea Battle. A Guangzhou newspaper urged that the government and businesses must join together to aid the wounded soldiers. Overseas Chinese in San Francisco and in Japan donated half a million and one million catties respectively, while Chinese living in Cuba and other countries also donated to the cause. Ship engineers in Hong Kong refused to repair French battle ships despite pressure from the British rulers.

In September 1884, a damaged French battleship came into Hong Kong harbour for repair, but Chinese engineers refused to work on the ship. The French had to tow the ship to Japan for repairs. A French torpedo warship drove into a Kowloon wharf for repair. Chinese workers and Hong Kong residents were planning to sabotage the ship and burn it. The British authority was alerted and set up 24-hour police security around the ship, banning all the Sampan boatmen from approaching the ship except those carrying food or supplies. When the police arrested some boatmen and imposed heavy fines on them, a large crowd of Hong Kong residents took to the streets and demanded the release of the boatmen and a refund of the fines. The government relented but the boatmen refused to return to work. The British soldiers tried to use force but the workers fought back, and in the resultant skirmish, one worker was killed while eleven British soldiers were injured. This incident spawned a riot, which led to the entire Hong Kong workforce staging a strike. Workers from all businesses voiced their support by not providing services to the French ships. Frenchmen were even denied service at hotels. The secret society Tian Di Hui was even planning a larger riot. The British government, concerned that the situation might escalate beyond control, invited prominent Chinese residents to mediate. The result of the mediation was that the British government released all boatmen, refunded the fines and guaranteed that the boatmen have the right not to bring supplies to French warships. This victory made headlines in China, giving Foreign Minister Li Hongzhang the much needed opportunity to negotiate a truce with the French. The Qing government believed that continued conflict could

elevate into a war with the people rising up to stage a military coup. In 1885, the Qing government sent Li Hongzhang (李鸿章) to Tianjin to sign a peace treaty with the French. The treaty recognized France as the protector of Vietnam and the border between Vietnam and China was to be confirmed by representatives of France and China. Both countries agreed that two border towns at Guangxi and Yunnan be opened for trade. China would also be required to consult with France on future railroad construction. Following the treaty, the presence of French forces in the area posed a continual threat at China's Southwest.

This Sino-French war drew to a ridiculous close through the Treaty of Tianjin: the French, who had suffered heavy military losses became the winner, while the victorious Chinese forces became the loser, as too many concessions were needlessly made in the treaty. The incompetence of the military, as well as the Qing's delegates in negotiating the treaty, incited great anger among the Chinese people. Chinese newpapers in Honolulu had reported the entire war and all the Chinese living in Hawaii were furious at the shameful mishandling of the truce by the Qing Government. At his store "De Chong Long", Sun Mei and his friends were disgusted by the ineptitude of the Qing government. When Sun Yat-sen returned to Hawaii in 1885, he told his brother of what he had heard and seen and expressed his determination to overthrow the Qing dynasty, a vision shared by Sun Mei.

In 1887, both Sun Mei and Sun Yat-sen returned to their home village of Cuiheng to tend to their ailing father. During these several months, the brothers spent much time discussing the political and social conditions in China. Various acts of bullying the weak by corrupt officials and village gangsters angered the Sun brothers. In 1883 when Sun Yat-sen took a sand boat from Hong Kong to Cuiheng, he experienced first-hand an extortion attempt by officials in the name of tax, or opium search. When Sun Yat-sen refused to be searched, the boat was detained overnight and customs officers would only let it go after the ship master had paid them off. Sun Mei told his brother that if this had happened in Hawaii, the officers would have been prosecuted in a court.

Their father also told them that the Sun clan had sold some land in previous generations. Because they could not afford to pay the cost of an official "Red Certificate" for the turnover, they had to do the tranasction with the "White Certificate", a document agreed upon by seller and buyer. This meant that they had to pay tax because the Suns were still registered as owner even though the land had been sold. They would have to pay this tax each year, unless they bribed the

official who could reduce the tax.

Security in the village was poor as well, as bandits and thieves were rampant in those days. When Sun Mei discovered that his brother was trying to improve the lives of the villagers by setting up security watches, getting villagers to chip-in for repairing streets, installing street lights, setting up schools, and openly criticizing the unreasonable taxes levied on villagers, Sun Mei offered his financial support as well.

However, Sun Yat-sen told his brother that there were obstacles in his attempts to improve village conditions. For instance, in the repairing of street roads, disputes would occur because of land use rights. Sun Yat-sen had asked the county chief to mediate, but before he could intervene, the sympathetic chief was replaced by a new one, someone who had bought the promotion for fifty thousand yuan. Disappointed, Sun Yat-sen tried to approach higher officials in Guangzhou, only to find that the higher officials were even more corrupt than those at the county level.

Sun Mei had hoped that improvements could be made despite such social conditions, but he grew increasingly disappointed with the Qing government. However, his brother had already begun taking action. In 1890, Sun Yat-sen wrote a letter to a Qing official Zheng Zaoru (郑藻如) while Zheng was taking his sick leave at home in Xiangshan. In his letter, Sun Yat-sen suggested radical changes that were inspired by what he had seen in the Western countries. He presented the ideas of “establishing an agricultural bureau to promote farming”, “establishing a bureau to terminate the use of opium”, and “establishing an education bureau to set up schools to promote general education”. He suggested that the plan could be first tried in Xiangshan before spreading to other parts of the country. Unfortunately, there was no response or action taken to Sun Yat-sen's suggestions, further fueling his desire for radical reform and revolution.

Zheng Zaoru was a Xiangshan native who served as ambassador to the United States, Spain and Peru from 1882 to 1886. During that time, the United States first broke international law by passing the “Chinese Exclusion Act” in Congress.

In early 1882, US senator John F. Miller presented a bill at the 47th Congress proposing a ban on Chinese entry into the United States. The Act would require the registration of all Chinese laborers already in the country and contained other clauses, such as the repatriation of Chinese laborers who committed felonies. Zheng Zaoru raised his objections to the U. S. State Department, successfully lobbying for the term of banning the entry of Chinese to be reduced to ten years. After the bill

was passed, Zheng again negotiated with the US Government, this time getting the US to agree that the Chinese Consulate had the right to issue certificates to those Chinese laborers who were planning to return home so that they could return to the States at a later date. The Chinese laborers working in Cuba would also be allowed to return to China by way of the United States. The Qing government would set up a consulate in New York to handle all such matters.

In August, 1884, Zheng sent two of his committee members from Hawaii to set up the "United Chinese Society of Hawaii" to unite the Chinese expatriates and to settle disputes. At that time, Hawaii had already followed in the footsteps of San Francisco by not employing Chinese workers. Zheng had requested his superior Li Hongzhang to help terminate such policies. Zheng's deeds of protecting the rights of Chinese in Hawaii were widely reported in newspapers in Guangzhou, Xiangshan, Hong Kong and Honolulu.

In 1892, Sun Yat-sen graduated from the Hong Kong Medical College with honors and was issued a medical license by the Hong Kong medical authority. The license noted the degree awarded with the title given as "licentiate". Professor James Cantline recommended that he and his schoolmate Jiang Yinghua become lecturers at the Tianjin Medical School, which was established by Li Hongzhang in 1881. Hong Kong governor Robinson forwarded the introduction letter to the British Ambassador in Beijing for submission to Minister Li. The letter highly recommended both Sun and Jiang, describing them as having been excellent, hard-working students. Minister Li replied to Governor Robinson, saying that both should come to Beijing to await vacancies and each would receive a fifty-yuan monthly salary as well as an honorary title. Sun Yat-sen at that time was determined to overthrow the Qing government and wanted to take the opportunity to go to Beijing to spread his cause. Both Sun and Jiang went with their teacher Cantline to Guangzhou to see the governor for his recommendation letter but they were instead asked to fill out a lengthy application for a license which requested history and background for three generations. Sun Yat-sen was disgusted at the bureaucracy and refused to go to Beijing.

Sun Yat-sen would eventually practice medicine in Macau and Guangzhou, while simultaneously and secretly building up an organization and connections for the revolution. Earlier, he learned from an Englishman and a Chinese business that "the Japanese are making their way into China", and he wanted to go to Tianjin to see what is all about. In the spring of 1894, he learned from newspaper that the

Jin-Shan railway line is now in operation and he could take the train from Tianjin to Tangshan to raise fund from fellow villagers and relatives from Xiangshan. He also wanted to go to Hawaii to raise fund but his passport has expired and it was difficult to get it renewed due to the newly enforced "Chinese Exclusion Act". His only hope to to get help from high officials like Li Hongzhang. Besides, Li was an honorary board member of the Hong Kong Medical College and knew Sun Yat-sen as the top student. Sun Yat-sen wrote to Minister Li Hongzhang citing four main points in his plan to revitalize China, but Li did not pay much attention to Sun's ideas for reform. He did not raise any fund from Tangshan either but he did get his passport to travel. Sun Yat-sen realized that such peaceful means were futile, so he decided to go to Hawaii straight from Shanghai.

Sun Mei heard all about what his brother was trying to do. Many of his friends and fellow villagers who had returned to Hawaii from China told him that his brother was causing big trouble back home by openly attacking the Qing government, acts which could lead to the downfall of the entire Sun family. Sun Mei responded with a smile, for in his heart, he understood the nature of what his brother was attempting to accomplish and he fully supported his deeds. Sun Mei started to pay close attention to the situation in China.

Lesson from Hawaii?s Political reform

Dramatic changes to Hawaii's political system took place in 1893. The story of the Hawaiian royalty began in 1810 when King Kamehameha I conquered and unified all the islands into one Kingdom. Kamehameha I died in 1819 and the throne was passed on to his son Kamehameha II with his mother Queen Kamuhalu acting as regent. She sought to improve women's rights and suppressed the power of the priests. She broke the ban on women being entitled to dine with men by having dinner with her son at the same table. When people saw that no punishment fell onto her and her son, the ancient law was finally rescinded. Kamehameha II brought equality to the people but unfortunately, both he and his wife died of smallpox and measles in 1824. In 1825, Kamehameha III became King. In 1840, he created a congress with an upper house represented by the royal family, and a lower house represented by ordinary people. Male citizens were allowed to vote. In 1843, England, France and the United States recognized Hawaii as an independent state. Hawaii had prospered with its whaling business and the United States became tempted to annex the island state. But Kamehameha III and other foreign forces joined together and frustrated the US's attempt. In 1848, he proclaimed a new law called "The Great Mahele" which allowed ownership of land by ordinary people. He did not anticipate, however, that most of the land would fall into the hands of the white Americans.

Due to the spread of plague, the Hawaiian workforce was decimated. As a result, Chinese laborers were needed and allowed to immigrate into Hawaii. In 1852, the first wave of contract Chinese laborers reached Hawaii from Guangdong and Fujian. Thereafter, workers from Portugugal, Japan, the Philippines, Korea, Samoa and the United States mainland started to pour in. These immigrants worked hard and once their contract expired, they were free to leave the pineapple farms and sugarcane plantations to start their own small business, to buy land and to send their children to good schools.

In 1863, King Kamehameha IV died at the age of 29, leaving his brother Lot to become King Kamehameha V. King Kamehameha V appointed foreigners as his advisers and rewrote the constitution to give himself the King more power while also offering foreigners greater protections. In fact, much of the power in the Kingdom was in the hands of the white people. In 1872, the second year after Sun Mei's arrival in Hawaii, King Kamehameha V died and in the selection of a succesor, the

popular Queen Emma was defeated by William Lunalilo (a descendent of one of King Kamehameha I's brothers) who became the King. But he died after only a year and David Kalakaua succeeded the throne. This is the King that would award Sun Yat-sen the second prize in English Grammar with a book at Sun's graduation. Soon after he became King, Kalakaua traveled to Washington to negotiate a bilateral treaty which would allow the exportation of Hawaiian sugar into the mainland without tax. After that, large amounts of American investment money poured into Hawaii for sugar mills and sugar cane plantations. But at the same time, the King tried to solidify his power by calling for "Hawaii for Hawaiians", a call which threatened the interests of the whites. Unfortunately, King Kalakaua led a luxurious life style, traveled extensively, and left the throne vacant for long periods of time, with his sister Liliuokalani acting as regent. In 1887, a group of armed, white extremists staged a riot and forced the King to accept the 1887 Constitution of the Kingdom of Hawaii, also called the "Bayonet Constitution" as it was forced upon the King by a militia armed with rifles mounted with bayonets. The constitution transformed Hawaii into a constitutional monarchy, making the King a virtual puppet. Furthermore, the document also stripped Asians, even those who previously could vote, of their suffrage, giving the white foreigners substantially disproportionate political control. Not only were Japanese, Chinese and other Asian alien residents no longer allowed to vote, but the law further required that voters have incomes of no less that 600 dollars annually and personal assets of not less than 3000 dollars, which removed voting eligibility from many local Hawaiians. In other words, only the wealthy whites would be qualified to vote, thereby placing nearly all political influence into the hands of the white people, regardless of whether they were even citizens of Hawaii. In 1891, King Kalakaua died in San Francisco with his sister Liliuokalani succeeding him. She was educated, smart and courageous, but her attempt to revise the "Bayonet Constitution" failed due to threats from the whites. On January 17, 1893, Americans joined with the white people from other countries and overthrew Queen Liliuokalani in a coup d'etat with the support of the US Navy and Marines. In January 1894, a provisional government was formed.

The provisional government also extended the Chinese Exclusion Act into Hawaii. This meant that the Chinese were forbidden to participate in political activities and to vote. A government bulletin published on July 26, 1894 stated that because the Chinese were not Hawaiian, they therefore had no right to vote. The whites added insult to injury by popularizing the notion that any Chinese would sell

his vote for ten cents' worth of tea anyway. The Hawaiian interior minister Smith proposed a bill stipulating that each Chinese merchant must pay a one dollar fee to secure a business license and those who had not previously engaged in business activity shall automatically be denied a business license.

On February 14, 1894, three thousand Chinese staged a protest at the Chinese Theater in Honolulu. That day, except for restaurant workers, all Chinese working in shops and factories left their work early to gather in the theater. The 2,500-seat theater was jam-packed. Fifty of the most prominent Chinese leaders as well as sympathetic white people and local Hawaiians sat on stage. They protested that the Chinese immigrants contributed more than any other foreigners in taxes in Hawaii. Without the Chinese, Hawaii would still have been a backward country.

Chinese immigrants had always been law-abiding residents. Even though they were not allowed to participate in political activities, they contributed their share to the prosperity in Hawaii. They argued that the new Hawaiian constitution was supposed to treat all races and people equally, but this law that required Chinese to get a license for their business was truly a case of discrimination against the Chinese, and an attempt to weaken the business competition to the landed whites.

Two good friends of Sun Mei--chengkim(郑金) and Zhang Zengxin-were(张澄新) appointed secretary for the meeting. Zheng was at that time a legal clerk working for a large law firm. Chang said in the meeting:

The government gave the Portuguese special privileges but deprived us our legitimate rights and interests. The Chinese people have restrained themselves for a long time. Maybe the Hawaiian government thought that no matter how unfairly the Chinese are treated, they will tolerate and not resist. But they are wrong. A small worm would turn his body when stepped on, let alone a human being. How can we Chinese let other people bully us? Who gives white people the right to rule over us? Just because our skin is not as white as theirs?

He called for all the Chinese to unite to fight against the unfair practice. The top thirteen leaders all signed a petition and submitted it to the Investigation committee.

Yet soon afterwards, news of the Sino-Japanese war came. Hawaii's largest newspaper, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, reported the war, writing about the failure of the Chinese military. On October 6, 1894 in a special column, that

newspaper even analyzed the reasons for China's losses and the problems of a divided China as a result of the war. The newspaper also praised the Japanese military leaders for their heroic leadership. When the Treaty of Shimonoseki was signed, Japanese living in Honolulu staged wild celebrations, which greatly infuriated the Chinese there. On top of all that, as if to fully demonstrate incompetent detachment from world events to the Chinese in Hawaii, the Qing government sent a special envoy to Hawaii to hold a celebration party for the 60th birthday of the Empress Dowager during this critical period of war with the Japanese.

In 1898, the United States annexed Hawaii. However, Hawaiians were not afforded all the rights guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution. They had no right to vote for President, and Representatives from Hawaii attending Congress had the right to speak but not the right to vote. They had no right to take part in the creating and passing of new legislation. People's freedom in the territory would now be controlled by the local government. The interests of the Chinese immigrant population were dramatically undermined.

Sun Mei witnessed first-hand the downfall of the Hawaiian Kingdom and the unfair treatment by the whites towards Chinese people. He had lived for a long time in Hawaii and had fostered connections with the royal family. Still, he was not only ready to accept new things but he also began to embrace the merits of a democratic system. Already called the "Maui King", Sun Mei fostered ideals which were by now quite different from those of the feudal wealthy people. He no longer supported the old ways of governing. He hoped that a strong and prosperous China could provide stability and protection to its people living and working overseas, but became convinced that the corrupt Qing government would never be able to deliver on these hopes. He worried a great deal about the future and just about this time, his little brother came out with the slogan "Drive Out the Invaders, and Revive China" which struck a chord in Sun Mei's heart. Sun Mei agreed whole-heartedly to his brother's plan of action and decided to help him set up the very first revolutionay organization, right there in Hawaii.

Xin Zhong Hui in Honolulu

At this time in China, the force of the reform party headed by Kang Youwei (康有为) and Liang Qichao (梁启超) grew very strong. They were still pinning their hopes on the Qing government leaders to carry out their reform policy to solve the problems China faced in a peaceful manner. Their reform policy was approved by the Emporer and widely supported by the ministers. Their followers grew and their policy became the talk of the country. In contrast, the preaching of Sun Yat-sen and his followers such as Chen Shaobai (陈少白), Lu Haodong (陆皓东) and Yang Heling (杨鹤龄) about overthrowing the Qing government was condemned as treason and heresy. Although Sun Yat-sen understood that his actions, being regarded as treasonous and heretical, could lead to punishment by death for himself and his followers, he nevertheless remained committed to his goals and carried out his missions in secret. He knew it was a dangerous path, but also the only path, to realize his vision for China.

In 1894, Sun Mei received a letter from his brother informing him that he planned to form his first revolutionay organization in Hawaii. Throughout the years, Sun Yat-sen had never stopped reporting to his elder brother about his revolutionay ideas, and the two brothers had basically reached consensus on overthrowing the Qing Dynasty. However, Sun Mei realized that his brother had been away from Hawaii for eight years, and that it was up to him to assemble a base of support for Sun Yat-sen in Hawaii. From the moment he received this letter from his brother, Sun Mei knew he would take up the cudgels for this great cause to help his brother.

Those days in Hawaii, many overseas Chinese from Guangdong were no longer the laborers or farmhands who made only three dollars a month in the early 19th century. Through hard work, many had become successful merchants, farm owners, bankers and businessmen. Many were good friends or business associates of Sun Mei. Sun Mei endeavored to make them an important force behind Sun Yat-sen's revolution.

For the purpose of self-protection and maintaining close contact among its own people, there were many associations in Hawaii. The earliest and most influential was the "United Chinese Society of Hawaii" (中华总会馆) established in 1880. The "Security Bureau" (保安局) was esablished in 1887 with headquarters in Honolulu. The bureau was a self-defense organization with branches in many other towns. In 1894, the bureau established the "United Defense Association" (联卫会)

especially for dispelling or rebutting any Chinese Exclusion speeches. In 1881, a relative from their home village by the name of Cheng Weinan (程蔚南) and He Kuan (何寬) from Shanxiang founded the Long Ji Newspaper (隆记报). He Kuan was a manager at the Bishop Bank, also a Chinese jury, a parttime reporter and a Newspaper manager. In 1893, the newspaper set up the "East-West Forum" to facilitate gatherings to discuss current issues. These organizations became important liaisons and formed a network for all the Chinese in Hawaii, a network which Sun Mei would utilize to recruit for the Xin Zhong Hui（兴中会）.

Sun Mei first conveyed Sun Yat-sen's message to overthrow the Qing government through revolution to his own friends and relatives. Even though some of the overseas Chinese did not have much knowledge of revolutions and political matters, they worried about the safety of their families. The Hawaiian Chinese, particularly the younger ones who had received Western educations, were ready to accept such new ideas of freedom. They had no love for, or use of, the old Chinese feudal system and hoped to bring the Hawaiian way of life to their relatives back home. Because of his fine reputation, it was not difficult for Sun Mei to get support from all the people he knew.

With Sun Mei's effort to inspire his friends to action, Xin Zhong Hui was formed in Honolulu within a month after Sun Yat-sen's arrival. On November 24, 1894, over 20 people gathered at He Kuan's home to form the first revolutionay organization. Over half of the founding members came from Xiangshan and except for two of Sun Yat-sen's old schoolmates, all of them were directly or indirectly associated with Sun Mei.

From the first meeting of Xin Zhong Hui to the eve of the Guangzhou Revolt, membership grew to 126. Among them 95 were from Honolulu, 9 from Maui, 13 from Hilo, 3 from Oahu and 5 from Wailuku. Seventy of them (56%) were Xiangshan natives. Sun Mei was Chairman of the Kahului branch.

One of Sun Mei's best friends Deng Yinnan (邓荫南) became one of the staunchest supporters. Deng was eight years older than Sun Mei. He was a sharp shooter and knew how to make bombs as well. He came from Kaiping, a city not far from Xiangshan, and was recruited to join the Tian Di Secret Society (天地会) to fight the Qing government. That was where he learned combat skills and weapons-making. Fearful of capture, he escaped to Hong Kong and later went to Cuba as a laborer. He eventually ended up in Maui and worked on a sugarcane plantation. With his shooting and riding skills coupled with a functional knowledge of English, he

was promoted to supervisor and earned about 10 dollars a month. He eventually saved enough to set up a store in Kahului with fellow shareholders. As Sun Mei's close friend, he also aspired to overthrow the Qing Government. When he was informed of Sun Yat-sen's plan to establish Xing Zhong Hui, he eagerly offered his full support, immediately recruited 15 acquaintances to join, and presided over the Paia branch as chairman himself. In 1895, he completely sold off his tangible assets for quite a sum of money and donated it all to the revolution, even following Sun Yat-sen back to China to enjoin the military action. He would never return to Hawaii. When Sun Mei returned to Hong Kong in 1907 after his bankruptcy, they met again and worked together in the fight to overthrow the Qing government.

The Long Ji Newspaper, which was founded by Cheng Weinan to serve the Chinese population by focusing on business news, news about China, and Chinese-related printed adverstisements, had it's name changed in 1903 by Sun Yat-sen to Honolulu Xin Bao (檀山新报) and became the voice of Xin Zhong Hui. He utilized the newspaper to disseminate articles against the Royalist Party's propaganda which appeared in the New China News (新中国报). Sun Yat-sen's articles such as "A Letter to Fellow Countrymen" and "Refuting the Royalist Party" were published by the Honolulu Xin Bao, making it the voice of the revolutionaries to spread the ideals of Sun Yat-sen. In 1907, the newspaper was taken over by Zeng Changfu (曾长福) as Cheng was getting old and the name of the paper changed once again, this time to Freedom News (自由新报) in 1908. Granduncle Sun Fo was once an editor for this newspaper and Honolulu still has a street named in memory of Cheng Weinan (程蔚南), founder of this first Chinese newspaper in Hololulu.

He Kuan (何宽), who came to Honolulu as a 15-year old, stood in the forefront among all the overseas Chinese to fight against discrimination and the exclusion of Chinese people. He was at one time a director of the "Security Bureau", an organization formed for self-defense. Sun Mei was a business associate of He's and they knew each other well for many years.

In September 1895, the first uprising in Guangzhou failed, with heroes including Lu Haodong (陆皓东), Zhu Geichuen (朱贵全), and Qiu Xi(邱四) sacrificing their lives. The Qing government posted a reward of one thousand yuan for the arrest of Sun Yat-sen and one to two hundred yuan for the capture of Yang Juyuen (杨衢云), Chen Shaobai (陈少白), Li Ji (李杞) and Hou Aiquan (侯艾泉). The Qing government also sent an envoy to England for the extradition of revolutionaries.

News reached Maui and Sun Mei became worried about the safety of his brother

and his father at home. Sun Yat-sen asked his schoolmate Lu Chan (陆灿) to escort his mother, wife and children to Maui to live with Sun Mei. Lu Chan was one of the founding members of Xin Zhong Hui and his father Lu Langu (陆兰谷) taught Chinese at Sun Mei's private tutoring school at the ranch in Kula.

Sun Yat-sen's mother, however, was very disappointed with her son. She couldn't understand why her son did not want to practice medicine but rather pursue an activity which could risk the lives of the entire family. Naturally, she was also worried about her son's safety. My great-grandaunt Madam Lu cried whenever she heard the words "revolution" or news about the difficulties her husband faced. But Sun Mei would calm both his mother and his sister-in-law by explaining that his brother was doing these things for the benefit of all the people of China and to secure the future of the country. Throughout those difficult times, Sun Mei did his best to provide for the entire family.

In November 1895, Sun Yat-sen escaped China and returned to Maui to see his family. He told Sun Mei the entire course of the failed attempt, seeking his brother's understanding. Sun Mei of course encouraged him not to give up. While Sun Yat-sen traveled from island to island spreading his cause, Sun Mei continued his liaisons with many of the local Chinese, whom he would introduce to his brother. One of the key people was Wang Gui (王贵), Vice President of the United Chinese Society of Hawaii. Wang was also a native of Xiangshan. He was born in 1838 and had come to Hawaii from California in 1855 with his father. He had also worked on the rice paddy fields in the Ewa district and later became an owner of a rice farm and stores located on Monakea street in Honolulu. When Sun Mei sold his Ewa rice farm and opened the "De Long Store" in Honolulu, they became neighbors. (The store, named "De Long Store" in Honolulu, would be renamed "De Chong Long Store" when it was moved to Maui after Sun Mei's son was born.) Wang would spend a lot of time at Sun Mei's store discussing business or world events. Wang was always invited to the Sun family's parties, including Great-great-grandma's birthday and my grandfather Sun Chong's one-month-old celebration. His wife was also a relative of Queen Kamamalu. Even after Sun Mei moved to Maui, Wang traveled to Maui to see Sun Mei often. In 1882 when Zheng Zaoru organized many Chinese business people to form the United Chinese Society of Hawaii, Wang and a group of prominent Chinese immediately participated and in 1884, he became the vice president of the society. Whenever Sun Mei traveled to Honolulu for business, he always visited Wang at his store. So when Wang learned of Sun Yat-sen's arrival, he gathered his

good friends Chang Zhao (郑照), Chang Kim (郑金) and Jian Yongzhao (简永照) and hosted a dinner party at his home. During that dinner, Sun Mei thanked all his friends for their support as he related the events of the failed Guangzhou uprising. Everyone in attendance that night told Sun Yat-sen that despite the recent defeat, it was imperative that he stay focused and not give up. To improve morale, Wang suggested that they become blood brothers. That night, six of them went through the traditional ceremony and became blood brothers. Wang (1839-1916) being the oldest was regarded as "big brother" while Zheng Zhao became "brother number six".

Jian Yongzhao(简永照) was born in 1875 in Nanlong Village of Zhongshan. He had come to Hawaii as a young man. On April 20, 1895, he paid his dues to join Xing Zhong Hui. Later, he became the organization's financial planner and fund raiser for North and South America. In 1917, when Sun Yat-sen established the Military government in Guangzhou, Jian was appointed to be a Member of the Military committee. In 1921, when Sun Yat-sen became provisional President in Guangzhou, Jian was called by Sun to be his auditor and later, his adviser. Jian died in 1945.

The brothers Chang Kim and Chang Chow were Sun Mei's best friends. Whenever Sun Mei faced a financial difficulty, they would always come to his rescue. In 1907, when Sun Mei returned to Hong Kong following his declaration of bankruptcy, Chang Chow followed and helped Sun Mei with his revolutionary work in Hanoi and the western region of Guangdong province for several months. After the founding of the Republic, Chang Chow returned to China to visit with Sun Mei many times. In 1920 Chang Chow was officially appointed to be an adviser to the President Sun Yat-sen. The Presidential office was located at Guan In Mountain (now called Yue Siu Shan) in Guangzhou. When the warlord Chen Jiongming revolted in 1922 and attacked the presidential office, Chang was fortunate enough to escape unharmed and returned to Hawaii. He would, however, return many times to China to serve in various capacities. In 1944 at the 50th anniversary of the founding of Xin Zhong Hui, he was decorated with the Zhongshan Medal. He and Chung kunai were the only two persons from Hawaii to be honored with this medal.

The Mistake of Joining the Royalist Party

In 1899, after several negotiations, the two reform factions represented by Sun Yat-sen and Liang Qichao (梁启超) reached a preliminary agreement to merge in Yokohama, Japan. Sun Yat-sen was to be the Chairman and Liang the Deputy of the new organization. However, Liang's mentor, Kang Youwei (康有为), was outraged at the prospect of such an agreement. He immediately sent Ye Juemai (叶觉迈) with funds to Japan to order Liang to form the Royalist Party in Hawaii. Liang found it impossible to disobey his teacher, and consequently lied to Sun Yat-sen that he would still honor his commitment to cooperate. Sun Yat-sen was not aware of his duplicity and wrote a letter to his brother Sun Mei introducing Liang.

On December 31, 1899, Liang went to see Sun Mei in Maui with Sun Yat-sen's letter of introduction. He also went to see Sun Mei's uncle Yang Wenna and Tan Yuen, another relative of the Suns'. Sun Mei was very hospitable and showed Liang his ranch by horseback. Liang was quite impressed and complimented Sun Mei: "People call you the Maui King. Now I know your reputation is well deserved." Sun Mei was delighted because the compliment came from one of the most respected scholars and politicians in China. Liang took the opportunity to present Sun Mei to the idea of forming the Royalist Party, telling him that, despite its name, it was indeed a revolutionary organization. Sun Mei, believing that this idea had been sanctioned by his brother, promised to help. Liang then went further by joining the Zi Gong Tong(致公堂), a Hong Men organization, and told people that the reform under the emporer would protect the interests of all overseas Chinese. He established the New China Newspaper (新中国报), even writing many of the articles himself, to spread the importance of preserving the emperor. Sun Mei and many of the Xin Zhong Hui members, including Li Chong (李昌), Chung Kun-ai (钟工宇), and Harry Heen (钟木贤), all believed in Liang and joined the party. Overnight, the organization founded by Sun Yat-sen to be the base of his revolution had suddenly become the territory of the Royalists.

Liang had gained Sun Mei's confidence to such an extent, that Sun Mei even asked Liang to take in my grandfather as his pupil. Grandfather followed Liang back to Japan to enroll in Liang's Da Tong School. Other children, like the son of Lo Denggui(罗登桂), Lo Chang(罗昌), brother of He Huizhen(何蕙珍), He Wang(何望）, brother of Liang Yinnan(梁荫南), Liang Wenxian(梁文贤), also went to Japan at this time. Even Granduncle Sun Fo, who was only eight years old, kowtowed to

Liang as his mentor, following old Chinese traditions. However, he was too young to go to Japan at that time.

Within a short time, Sun Yat-sen discovered that his brother had fallen for Liang's ruse, and wrote a letter to warn him. Unfortunately, Sun Mei thought highly of Liang and largely disregarded the warning. Sun Yat-sen took care of Grandfather's expenses in Japan, and once told my grandfather not to attend school. But Grandfather said it was an order from his father and that he had to obey.

In order to keep Sun Yat-sen from disrupting his promotion of the Royalist Party, Liang went so far as to ask his people to keep surveillance on Sun Yat-sen's activities. Liang went on to boast that, although Sun Yat-sen had not crossed over to their side, his elder brother had already surrendered. Knowing that he had the trust of Sun Mei, Liang asked him to raise funds for the Royalist Party.



130. 茂宜岛革命党支部旧址，眉公是当年主席。
Revolution party Maui Branch head quarter Sun Mei was Chairman of the branch at the time.

Sun Mei and his friends in Hawaii raised more than $40,000 for the Royalists. Sun Mei himself donated more than a thousand dollars. Liang considered going to the US mainland to continue his royalist activities, even taking Sun Chong along, but he later changed his mind and returned to Japan instead.

Sun Yat-sen became furious when he learned about Hawaiian Xing Zhong Hui members being misled to join the Royalist party, and scolded Liang for going back on his promise.

On April 9, 1901, Sun Yat-sen arrived in Honolulu from Yokoyama and found that the Royalist Party had covered more ground than Xin Zhong Hui. Even his brother Sun Mei had fallen into Liang's trap. It was not until news of a scandal on Liang's part involving misappropriating Royalist Party funds that people in Hawaii started to regret their participation and support. Some even blamed Sun Yat-sen's introduction of Liang. After learning of Liang's true intentions, a regretful Sun Mei recalled Grandfather home after only one year of schooling in Japan.

Strategies to Gain Support in America

After the failed attempt to revolt in Guangzhou in 1895, many Xin Zhong Hui members grew pessimistic about the whole affair and wanted to leave the organization. Of the 200+ members, only 20 or so swore to remain loyal to Sun Yat-sen. Sun Yat-sen tried to sustain and revive the organization by traveling to all the islands to continue raising funds and speaking to people, but he did not get good results.

Sun Mei suggested that the scope of the organization be broadened to appeal to other Chinese living in in the mainland United States as well. Sun Mei had invested in a trading company in San Francisco and knew that the Chinese population there was quite large, so he made contacts and suggested his brother go there first. On June 18, 1896, Sun Yat-sen arrived in San Francisco for the first time. He then traveled on to London to visit his mentor James Cantline.

In October, 1896, Sun Yat-sen was tricked into the Qing government's legation in London, where he was placed under house arrest. He faced a possible death penalty, but fortunately, he was rescued by Professor Cantline, who responded to a letter Sun Yat-sen had written seeking assistance. Sun Yat-sen's reputation grew even greater because of this incident. Newspapers all over the world reported Sun Yat-sen's famous house arrest in London and Sun Mei of course read about it back in Maui. Sun Mei realized that it would take a great deal of money to undertake the mission of overthrowing the Qing Dynasty, and that he would have to make a lot more in order to support his brother. My father and Uncle Moon used to hear from their grandmother that Sun Mei and his brother were very close and that Sun Mei worked very hard to make money not for his own benefit but for his brother and for the country. The bond between my father and Uncle Moon was just as strong as their grand father and grand uncle. For 90 years, they supported each other through thick and thin, setting a good example for later generations of the Sun family.

Due to the sabotage by the royalists, Xin Zhong Hui lost much ground in Honolulu. Even some of the key members who never joined the Royalist party were nevertheless afraid to take action against the royalists. Instead, they bided their time and awaited Sun Yat-sen's return. On October 5, 1903, Sun Yat-sen arrived in Honolulu. The newspapers reported his arrival on October 7. Sun Yat-sen reorganized the Honolulu News to make it the voice of the revolutionary party and wrote articles himself to reveal the truth about the royalists, telling people that in

order to revive China, the Emperor must be overthrown. After a long battle of disseminating the truth about each side's objectives, people could finally differentiate between the two parties, eventually choosing to drop out of the Royalist party.

However, the royalists still held an advantage in the San Francisco area. In order to gain support from the Chinese in the US mainland, Sun Mei began building a foundation of support for their mission. He suggested two key strategies.

The first strategy hinged on convincing Sun yat-sen to join Hong Men (洪门), a Chinese secret society formed several hundred years earlier with the aim to overthrow the Qing Dynasty. The organization spread in Chinese-populated areas in the Americas and the South Pacific. Many overseas Chinese had joined for their survival and protection. The Hawaiian branch had been established only two years prior to Sun Mei's arrival and he knew the organization well. In 1899, the organization was formally registered in Honolulu as "Guo An Association"(国安会馆).

Sun Mei felt the primary reason the movement had not been able to penetrate the masses was because his brother was not a member of the Hong Men organization. Sun Mei figured that this organization could help his brother mobilize people for his cause and provide shelter for his safety as well. Their uncle Yang Wenna had lived in Hawaii for a long time and knew many people in the organization. Uncle Yang also advised Sun Yat-sen to join. The Hong Men Chairman at that time was Harry Heen, a long-time friend of Sun Mei's and a member of Xin Zhong Hui as well. Through Heen's recommendation, Sun Yat-sen became a member of the Guo An Association in January, 1904. He immediately was given a title in the organization that afforded him certain protections and connections anywhere he went.(Fig.99-100)

The second strategy Sun Mei suggested was to get certain legal papers for Sun Yat-sen. At the time the Chinese Exclusion Act started being enforced in Hawaii, Sun Mei quickly obtained a Hawaiian birth certificate for his brother, which would facilitate his travels and protect against any troubles caused by the royalists (Fig.101). On March 9, 1904, Sun Yat-sen obtained a birth certificate with the help of his uncle.

He would later receive his passport for Hawaiian residency after taking an oath at the court house. On March 31, Sun Yat-sen boarded the SS Korea enroute to San Francisco. At that time, Sun Mei had already begun facing financial difficulties,

so his brother's fare was paid by Li Anbang (李安邦). Sun Mei could not afford to give Sun Yat-sen money for the trip this time, and instead gave him a stick of ambergris that he could sell for cash in the event of an emergency. Just as expected, when Sun Yat-sen reached San Francisco, the royalists there had already been informed by their Hawaiian fellows and tried to prevent Sun Yat-sen from entering the city. Also at that time, San Francisco was hosting the World Expo and the Qing government's delegation was to arrive on April 20. In order to prevent the possibility of a chaotic situation such as assassination, the US government detained Sun Yat-sen for three weeks on the grounds of false documentation and being a known criminal from China. The leaders of the Hong Men Society in San Francisco learned of his detention and engaged lawyers to fight the US authorities. Sun Yat-

sen was eventually freed after a tough legal battle. (Fig.102)

Financial Contributions from Sun Mei

Since the founding of Xing Zhong Hui(兴中会), Sun Mei was determined to give his full support to his brother financially. In October 1894, Sun Yat-sen had come to Maui to tell his brother that the most important objective during his trip was to raise funds for an armed revolution. Sun Mei praised his brother for having such an exalted ambition and immediately showed his support by selling a portion of his herd of cattle at a discounted price of $6 to $7 per head to raise funds quickly. According to records my brother and I found in the archives, Sun Mei sold 912 heads of cattle to William Cornwell at this price, when market prices at that time were closer to $16 to $17 per head.

With Sun Mei taking the lead, Deng Yinnan(邓荫南) followed suit and auctioned off his entire assets in Maui to show his commitment. At the time of establishment, Xin Zhong Hui did not have much in the way of operating funds. From November 24, 1894, the membership fees collected from 126 members totaled $1388. Combining the contributions made by Deng Yinnan and Sun Mei, the total funds raised came to about $6,000 or approximately 13,000 HK dollars at that time. This money, with the 31,000 HK dollars Sun Yat-sen had raised in Hong Kong, became the basic operational funds for the first Guangzhou Uprising. The Hawaiian Chinese, then, contributed more than 40%. Deng and a few others founding members of Xin Zhong Hui even followed Sun Yat-sen back to take part in the first Guangzhou uprising.

In late October 1909, Sun Yat-sen wrote to Wu Zihui (吴稚晖)explaining, *“There were not many people donating money to the First Guangzhou Uprising. Those who contributed included one or two persons in Hong Kong for a few thousand and the Hawaiian people for a few more thousand, for a total of a little over ten thousand. Everyone realized that with the failure in Guangzhou, a little over ten thousand dollars could not possibly do the job. Where would the rest of the money come from? They all came from me and my brother.”* Sun Mei’s financial support of his brother’s activities began then.

My elder generation told me that Sun Mei’s total contribution to the revolution came close to seven hundred thousand US dollars. This was indeed an astronomical figure in those days. From 1894 onward, Sun Mei’s businesses had operated for the sole purpose of financing his brother’s revolutionary cause. In the Bureau of

Conveyances in Honolulu, my brother and I found over a hundred business records which showed the buying and selling of land, leasing said real estate, and the filing for certain business licenses (for example, to sell liquor or awa). I did not see any evidence of Sun Mei using his hard earned money to lavish himself with luxury items or an opulent lifestyle. In fact, the house Sun Mei had built in Cuiheng was not nearly as grand as the other houses in the neighborhood; the kitchen, for example, was only added on by Sun Mei after Sun Yat-sen resigned as president in 1912.

Ultimately, there is little way to estimate exactly how wealthy Sun Mei was. The following, however, are some of the typical transactions recorded and can give some clues: On September 16, 1895, Lou Shou sold Sun Mei several pieces of land together with farm animals for $1,500. On September 28, 1895, Ah Cheong sold Sun Mei six pieces of land in Kahului, including a brand mark, for $1,500. On July 3, 1896, Ah Chew sold Sun Mei six lots of land for $3,000. These show Sun Mei at his peak. There were many other recorded land purchases, but all of these would eventually be sold off to support the revolution.

From 1895 to 1907, Sun Yat-sen staged several uprisings in China. He also traveled around the globe to promote his thoughts on revolution. Sun Mei contributed the funds to cover the expenses his brother needed for organizing activities, staging an uprising or for traveling. Between 1895 and 1899, Sun Mei sold off some of his real estate holdings in Oahu on at least ten occasions. Further, in Maui, between 1890 and 1894, he sold off his properties at least twelve times, seven more times in 1895, twelve more times in 1897 and at least three times in 1898.

In July 1899, the ten-year lease on the ranch was up and he could not get an extension from the government. Farm production was greatly reduced due to his having fewer lands. The trading company that had been his main buyer stopped dealing with him due to an unsteady supply. Sun Mei's debts began accruing. He began needing assistance from such good friends as the brothers Chang Chow and Chang Kim. My grandfather even stayed at Chang Chow's home at the time, with Chang paying his school expenses. Yet Sun Mei continued selling off his assets to support his brother's great cause. Between 1900 and 1902, records show that there were at least 26 transactions in which he was the seller. At the same time, he also liquidated some of his profitable businesses: in 1899, he sold the Kula Pork Packing Company, and in 1903, he sold his shares in the Pacific Gas and Electric Company

to Yeong Young.

Returning to Hong Kong

Through all the years of supporting the revolution financially until he went bankrupt, Sun Mei never uttered a word of complaint. When he saw that more and more Chinese were joining the cause, he grew more confident that his brother would someday succeed. He had told his family that when one has money, one should donate it, and if one didn't have money, one could still devote oneself to the cause. Sun Mei had liquidated his wealth and exhausted his funds, so he was now ready to throw himself into the fight.

At the time, Sun Mei already knew that the Qing government, because it considered his brother the mastermind of the revolution, would ask the Japanese government to expel him. But in fact, Sun Yat-sen had already left Japan in March and had gone to Singapore and then Hanoi to set up a command post for the uprisings in Guangzhou, Guangxi and Yunnan provinces. Sun Mei was concerned for his brother and decided to return to offer more direct assistance. In July 1907, Sun Mei left Hawaii for Hong Kong with his chief aide Yang Dechu (杨德初) and Zheng Zhong (郑仲), leaving his mother, his wife and his brother's entire family behind. By that time, Sun Mei's good friend Zheng Qiang had already passed away and his wife and children had moved in to stay near the ranch to keep each other company.

Yang Dechu was a native of Cuiheng Village. He had worked for Sun Mei, eventually becoming his right hand man. His two other brothers Puichu(培初) and Xichu (锡初) also worked for Sun Mei.

Zheng Zhong also came from Xiangshan. He was Sun Mei's business partner in a large ranch with thousands of cattle in Honolulu. He respected Sun Mei for his devotion to his brother's cause and became one of the first to join Xin Zhong Hui, contributing generously to the revolution. Together with Sun Yat-sen, the three became blood brothers. Zheng was four years older than Sun Mei, so he was called "Big Brother" by the Sun brothers. His family had once kept the original copy of their oath as well as Cheng's Xin Zhong Hui membership card, but unfortunately, when Japanese soldiers broke into Zheng's home village in Xiangshan, his descendants burned those documents and other valuable ones for fear of their being discovered by the Japanese.

Zheng Zhong returned to Xiangshan in 1895 to get married and to take care of

his properties in Macau. In autumn of that year, the Guangzhou uprising failed and Sun Yat-sen escaped to Macau. Zheng arranged for Sun to stay at the home of his maid Shun Xia, who would later go with Zheng to Hawaii where she was adopted by Sun Mei. Zheng was a principled and righteous man who could not tolerate injustice. He once joined fellow villagers in petitioning the emperor to demand the return of Macau to Chinese rule. In 1907, Zheng returned to Hong Kong with Sun Mei after selling off all of his assets in Hawaii and decided to retire in his home village of Nanping in Xiangshan.

Zheng Zhong often visited Sun Mei in Macau. In 1912, when Sun Yat-sen visited Qian Shan, Zheng Zhong led many villagers from Nanping to greet him. Sun Yat-sen later investigated mining prospects in Jiangjunshan of the Nanping area with Zheng as his guide, although the project was later cancelled when the mine was deemed not ready for exploiting. When Zheng's son Jin Zao (金祚) married, Sun Yat-sen sent a present. Madam Lu was also a good friend of Zheng Zhong. In January 1922, Zheng Zhong died in his home, with the entire village attending his funeral. School was closed for the day and Sun Fo and his entourage also came to pay their respects.

When Sun Mei and Yang Dechu arrived in Hong Kong, they were greeted by Tong Meng Hui (同盟会) member Fung Ziyou (冯自由), who had them stay at the offices of the China Daily News (中国日报). They wasted no time in beginning and planning various revolutionary activities. By that time, uprisings at Zhaozhou, Huizhou, and Hekou in Guangdong had all failed and those who took part in the uprisings fled to Hong Kong or onward to Singapore or Malaya, with some being chaperoned and protected by Sun Mei during transit. Ju Zheng (居正), one of the Tong Meng Hui members who escaped from Hekou, had the following recollection:

From Hong Kong to Singapore, I was in the same ship as Sun Mei. He was quite big and tall. I was able to communicate with him because Mr. Liang who was traveling with him spoke Mandarin. Sun Mei told me how he cultivated his ranch in Maui and how he helped Sun Yat-sen financially. He was very proud of his brother.

At that time in 1907, both Sun Yat-sen and Chen Cuifen (陈粹芬) were in Singapore and Sun Mei had just joined them, staying for seven or eight months.

When Sun Mei returned to Hong Kong in September 1907, his old friend Chang

Chow also arrived from Honolulu. Sun Mei, Chang Chow (郑照) and Yang Dechu (杨德初) were instructed by Sun Yat-sen to go to Vietnam to deal with the aftermath of the uprisings. All of their fellow revolutionaries marveled at Sun Mei's enthusiasm despite his age and called him "Mei Gong", with "Gong" being an honorary title to show their respect for his seniority. This was in contrast to earlier, when everyone in Hawaii including the whites had called him simply "Ah Mi". Sun Mei stayed in Vietnam for several months but returned to Hong Kong with Yang Dechu and Chang Chow after the failed uprising of Guangxi's Zheng Nanguan in January, 1908. Chang Chow, for his part, immediately returned to Hawaii.

Upon returning from Hanoi, Sun Mei leased some undeveloped land from Chen Shaobai to cultivate into a farm. Sun Mei and Chen had been friends for many years. In 1899, Sun Mei received a letter from Sun Yat-sen in Japan, instructing Sun Mei to help the revolution gain momentum by establishing a newspaper called China Daily News to inspire more people and to expand their influence; Sun Yat-sen also asked his brother for considerable financial support. Although Sun Mei's businesses had encountered many difficulties due to the many restrictions imposed on overseas Chinese, Sun Mei still managed to sell some properties and raise enough money for his brother. On January 25, 1901, the China Daily News released it's first edition to the public. Chen Shaobai was the publisher as well as the editor. The newspaper advocated the concept of revolution and was well received by overseas Chinese and patriots of the country. It was the first revolutionary newspaper of its kind.

Later, Chen Shaobai was awarded nine thousand dollars for his role in helping wealthy merchants to obtain the right to build the Guangzhou-Hong Kong railway. Chen used the money to buy several acres of raw land in Niuziwan, Kowloon. After making room for the construction of villas, there was some extra land left over, which Sun Mei negotiated with Chen to lease in order to set up a farm. Sun Mei promised to pay rent once the remainder of his properties in Hawaii was sold off.

Sun Mei, together with Yang Dechu and others from Xiangshan, built shelters for raising hogs and hens. They planted vegetables and did all the manual labor themselves. It was Sun Mei's hope that this could be a new beginning, much like his start in Hawaii, which would enable him to provide a good life for his family as well as even raise additional funds to support his brother's ongoing activities.

On November 1908, Tam sold the last piece of Sun Mei's properties in Hawaii, the ranch.

Tam sold the land and building with all personal properties, including 120 head of cattle, 16 horses, 4 mules, 231 hogs, as well as all the kitchen equipment in the ranch house and the ranch logo (minus the cheese separator and some furniture) to A.F. Tavares for 3,710 gold coins, which was equivalent to $8,500. Chang Kim and a lawyer signed as witnesses, with Tam signing with an "X".(Fig.104-105)

However, after paying off all associated legal fees and other personal debts, Sun Mei did not have enough money left to pay rent for the leased land to Chen Shaobai(陈少白). Sun Mei had hoped, with all the money he'd donated to the revolution for the betterment of Chinese everywhere not to mention the financial assistance he provided to Chen for the operation of the China Daily News, that Chen would be understanding, lenient, even forgiving regarding the relatively small amount for rent. But this was not the case. Indeed, Chen's insistance on payment and inflexibility made Sun Mei quite angry. Sun Mei asked why he would press him so hard for this little sum, but Chen had no response to Sun Mei's scolding and instead complained to Chen Jinghua (陈景华) and Fung Zhiyou (冯自由), saying, "The little brother Sun Yat-sen is Washington, but the elder brother Sun Mei is Napoleon. It's easy to talk to Washington but one cannot reason with Napoleon." The disagreement on this matter very nearly ended their friendship, but the two would later reconcile with the aid of Fung Zhiyou.

In December 1908, Sun Mei's mother Madam Yang, Sun Yat-sen's wife Madam Lu, her two daughters and Sun Mei's adopted daughter, as well as Zheng Qiang's wife and her family, all left Maui for Honolulu. Madam Yang took the family along with Zheng Qiang's wife and three of her daughters for their journey to Hong Kong. Sun Fo stayed behind in Honolulu to continue his schooling while working part time. Tam went on to San Francisco alone to be with her son and grandsons.

As was reported in the Hawaiian newspaper clipping I'd found, the writer reported seeing several women arriving from Maui. It was known that one of them was the wife of the famous revolutionary Sun Wen (孙文) (Sun Yat-sen), but due to their similar dress, the reporter could not determine which of the ladies was Sun's wife and speculated that their dressing similarly in low-key attire may have been due to Sun Wen's being a revolutionary who did not want to risk attracting any kind of attention.(Fig.106)

The above information confirms that when Sun Mei returned to Hong Kong in the first half of 1907, his mother was not with him. Sun Mei always observed great filial piety: rich or poor, he always tried his utmost to provide for his family. Going

back to when he was a simple hired hand in Honolulu, he would send $10 home each month, even though his monthly salary was only $15. To save every penny, he would ask fellow workers to cut his hair. When his father was ill, he spent several months at his father's bedside. In 1898, he hosted an extravagant party and invited more than 200 guests to celebrate his mother's 71st birthday at the ranch.(Fig.69) Now in Hong Kong, he wanted to set up the farm to provide a comfortable lifestyle for his mother.

At the beginning of 1909, Sun Mei rented No. 24 at Kowloon Dongtou Village, a small two-story house, for his mother, sister-in-law Madam Lu and his two nieces. Madam Yang occupied the upper floor. She was already 80 years old at the time and could hardly see. Sun Mei had once set up a fishing shack just off the coast at Kowloon Song Huang Tai. Each day, Sun Mei would bring his catch to his mother. Today, those fishing waters are gone due to land reclamation but the story of Sun Mei's filial obedience remains as an example for later generations of the Sun Family.

Life was difficult for Tam and her family in San Francisco. Grandfather needed money for his journey back to China, when his Grandmother Madam Yang was ill, but the money Sun Yat-sen raised had to be sent to Hong Kong first. Sadly, grandfather did not have enough money for the trip, and did not get to see his grandmother before she died.

On July 19, 1910, 83-year-old Madam Yang passed away at No. 24 Dongtou Village. Friends of Sun Mei Lo Yannian (罗延年) (an interpreter of the Kowloon police force) and Chung Kingnam (钟景南) (the owner of a pharmacy) attended her burial.

Lo Yannian wrote to Fung Zhiyou about this event:

…… When Madam Yang died, I was there. She lived at No. 24 Dongtou Village. She died of old age. Her entire body was rapped in white silk before being placed into the coffin. Chung Kingnam, myself and other comrades, paid 20 silver dollars to purchase a grave site. I then paid the usual fifty cents to get the permit from the health department. I gave this permit to Sun Mei after the founding of the republic.(Fig.111-112)

Madam Yang's growe site in Hongkong attracts many visitors not only because

she is the mother of Sun Yat-sen but also because of its Feng Shui setting.(Fig.113-115)

Expulsion from Hong Kong

In the winter of 1909, the Tong Meng Hui was planning the revolt using the revolution's New Army in Guangzhou. The making of the flags was left to the women of the families of Sun Mei and Fung Ziyou (冯自由). There were two locations for the making of the national flags: one was the home of Fung Ziyou at 76 Dong Hai Pang in Wanchai, Hong Kong, with Fung's wife Li Zhiping, his mother Lu Geiping and Hu Hanming's wife Chen Shuyu taking charge; the other was Sun Mei's farm house in Niu Zhi Wan in Kowloon. Chen Shaobai (陈少白) tried to stop the flag-making as he was afraid of their being incriminated should their actions be discovered by police, so Sun Mei moved all the materials and sewing machines to Fung's house to continue their work. They made over a hundred flags designed by Lu Hao Dong(陆皓东), who would become the first revolutionary martyr. On February 12, 1910, Ni Yingdian (倪映典) led the New Army Uprising in Guangzhou with the newly made flags, but they were overcome and Ni was killed. After that, Sun Mei became more engaged in organizing the then-secret Tong Meng Hui (同盟会).

In March 1910, Sun Yat-sen went to Honolulu again to reorganize the Xin Zhong Hui. In April, Madam Yang became critically ill, but the revolution had also entered a critical period. On June 10, Sun Yat-sen left Honolulu for Japan to meet with Huang Xing (黄兴) and others to plan for another uprising. Sun Mei joined them and stayed at a Japanese friend's house.

After Madam Yang's passing, Madam Lu, her two daughters, and Chen Cuifen left Hong Kong for Penang to join Sun Yat-sen. Sun Mei stayed behind in Hong Kong to plan for another attack on Guangzhou. His home at No. 24 Dong Tou Cun became an important liaison point. The Qing government conducted surveillance on Sun Mei and tried to extradite him to Guangzhou through the Hong Kong government. From the Hong Kong government's file dated December 1910, we found some very interesting documents describing vividly how the entire event unfolded.

On November 1, 1909, the Qing government's consul-general Liang Guoying (梁国英) informed the Qing Foreign Ministry that Sun Yat-sen's brother was secretly receiving weapons from foreigners and shipping them to the revolutionary

criminals. In 1910, Guongdong and Guangxi Governor Li wrote to the British consulate in Guangzhou saying, "Rebel Sun Yat-sen's brother Sun Mei is also a revolutionary and is currently actively organizing secret meetings in Hong Kong scheming to overthrow the Qing government." The Hong Kong government immediately sent informers to investigate. (Fig.116-117)

The Hong Kong police informer was the owner of a store. Through intermediaries he met the owner of "Chang Chun Tang" pharmacy Chung Kingnam (钟景南). He told Chung how much he hated the Qing government and Chung believed him, taking him to Sun Mei's home to be introduced as a new member. (Fig.118)

My informant states as follows:

On the 28th ultimo I met Chung King Nam at Kowloon at about 9p.m. in his medicine shop, the "Cheung Chun Tong". He then took me to No.24 Lai Chi Yuen, which Sun Mei has rented from Chan Iu T'ing. I there saw Sun Mei, who is about 58, and several others whom I do not know. I gave two dollars to Chung King Nam, and he told me to go to the door in the open, where I was sworn in these words: Fan Ching, shat Mun Chau Yan, po tso shau (反清杀满洲报祖仇) (*Over-throw the dynasty. Slay the Manchus. Protect our ancestral country*). *I repeated this with my left hand raised to the level of my head. That was about 9:45p.m. Chung King Nam said he would send the two dollars to Japan, and that I would have to be sworn again when the certificate arrived, and I would then get it and a book and a brass plate, and I would be required to sign my name. He told me that there were more than 10,000 adherents, and told me to keep it secret. He said that there were many adherents in Government Offices, and that the Police Interpreter at Kowloon City station is one of them. The Interpreter and Chung King Nam went together and bought the coffin for the funeral of Sun Mei's mother, and the Intepreter wore crape on his left arm, and went as far as the first bridge only. Inspector Mc Hardy saw him. It is believed that this Interpreter was the author of the letter of complaint against P.S. Hau Hang being at the funeral to photograph the people.*

Based on the informer's testimony, the British Hong Kong government police arrested Sun Mei on the 19th of september,1910 and decided to extradite him to

Guangzhou. From Luo Yannian's (罗延年) recount, Sun Mei was now in very grave danger:

(*"…in 1910 one day, I was on duty at the Tsim Sha Tsui police station. Shortly after 3 pm, a telephone operator informed me that my good friend Sun Mei was arrested by the Kowloon police headquarters and will be taken to Guangzhou by boat around 8 am. His family was not aware of his arrest. After hearing this, I told the officer in charge that I had a stomach ache and took a sick leave. I immediately informed Sun Mei's other good friend Chung Kingnam, a Tong Meng Hui member, who then went to Shang Wan China News to tell others. Those party members immediately went to the US consulate but it was already after office hours. So they went directly to the house of the consul general for help. The consul general went directly to the police headquarters and claimed that Sun Mei was a US citizen and should be protected by the US government. Without official notice from the British government and before official reply from the US government, they have no right to extradite Sun Mei to Guangzhou…"*)

Three days later, a reply from Francis Henry May, the colonial Secretary, to the American consul in Hong Kong George Anderson came. (Fig.120)

Thte Consul General G.E. Anderson wrote to the Hongkong Colonial secretary on Sept. 23 demauding explanation.(Fig.119)

The American consul general went to negotiate and reached an agreement, declaring that Sun Mei was an undesirable person and that he would be deported, but that he should not be forced to a destination objected by him.

Sun Mei chose to go to Singapore where he could meet up with Sun Yat-sen and help reorganize the revolutionary team. On September 28, Sun Mei was deported and control of the farm was returned to Chen Shaobai.

The Penang Conference

The following is a letter from Sun Mei to his son while on board the ship to

Singapore:

"Dear Jianmu:

On August 25, 1910, your father was expelled from Hong Kong by the Hong Kong government. The reason given was that I recruited people to join the party. Today I am taking a Japanese steamship to Singapore. If you and your children cannot return at this time, try to arrange your mother's return. I will return to Guangzhou Bay to continue my work for this great cause. Tell your mother to go to my house at No. 24 Dong Men Wai in Kowloon and then take a ship to come to Guangzhouwan. I am working here and have changed my name to Liu Han Sheng so that no one knows I am in Guangzhou Bay. Your auntie Lu and her daughters and Xuan Xia are now living in Penang. Your two aunties and your second grandauntie live in Kowloon. Your grandmother passed away on June 13 and was buried. As soon as you receive this letter try to send your mother here. Make no mistake.

The people in China now expect big change. All the provinces and counties are preparing for the big revolt in November. I am now busy making preparations.

August 29 on board ship to Singapore.(Fig.122)

Neither Sun Mei nor Sun Yat-sen expected that there would be no place for them in Singapore as well. As soon as they arrived, the Singaporean government urged them to leave, having just received notice from the Hong Kong government informing them that Sun Mei was a revolutionary and should not be allowed to stay in Singapore. Sun Mei was diverted to Penang in Malaya.

On October 2, Sun Mei wrote to his son: "I will return to Guangzhou Bay with Yang Dechu to continue preparations for the uprising. Hope to meet Tam there for the big event. My name has been changed to Liu Hansheng. Any correspondence should be addressed to the 'San Tai Li' store."

On November 13, Sun Mei arrived in Penang for the "Penang Meeting" to determine the details of the revolt in Guangzhou.

The Penang Meeting was held at Sun Yat-sen's residence at No. 400 Datu Kalamtalu (400 Gan Jai Yuan). This was a secret meeting where top aides such as Huang Xing (黄兴), Zhao Sheng (赵声), Hu Hanming (胡汉民), Sun Mei(孙眉), Wang Jingwei (汪精卫), as well as key persons from Penang such as Huang Jingqing

(黄金庆), Wu Shirong (吴世荣), Lin Shi-an (林世安) and Li Xiaozhang (李孝章) from Ipoh, Deng Zeru(邓泽如) from Fu Rong, and Li Yixia (李义侠) from Shen Dan were in attendance. At the meeting, the decision was made to use the New Army as the backbone to form a 500-person frontline for the attack in Guangzhou. Funds were raised for the revolt under the name "China Education Donation". The donation registry was made to raise one hundred thousand dollars. Britain and the Netherlands each raised fifty thousand dollars; and thirty more thousand dollars came from Thailand and the Vietnam area. All of the resources of the party, both human and financial, would be committed to this Guangzhou attack. As soon as Guangzhou was taken, Huang Xing would lead troops to attack Wuhan, while Zhao Sheng would lead troops to attack Jiangxi and Nanking. Party revolutionary forces along the Yangtze River would then join in for the march toward Beijing.

On the same day, Sun Yat-sen held a fund-raiser at the Penang Reading Club, located at 120 Da Tong Street to discuss potential problems related to the New Army attack. He said in his speech: "To revive China, this is our last chance. We must make use of our entire human and financial resources to attain our goal. Comrades from overseas must donate their money and comrades at home will donate their lives to shoulder the responsibility of saving the country." His speech was so compelling that the donations he received onsite alone totaled over eight thousand dollars.

After the Penang meeting, Sun Mei and Yang Dechu returned to Guangzhou Bay, using the "San Tai Li" store as a cover for their activities. Penang recorded the most important journey taken by Sun Mei, transforming him from enterprenuer to revolutionary. On another note, Penang was also tied to the graceful Chen Cuifen, a beloved lady in the Sun family who made considerable contributions to the cause and to the Sun family when she was there. It was she who told many insightful and vivid stories of the revolution's history to us later generations of the Sun family.

Organizing the Guangzhou Bay Uprising

我的曾祖父孫眉

Guangzhou Bay(广州湾) was the place where Sun Mei, coming in at the low point of the revolutionary movement, transformed from being a mere supporter to a true revolutionary. We visited Zhanjiang, previously called Guangzhou Bay, and saw in the government archives department there many historical documents showing that the people of Zhanjiang are not unfamiliar with the history there.

Guangzhou Bay traces its name back to the Ming/Qing Dynasty. It was the main route of transportation between Goungdong, Guangxi and Hainan. One could travel to the southwest provinces through Guangzhou Bay; and southward to Vietnam as well. Historically, it was considered a place of strategic importance in the country's south. In 1897, the French warship "Bayard" barged into Guangzhou Bay to avoid typhoon. The captain, surprised to discover such a fine deep water port, recommended to his government to negotiate a lease from the Qing government. In April of 1898, the French invaded and forcibly captured Haitouxun (now Xiashan 霞山). The local people gathered and fought the aggressors for over a year, but on November 16, 1899, the Qing government signed the fatuous "Sino-French Guangzhou Bay Concession Treaty", granting the French a 99-year lease. In 1943, Guangzhou Bay was occupied by the Japanese army, but reverted back to China with the name changed to "Zhanjiang"(湛江)after the Japanese surrendered in 1945.

When the French had taked over the city, they declared Guangzhou Bay to be a free trading port. Large-scale trade in such things as foreign medicines and opium afforded the city instant prosperity.

Its prosperity made it a very important city in which to raise funds for the revolution. Ironically, because the city was now under French rule, it became a safe haven for revolutionaries to avoid harrassment by the Qing government. Sun Yat-sen made good use of the city to move around.

By 1909, the revolutionary movement was growing rapidly. Members of Hong Kong's Tong Meng Hui suggested that in order to expand, a southern branch must be established. In October of that year, a southern branch of the Tong Meng Hui was created in Hong Kong to be responsible for military-related strategic planning and the organizing of party affairs in the southwest region of the country. Hu Hanmin(胡汉民) was selected branch leader. In 1910, Sun Yat-sen appointed Sun Mei to be the branch's deputy head and sent him to Guangzhou Bay to organize and set up a revolutionary base there. Sun Mei used the names Huang Zhendong (黄镇

东) and Liu Hansheng (刘汉生) to slip into Guangzhou Bay with his good friend and aide, Yang Dechu. With the help of local merchants, he established the Tong Meng Hui Guangzhou Bay organization.

Through friends, Sun Mei was introduced to Yang Yisan (杨益三), a merchant from Chikan (赤坎). Yang, who came from Wenzhe of Xuxi County, was only 37 years old at the time but already a director of the Guangzhou Bay business association. Yang had started as a hired hand, later operating a small bean curd business until he made enough money to have his own store. He was extremely frustrated by the corruption of the Qing government, and he supported whole-heartedly the ideals of Sun Yat-sen for the establishment of a republic in order to protect the Chinese from poverty and the humiliation by foreign powers. He and Sun Mei hit it off instantly and he became Sun Mei's first recruit. After joining the Tong Meng Hui, Yang allowed Sun Mei to make use of his store Rong Xing Hao as a base and cover. Soon, others such as Liang Haishan (梁海珊) and Chen Hefang (陈鹤舫) joined the party. The Guangzhou Bay branch was responsible for raising funds from the people in the eight townships of the Gao Lei region of Guangdong as well as for coordinating logistics and provisions for the military forces here and in other areas. To recruit more people, Sun Mei opened a pharmacy called San Tai Lai (三泰利) in Chikan, using it as a communication center. His operations went deep into other counties such as Wucun, Huazhou and Gaozhou. Sun Mei was authorized to sign all documents and certificates of appointment on behalf of Sun Yat-sen. Branches were also set up in several other counties, with leadership already in place for each branch.

Chen Hefang (陈鹤舫) of Wucun detested the corruption and incompetency that characterized the Qing government. Sun Mei had been making use of the newspaper "Min Bao" to popularize the idea of a revolution, and Chen was one of the first people to be attracted by it and immediately joined the revolutionary party. Sun Mei found his right hand man and immediately appointed him to be one of the leaders of the organization. They both traveled deep into Wucun to recruit more members. One day, Chen took Sun Mei from Guangzhou Bay to Hailu to see a good friend of his, Chen Yuchen (陈玉臣) who was the nephew of Chen Lanbin (陈兰彬), once the first minister at the embassy in Washington. Chen Lanbin lost his favor with the Empress Dowager and resigned his post. But that affected Chen Yuhen's father, who also lost his job as the minister of the Salt Bureau. Chen Hefang knew that Chen Yuchen had a grudge against the Qing government and could be

persuaded to join their movement to overthrow the Qing. Sun Mei and his friend succeeded and Chen Yuchen became a member. Sun Mei eventually relied heavily on him to raise funds through his many connections. Sun Mei also made use of Chen Hefang's house as a base of operation.

Yang Shuntang (杨舜堂) was a school teacher from the village of Tangzhe in Xi'an. He knew perfectly that, although Liu Yongfu (刘永福) had won the battles in Vietnam, the Qing government signed a humiliating treaty with the French. He was particularly hurt by the concession of Guangzhou Bay to the French and joined the Tong Meng Hui with vengeance in his heart. In the fall of 1911, he took his son Dexi (德西) to join the militia that would go on to attack government houses in Guangzhou, later becoming known as the Huanghuagang(黄花岗) event. His son died in the attack.

After the failed Huanghuagang uprising on March 29, 1911, Sun Mei returned again to Guangzhou Bay. When the Wuhan uprising finally succeeded in overthrowing the government, Sun Mei responded immediately by organizing local militia to revolt. By the end of the year, all townships and counties including Wucun, Lianjiang, Leizhou, Xusi and Haikan were liberated and the republic government was formed.

Sun Mei forged a tight bond with Chen Hefang through their experience in fomenting revolution, even becoming blood brothers. As Sun Mei was eighteen years older, Chen called him "big brother".

At that time, Sun Mei often used the alias "Huang Zhendong"(黄镇东), so he was known by most as "Big Brother Huang". The main purpose for setting up the Tong Meng Hui branch there was to organize a military force, but collaboration with other parties, such as with bandits and local militia, and inducement of the Qing soldiers to defect and join, were also on the agenda. Collaborating with the bandits or thieves was one of the more important tactics used. In the Gaoshu region, the bandits there were essentially the remnants of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom (1851-1864). Active at the borders of Guangdong, Guangxi, and the Huazhou area at that time, they used the slogan: "Rob the rich to feed the poor." Sun Mei and Yang tried publicizing their cause amongst the gangs and induced many of them to join.

In early 1911, Huang Shilong (黄士龙) was trying to round up the revolutionaries, even capturing Chen Hefang. He was tortured until his limbs became paralyzed. Sun Mei tried to rescue him with other members of the Tong Meng Hui, but failed. It was not until the success of the Gao Zhou uprising that Chen was

rescued. He was subsequently elected the first governor of Gao Zhou. In Jan 1912, Chen was so ill that he required special treatment. The Guangdong provincial government sent him to Guangzhou but could not afford to pay for his medical treatment, so Sun Mei worked hard to save his good friend. An old Chinese herbalist doctor suggested using ginseng, so Sun Mei raised a few thousand yuan to buy enough ginseng for Chen's treatment. Fortunately, after a little more than a year, Chen's limbs were saved.

After the failure of the second revolution, Sun Yat-sen and Huang Xing fled to Japan, and Chen followed Sun Mei to Macau. Later, he changed his name to Chen Shouchang (陈寿昌), enrolling in a law school in Guangzhou. He would later work as a secretary and aide at the Grand Marshal Residence in Guangzhou under Sun Yat-sen.

Yang Yisan continued his business activities after the revolution. He was somewhat disappointed that the reform of the country was not complete, and would often encourage his children to continue the work in building up the nation and to participate in charity. He died at his home in June 1924, aged 52.

To commemorate his contribution to Sun Yat-sen's revolution, his descendants built a small kiosk with inscriptions by many well-known personalities, including Sun Fo, Ju Zhen and Wang Qingwei. I visited the site and it was well maintained by the local people there. (Fig.132-133)

Sun Mei's work in the Guangzhou Bay area proved the wisdom of Sun Yat-sen's strategy. Sun Mei had run back and forth along the southwest borders, bringing the raised money back to Tong Meng Hui to fund the military uprisings. Sun Yat-sen led six such military uprisings along the southwest border, effectively shaking the power of the local authorities and inspiring the whole revolutionary movement. The achievement by Sun Mei and his comrades are rightfully well-remembered and recorded. The inscription on the tombstone of Yang Yisan by Wang Qingwei (汪精卫) says it all:

At the time of Sun Yat-sen's revolution movement, he secretly ordered comrade Sun Mei to Guangzhou Bay to form an organization to support the uprising. Mr. Yang supported the movement by joining the Tong Meng Hui. He supported the battles of Fang Cheng, Zheng Nanguan, Qin Lian and Shang Xi from the beginning to the end. For matters large or small, Mr. Yang did his best and never gave up.

Under the leadership of Sun Mei and Yang Yisan, branches of Tong Meng Hui

were set up in other counties as well. Sun Mei, together with Yan Dechu, traveled into these counties at least four times to promote the cause of revolution and to raise funds. Wucun became one of the very important strongholds for Tong Meng Hui on the southern route.

Sun Mei's movement in Guangzhou Bay was kept low key. People knew him as "Big brother Huang", but did not know him by his real name or his nickname "Maui King". Yang Yisan once told his children: "Sun Mei went in and out of Rong Xing Store and talked to Yang's daughter about the equality of women, and that women should become educated and self-sufficient." The following is a letter from Sun Mei to his wife:

To the mother of Sun Chong: I guess you have received the letter I wrote to Ah Chong, asking him to send you home. I don't know if you have started your journey or not. If not, please buy a ship ticket and come here to take care of things quickly. I have been deported by the Hong Kong government. Sun Yat-sen's wife and children and Xuen Ha are now in Penang. Only Second Auntie and Sister Tao are still living in Kowloon. I hope you return quickly and can bring them all to Guangzhou Bay. I am now working in Guangzhou Bay, but no one is taking care of the household chores. You must return immediately. Ah Chong, his wife and his grandsons can return later on. Signed on September 29 by De Zhang.(Fig.124)

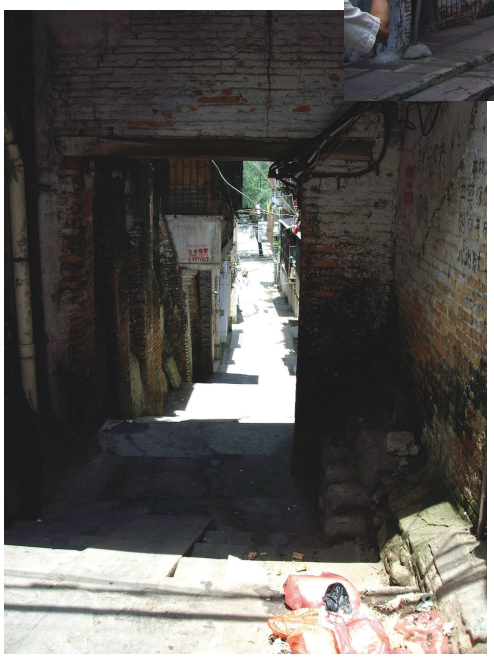
During the many Guangzhou Bay activities, Sun Mei went to Shunde several times to contact other comrades to expand the organization. On April 27, 1911, Huang Xing led an attack on the Governor's mansion, which began the Guangzhou uprising. With Zu Jinxin and Hu Yusheng taking lead, over a thousand men from Shunde, Lianglong, Ganglin, Malin and Ronggei staged a revolt in Lecong. They defeated the Qing navy, moved north and took Fushan, but still the Guangzhou uprising failed. Huang Xing and Zu Jixin donned disguises to escape, and 86 revolutionaries lost their lives in the campaign.

The attack, however, caused a great uproar throughout the world, as Chinese everywhere felt finally that the revolution was real and imminent. After March 29, Sun Mei recruited the leader of the people's army, Lo Jingliang, to join the Tong Meng Hui and organize its troops in preparation for the next attack.

The Governorship Issue







131. 广州湾活动地图片
Photos of locations of Sun Mei activities in Guangzhouwan



132. 孙科题字追忆杨益三
Inscription by Sun Fo in memory of Yang Yi San



133. 在杨益三墓前与他的后人合照
Grave of Yang Yi San with his decendents

After securing Guangzhou, Wang Jingwei (汪精卫), Chen Jiongming (陈炯明), Fung Ziyou (冯自由), Hu Hanming (胡汉民), Zhu Zhixin(朱执信) and Sun Mei(孙眉) were all likely candidates to become the governor of Guangdong.

On December 23, 1911, Sun Yat-sen returned to Shanghai from overseas and on December 29, he was elected provisional president. On January 1, 1912, the Republic of China was official founded. The inauguration ceremoney was in Nanking.

Chen Jiongming became Guangdong's governor but he threatened to quit many times. On February 5, many people in the business community from Guangzhou and Hong Kong sent telegraphic cables to Sun Yat-sen recommending that Sun Mei become governor. On February 21, many organizations in Guangzhou even gathered to stage a rally promoting Sun Mei to become governor. Even the minister of education Cai Yuanpei (蔡元培) recommended Sun Mei for the governorship. The people in Guangdong were using military force to threaten the provincial congress to support Sun Mei and the Nanking Presidential Office received over a hundred cable messages supporting Sun Mei. Sun Yat-sen, however, was against the idea. He sent a cable reply stating that his brother was not a good candidate because he was honest and straightforward and therefore not suited for the political areana. He further said that his brother had always been a business person and enterprenuer and would be more qualified for commerce and industry. The same day Sun Mei also received a cable from his brother telling him these same reasons why he should not be the governor:

Dear Big Brother:

Many people recommended you to me to be the Governor of Guangdong. I think politics is something you are not familiar with. You are a straightforward person. Once you get into the political arena, people will try to deceive you. When you are off the stage, people look up to you. But if you make a slight mistake, there will be complaints. For the good of the whole situation, I think you should do what you can do best. Things such as the settlement of the people's army and commerce and industry are your expertise. No need to be in this post. I also heard that someone was using threats to others to support you. If this is the case, the consequence must not be good. Please try to avoid it.

Your brother Wen

On February 22, Sun Yat-sen rejected Sun Mei's nomination and ordered Chen Jiongmong to continue on as governor. On Feburary 24, Sun Yat-sen cabled

Guangzhou stressing that once Yuan Shikai (袁世凯) became president, Wang Jingwei would come down south to be the governor. Until Wang's arrival, however, Chen must stay on as governor. No other person should be governor. He also cabled his brother Sun Mei and asked him to leave Guangzhou immediately.

At this time, Sun Mei wrote to his son telling him that he was going to Nanking to discuss matters with Sun Yat-sen. (Fig.127)

Sun Mei met with his brother in Nanking, brought along a letter from Sun Yat-sen's good friend T. H. Fernandez, and reported on the situation in Guangdong. He also told his brother that he felt Yuan should not be named President. Sun Mei also presented his own ideas on how to govern Guangdong, but Sun Yat-sen still insisted that his brother not become involved in politics.(Fig.128)

On March 9, Sun Yat-sen announced to the entire country under the title of provisional president that Yuan Shikai would succeed him.

On April 25, Sun Yat-sen returned to Guangzhou and discovered that Sun Mei was still upset by his brother's decision not to support him for the governorship. Sun Mei reiterated that it was not for the title but for the opportunity to prove to him that he too could serve the people well.

On May 14, Sun Mei took the whole family along with friends and relatives to pay their respects to his mother at her grave in Kowloon.(Fig.113)

On May 20, Sun Yat-sen told reporters in Hong Kong in an interview that he was hoping to build a house in Macau for his brother. In actuality, Sun Yat-sen did not have enough money for such an endeavor, but his love and appreciation for his brother's long support were obvious.

At the time, there were many people in the region scheming to gain power. Many were simply opportunists who, having never really gotten involved in the revolutionary process, had become warlords with their own peasant armies. A group of people against the governor had asked Sun Mei to revive the Xing Zhong Hui and some suggested forming a new Tong Meng Hui. Even when he lived in Macau, Sun Mei felt obliged to feed these so-called old comrades. Ah Tai recalled that when dinner time came, they rang a bell to announce it, and soon the two big round tables would be full of people.

Some of these warlords were causing so much trouble that Chen Jiongming instructed Wei Bangping (魏邦平) to have one of them, Shi Jinchuen (石锦泉), killed to make the others, such as Wang Heshun (王和顺), Guan Renfu (关仁甫) and Yang Wanfu (杨万夫), more cautious. Sun Yat-sen knew well about the intentions of these

warlords and warned his brother to not fall into their traps.

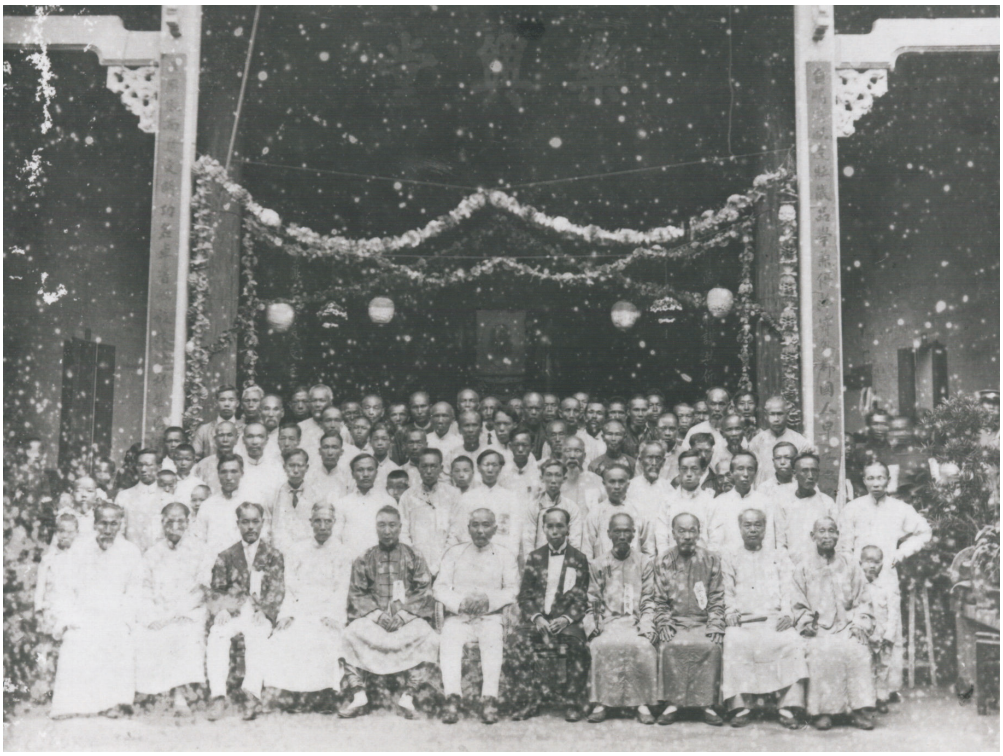
China's political situation became more volatile after Yuan Shikai became president, especially in Guangdong. After disbanding his peasant army, Wang Heshun tried to form the Revived Tong Meng Hui to struggle against the military government in Guangzhou and to disrupt the security of the city. He also circulated a rumor that Sun Mei would head the organization. Sun Yat-sen immediately made a statement to deny the rumor and urged people to unite in keep the existing situation. In his attempt to address this issue, Sun Mei made his own statement on June 8, 1912, in the Ming Sheng Newspaper (民生日报) to deny his involvement with Wang's group.

Brothers Returning Home

On May 27, Sun Yat-sen resigned as president and returned to his home village. By then Sun Mei had realized that his brother's objection to his becoming a politician had indeed been for his own good. To welcome his brother properly, Sun Mei returned home from Macau three days in advance to make preparations.

The two brothers insisted first on visiting two ladies in the village. One was the mother of Lu Haodong, who had been a close friend and comrade. Lu Haodong was the first to sacrifice his life for the revolution. The other was the wife of Cheng Qiong, who had been escorted to Cuiheng ealier by Sun Mei to meet his brother.

The two brothers also went over to the village of Zuobu to meet with other descendents of the Sun Family. The historical picture below was taken in front of the family home.(Fig.129)



134. 1912年5月，眉公在左埠村孙氏祖祠与乡亲合照。
Photo taken at the Sun Family Temple with Sun Mei and the Sun family members in May, 1912.



135. 卢慕贞与谭氏在左步村孙氏祖祠与乡亲合照.
Lu Mu Zhen and Tam Shi with the Sun family at the Sun Family Temple in Zuo Bu Cun.



第九章
濠江夕照

Chapter 9
Final Years in Macau

“粤督风波”之后的几次与孙中山会面，令眉公得到了很大的启示，他最终听从了孙中山的意见，致力于实业，并竭力安置民军。

广东光复后，共有16万民军云集于广州，由于他们的装备差，纪律坏，首领又桀骜不驯，不听指挥，经常持械游荡于街市，对社会治安干扰很大，引起广东商民的不满。而且民军每月需用粮饷300余万元，也成了新政府沉重的负担。1912年4月，陈炯明整缩民军，到年底，民军已不到4万人。

眉公在澳门居住期间，对一直追随他的革命党员依然不离不弃。在这个革命大家庭里，上上下下都尊称他“眉公”，连一班革命同志也不例外，眉公更是视他们如手足。

我的父亲孙乾曾经回忆道：那时，许多叔伯常住我们家里，屋里屋外常被住满，到了吃饭时间，用不着个别去叫，阿爷让我去敲钟，钟一响，大家都出来了。

1913年6月16日，孙中山与家人回到澳门，兄弟再次相聚一周。二次革命后，同盟会员邓慕韩等躲避在澳门眉公家中，眉公招待如仪。云南河口起义领导



136. 眉公晚年与友人于船上合照
Photo taken with friends on board ship

人黄禅侠在二次革命后逃到澳门，也是寄寓在眉公家中。黄禅侠，是顺德陈村人，越南华侨，在河口一战率军起义。后又参加二次革命，失败后，先逃到香港，主持《真报》、《时报》，宣传革命，反对帝制。由于香港政府横加干涉，两报均遭查封，黄亦两次被捕。

对于革命事业，眉公始终关注，竭尽全力。1913年，他与邓慕韩、邓泽如、潘达微、陆秋露、邓子瑜、何克夫、陆文辉等发起成立革命纪念会，缅怀先烈。时政府亦准备拟定章程拨款开办，后因政局不稳，直到1924年5月23日，孙中山才令广东省长查原案拨款办理。

1913年8月，孙中山发动的二次革命失败后亡命日本，眉公同行，协助弟弟。1914年，孙中山在日本东京成立中华革命党，被选为总理，眉公又协助孙中山为反袁筹款，并在澳门和永安公司取得密切配合，所收款项统由永安公司代理，此时眉公连连收到了孙中山在日本的挂号邮件，孙中山又亲自指示在香港的



137. 1912年冬，孙眉夫妇、孙昌夫妇、陈粹芬、伯父孙满、父亲孙乾等在澳门合照全家福。
Sun Mei and Tam Shi, Sun Cheong and grandma, Chen Cui Feng, Uncle Moon and father Sun Kin photo taken in Winter of 1912 in Macau.

横滨硬币银行交眉公款付给永安公司（附文照：电文：“将孙眉款付给永安公司。孙逸仙。”孙中山在东京致电眉公，电文：“已通知银行，孙逸仙。”眉公再一次担任了孙中山革命的“财政部长”，再一次显示其在革命中的重要作用。

眉公在澳门的最后岁月里，仍致力于实业，据澳门历史文化学者陈树荣说，他曾在拱北的故书摊“淘”过一张股权证书，里面有孙眉的名字。据说当年眉公参加了当时澳门的渔业协会，而渔业在当时是澳门经济的支柱产业，占澳门产值的三分之一。1912年11月20日的《香山纯报》曾刊登过一则启事，从此则启事，可见眉公当时从事着养蚝的商业活动。附该启事一则如下：

启者，香山恭都鸡拍乂和蚝塘前被强邻藉势抢掠，蚝块一空，以至歇业两载，论者惜之。今本公司从事实业，集赀承顶，限以一个月内交易，如有与乂和塘交涉者，请到澳门孙府处妥商，并望就近乡邻人士，须知共和时代，维持实业，保护商场，政府之责。此后不得野蛮手段，仍前抢掠，倘敢故为逞强，惟有以海盗相待，执法拿解，以警将来。此布。

民国元年十一月二十日

香山合胜公司孙寿屏等启

虽然居住在澳门，眉公仍不时回翠亨故居小住，故居的厨房、浴室、厕所等均由眉公亲自主持修建。此前在1892年建屋时，没有厨房等设施，是眉公买回了浴缸、自来水管及配件。村民对眉公很是信赖，凡有口角相争，或因财产不均，都上门请求眉公帮助排解。其实眉公处事也很简单，如有两人相争，一理亏者如告到眉公处，就作原告，定下来，无论情况如何，眉公也是偏帮先来告状者。

年已花甲的眉公，在澳门的日子里，最使其宽心的是，膝下一对男孙活泼可爱，他和谭氏、卢夫人、陈粹芬一家数口同住澳门风顺堂4号，眉公视陈粹芬为亲人，敬重有加，而卢夫人与陈粹芬则情同姐妹。孙儿绕膝的四代同堂令眉公收获了天伦之乐。

1912年，为了办实业，以支持孙中山的革命，眉公与陈粹芬商量再到南洋发展。陈粹芬在南洋活动多年，认识不少商家，可以从中获得支持。为了帮助眉公实现再办实业的理想，陈粹芬于1912年5月以后，便到了马来西亚庇能谋求发展。不料此一别，竟与眉公成永诀。

1915年2月11日申时，眉公走完了一个花甲，在澳门辞世。

孙儿孙乾在场目睹了眉公的人生谢幕。他回忆说：

眉公在世的最后数日的时光非常平静，由于眉公的脚以前在九龙经营农场



138.眉公为翠亨村村民争水源主持公道，立碑为证。
A monument set up by the villagers of Cui Heng to cite Sun Mei's upholding justice in their claim for water source.

时，常使用山坑有毒的水，而受到感染致使有脚气病，脚肿而且行动很不方便。因此家人吩咐我要常跟着阿公。2月11日，我照样陪着眉公，眉公说要大便，我就去拿了马桶放在眉公的房中。我让眉公坐上马桶后，就坐在眉公床上等。不到两分钟，我看着眉公完全没有动静，好奇地走到他的身边，看到他的两眼已闭，好像呼吸也停止了。

一代豪杰孙眉的传奇一生，在此画上了一个句号。

孙昌赶紧致电叔父孙中山：父殁，汇款，振兴。

当时“国是未定，饰终之礼犹缺”，家人和一帮党人好友送别眉公，将其暂葬于澳门西洋坟场。



139. 眉公晚年与朋友摄于澳门温万福照相馆
Sun Mei and friends in studio in Macau



140. 眉公与朋友于澳门温万福照相馆
Sun Mei with friends in photo studio in Macau



141. 1912年2月8日各同志在澳门娱园欢迎孙眉合照 。
Fellow comrades welcoming Sun Mei at the "Yu Yuan" in Macau on February 8, 1912.

Meeting and talking once again with his brother gave Sun Mei renewed energy. He accepted his brother's suggestion of concentrating on commerce and industry and agreed to help resolve the situation with the 160,000+ peasant troops still gathered in Guangzhou after the revolution. These men were largely undisciplined, had no leadership, and caused great instability in the community. Over 3 million yuan was required to pay their salary, a heavy burden on the new military government. By April, Chen Jiongming disbanded the troops, re-enlisted some, and reduced the army to forty thousand men.

During his stay in Macau, Sun Mei did not desert those who followed him. They all respected him and called him "Mei Gong". Recalling those days in Macau, my father said there were many uncles staying in the house, and he had to ring the bell to call for everyone to come to dinner.

On June 16, 1913, Sun Yat-sen met his family in Macau and the two brothers reunited for a whole week. After the second revolution, the Tong Meng Hui members Deng Muhan (邓慕韩) and others had sought refuge at Sun Mei's home in Macau. Revolutionary Huang Chanxia(黄禅侠), who led the uprising at Hekou(河口), Yunnan Province(云南省), had likewise fled to Macau after the second revolution failed, also staying at Sun Mei's house. Huang's family was originally from Shunde, although he had lived as an overseas Chinese in Vietnam. He had also taken charge of the "Zhen Bao"(真报) and "Shi Bao"(时报) newspapers to publicize the revolutionary cause. The Hong Kong government had shut down the two newspapers to impede the revolutionary efforts and even arrested Huang twice.

Sun Mei has always showed great concern for all the affairs relating to the revolution. In 1913, Sun Mei together with Deng Muhan (邓慕韩), Deng Zeru (邓泽如), Pan Dawei (潘达微), Lu Qiulu (陆秋露), Deng Ziyu (邓子瑜), He Kefu (何克夫) and Lu Wenfei (路文辉) wanted to form an organization in commemoration of those who sacrificed their lives during the revolution. But the government could not fund the project due to unstable political situation at the time. It wasn't until May 23, 1924 when Sun Yat-Sen ordered the governor of Guangdong to carryout the original planned project.

In August 1913, after the failed attempt of the second revolution against Yuan Shikai, Sun Yat-sen fled to Japan with Sun Mei accompanying him. In 1914, Sun Yat-sen founded the China Revolution Party in Tokyo, Japan and was elected Chairman. Sun Mei again helped to raise funds for his brother's party.

Sun Mei established a line of cooperation with the Wing On Company to funnel funds through Wing On. Sun Yat-sen instructed Japanese banks to send money to Sun Mei for deposit into the Wing On account. Sun Mei jumped at the opportunity

to be involved, and again served proudly as treasurer for his brother.

Sun Mei also involved himself in other businesses in Macau as well. Macau historian Chen Shurong described seeing a certificate which named Sun Mei as a member of the fishery association. The copy of the statement also tells of Sun Mei's involvement in the oyster farm business.

Sun Mei returned to his home village often despite having taken up residency in Macau. The kitchen, bathroom and toilets in the family house back home were all the results of Sun Mei ingenuity, as the house was originally constructed in 1892 without such facilities. Sun Mei brought the bathtub, water piping and accessories with him from Macau. The villagers all trusted Sun Mei and would often ask him to mediate the occasional disputes around the village. It was said that Sun Mei had a very simple philosophy regarding dispute resolutions: of the two people who had a dispute, Sun Mei would often favor the one who came to him first, as it logically indicated to him they considered their grievance more acute.

Sun Mei spent his last few years in No.4 Shun Feng Tang, Macau with his family, including Madam Lu and Chen Cuifen. He was happiest when playing with his two grandsons.

Nevertheless, Sun Mei was perpetually looking for business opportunities and rarely shied away from them. He discussed his ideas with Chen Cuifen and asked her to go to Malaya first to make connections and look for opportunities. Chen Cuifen became familiar with many business people there back when she and Sun Yat-sen were promoting the revolutionary cause. She left for Malaya, not knowing she would never see Sun Mei again.

My father witnessed his grandfather's death, recalling: "Mei Gong was very calm in his dying days. His feet used to be swollen due to the long hours he spent ploughing the rice fields and he could hardly walk sometimes." Father was told to keep an eye on his grandfather. On February 11, 1915, my father was with Sun Mei in his room. He told my father to fetch the stool, which he did and sat on it by Mei Gong's bedside waiting. Within two minutes, when Father could see no movement, he approached his grandfather, saw his eyes close, and realized he had stopped breathing as well.

Such was the end of the legend of my great-grandfather Sun Mei.

Sun Chong cabled his uncle, saying simply: "Father died, remit money. Sun Chong".

It was not deemed appropriate to hold an elaborate funeral at that time, so he was buried in Macau for the time being.



第十章
礼敬眉公

Chapter 10
Tribute to Sun Mei



142.眉公墓地在翠亨村纪中校园内寿屏公园
Sun Mei's Tomb in the Shou Ping Park inside the Guangdong Sun Yat-Sen Memorial School in Cuiheng Village

1934年中国国民党中央执行委员会作出决议，移葬眉公回家乡，眉公终于得以“落叶归根”。

眉公的墓立于翠亨犁头尖西南半山腰上，面南微东，正对着金星门。墓碑刻“显十八世祖考寿屏孙公之墓”，上款“亥山巳向室宿十七度丁亥分金江西兴国杨柳桥受男其邦订”，下款“民国二十三年三月清明日，孙满孙乾敬立”。碑额刻日光流云，以富、贵、寿三字衬托，墓碑左右刻对联：“马鬣崇封思祖德，虎头毓和表元勋。”

那时，山下的总理故乡纪念中学已落成。眉公长眠于此，正是：眺伶仃洋外，枕壑风松涛，看云舒云卷，听琅琅书声。

眉公德高彰显，深孚众望，他的墓园由民国政府奠立基石，高约3米半有余，宽1.2米的墓表上镌刻国民党党徽，厚葬以国礼。碑文概括了墓主人的传奇一生：

总理生平所严事，有贤兄曰德彰先生，其艰贞坚卓之力，远大之思，所以振兴于其家，而激发总理之志，遂大有造于党国者，皆国史家牒所宜特书。初，先生家居时，先德道川公，以其倜傥不羁，欲遣之远游而砻错之，使有所成。适杨太君有弟商于檀香山者，遂挈以行。是时荒岛初开，筚路待启。先生一志专勤，忘其劳苦，春耕秋耨，月迈岁纪，居积稍裕。后乘时而有茂宜岛之经营，农垦畜牧，分道并张，汗雨锄去，成于一手，遂有岛王之称。乡里诵说，以为英杰。未几，以道川公命归娶，乃于故里。后有移民事务所之设，一时应者风驰景从，更租轮舶以资还往。于是群岛皆辟，政府改容，路人异目。



143.碑文
Monumental writing inscribed on the tomb stone.

孙氏事业，浸光大矣。时总理尚幼，随侍太君往觐宏图。先生则使肄业意奥兰尼学校，在校数年，美传教师深加契异，训导尤殷，遂往往以基督教为祈乡。先生则甚悲之。总理乃归，后赴香港，入拔萃书院，转皇仁书院肄业，并受洗礼。先生则再召赴檀，督过尤厉，盖期望之意深，则责望之心切，要皆天性所流露也。故终以钜金勖成总理之学，后入皇仁书院，是时总理年二十矣。忧外患之日深，念汉族之积弱，重感于中法战争之后，乃具倾覆清廷之志。而思以医术为托足之始，阴以结纳天下奇士，先后入广州博济医院、香港雅丽医院学成，而识益广，志益坚。甲午后赴檀，因先生之势，遂创立兴中会，于是革命大业之基础以成，而实际之延展亦由此始。自是厥后，每有大举，或值总理危难，先生皆有所匡助。纪元前数年，毕生所辛苦经营而仅有者，遂荡焉而尽丧之。初无几微之悔，毫须之惜，乃奉太君归国，躬耕于香港对岸之九龙，于军国事犹多所策划。既见忌于英政府，乃潜至广州湾，联络粤省南路之义军。民国成立，乃退居澳

门，大义既伸，先生之心力亦尽矣。始劳其身，以成其业，终举其所业而皆效于国，淡然若无与于已，岂非丈夫之明志也哉！

先生讳眉，德彰其字也，晚年号寿屏。人多称之曰眉公。民国三年冬以疾卒于澳门旅次，春秋六十有二。夫人谭氏，今尚健在。子一，昌，沉毅有父风，六年殉难于黄埔；孙二，满、乾。先生之殁，总理悲哀，几不自胜。国是未定，饰终之礼犹缺。廿三年春，中国国民党中央执行委员会，特决议定以国币万元葬先生于总理故乡纪念学校之旁。后伐石刻辞，树于幽宫。先生生平事迹足称者多，兹不复著，著其有导助于总理而重。开于党国者，以式乡帮而崇国典。

中华民国二十四年四月

中国国民党中央执行委员会敬立

碑文长达942字，由时任中国国民党中央执行委员会主席的汪精卫撰写。

从眉公的墓走下来是纪念中学，四座红墙绿瓦、飞檐流丹的教学主楼中，其中一座以眉公的号“寿屏”命名，曰“寿屏堂”。眉公的汉白玉像，立在“寿屏堂”前，令眉公每天都可接受学子们的注目礼，聆听学子们的读书声。眉公自己虽与学堂缘浅，但其一生却为幼弟与后辈的供书教学殚精竭虑。当年在檀香山创业，孙眉曾办私塾，除孙家的子孙外，还招了许多其他华人子弟。“学海求才”成了孙家的一代家风。

2009年，纪念中学筹资将眉公墓园坐落的一带山头辟成寿屏公园。



144.孙氏后人在寿屏堂前合影
The Sun Family decedents in front of the “Shou Ping Hall” named after Sun Mei.

In 1934, The Central Executive Committee of the KMT brought Sun Mei home finally when they moved his remains back to Cuiheng village.

Sun Mei was buried on the southwestern slope of the Nitouqian Hill in Cuiheng facing the southeast in a direct line with Venus Island. The tombstone was laid by uncle Moon and my father on the 23rd day of March, 1935, with the grave itself overlooking the Sun Yat-sen Memorial High School. The KMT Party of the Republic of China commissioned Wang Jingwei to inscribe on the monumental tombstone a brief biography of Sun Mei's legendary life:(Fig.143)

Sun Yat-sen's lifetime achievements had much to do with his brother Dezhang. His vision and firmness of will had made his family prosper and aroused the aspirations and ideals of his brother Sun Yat-sen to create the party and the Republic which should go down in history. At home as a youth, Sun Mei was unconventional and his father thought of sending him overseas to mold him. His uncle who had just returned from Hawaii advised him to go there. In those days, much of the land on that island was uninhabited, waiting to be developed. Sun Mei worked hard to cultivate the land and began to build up his wealth. He further expanded his operation into ranching on the island of Maui and eventually became so successful that the people there would call him the "Maui King". He returned home to be married and established a company to recruit Chinese workers from home and shipped them over on chartered ships.

Sun Mei's business grew but Sun Yat-sen was still young at the time. He sent Sun Yat-sen to Iolani College for schooling. During the few years Sun Yat-sen was there, the teachings by the missionaries in the school caused him to want to become a Christian, to which Sun Mei objected. Sun Yat-sen then returned to Hong Kong and entered the Diocesan School, then the Central School and eventually he was baptized to become a Christian. Sun Mei then called Sun Yat-sen back to Hawaii again and reprimanded him for becoming a Christian, although eventually, deciding that it reflected Sun Yat-sen's true nature, agreed to continue supporting his brother for his schooling. When Sun Yat-sen returned to the Central School, he was already 20 years old. Worried about invasions by foreign forces and concerned about the weakness of the Chinese government, particularly after the Sino-French war, Sun Yat-sen began to formulate his plans to overturn the Qing Dynasty. He made use of his medical skills to



145. 曾孙子们在碑文前
左起：伟国、必达、必立、必胜、必成、雅丽、杰、必兴
Great-grandchildren in front of the Tombstone:
From Left: Steve, Peter, Philip, Victor, Pershing, Alexandra, Patrick, Henry

unite people from all walks of life. He interned at the Guangzhou Buoji Hospital and the Hong Kong Alexander Hospital. He became more determined upon hearing the views of the many people he had met. He went to Honolulu after the war and through the connections of Sun Mei formed the Xing Zhong Hui, which became the foundation of the revolution. From then on, every time there was a major uprising or whenever his brother encountered danger, Sun Mei would offer his support generously. Several years prior to the end of the 19th century, almost everything he had earned throughout his life had been spent or donated. Still, he had no regrets. He returned to Hong Kong and lived with his mother in Kowloon, and then participated in the planning of many military affairs. To avoid trouble with the British government, he went to Guangzhou Bay to liaise with the revolutionaries in the southwestern part of Guangdong Province. After the founding of the Republic, he retired to Macau. After expressing his ideals, he

must have felt that he had accomplished his mission. Everything he did was for the country and nothing for his own. This must be the highest compliment one can give to a man.

Sun Mei was also called Dezhang or Shouping. Many called him Mei Gong. He passed away in the third year of the New Republic in Macau at the age of 62. His wife Madam Tam is still alive. His only son Sun Chong died in Huangpu in 1917. Kin and Moon are his two grandsons. Sun Yat-sen was greatly saddened by his brother's death but due to the situation of the nation, no proper burial could be conducted. In the spring of 1934, the Executive Committee of the KMT decided to bury Sun Mei at the side of the Sun Yat-sen Memorial School. This writing will be inscribed on a stone tomb. Sun Mei had done many things in his life but we only mentioned briefly the things he did to help Sun Yat-sen.

April 1935
KMT Central Executive Committee
By Committee Chairman Wang Jingwei

One of the main buildings of the Sun Yat-sen Memorial School which lies below Sun Mei's grave is called "Shouping Hall", named after Sun Mei. A statue of Sun Mei stands in front of the building. In 2009, the school did a great deal of landscaping, planting trees around Sun Mei's grave site, and named the area "Shouping Park" in memory of Sun Mei.(Fig.144)



附录一
亲属与后裔
Appendix 1
Sun Mei's Family

从孙达成这一代算起，我们孙家繁衍至今已是第六代，前后达100多人了。从一个农民家庭中，走出了一对为推翻封建帝制，建立共和而终生奋斗的亲兄弟。他们生前，家人始终与他们站在同一阵线，不遗余力支持；他们身后，让他们的子孙后代承受了他们的最大的财富——爱国，这笔财富，使他们的子孙后代受用无穷。

From Sun Dacheng's generation on, our Sun Family has now expanded by six generations with over 100 people. From a humble farming family came a pair of brothers who devoted their entire lives to the overthrow of the feudal emperor system and to the founding of a republic. Throughout their lives, their families stood by them and supported them throughout. After their passing, their descendants inherited their most precious asset-a love of one's countrymen that will be cherished for generations to come.



146.眉婆谭氏
Picture of Great grandma
(1862—1938)

我的太祖母谭氏

在眉公一生的挚爱中，最使他爱得刻骨铭心的，一是因为有着共同信仰，而看得比自己还重要的弟弟孙中山，一是与自己终生厮守，深爱着他的妻子谭氏。

眉婆于1862年11月19日出生在中山南朗镇崖口村。我无法找到她的名字，旧时代，女子不上族谱。我只知道大家都尊称她为眉婆，在檀香山由她经手的文件在签名时，也只是盖一个“谭氏”的印章，甚至打上一个“×”号为印记，她的一生充当了一个无名英雄的角色。

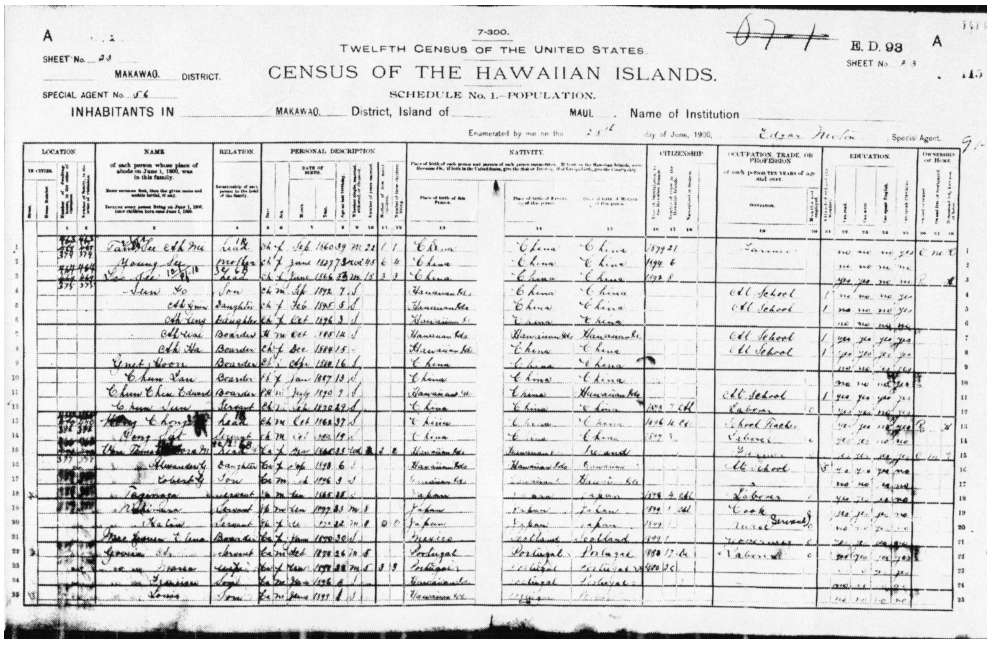
“眉婆是一个了不起的女性，她和眉公在30多年的共同生活中，不畏艰难与丈夫一起创业，与丈夫一起承受贫与富、疾病与灾难，她处处维护丈夫的事业，任由丈夫把财富尽献给革命，莫说是女子，即使是男儿也很难做到。”这是认识她的人对她的评价。

从她婚后踏上檀香山的土地起，她就一直与眉公并肩创业。她那双缠了又放的脚，使她能为丈夫四处奔跑，从安置华工，到店里的买卖，茂宜的荒山野岭的开发、农场工人的管理琐事，都使她尝尽了苦头，但她任劳任怨，从无怨言。她

说话声音不高，但事事显得非常有主见。她尊重婆母，疼爱侄辈，友爱妯娌，她和卢慕贞夫人之间情同姐妹，和睦相处，许多年后，卢夫人还常常在我们后辈人中对她赞不绝口。

孙中山在举行起义前，已先把家人安置在香港，但那里也不安全，他们租住的房子也受到了清廷特务的搜查，幸亏房主是英国人，房主要特务出示证件，否则不准搜查，并声称，如搜不出东西来，他要控告他们，特务们只好离去，但大家却受惊吓不少。孙中山也觉得不安全，只好把杨太夫人等托付给眉公赡养。杨太夫人一行从香港辗转日本，经长崎、神户、横滨等港口，尝尽了海上的险风恶浪，历时一个月才抵达檀香山。杨太夫人抱怨儿子，害得他们背井离乡。

1895年年底，孙中山因领导广州起义失败而受清廷通缉。受尽惊吓的杨太夫人和带着儿女的卢夫人由乡人陆灿护送到檀香山。他们先是住在眉公好友郑照家里，再由眉婆接回茂宜居住。那时往返檀香山至茂宜的家，要从农场由一架4至6匹马拉的马车到达Kall Hook码头，再乘一艘几百吨的小火轮，又费一天多时间才能到达。莫说那时路遥颠簸，单说在那渺无人烟的山路上走几个小时，也是够人难熬的。



7-300.

TWELFTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES.

CENSUS OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

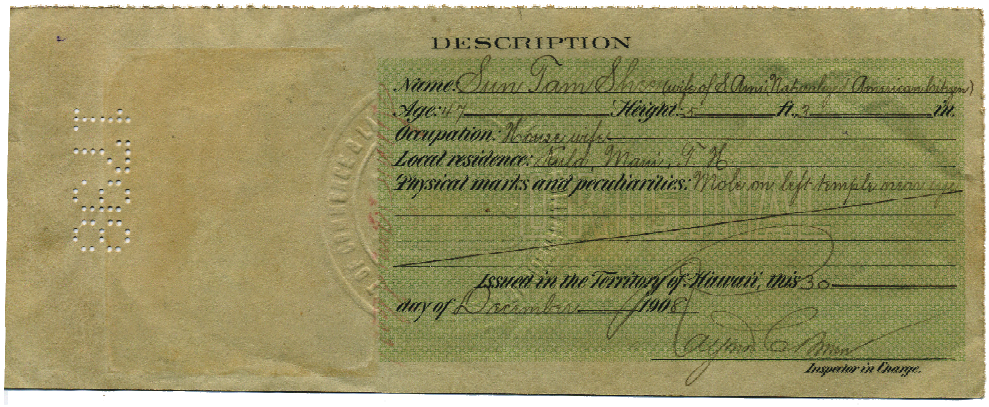
SCHEDULE No. 1.—POPULATION.

SHEET No. 23 — MAKAWAO DISTRICT. — SPECIAL AGENT No. 56

INHABITANTS IN MAKAWAO District, Island of MAUI. Name of Institution

E. D. 93 A — SHEET No. 3

147. 1900年茂宜岛人口普查
1900 Census of Hawaiian islands-Maui


DESCRIPTION

Name: Sun Tam Shee (wife of S. Ami Naturalized American Citizen)
Age: 47 Height: 5 ft. 3 in.
Occupation: House wife
Local residence: Kuld, Maui, T. H.
Physical marks and peculiarities: Mole on left temple near eye

Issued in the Territory of Hawaii, this 30 day of December 1908

Inspector in Charge.

148. 谭氏夏威夷身份证明
Madam Tam Shi Hawaii I.D.

那时牧场人烟稀少，没有邻居，牧场里也缺水，日常饮食用水只依赖积存的雨水。眉婆却尽力去勉慰大家，她把一家人的生活安排得妥妥当当，尽快使大家安定下来。在1900年夏威夷的人口调查中，眉婆被列为一家之主，同时也因眉公为了债务，故意没有把户口同列。

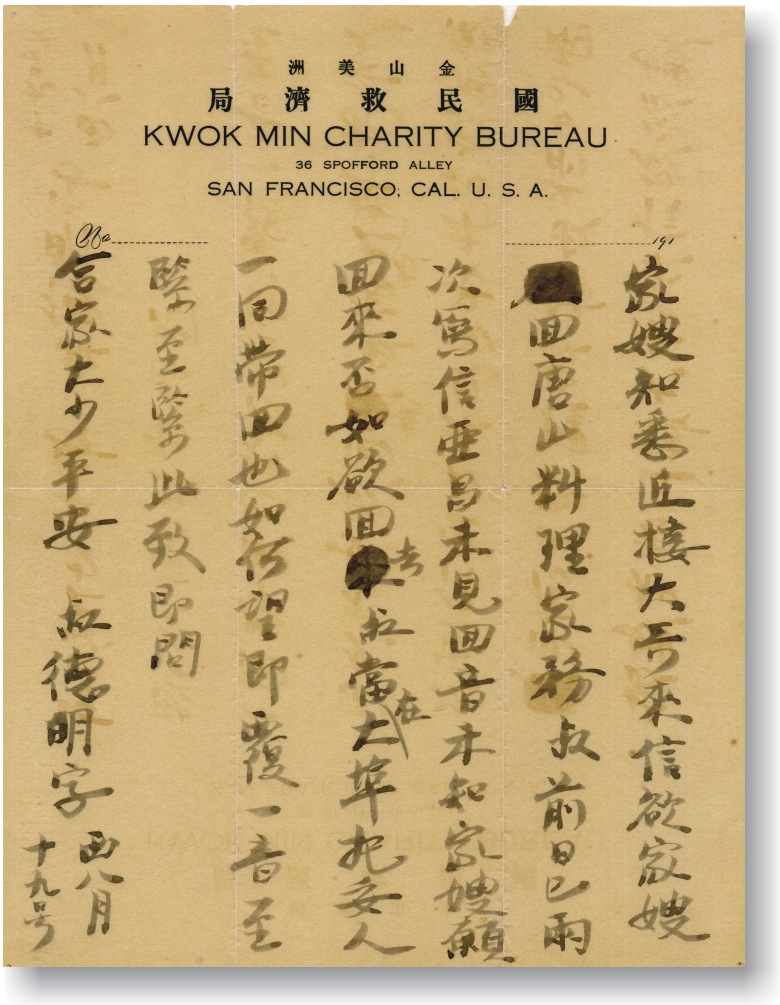
在与杨太夫人和卢夫人在茂宜共同生活的十多年里，她们从没有争吵过，这使杨太夫人感到很安慰。眉婆处事得体大方，事事都成了大家的主心骨。可以说，有眉婆在，杨太夫人在异国他乡的十多年生活，除了时时惦记着小儿子的安危外，还是比较安逸的。

卢夫人受孙中山的影响，同时也为了排解心中的寂寞和牵挂，也信奉了基督教，眉婆却顺从了眉公不崇外教之意，终生不入教，但眉婆却经常陪同卢夫人到教堂去，每年的圣诞节，她和卢夫人一起到教堂去庆祝，还在牧师家里愉快地过上一整天。

眉婆卒于1938年3月6日，享寿77岁，在那个年代，属上寿之数。1908年眉婆只身从夏威夷到三藩市时，我父亲刚出生，因我祖父祖母去世得早，他和伯父从小就由眉婆带大，所以对于眉婆感情很深，眉婆去世三个多月后，我出生在意大利。父亲没有给眉婆送终，1949年从澳门移葬眉婆回翠亨后便离开祖国，直到1987年才重回故乡为眉婆重修墓地。

陈粹芬与眉公眉婆同住澳门一段时间，与眉婆相处得很好。她说眉婆为人宽容，慷慨大方，颇有女丈夫风度，虽然在夏威夷很富有，但对眉公不断以金钱支持革命，从没有听家人说眉婆有半句怨言。

眉婆于1908年把牧场卖掉后，除了把所得的一部分寄回香港给眉公开支外，大部分都拿去偿还债务，最后所剩无几，只好到三藩市跟儿孙居住。当时唯一与眉婆和我祖父有联系的亲人是我的舅公王惠永。他是祖母王金顺的弟弟。舅公于1890年出生在檀香山。后来他在檀香山著名的旅游胜地威基基(Waikiki)区买了一块土地，盖了一幢小旅馆，价值年年上涨，收入甚丰。我在美国念书时，有机会到夏威夷拜访过他，他把我安置在他的旅馆住了两个晚上，跟我聊了不少关于祖父、眉婆在加州的生活情况。他说，他曾到过加州贝克斯费(Bakersfield)祖父的家，那时祖父的生活很艰苦。祖父替华工看病，眉婆去卖凉茶，还负责照看两个孙儿即我的伯父和父亲。那时华工已不多，收入有限。比起祖母，眉婆的身体很好，什么都干。他说眉婆在那种情况下，任劳任怨，从无怨言。幸亏辛亥革命成功，他们才能回国与眉公团聚。



149. 孙中山致眉婆信
Letter from Sun Yat-Sen to Madam Tam Shi

家嫂知悉近接大哥来信欲家嫂回唐山料理家务，叔前日已两次写信亚昌未见回音未知家嫂愿回来否，如欲回去叔当在大埠托妥人一回带回也如何望即覆(复)一音至紧至紧此致即问
合家大小平安

叔　德明 字
西 八月十九号

Dear Sister-in-law, I have recently received letter from big brother hoping that you would return to China to take care of the family. I have written twice to Ah Chong recently but got no reply. Don't know if you are willing to return or not. If you decide to return, I will ask some reliable person to bring you all back. Whatever you decide, Utmost importance is to send me a reply as soon as possible. Wishing everyone well.

De Ming signed
August 19th

My Great-grandmother Madam Tam

Sun Mei had two loves in his life: one was Sun Yat-sen, his younger brother who shared his beliefs and ideals and whom he considered more important than himself; the other was Madam Tam, his beloved wife who stayed with him for better or worse throughout his entire life.

I never found out her full name. I only know that everyone called great-grandmother "Mei Po". Mei Po was born on the 19th of November, 1862 in the village of Yakou, Nanlong Town, Xiangshan. In the old days, women were not recorded in the family trees so we could not trace her in her family tree. In the documents she signed in Hawaii, she signed with only an "X", but she played such an important role as an unsung hero in Sun Mei's life.

My father told me that everyone in the Sun family had a very high opinion of Mei Po. In the thirty-plus years of living with Sun Mei, she experienced all the hardships and difficulties of her husband's career without fear or complaint. She protected her husband and family and allowed Sun Mei to donate the entire family wealth to the cause of revolution without uttering one word, a feat difficult enough for any man, let alone the woman who was his wife.

From the day she set foot on Hawaii, she was a partner in her husband's career building. Her once bound but later released feet allowed her to run errands for the store or settle newcomers to Hawaii. She took part in managing laborers and supervised their work in the field. She had a soft voice, but a sharp mind. She respected her mother-in-law and cared for the youngsters in the family. She and her sister-in-law Madam Lu got along so well that they were always set as an example of sisterly love.

Sun Yat-sen had planned for the safety of his wife and children before his first uprising. He first had them stay in Hong Kong, but their rented house was constantly under the surveillance of the Qing government's agents. Fortunately, the landlord was an Englishman who could demand that the agents produce their ID before their search. Sun Yat-sen eventually decided to send his frightened mother and his family to stay with his brother Sun Mei in Hawaii. With fellow villager Lu Can accompanying them, they had arrived in Honolulu after more than a month of traveling, including a stop in Japan. They first settled in Sun Mei's good friend Chang Chow's home for a few days, but later Mei Po came to fetch them to Maui. The one day trip included a horse carriage ride for a few hours to the pier followed by a voyage on a steam ship to Maui.

In the 1900 Maui census, Mei Po was listed as head of the household living in

Makawao because Sun Mei was most likely listing the store in Kuhului as his residence. (Fig.147)

During the more than ten years of living together with Sun Mei's mother and Madam Lu in Maui, there was never any quarrel between them and Mei Po. She was always fair and everyone looked to her as the master of the house in Sun Mei's absence. Indeed Madam Yang had the best time of her life in Maui, notwithstanding the constant worry for her other son Sun Yat-sen.

Due to Sun Yat-sen's influence, Madam Lu also became a devoted Christian, and Mei Po as well also considered turning to Christianity, but ultimately refrained from being baptized out of respect for her husband's wishes. Still, she and Madam Lu attended church together every Sunday and, on Christmas Eve every year, they would go and stay at the pastor's house overnight.

When Mei Po left for San Francisco to be with her son, my father was born. Both of my grandparents died young so Mei Po had to raise her two grandsons herself. My father grew quite attached to his grandmother Mei Po. When she passed away in 1938, my father was in Italy awaiting my birth and could not return to attend her funeral. He did later move her remains from Macau back to Cuiheng in 1949 for reburial but had to wait until 1987 before a tomb could be made.

Chen Cuifen lived with Mei Po and Mei Gong in Macau for a while. She described Mei Po as being generous, forgiving and decisive like a man. Mei Gong was authoritative but Mei Po could manage the household with skill and sensitivity. Chen Cuifeng got along very well with Mei Po. She also remembered specifically that Mei Po never complained about money being spent for the revolutionary cause.

After the sale of the ranch to Antoinne Tavares in 1908, the vast majority of the proceeds was used to pay off debts, with the small remainder sent to Hong Kong to cover living expenses for Sun Mei and his mother. She helped her son take care of his children while he was busy making a living. The only person who had contact with them in California was my granduncle Wong Wai Wing, brother of my grandmother Wong Kam Shun. Granduncle was born in Honolulu in 1890. I met him in Hong Kong and later again in Honolulu. He owned a small hotel just off Waikiki and he put me up there for a couple of nights. He told me a lot about the time he visited my grandfather in Bakersfield, California, where my grandfather was selling herbal tea to the Chinese workers. When my grandfather was busy tending to the sick Chinese workers, Mei Po would sell the herbal tea outside their house while taking care of the kids. Compared to my grandmother, Mei Po was much stronger and could work all day without complaint. She and her family were finally able to reunite with Sun Mei after the revolution succeeded in 1912. Mei Po died on March 6, 1938.



150. 孙昌　Sun Chong
(1881—1917)

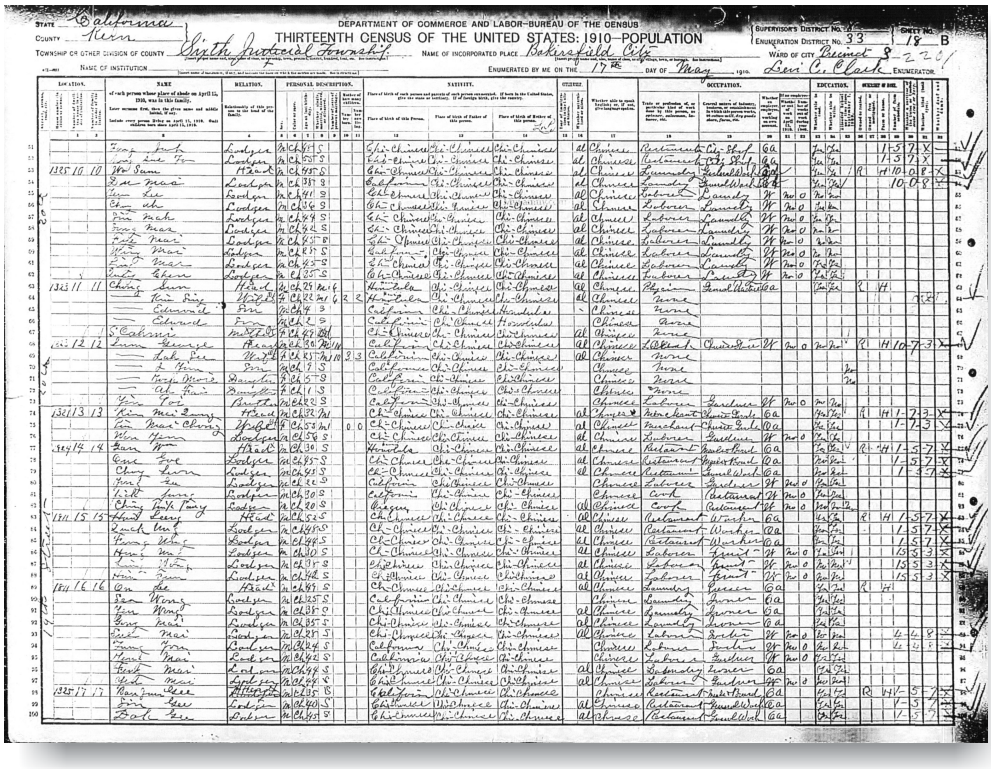
我的祖父孙昌

我的祖父1881年6月24日出生于檀香山。他出生的那一年，眉公搬到茂宜岛，眉公为他取名“昌”，并将原来檀香山的“德隆”商店店名加上了儿子的“昌”字，称“德昌隆”。科叔公对我说，眉公对我祖父本寄予了更大的期望。眉公虽然没有念过几年的书，但却非常知道读书的重要。梁启超来到夏威夷见眉公筹组保皇党，眉公仰慕梁的学问与声望，就要儿子拜梁启超为师，并放心让孙昌随梁启超到日本的大同学校读书。那所大同学校是梁启超创办的。后来因为了解梁启超的政治目的，才把孙昌召唤回夏威夷。

孙昌长大了，他与郑强的几个女儿甚为熟络，他特别喜欢郑家第四小姐，本来，眉公是预备安排他们结婚的。可惜，郑四小姐不大愿意，郑四小姐说，他们是青梅竹马，她觉得孙昌就像亲兄弟一样，加上当时她还准备读大学。后来，经眉公朋友的介绍，祖父与另一位旅居檀香山的乡亲王家小姐王金顺结婚。王金顺于1888年出生于檀香山，祖籍也是我们南朗人，祖家在离翠亨不远的泮沙村。在1905年7月22日他们结婚日之前的一周，当地报章便抢先报道，可见当时眉公在

夏威夷的声望。在同一个婚礼上，顺霞姑婆也嫁出去了，她嫁给了中山人容吉兴。祖父结婚后要继续学业，受孙中山的影响，他决定到加州大学医学院攻读医科。他带着新婚妻子一起到了旧金山，考进了旧金山的医学院。可惜，那时的眉公已把全部财产用于革命，没法再资助儿子完成学业。

1906年，三藩市地震，祖父带着妻儿侥幸逃到屋仑市，地震后引发的大火，使祖父的财物尽失。夫妇俩带着刚出生的儿子，流落屋仑，生活拮据，因借贷无门，我的祖父只好放弃学业。为了生计，凭着他学的一些医学知识，从北加州的三藩市到西卡门图(Sacramento)再到南加州的贝克斯菲(Bakersfield)的华人社区替华工看病，兼卖凉茶。1910年，他在加州贝克斯菲尔德(Bakersfield)积极参加当地的同盟会分会活动，加入同盟会。


DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR—BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
THIRTEENTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES: 1910—POPULATION

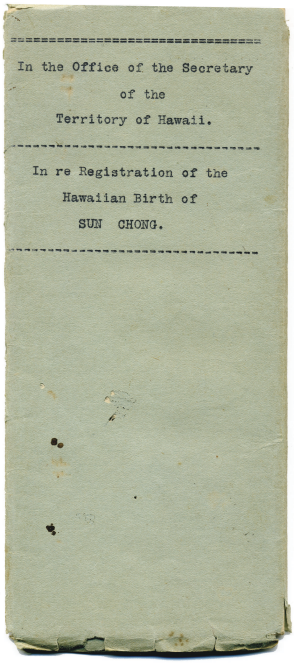
151. 1910年加州贝克斯菲尔德人口普查表
1910 California Bakersfield Census Chart

辛亥革命成功后，眉公及孙中山都写信叫他回国。民国元年（1912），他与我的祖母及伯父，父亲一起回到澳门，跟随眉公居住。可惜祖母一向身体不好，民国四年（1915）二月六日病逝澳门，终年只有28岁。次年，经朋友介绍，祖父娶梁旺为继室。

祖父曾到广州，在警察厅长陈景华部下任职。1914年，祖父加入中华革命党，与陈耿夫、彭星南、杨适五、陈永惠、苏松山、苏松德、李安邦等同志在香港及澳门分别设立机关，密讨军阀龙济光。1917年，在澳门浸信会教堂受洗成为基督教徒。同年，孙中山率海军舰队南下护法，议员先后随孙中山集会于广州，并推举孙中山为海陆军大元帅。元帅府设在广州河南士敏土厂。祖父被委任为海陆军大元帅府别动队司令，职叙陆军中校。他与朱卓文、夏重民、邓惠芳、杨仙逸等归国华侨革命同志设立机关筹策革命。是年的冬季，奉国父之命由大元帅府乘轮船带了士兵数名押军饷赴黄埔公干。谁料到达黄埔误入海圻军舰戒严线内，被舰上水兵放枪扫射。当时祖父站在船头，大声呼叫请求停止。但是因为军舰船高，又处逆风，舰上水兵未能听闻，在这个情急关头，因为所乘轮船距岸不远，祖父想跳过靠近岸边的船只，再上岸与陆上官兵取得联络。不料由于当时祖父身配手枪两支及子弹，加上放在身上的银元很多，脚上穿的皮靴又笨重，致脚踏岸边小舟时，失去重心，掉入江中。虽然他会游泳，终因过于负重，身陷河底，无法自拔。时为1917年11月20日，祖父终年只有37岁。当时大元帅府革命同志闻耗同感痛惜，并推黄伯度先生襄助丧礼，安葬于黄埔公园。

孙中山非常伤心，除亲题“为国捐躯”四字刻石外，并命朱执信先生题“孙振兴上校之墓”。1933年，伯父与父亲把祖父的遗骨移到中山，与祖母王太夫人合葬于翠亨村。祖父墓前，仍放国父手书“为国捐躯”四字刻石。翠亨故居纪念馆对墓园多次整修，于今保持完好。

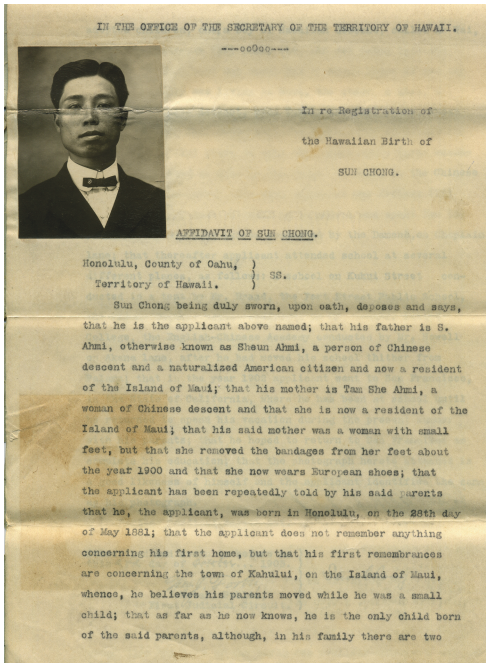
1965年，叔公孙科接受蒋介石的邀请到台湾担任总统府资政及考试院长。1969年台北圆山忠烈祠建成，他到祠祭拜时，发现祖父没有列入祠内，特别指示我通过专案申请把祖父孙昌的事迹报列。我遵命照办，找到祖父生前好友邓惠芳写了殉国本事。1972年，获准孙昌烈士入祀国民革命忠烈祠。（图166）



In the Office of the Secretary
of the
Territory of Hawaii.

In re Registration of the
Hawaiian Birth of
SUN CHONG.

152. 孙昌夏威夷出生登记宣誓口供封面
Cover of the re-registration of
Sun Chong Hawaiian Birth



IN THE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII.

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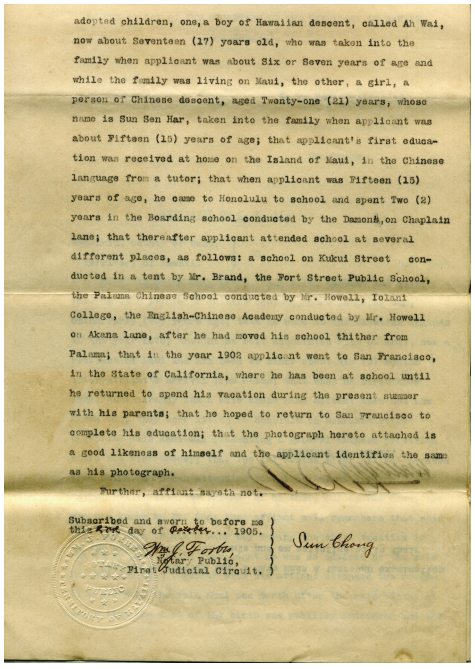
In re Registration of
the Hawaiian Birth of
SUN CHONG.

AFFIDAVIT OF SUN CHONG.

Honolulu, County of Oahu,)
Territory of Hawaii.) SS.

Sun Chong being duly sworn, upon oath, deposes and says, that he is the applicant above named; that his father is S. Ahmi, otherwise known as Sheun Ahmi, a person of Chinese descent and a naturalized American citizen and now a resident of the Island of Maui; that his mother is Tam She Ahmi, a woman of Chinese descent and that she is now a resident of the Island of Maui; that his said mother was a woman with small feet, but that she removed the bandages from her feet about the year 1900 and that she now wears European shoes; that the applicant has been repeatedly told by his said parents that he, the applicant, was born in Honolulu, on the 28th day of May 1881; that the applicant does not remember anything concerning his first home, but that his first remembrances are concerning the town of Kahului, on the Island of Maui, whence, he believes his parents moved while he was a small child; that as far as he now knows, he is the only child born of the said parents, although, in his family there are two



adopted children, one, a boy of Hawaiian descent, called Ah Wai, now about Seventeen (17) years old, who was taken into the family when applicant was about Six or Seven years of age and while the family was living on Maui, the other, a girl, a person of Chinese descent, aged Twenty-one (21) years, whose name is Sun Sen Har, taken into the family when applicant was about Fifteen (15) years of age; that applicant's first education was received at home on the Island of Maui, in the Chinese language from a tutor; that when applicant was Fifteen (15) years of age, he came to Honolulu to school and spent Two (2) years in the Boarding school conducted by the Damons, on Chaplain lane; that thereafter applicant attended school at several different places, as follows: a school on Kukui Street conducted in a tent by Mr. Brand, the Fort Street Public School, the Palama Chinese School conducted by Mr. Howell, Iolani College, the English-Chinese Academy conducted by Mr. Howell on Akana lane, after he had moved his school thither from Palama; that in the year 1902 applicant went to San Francisco, in the State of California, where he has been at school until he returned to spend his vacation during the present summer with his parents; that he hoped to return to San Francisco to complete his education; that the photograph hereto attached is a good likeness of himself and the applicant identifies the same as his photograph.

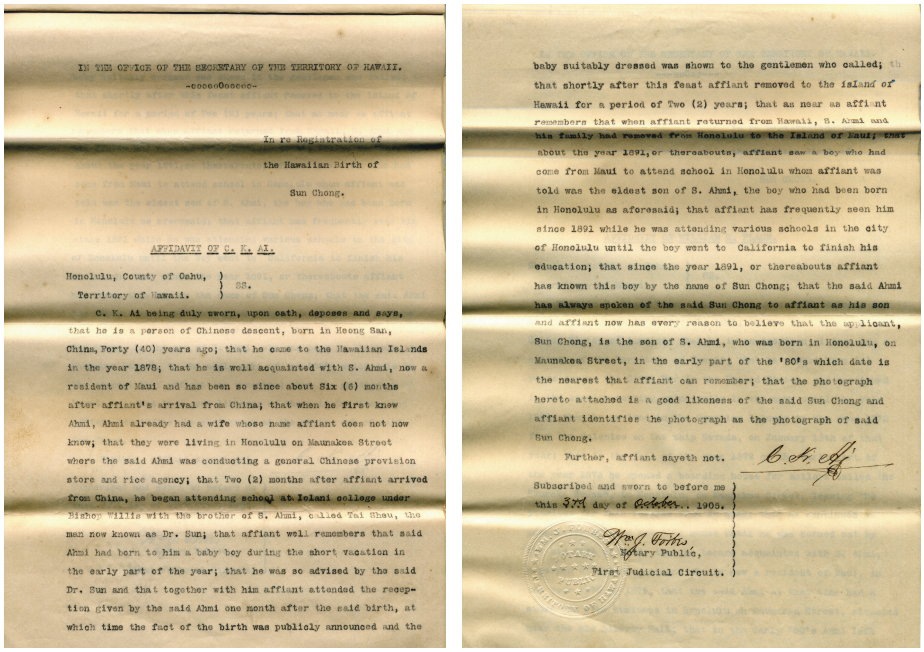
Further, affiant sayeth not.

Subscribed and sworn to before me
this 21st day of October... 1905.

Wm. J. Forbes,
Notary Public,
First Judicial Circuit.

Sun Chong

153. 孙昌出生登记宣誓口供
Affividat of Sun Chong on re-registration of the Hawaiian Birth of Sun Chong



IN THE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII.
-ccccOoccccc-

In re Registration of
the Hawaiian Birth of
Sun Chong.

AFFIDAVIT OF C. K. AI.

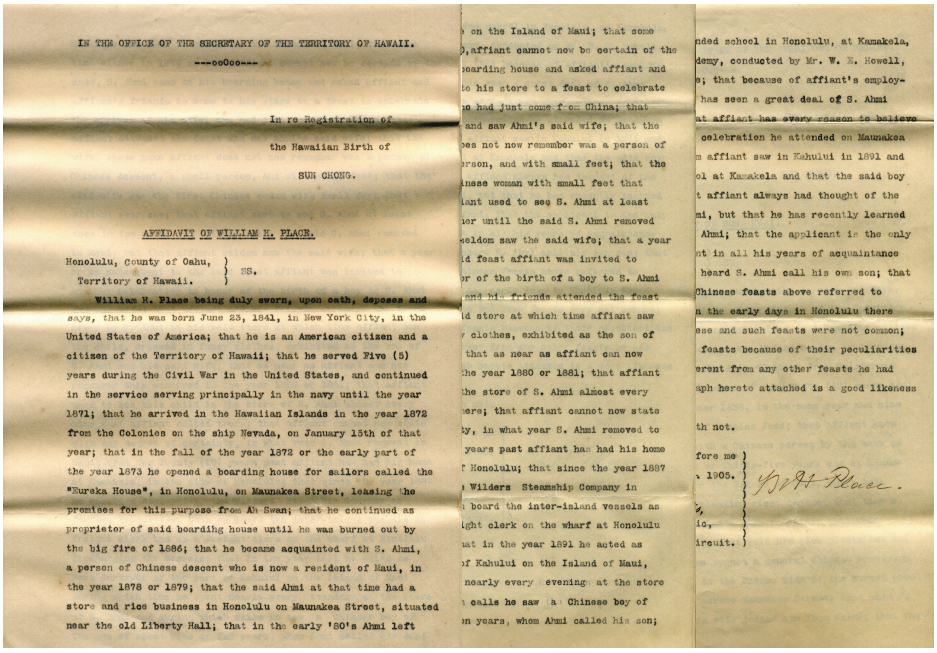
Honolulu, County of Oahu, }
Territory of Hawaii. } SS.

C. K. Ai being duly sworn, upon oath, deposes and says, that he is a person of Chinese descent, born in Heong San, China, Forty (40) years ago; that he came to the Hawaiian Islands in the year 1878; that he is well acquainted with S. Ahmi, now a resident of Maui and has been so since about Six (6) months after affiant's arrival from China; that when he first knew Ahmi, Ahmi already had a wife whose name affiant does not now know; that they were living in Honolulu on Maunakea Street where the said Ahmi was conducting a general Chinese provision store and rice agency; that Two (2) months after affiant arrived from China, he began attending school at Iolani college under Bishop Willis with the brother of S. Ahmi, called Tai Cheu, the man now known as Dr. Sun; that affiant well remembers that said Ahmi had born to him a baby boy during the short vacation in the early part of the year; that he was so advised by the said Dr. Sun and that together with him affiant attended the reception given by the said Ahmi one month after the said birth, at which time the fact of the birth was publicly announced and the baby suitably dressed was shown to the gentlemen who called; that shortly after this feast affiant removed to the Island of Hawaii for a period of Two (2) years; that as near as affiant remembers that when affiant returned from Hawaii, S. Ahmi and his family had removed from Honolulu to the Island of Maui; that about the year 1891, or thereabouts, affiant saw a boy who had come from Maui to attend school in Honolulu whom affiant was told was the eldest son of S. Ahmi, the boy who had been born in Honolulu as aforesaid; that affiant has frequently seen him since 1891 while he was attending various schools in the city of Honolulu until the boy went to California to finish his education; that since the year 1891, or thereabouts affiant has known this boy by the name of Sun Chong; that the said Ahmi has always spoken of the said Sun Chong to affiant as his son and affiant now has every reason to believe that the applicant, Sun Chong, is the son of S. Ahmi, who was born in Honolulu, on Maunakea Street, in the early part of the '80's which date is the nearest that affiant can remember; that the photograph hereto attached is a good likeness of the said Sun Chong and affiant identifies the photograph as the photograph of said Sun Chong.

Further, affiant sayeth not. C. K. Ai

Subscribed and sworn to before me }
this 3rd day of October, 1905. }
Wm. J. Forbes }
Notary Public, }
First Judicial Circuit. }

154. 孙昌出生登记钟工宇宣誓书
Affidavit by C. K. Ai on re-registration of the Hawaiian Birth of Sun Chong



IN THE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII.
---ooOoo---

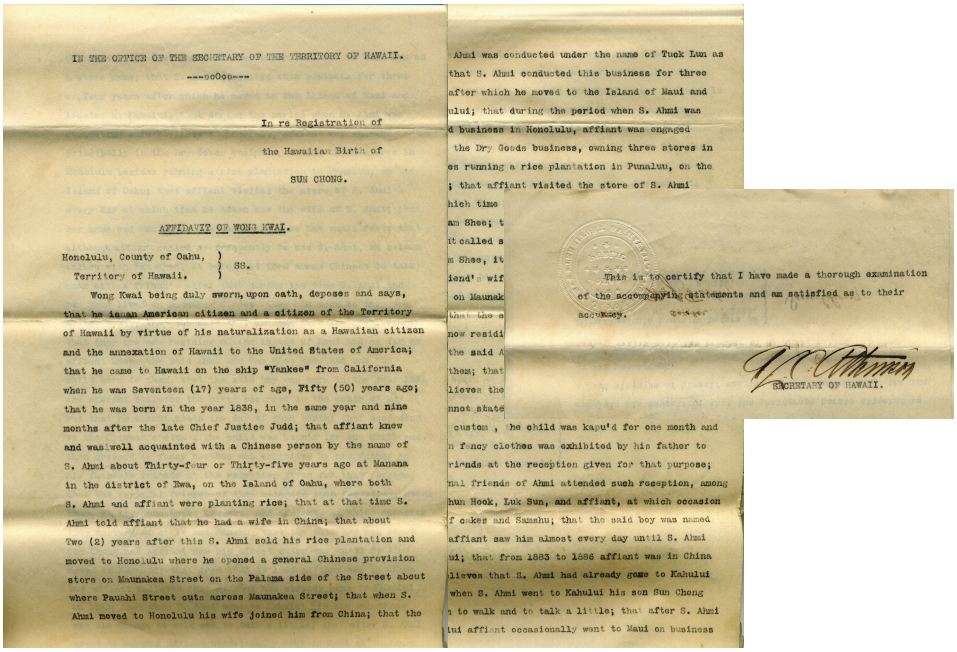
In re Registration of
the Hawaiian Birth of
SUN CHONG.

AFFIDAVIT OF WILLIAM H. PLACE.

Honolulu, County of Oahu, }
Territory of Hawaii. } SS.

William H. Place being duly sworn, upon oath, deposes and says, that he was born June 23, 1841, in New York City, in the United States of America; that he is an American citizen and a citizen of the Territory of Hawaii; that he served Five (5) years during the Civil War in the United States, and continued in the service serving principally in the navy until the year 1871; that he arrived in the Hawaiian Islands in the year 1872 from the Colonies on the ship Nevada, on January 15th of that year; that in the fall of the year 1872 or the early part of the year 1873 he opened a boarding house for sailors called the "Eureka House", in Honolulu, on Maunakea Street, leasing the premises for this purpose from Ah Swan; that he continued as proprietor of said boarding house until he was burned out by the big fire of 1886; that he became acquainted with S. Ahmi, a person of Chinese descent who is now a resident of Maui, in the year 1878 or 1879; that the said Ahmi at that time had a store and rice business in Honolulu on Maunakea Street, situated near the old Liberty Hall; that in the early '80's Ahmi left on the Island of Maui; that some ...affiant cannot now be certain of the ...boarding house and asked affiant and ...to his store to a feast to celebrate ...he had just come from China; that ...and saw Ahmi's said wife; that the ...does not now remember was a person of ...person, and with small feet; that the ...Chinese woman with small feet that ...iant used to see S. Ahmi at least ...ter until the said S. Ahmi removed ...seldom saw the said wife; that a year ...id feast affiant was invited to ...r of the birth of a boy to S. Ahmi ...and his friends attended the feast ...id store at which time affiant saw ...clothes, exhibited as the son of ...that as near as affiant can now ...the year 1880 or 1881; that affiant ...the store of S. Ahmi almost every ...ere; that affiant cannot now state ...ly, in what year S. Ahmi removed to ...years past affiant has had his home ...Honolulu; that since the year 1887 ...Wilders Steamship Company in ...board the inter-island vessels as ...ight clerk on the wharf at Honolulu ...at in the year 1891 he acted as ...of Kahului on the Island of Maui, ...nearly every evening at the store ...calls he saw a Chinese boy of ...n years, whom Ahmi called his son; ...nded school in Honolulu, at Kamakela, ...demy, conducted by Mr. W. E. Howell, ...; that because of affiant's employ- ...has seen a great deal of S. Ahmi ...at affiant has every reason to believe ...celebration he attended on Maunakea ...affiant saw in Kahului in 1891 and ...ol at Kamakela and that the said boy ...t affiant always had thought of the ...mi, but that he has recently learned ...Ahmi; that the applicant is the only ...t in all his years of acquaintance ...heard S. Ahmi call his own son; that ...Chinese feasts above referred to ...n the early days in Honolulu there ...se and such feasts were not common; ...feasts because of their peculiarities ...erent from any other feasts he had ...aph hereto attached is a good likeness ...th not. ...fore me } ...1905. } ...ic, } ...ircuit. } Wm. H. Place.

155. 孙昌出生登记皮里斯宣誓书
Affidavit by William H. Place on re-registration of the Hawaiian Birth of Sun Chong



IN THE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII.

---oOOo---

In re Registration of
the Hawaiian Birth of
SUN CHONG.

AFFIDAVIT OF WONG KWAI.

Honolulu, County of Oahu,)
Territory of Hawaii.) SS.

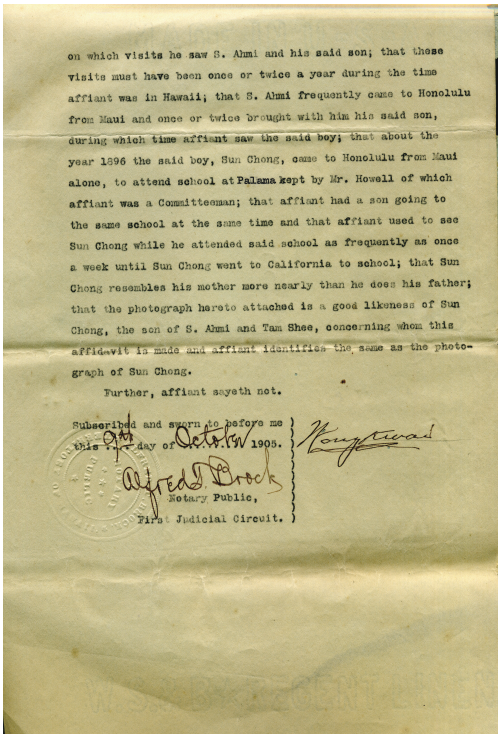
Wong Kwai being duly sworn, upon oath, deposes and says, that he is an American citizen and a citizen of the Territory of Hawaii by virtue of his naturalization as a Hawaiian citizen and the annexation of Hawaii to the United States of America; that he came to Hawaii on the ship "Yankee" from California when he was Seventeen (17) years of age, Fifty (50) years ago; that he was born in the year 1838, in the same year and nine months after the late Chief Justice Judd; that affiant knew and was well acquainted with a Chinese person by the name of S. Ahmi about Thirty-four or Thirty-five years ago at Manana in the district of Ewa, on the Island of Oahu, where both S. Ahmi and affiant were planting rice; that at that time S. Ahmi told affiant that he had a wife in China; that about Two (2) years after this S. Ahmi sold his rice plantation and moved to Honolulu where he opened a general Chinese provision store on Maunakea Street on the Palama side of the Street about where Pauahi Street cuts across Maunakea Street; that when S. Ahmi moved to Honolulu his wife joined him from China; that the

Ahmi was conducted under the name of Tuck Lun as
that S. Ahmi conducted this business for three
after which he moved to the Island of Maui and
ului; that during the period when S. Ahmi was
d business in Honolulu, affiant was engaged
the Dry Goods business, owning three stores in
es running a rice plantation in Punaluu, on the
; that affiant visited the store of S. Ahmi
hich time
am Shee; t
it called s
m Shee, it
iend's wif
on Maunak
now resid
the said A
them; that
lieves the
nnce state
custom, the child was kapu'd for one month and
n fancy clothes was exhibited by his father to
riends at the reception given for that purpose;
nal friends of Ahmi attended such reception, among
hun Hook, Luk Sun, and affiant, at which occasion
f cakes and Samshu; that the said boy was named
affiant saw him almost every day until S. Ahmi
ui; that from 1883 to 1886 affiant was in China
lieves that S. Ahmi had already gone to Kahului
when S. Ahmi went to Kahului his son Sun Chong
to walk and to talk a little; that after S. Ahmi
lui affiant occasionally went to Maui on business

This is to certify that I have made a thorough examination of the accompanying statements and am satisfied as to their accuracy.

SECRETARY OF HAWAII.

156. 孙昌出生登记王贵宣誓书
Affidavit by Wong Kwai on re-registration of the Hawaiian Birth of Sun Chong



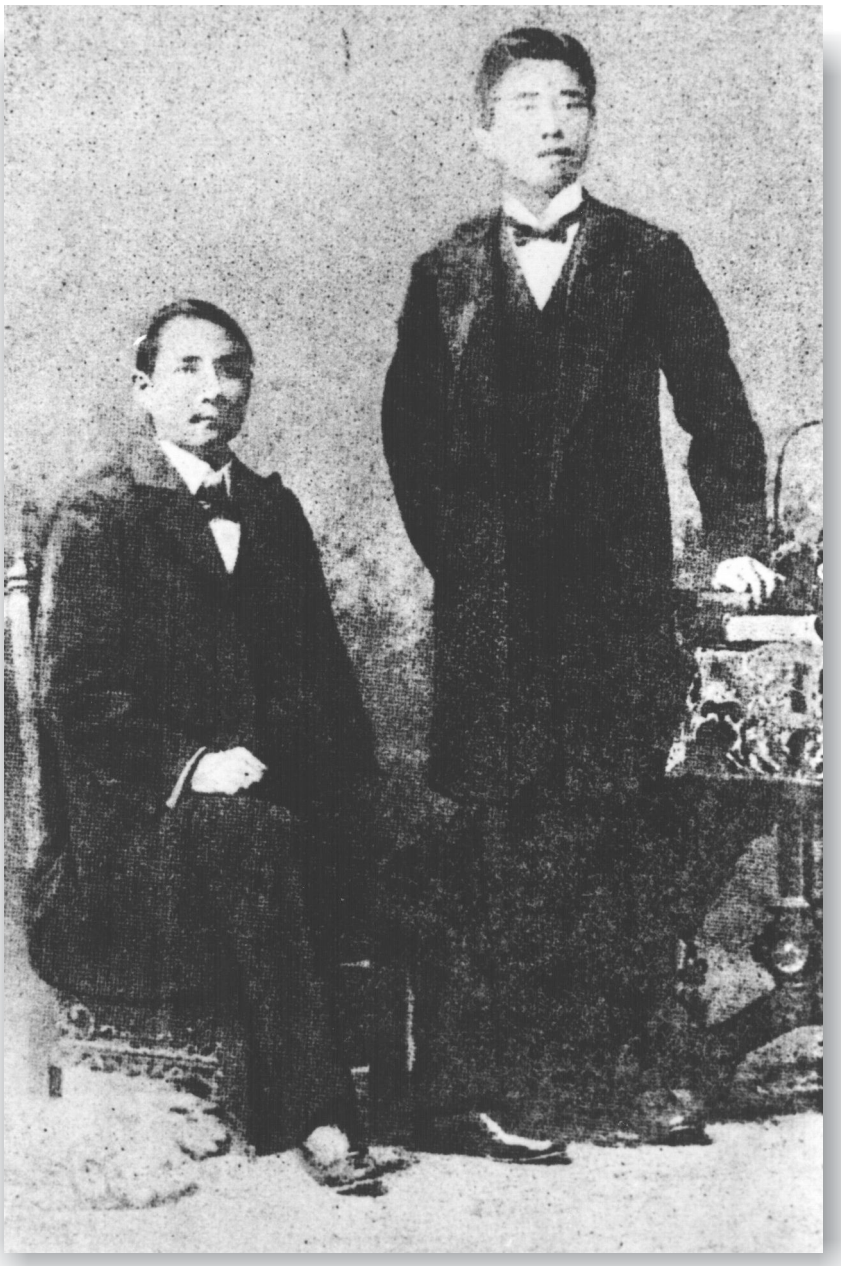
on which visits he saw S. Ahmi and his said son; that these visits must have been once or twice a year during the time affiant was in Hawaii; that S. Ahmi frequently came to Honolulu from Maui and once or twice brought with him his said son, during which time affiant saw the said boy; that about the year 1896 the said boy, Sun Chong, came to Honolulu from Maui alone, to attend school at Palama kept by Mr. Howell of which affiant was a Committeeman; that affiant had a son going to the same school at the same time and that affiant used to see Sun Chong while he attended said school as frequently as once a week until Sun Chong went to California to school; that Sun Chong resembles his mother more nearly than he does his father; that the photograph hereto attached is a good likeness of Sun Chong, the son of S. Ahmi and Tam Shee, concerning whom this affidavit is made and affiant identifies the same as the photograph of Sun Chong.

Further, affiant sayeth not.

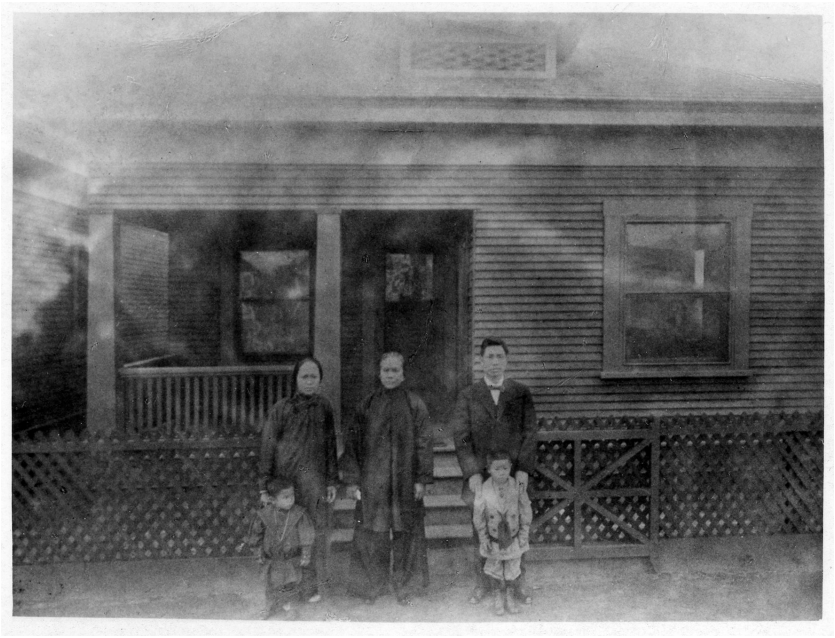
Subscribed and sworn to before me this 1st day of October 1905.

Alfred T. Brock
Notary Public,
First Judicial Circuit.

157. 孙昌出生登记公证签名
Sun Chong Hawaiian Birth registration certified by the Secretary of Hawaii



158. 孙中山与他的侄儿孙昌
Sun Yat-Sen and his nephew Sun Chong



159.孙昌全家在贝克斯菲
左起：祖母王金顺、曾祖母眉婆、祖父孙昌。前排：父亲孙乾、伯父孙满
Sun Chong and family in Bakersfield, California
Grandma Wang Jinshun, Great Grandma Tam Shi, Grandfather Sun Chong;
Front:Father Sun Kin and Uncle Sun Moon



160.伯父孙满，舅公王惠永，父亲孙乾与祖母王金顺
Uncle Sun Moon, Granduncle Wang Wai Wing, Father Sun Kin and Grandma Wang Jin Shun



161. 孙（昌）振兴中校
Lt. Colonel Sun Chong



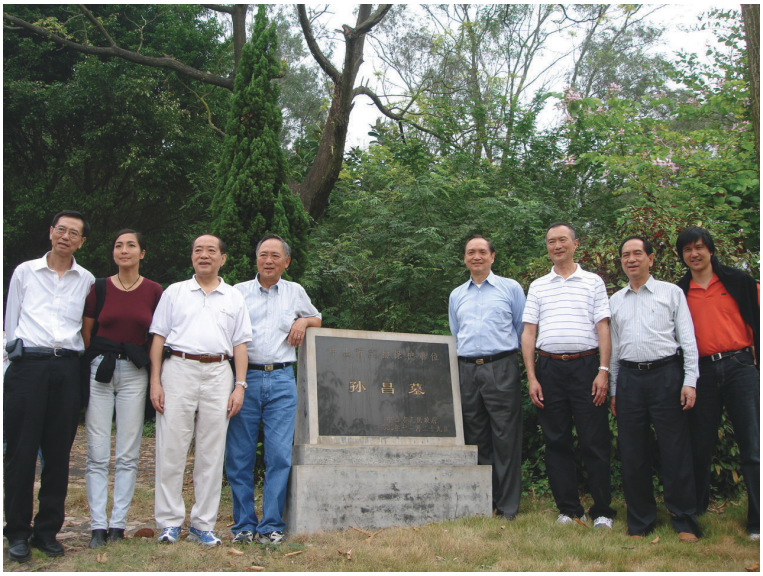
162. 孙昌墓
Sun Chong's Tomb



163. 孙中山赐孙昌“为国捐躯”的四字刻石
A memmoto to Sun Chong by Sun Yat Sen



164. 孙科为堂兄撰写墓表
Epigraph by Sun Fo inscripted on the memorial tablet



165. 孙子们在孙昌墓前
左起：孙杰、孙雅丽、孙必达、孙必胜、孙必成、孙必兴、孙必立、孙伟国
Grandchildren in front of Sun Chong's grave
From Left:Patrick, Alexandra, Peter, Victor, Pershing, Henry, Philip, Steve

我的曾祖父孫眉

My Grandfather Sun Chong

My grandfather Sun Chong was born on June 24, 1881 in Honolulu. In the year he was born, Sun Mei moved to Maui to expand his business empire. He gave his son the name "Chong" and added this name to the name of his new store in Maui. So while the store was called "De Long" in Honolulu, the store in Maui was called "De Chong Long".

Granduncle Sun Fo told me that Sun Mei at first had a lot of expectations for his son. Even though he himself was not properly educated, he understood the importance of having a good education. When Liang Qichao came to Hawaii to promote the Royalist Party, Sun Mei was so impressed with his reputation as a scholar that he asked Liang to take on his son as his pupil, even allowing his son to travel to Japan to attend Liang's school. After Sun Yat-sen warned of Liang's duplicity, however, Sun Mei ordered his son to return home.

Sun Chong grew up together with Zheng Qiang's six daughters. He became particularly fond of the fourth sister, and even had his father Sun Mei's approval when he asked her to marry him. However, she turned down his proposal because she was worried that an early marriage would spoil her chances of getting a good education. Besides, she had always looked to Sun Chong as more of an older brother anyway.

Some time later, through a friend, Sun Chong was introduced to a girl born in Honolulu by the name of Wong Kam Shun. She was born in the year 1888, and her family had also come from Nanlong Town. The Maui News reported their wedding on July 22, 1905, calling the event a double wedding because Sun Mei's adopted daughter Shun Ha married another Xiangshan villager by the name of Rong Jixing on that day.

Grandfather continued his education after his wedding, and, like his uncle Sun Yat-sen, Sun Chong also wanted to study medicine. He went to San Francisco with his bride and passed the entrance examination of the Medical College of the University of California in San Francisco. Unfortunately, Sun Mei was forced to declare bankruptcy at that time and could not afford to support his son's education.

In 1906, the great San Francisco earthquake devastated the city. The fire caused by the earthquake wreaked even greater havoc, burning down countless houses, including the one in which grandfather lived. He was fortunate enough to be able to flee the city with his newborn son, my uncle Moon, but he lost all of his

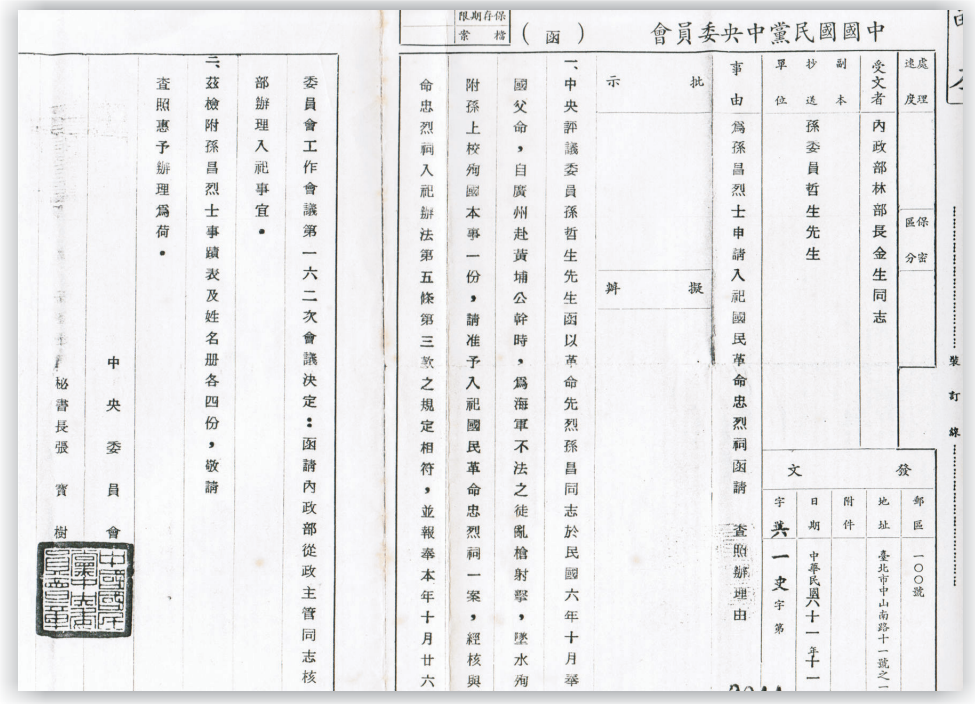
belongings. With no more financial support from his father, my grandfather had to abandon school to support his own family by selling Chinese herbal tea and giving medical advice to Chinese workers. He first went to Oakland and then to Sacramento but eventually ended up in Bakersfield. He joined the local chapter of the Tong Meng Hui in Bakersfield and eventually received some help from Sun Yat-sen through fellow members.(Fig.152)

Both Sun Yat-sen and Sun Mei wrote to Sun Chong telling him to return to China after the success of the 1911 Uprising in Wuchang. In 1912, Sun Chong returned to China with his mother and his family, taking up residence in Macau. Unfortunately, Grandmother's health had always been poor and she died on February 6, 1915, at the age of 28. The next year, he took Liang Wang as his wife.

Grandfather was at one time working under the Chief of Police in Guangzhou. In 1914, Grandfather joined the China Revolution Party, working with fellow revolutionaries Cheng Congfu, Peng Xingnan, Yang Xiwu, Chen Yunghui, Su Songshan, Su Songde and Li Anbang to set up secret organizations in Hong Kong and Macau to depose the warlord Long Ziguan. Sun Chong converted to Christianity in 1917, which was the same year that Sun Yat-sen led the naval fleet down south to meet with all the congressmen in Guangzhou. Sun Yat-sen was subsequently elected Generalissimo for the Army, Navy and Air Force. The headquarters was located inside the Henan Cement Factory in Guangzhou. Grandfather was appointed Commander of Special Forces under the office of the Generalissimo with the rank of Army Lieutenant Colonel. Together with other returned overseas Chinese such as Zhu Chowen, Xia Zongmin, Deng Huifang and Yang Xianyi, they set up organizations to plan for the second revolution. In the winter of that year, Grandfather received orders from Sun Yat-sen to escort the soldiers' salaries and provisions on boats to Huangpu. The boats crossed the line under martial law and were fired upon by soldiers who could not identify them. Grandfather stepped to the front of his boat and cried out to identify himself but due to strong wind and fog, he was not heard. He thought that by jumping from one boat to another he eventually could reach the shore to get the soldiers to cease fire, but because he was heavily armed with weapons and coins and because he was wearing heavy boots, he slipped and fell into the cold waters. Even though he was known to be a strong swimmer, he could not overcome the weights he carried and the cold currents, and drowned. The day was November 20, 1917, and he was only 37 years old. Everyone back at headquarters was terribly saddened by the news, most notably Sun Yat-sen, for Sun Chong was

not only his favorite nephew, but also the man he was grooming to be his right hand. Sun Yat-sen inscribed onto a stone plaque “Sacrificed for the Country”, declaring Sun Chong a hero as he was buried in Huangpu Park. In 1936, Uncle Moon and Father removed the remains of their father back to Zhongshan and buried them together with Grandmother back in Cuiheng Village.

In 1965, Granduncle Sun Fo accepted the invitation of Chiang Kai-shek to go to Taiwan to become his advisor as well as the Chairman of the Examination Yuan. In 1969, the Hero Shrine in Yuanshan, Taipei, was built to commemorate all of the heroes of the revolution and Granduncle Sun Fo noticed that grandfather's name was not among them. He immediately instructed me to make a special application to the relevant authority to have grandfather included. I asked one of Grandfather's old friends Deng Huifang to write a brief of grandfather's sacrifice and submitted it to the KMT Central Committee for approval. In 1972, Grandfather's name was finally added onto the Shrine.


中國國民黨中央委員會 （函）

166. 孙昌入忠烈祠的台湾中委会批文
Taiwan's Central Committee approval for Sun Chong to be placed at the Revolutionary Shrine.



167.孙满兄弟照片
左起：孙必胜、孙必成、母亲苏仲英、孙必达、父亲孙乾、三姐孙爱娜、伯父孙满、二姐孙丽贤、大姐孙绍如、丈公林介眉
From Left: Victor Sun, Pershing Sun, Mother Sally So, Peter Sun, Father Sun Kin, Anna Sun, Sun Moon, Esther Sun, Norma Sun, Lin Jiemei.

我的伯父孙满

伯父孙满是眉公的长子嫡孙，1906年5月12日生于美国加州奥克兰(Oakland)，他比父亲大两岁，但从很小就会照顾我父亲。自从双亲去世后，两兄弟相依为命。他们跟孙中山、宋庆龄在广州大元帅府生活了几年。在培正学校，他们是同班。但毕业后，伯父考上了上海复旦大学。伯父曾任国民政府铁道部专员、广州市自动电话管理委员会主任委员、广州市自来水管理委员会主任委员、广州市政府设计委员、交通部上海航政局海洲办事处主任、交通部上海航政局镇江办事处主任、中央信托局专员、全国工商联欢会理事、广东省工业会常务理事、广东西川士敏土厂经理、全国经济委员会专员等职。

1949年后，伯父与我父亲一起移居香港、台湾、美国洛杉矶。

伯父生二男四女，长女绍如(Norma)、次女丽贤(Ester)、三女爱娜(Anna)及子元（八个月因病去世）。与外室梁佩珩生子杰。迁到香港后与伯母离婚，娶妻孙妙娟，生女雅丽(Alexandra)。

祖国改革开放后，他也曾多次回到家乡，并到东莞上沙寻根，他对孙家修撰族谱之事甚有研究，1998年，在他和父亲督促之下，我们完成了《翠亨孙氏达成祖家谱》的编修与印刷，为研究孙家历史提供了一份重要的历史档案。伯父于2001年病逝于洛杉矶，享年95岁。

My Uncle Moon

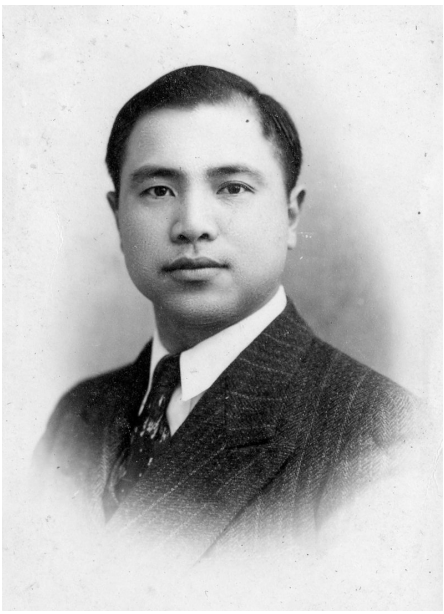
Uncle Moon (Edmund Sun) was the eldest grandson of Sun Mei. He was born on May 12, 1906, in Oakland, California. He was two years older than my father but he had always taken care of my father since childhood. Following the deaths of their parents, the two brothers had only themselves to lean upon. They were taken into the headquarters of the Generalissimo Sun Yat-sen in Guangzhou and lived with him and Madam Soong Ching-ling for a few years. At Pui Ching School, uncle and father were in the same class, and following graduation from high school, Uncle Moon was accepted by Fudan University in Shanghai. In his life, he earned several appointments to serve in such government posts as: Commissioner for Railways Department, Head of Guangzhou Telephone Committee, Head of Guangzhou City Water Management Committee, Director of the Design Committee of Guangzhou City Government, Chief of the Haizhou Office of Ministry of Communication, Shanghai Navigation Administration Bureau, Zhenjiang Office Chief, Commissioner for Central Trust Bureau, Director of National Industrial and Commercial Association, Director for Guangdong Province Industry Association, Guangdong Xiquan Cement Factory General Manager and National Economic Committee Commissioner.

In 1949, Uncle Moon and my father moved down to Hong Kong and later relocated to Taiwan and California.

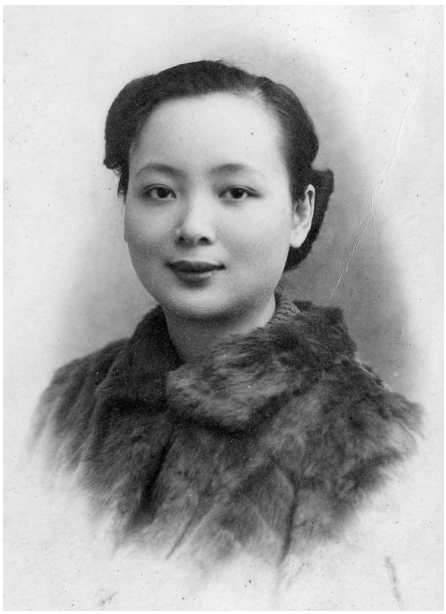
Uncle Moon's first son died as an infant, but he had another son whom he named Patrick, as well as four daughters: Norma, Esther, Anna and Alexandra.

He returned to visit Zhongshan many times after the introduction of policies and reforms which opened China up to the rest of the world. He also visited Shangsha in Dongguan to search for family roots, and became the most knowledgeable about the Sun family history. In 1998, under Father's and Uncle Moon's guidance, we compiled a comprehensive and current family tree. This family tree provided the most authoritative source for historians researching the Sun family.

Uncle Moon passed away in 2001 in Los Angeles, California, at the age of 95.



168. 孙乾 Sun Kin
(1908—1999)



169. 苏仲英 Sally So
(1914—1958)

我的父亲孙乾

家父孙乾，身材和性情都与眉公很相似。他常说眉公家教很严，但却待人宽厚，让人自由发挥。父亲在家，严肃有余，但却从不打骂我们兄弟。他心里很疼爱我们，尽他的能力为我们提供良好教育的机会。他从来不对我们兄弟在出国读书、选择职业、配偶等方面强加意见，遇到问题，总是像朋友般跟我们讨论，让我们参考他的建议，我们不但非常尊重父亲，而且十分喜欢父亲。

父亲于1908年7月2日在三藩市出生。那时眉公已经破产，祖父也被迫停学。父亲也随祖父母一起住过加州的沙加缅度(Sacramento)和贝克斯菲。大约四岁，父亲才跟随祖父母到澳门住在顺风堂四号眉公家。1915年2月，他七岁那年，目睹眉公去世。3月，母亲王金顺也因病去世。1917年11月，祖父因公殉难，当时眉婆年纪也大，在澳门又没有好的学校，与孙中山商量如何照顾两个孤儿，孙中山立刻叫陈庆云到澳门把我伯父和父亲以及孙振领到广州大元帅府。当时父亲10岁，伯父12岁，孙振又大两三岁。伯父与父亲还记得是太叔婆宋庆龄带他们上街买衣服及日用品的。他们在大元帅府住了几个月，就被送到培正学校读书，周

末或放假才回到大元帅府。

1923—1927年，父亲在培正中学度过他的中学时代，他好动，喜欢参加各种体育项目，强项是田径十项全能加篮球、排球。当时的培正中学排球队正称雄于广州，父亲身高1.85米，既魁梧硕健又球艺高超，是排球队的主力队员。起初，他被安排打后排，每次出战，他飞身扑救险球时鱼跃的雄姿往往使对方的扣球手为之叹服。后来，他担任主攻手，扣球落点刁钻，其威力就像落地开花的炮弹，使对方无法招架。因而，队友给他起了个绰号叫“炮仔”（粤语，即“小炮”的意思），传媒赞誉他为“孙拳”。1924年，中华民国第三届全运会在武昌举行，培正中学排球队参加比赛，摘取桂冠。一支中学校队竟取得全国排球之冕，在我国排球史上是首次，这其中自然少不了主攻手父亲的功劳。之后，父亲被选入国家排球队，代表中国出席1927年在上海举行的第八届远东运动会，结果中国队战胜日本队和菲律宾队，夺得冠军，为祖国争光。同年，父亲也被选入国家篮球队，成双球类国手。1927年秋，父亲考入上海沪江大学政治系。蒋介石很欣赏父亲在体育方面的成就，建议科叔公把父亲送到日本士官学校，蒋介石也曾在此校毕业。受眉公和祖父的影响，父亲立志从军，为国效力，于次年东渡日本入士官学校攻读工兵科，毕业后应邀担任广州燕塘军校教官。1931年唐绍仪任中山县长时，曾聘请父亲为中山县一区公安分局局长。

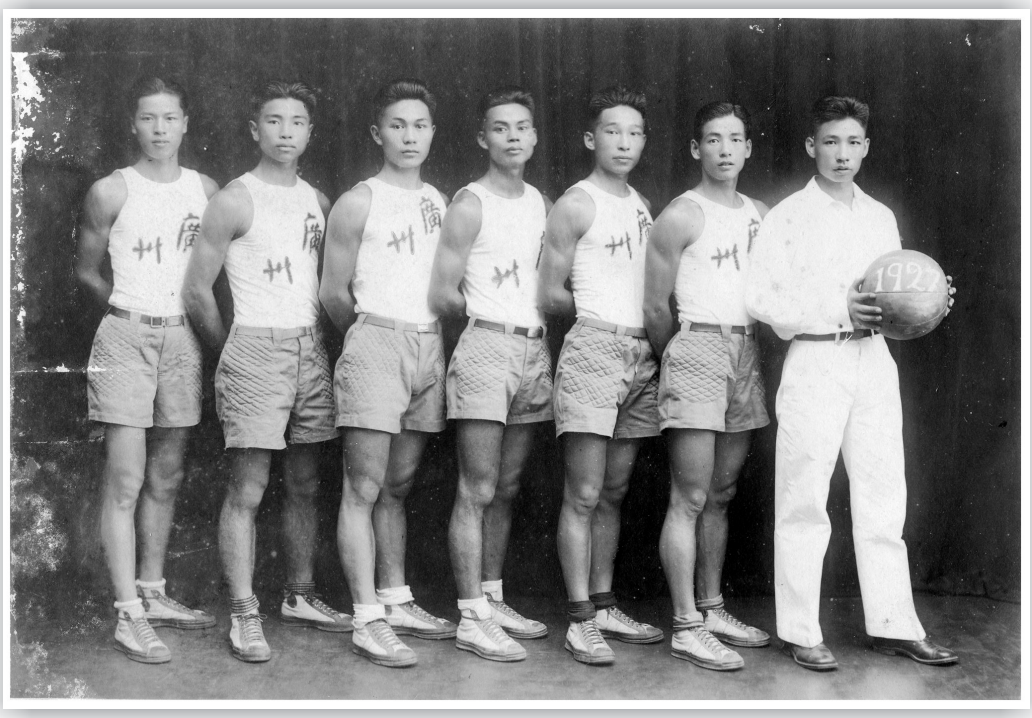
阿太陈粹芬被科叔公邀请回国后，就与女儿孙仲英住在广州的渔庐，并负责看管科叔公的小孩。父亲到广州时亦住在渔庐，认识了他叫姑姑的孙仲英，两人很快就发生感情，而且还谈婚论嫁。虽然家里的人都反对，但是没有人真的可以作主。不久，父亲奉召到南京任参谋部上校参谋，后又被派往意大利陆军大学深造。而母亲孙仲英更于1935年被送到夏威夷入大学，并取英文名莎莉（Sally）。在夏威夷大学两年后再转到加州普蒙那学院（Pomona College）。但他们两人保持联络，不停地通信，1937年，母亲决定到意大利，与父亲在罗马结婚。母亲把姓改回原姓苏，叫苏仲英。我于1938年在意大利出生，那时中国抗日战争刚刚开始不久。父亲让科叔公为我起名，叔公抱着对抗日必胜的信心，为我取名必胜。在我之后出生的四个弟弟，从“必”字辈，科叔公依次为我的兄弟取名为必兴、必达、必成、必立，意在抗战必胜，胜后必兴，目的必达，建国必成，国强必立。1939年父母在归国途中经马来亚怡保，探望我们的外公，也就是我母亲的亲生父母，二弟必兴(Henry)在怡保出生，三弟必达(Peter)于1941年在香港出生，四弟必成(Pershing)于1942年在广东曲江出生。抗战胜利后，妹妹嘉穗于1945年生于广州，可惜于1947年初因病去世。五弟必立(Philip)在1947年底于澳

门出生。

父亲归国后出任中央陆军大学工兵教官。抗日战争爆发后，当时任第七战区司令长官余汉谋，因赏识父亲的军事才能，请调其任长官部高级参谋，继又调任十二集团军通信兵团少将团长、一八七师少将副师长。抗战期间，他率师转战粤北、湘赣，参与了数十个战役。抗战后期，日军为沟通中国南北铁路交通线，接连发动了打通平汉线、湘桂线和粤汉线南段的战役，在1944年底至1945年初，驻湘、粤、桂的日军各一部，夹攻粤北，其中一路主力攻陷英德、曲江。当时，第七战区所属六十五军在三南一带与之对垒，父亲奉命率部驻信丰县小红河一带死守阵地，掩护该战区所属部队及当时的广东省府直属单位往江西寻坞转移。由于小红河地势较差，当日军主力集中火力向父亲部的阵地进攻时，无险可凭，但孙部官兵浴血奋战，决不退让，双方形成拉锯状态，敌我双方均伤亡惨重。父亲督战于前线，临危不惧，抵挡了日军的凌厉攻势，终于完成了掩护任务。随后，孙部奉命回调补充整训。为表彰父亲在抗日战争中的出色表现，国民政府曾颁给他忠勤勋章一枚，奖状一张。

抗战胜利后，父亲辞去军职，于1946年底出任中山县长，任内关心地方建设。他认为石岐作为县城所在地，缺少医院设置，便提出在安栏路南端原岐江医院旧址重新修建平民医院，并以其个人名义向本县的绅商和侨商发出募捐函册，呼吁捐资，得殷商的踊跃响应，医院终于建成，方便了市民就诊。烟墩山上的中山纪念亭、竹秀园小山岗的儿童新村等，也是在父亲任内建成的。

随着国民党退守台湾，父亲先赴香港、台湾经商，后长期旅居美国。父亲于1999年9月18日病逝于加州三藩市，享寿92岁。



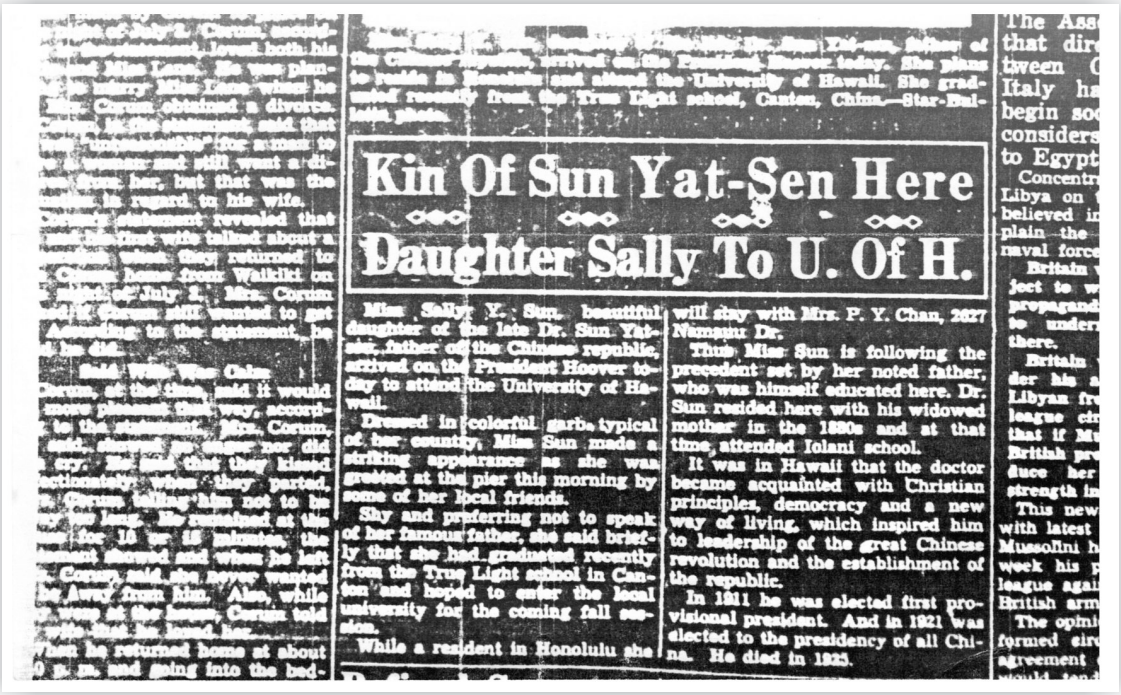
170.父亲在广州篮球代表队
Father on the Guangzhou basketball team



171. 母亲在夏威夷大学就读
Mother went to study at the University of Hawaii



172. 母亲在夏威夷试划浪板
Mother tried surf board in Hawaii



Kin Of Sun Yat-Sen Here

Daughter Sally To U. Of H.

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Dressed in colorful garb typical of her country, Miss Sun made a striking appearance as she was greeted at the pier this morning by some of her local friends.

Shy and preferring not to speak of her famous father, she said briefly that she had graduated recently from the True Light school in Canton and hoped to enter the local university for the coming fall session.

While a resident in Honolulu she will stay with Mrs. P. Y. Chan, 2627 Nuuanu Dr.

Thus Miss Sun is following the precedent set by her noted father, who was himself educated here. Dr. Sun resided here with his widowed mother in the 1880s and at that time attended Iolani school.

It was in Hawaii that the doctor became acquainted with Christian principles, democracy and a new way of living, which inspired him to leadership of the great Chinese revolution and the establishment of the republic.

In 1911 he was elected first provisional president. And in 1921 was elected to the presidency of all China. He died in 1925.

173. 1935年9月9日，报章报道母亲入读夏威夷大学。
Report of Mother entering the University of Hawaii by the Star Bulletin on September 9, 1935.

September 9, 1935

Star Bulletin, Hawaii

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孙逸仙的家属抵步

女儿莎莉（SALLY）入夏威夷大学

中华民国国父孙逸仙漂亮的女儿孙仲英（SALLY Y SUN）今日乘胡佛总统号轮船到达，准备进入夏威夷大学攻读。

穿着富有中国色彩的服饰，孙小姐的出现惊动了今天早上在码头拉船欢迎她的本地朋友。看起来有一点害羞且不愿意谈及她有名的父亲，她简单地说明她最近从广州真光学校毕业而希望来秋进入本地大学。

在檀香山期间，她将住在 MRS.P.Y.CHAN 陈太太家。

孙小姐实在是跟了她父亲在此地受教育的先例。孙博士于1880年代跟她的母亲居此期间，入读IOLANI意奥兰尼学校。

孙博士是在夏威夷期间认识基督教义、民主及新的生活方式而导致他领导中国伟大的革命以及建立民国。

1911年，他被选为临时大总统。1921年被选为了总统。他于1925年逝世。

（摘自1935年9月9日，《STAR BULLETIN》报）

我的曾祖父孫眉

My Father Sun Kin

I was always told that my father's temperament and physical stature were most like Sun Mei's. Father used to tell us that Sun Mei maintained strict discipline in his family, yet also always treated people with the utmost generosity and kindness, even to a fault as it occasionally allowed people to exploit him. Likewise, my father was also strict in his own way, although he had never felt the need to scold any of his sons even once to my recollection. He did his best to give all of his children the best education he could afford. And yet he would never demand from any of us certain scholastic grades, nor impose his opinion on us as we made decisions regarding which college to attend, which professions to pursue, or even which women to marry. If he wanted something from us, he would talk to us as a friend would while also allowing us to express our own thinking. Ultimately, we all not only respected him greatly, but we were truly very fond of him as a friend and as a man to look up to as well.

My father Sun Kin (Edward Sun) was born on July 2, 1908, in San Francisco. By then Sun Mei had already declared bankruptcy, which forced grandfather to abandon his medical training at the University of California. Consequently, Father spent his infancy in Sacramento and Bakersfield, California, as Grandfather worked selling herbal teas. At around the age of four, Father was taken to Macau by his parents and lived there with Sun Mei at No. 4, Shun Feng Tang. In February of 1915, at the age of seven, he witnessed the passing of his grandfather Sun Mei. And only a month after that, his mother Wong Kam Shun also died from illness. Two short years later in 1917, his father Sun Chong died in action. Mei Po, who assumed care of the two orphans, was advancing in age, and the schools in Macau were not that good at the time. She discussed these matters with Sun Yat-sen, who then dispatched Chen Qinyun to fetch the two boys plus a relative called Sun Zhen to Guangzhou. At that time, Father was ten and Uncle was twelve, while Sun Zhen was another two or three years older. Their grandaunt Soong Ching-ling kindly took excellent care of them, taking them shopping for clothes and provisions as needed. After staying at the Headquarters of the Generalissimo for a few months, the boys were then sent to a boarding school run by Baptist missionaries called Pui Ching School in Guangzhou, although they would return to the Headquarters of the Generalissimo for weekends and holidays.

Father excelled in various sports during his high school days at Pui Ching. He

was a champion in the decathlon but his basketball and volleyball skills were even more outstanding. At that time, the Pui Ching High School volleyball team was undefeated in Guangzhou. At first, Father was the best defender playing in the third role. He later switched to offense as he grew to be 185cm tall and his powerful spiking style of attack earned him the nickname "The Cannon". In 1924, the third national game in China was held in Wuchang and Pui Ching Middle School won the gold medal for volleyball. That was the first time in the history of volleyball in China that a high school team won the championship. Later, father was picked to join the Chinese National Volleyball Team and represented China in the 1927 Shanghai Far East Games. The Chinese team defeated Japan and the Philippines to earn the gold medal. Father also was a member of the Chinese National Basketball Team in the same year. In 1927, Father was admitted into Shanghai Hujiang University to study political science. Chiang Kai-shek, however, was quite impressed with father's sports achievement and suggested to Granduncle Sun Fo to send my father to the Officers Military Academy in Japan of which he himself was a graduate. Following in the footsteps of Sun Mei and his father Sun Chong, father decided to serve his country by becoming a military officer. He enrolled at the Japan Officers Military Academy the next year to study Engineering. Upon graduation, he was invited to lecture at the Yantang Military Academy in Guangzhou and also taught classes at the Chongqing War College. For a while in 1931, he also served as the police chief of District No. 1 in Zhongshan.

Madam Chen Cuifen returned to China with her adopted daughter (and my future mother) Sun Zhongying and lived in the Yulu Mansion in Guangzhou, where she could take care of Granduncle Sun Fo's children T. P. and T. K. Father got to know Sun Zhongying, whom he was supposed to call Auntie, and the two fell in love, wanting to be married. Some in the household, however, objected to their idea, although no one could actually decide for them. Shortly, Father was sent to Italy to continue his military schooling while Sun Zhongying was sent to Hawaii to enroll at the University of Hawaii. There, she started using her new English name Sally. After two years in Hawaii, she transferred to Pomona College in California, all the while keeping up her correspondence with my father, who still loved her. They decided that they would go ahead and get married, and in 1937, Sally went to Italy and married my father using her own name So Zhongying. I was born in Italy in 1938. On our way back to China from Europe, Mother stopped in Ipoh, Malaya and gave birth to their second son, Henry. Their third son Peter was born in Hong Kong in 1941

and their fourth, Pershing, was born in Qujiang, Guangdong in 1942. After the war, our sister Jiashui was born in Guangzhou in 1945, but she died of pneumonia at the start of 1947. A fifth son, Philip, was born in Macau in November, 1947.

Upon his return from Europe, my father was given a job teaching at the military school in Guangzhou but he also taught at the War College in Chongqing. Wanting to see action, he requested a new assignment. The commander of the 7th War Zone at the time, General Yu Hanmuo, was impressed with Father's credentials and requested that Father join his army to fight the Japanese in the South. Father was first appointed to General Yu's senior staff and later became the Regimental Commander for the communication corps of the 12th military bloc. Eventually he was promoted to Division Commander for the 187th Division with the rank of Major General. He led his division to engage against the Japanese in many battles in Northern Guangdong, Hunan and Jiangxi. Toward the end of the war, in order to control China's North-South rail system, the Japanese army launched attacks to gain control of major railway lines such as the Beijing-Hankou line, the Hunan-Guilin Line and the Guangzhou-Hankou Line. Between the end of 1944 and the beginning of 1945, Japanese forces stationed in Hunan, Guangdong and Guangxi converged to the north of Guangdong and captured several cities including Yingde and Qujiang. The 65th Army under the command of the 7th War Zone was pitted against Japanese at the Sannan area. Father was ordered to stage cover around the Little Red River in Xinfen County to distract from the movements of the army and other government units as they relocated to Jiangxi province. Because the surrounding terrain around the Little Red River made defense difficult, Father's troop suffered heavy casualties during the Japanese attack. Still, he and his soldiers fought hard and successfully defended their position. Later, Father was ordered to retreat for replenishment and for further training and consolidation. He was awarded the "Medal of Loyalty" and a certificate by the government for his outstanding performance during the war.

Father resigned from military duty after the war and in 1946 was appointed the Zhongshan County Magistrate, where his chief priority concerned local development while he was in office. He thought that Shiqi, as the administrative center for the county, should have more hospital facilities. He proposed rebuilding the old Qijiang Hospital, located south of Anlan Road, for the general public; and called on all local and overseas business people to donate, which resulted with the hospital finally being built. The Zhongshan Memorial Pavilion on Yandun Hill and the Children's

New Village on the hill of Zuxiuyuan were also built when Father was in office in Zhongshan.

Following the downfall of the KMT, Father first went to Hong Kong and then to Taiwan to engage in business activities. He then retired to live in America. He passed away on September 18, 1999 in San Francisco, California at the age of 92.

眉公领养的阿霞、细银、阿威

眉公的弟弟德佑，生于1860年11月7日，卒于1866年1月17日，才6岁。眉公也按中国人的习惯，替他找继承人。眉公很喜欢小孩子，父亲曾说过，眉公早年在檀香山开商店时曾收养过一个小孩，而且供他上学，很有可能是送到意奥兰尼学校读书，但可惜再没有这小孩的消息。

我们查看了夏威夷交易局档案，眉公在1889年、1891年及1892年都有过领养小孩的记录。1889年从本地人凯衣奥(Kaio)夫妇领养一个男孩，后改名为孙威(Sun Awai)，眉公把阿威作为德佑的嗣子。1891年从本地人达·高路斯(Da Gros)夫妇领养另一男孩叫吉奥(Jeo)，但后来吉奥下落不明。1892年眉公从一位阿安的华人家庭中领养了一个女孩叫阿可(Ah Koi)，改名为细银，作为德佑的嗣女。阿可即细银生于1881年1月14日，卒于1954年10月6日。1912年随眉婆回到澳门居住，后嫁中山人容当，生女容珍，生子容海襟(容有章)，我们都叫锐表伯。眉公领养一女叫顺霞，她出生于1886年1月19日，原是眉公结拜兄弟郑仲的婢女，后来让眉公领养了。1912年她曾随孙中山、眉公一起回过翠亨村，后来就在澳门和眉公一起居住。我见过顺霞姑婆，1957年3月6日她在澳门去世，她的女儿容妙，我们都叫她妙表姑。

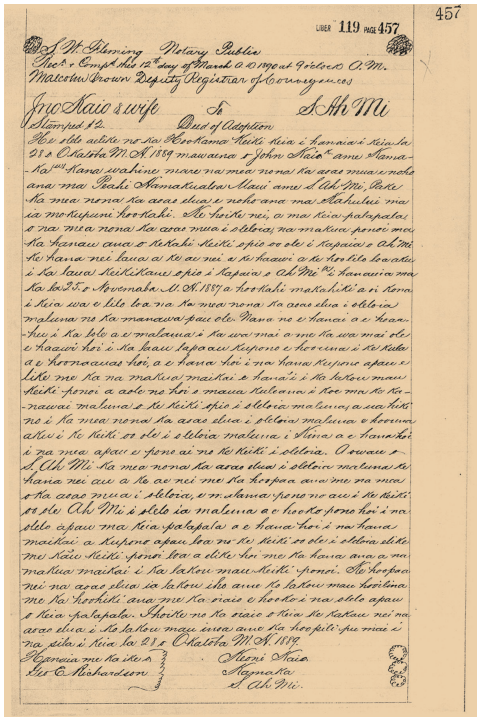
阿威是夏威夷人所生，他的长相当然不像华人，很多人，包括我们家族的一些人都怀疑他是否眉公与夏威夷人所生的私生子。说当年要是本地人才能买卖房地，其实是不对的，因为我们知道不少房地产的买卖就登记在眉婆名下。我们在阿威的领养纸上看到他生父母姓凯衣奥(Kaio)。我们的堂弟国雄，一向都很关注在夏威夷的亲属情况。他终于找到了阿威的后人。原来阿威在茂宜眉公的家长大，在1900年的人口调查中，阿威及阿霞都与眉婆同住。眉公破产后回国，眉婆把牧场也卖了，跟着儿子去了三藩市，阿威已长大成人，自立家



174.阿威照片
Picture of Awai

室。娶了夏威夷人约瑟芬·侯利衣亚(Josephine Hooleia)，生了三男二女，后来科叔公当上了国民政府的官，眉婆就让叔公写信叫孙威回国。阿威说他不大适应国内的生活，家里也没能为他在生意上提供发展的机会。1935年，阿威在澳门得病去世，葬于翠亨。他在夏威夷留下的子孙，一直都没有他的消息。他们的姓，也全改为阿威(Awai)。2006年首次到檀香山搜集资料时，国雄跟我们一道，就见到了孙威的后人。他们都很想知道先祖阿威究竟到哪里去了，为什么他们的姓叫阿威。

其中有一位莲娜·阿威(Leana Awai)是孙威的孙媳妇，丹尼·阿威第二任(Daniel Awai Junior)太太，她本身也是出自名门，有夏威夷皇室的血统。2009年我再次访问茂宜时，与莲娜相约，希望把阿威的身世搞清楚。她先把我带去看到了一个属于约瑟芬·侯利衣亚(Josephine Hooleia)及她先祖的墓地，然后让我看到了这家族的部分家谱。原来约瑟芬是一个很大的家族，夏威夷人对家族观念与我们华人差不多，不过他们的家谱里不仅有男，也包括有女士。约瑟芬的祖父叫约翰·库卡海可(John Kukahiko),有一个很大的家庭，目前，家谱上有名字的不下数百人。家谱上，我看到了约瑟芬的名字，而她的配偶名字是阿威·开衣奥(查理斯)。他们的儿女共五人，三男两女，他们的名字是查理斯·开衣奥(Charles Kaio)、丹尼·开衣奥(Daniel Kaio)、约翰·开衣奥(John Kaio)、蓓亚塔斯·开衣奥(女)(Beatrice Kaio)及罗莎蓓尔·开衣奥(女)(Rosebelle Kaio)。这个开衣奥(Kaio)名字与我从档案馆得到的孙威的领养纸完全相同。在他们的家谱里，Awai及Kaio两个名字都用上了。而在我们《翠亨孙氏达成祖家谱》里所载孙威，又名建唐，生三子，长名叶，次名胜本，三名胜亨，长女妙喜，次女妙屏完全相符。现在在茂宜阿威的子孙总算知道他们姓氏的来源了。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175.阿威领养纸
Awai adoption paper

The Adoptions of Ah Ha, Xi Yin and Awai

Sun Mei had a younger brother called Deyou, who was born on November 7, 1860, but died on January 17, 1866, at the age of five. As was Chinese custom, Sun Mei would someday find and adopt a male child to be the descendant of Deyou. Sun Mei loved children, and my father once told us that even as early as the time when Sun Mei opened his first store in Honolulu, he supported a boy to attend the Iolani School, years before sending Sun Yat-sen there. Sadly, we know nothing more about this boy. At the Bureau of Conveyances in Honolulu, however, I discovered some adoption papers indicating that Sun Mei had adopted three children between 1889 and 1892. In 1889, he adopted a native Hawaiian boy from the Kaio family, whom he designated the son of Deyou and named Awai. In 1891, he adopted another boy, this one named Jeo from the Da Gros family, but we have no records of Jeo's life beyond that. In 1892, Sun Mei adopted a girl by the name of Ah Koi from a Chinese family named Aon. The girl's name was changed to Xiyin and became the designated daughter of Deyou. Born on January 14, 1881, she was taken to live in Macau by Mei Po and eventually married Yong Dan of Zhongshan. She had a daughter called Yong Zhen and a son called Yong Haiqing (Yong Youzhang) whom we knew as Uncle Yui since we were kids. Xiyin died on October 6, 1954.

Aside from these three, Sun Mei also adopted a girl named Shun Ha, who was a maid of Cheng Zong, a blood brother of Sun Yat-sen and Sun Mei. Shun Ha was born January 19, 1886. In 1912, she married Yong Jixing in Hawaii at the double wedding Sun Mei hosted for her marriage as well as Sun Chong's marriage.

I saw Shun Ha often when we went to school in Macau. She had a daughter Yong Miao whom we called Auntie Miao. Shun Ha died on March 6, 1957, in Macau. Awai had Hawaiian parents and did not look Chinese at all. Some people, including some in our own family, speculated that he was Sun Mei's son born out of wedlock. They claimed only local people had the right to own property, and that Sun Mei needed a native-born member of the family to own property on his behalf. But this isn't true, for many of Sun Mei's properties were in fact registered under his wife's name. Our cousin Leland Sun, who has always maintained interest and relationships in Hawaii, actually found the descendants of Awai in Maui. Both Awai and Shun Ha were living with Mei Po, according to the 1900 Maui Census record, but when Sun Mei returned to China after his bankruptcy and Mei Po left for San Francisco to be with Grandfather, Awai was left to grow up and start his own family. He married a

native, Josephine Hooleia, and had five children: three boys and two girls. Later on, Granduncle Sun Fo asked Awai to come to China. Father said Awai had difficulty adapting to life in China as there was no business he could get into. Awai passed away in 1935 and was buried in Cuiheng. When we visited Maui in 2006 with Leland, we met quite a few of his descendants who all wanted to know why they had the surname of Awai and what had happened to Awai in China.

We met Leana Awai, the wife of Awai's grandson Daniel Awai, Jr. She is of royal blood, I was told, and on my next visit to Maui in 2009, she led me to the graveyard where Josephine Hooleia Awai, her mother as well as her grandfather John Kukahiko were buried. She showed me the family tree, with the names of Charles Awai Kaio as well as his five children: Charles Kaio, Daniel Kaio, John Kaio, Beatrice Kaio and Rosebelle Kaio. The last name Kaio is exactly the same as the one that appeared on Sun Mei's adoption papers. In our own family tree, the three boys as well as the two girls were also recorded as Awai's children. The Awai family in Maui was thrilled to learn how they acquired the last name of Awai.



176. 阿威在茂宜的后裔
Decendents of Awai in Maui



177.太叔婆卢慕贞
Great-grandaunt Lu Muzhen

我的太叔婆卢慕贞

在卢慕贞与孙中山三十多年的婚姻生活中，聚少离多，但她理解丈夫对国家、对民族的大义，尽管奔波劳累，担惊受怕，但她都尽力为丈夫分忧。在达成公卧病时，她侍奉汤药几月不断；杨太夫人晚年时已双目失明，都得到她的悉心照料。她为孙中山生儿育女，照顾家庭，点点滴滴都令既是大伯又是月老的眉公对她颇觉亏欠，所以自始至终，眉公都把照顾弟妇及子侄作为自己的责任，无论是困境或险境，始终不离不弃。

我们住在澳门的时候，经常去探望卢太夫人，我们称她为澳门婆，每次见她，她总以她那特有的亲切拖腔问我：“必胜，你有无读圣经呀？”我年幼，不解她用意。长大了，想起她的问话，才知道她信仰基督教是受到孙中山的影响，卢太夫人在圣经中得到了宁静和慰藉，从圣经中学到了从善，晚年的澳门婆为家乡做了不少好事。

My Great-grandaunt Lu Muzhen

During the more than thirty years of marriage with Sun Yat-sen, Lu Muzhen had to live away from her husband most of the time, but she understood well how her husband felt about his country and people. Despite all the hardships she had to face, she did her best to play her part. She took good care of her father-in-law Dacheng while he was dying on his sick bed, and also took care of her blind mother-in-law Madam Yang in her old age. She bore children for Sun Yat-sen and looked after them. Sun Mei was so impressed with this sister-in-law who happily took care of his brother's family as if they were his own. When we lived in Macau for a short period, we used to visit Great-grandaunt Lu, whom we called "Macau Lady" at her home. Every time she saw me, she would ask: "Bisheng (Victor), have you read the Bible?" Her Christian faith was initially a product of Sun Yat-sen's influence, but her nurturing ways were cultivated during a lifetime of reading the Bible. She did a lot of charitable work in her hometown in her later years. She was born in 1867 and died in 1952.



178. 太叔婆宋庆龄
Great-grandaunt Soong Ching-ling

我的太叔婆宋庆龄

1915年10月25日，比孙中山小27岁、年仅22岁的太叔婆宋庆龄不顾父母的反对，毅然决定与流亡中的太叔公结婚，跟随孙中山踏上了捍卫共和制度的艰苦斗争历程。

1893年1月27日，宋庆龄诞生在上海一个牧师兼实业家的家庭。她的父亲宋耀如是孙中山的朋友和同志。也正是她的父亲源源不断寄来的书信与剪报资料，使她心中与孙中山领导的革命事业架起了桥梁。1913年，宋庆龄学成归国，却无法施展改革和建设祖国的抱负。那时，共和国在摇篮中被扼杀，革命的大潮已经消退，孙中山流亡在日本。在父亲和大姐宋蔼龄的引荐下，宋庆龄在东京见到了孙中山，不久便担任了孙中山的助手。宋庆龄醉心革命，决定和孙中山生活战斗在一起，她在与孙中山十年的共同生活中，可谓是“精诚无间同忧乐”。

1925年3月12日孙中山在北京逝世。他把“和平、奋斗、救中国”的嘱托交给了宋庆龄和他的同志们。宋庆龄坚持孙中山的革命原则和政策，为了中国革命事业贡献了全部的精力。1981年5月15日中共中央政治局一致决定接受她成为中

国共产党正式党员，16日被授予中华人民共和国国家名誉主席的荣誉称号。

科叔公从小在美国生活，思想西化，对于父亲的婚姻从不加以干涉，他很尊重宋庆龄，大家相处很融洽。宋庆龄和我叔婆陈淑英的关系也很好。为了尊敬宋庆龄，叔婆陈淑英决定在公开场合让人称她为孙太太，以区分大家对宋庆龄“孙夫人”的尊称。我们大家都把她尊称为“上海婆”。

20世纪二三十年代，科叔公也经常带着子女们去探访宋庆龄，宋庆龄总是很高兴地给孩子们一些小礼物。穗瑛姑姐也曾说，她很喜欢这位祖母，很希望像她那样为人处事。1949年，新中国成立前夕，宋庆龄还曾力劝科叔公赶快确定自己日后的方向，并希望他留在大陆为新中国效力。科叔公也为宋庆龄当时的安危着想，曾向蒋介石表示不要伤害宋庆龄。虽然后来科叔公去了美国，而后又去了台湾，但是宋庆龄仍和孙家的孩子们有来往！

我父亲和伯父曾到大元帅府生活过一段时间，太叔婆对他们兄弟俩的关怀无微不至。父亲说，那时他们还小，眉公去世40天后，我的祖母王金顺突然患病，撒手人寰，不久祖父又牺牲了。失去至亲，父亲和伯父幼小的心灵一次次地受到重创。那时候，他和伯父整天无言，有时只有相对默默流泪，曾祖母眉婆看到这样也很伤心，生怕爱孙承受不了悲痛，不能自拔，便和太叔公孙中山商量，让父亲和伯父到广州随同他们生活。幸得曾叔婆宋庆龄以慈母般的呵护，两颗创伤的心灵得到慰藉。此后父亲和伯父一直在广州读书，在大元帅府生活了好几年。半个多世纪过去后，我三弟必达在北京见到宋庆龄夫人，她老人家还念念不忘亚乾、亚满，询问必达是谁的儿子。

1981年5月29日20时18分太叔婆病逝于北京。三弟必达恭捧宋庆龄骨灰回到上海，安葬在宋氏墓园。

我多次到上海祭拜宋庆龄陵墓，近几年因参与孙中山研究，又与宋庆龄基金会多有交往，每次在宋庆龄故居参观，或读到有关她的事迹，都被她与孙中山伟大的爱情，以及她70多年来对祖国的忠贞的贡献所感动，她是我们孙家最优秀的女性，是最值得我们骄傲、自豪的太叔婆。

我的曾祖父孫眉

My Great-grandaunt Soong Ching-ling

On October 25, 1915, 22-year-old Soong Ching-ling married Sun Yat-sen despite the objections of her parents. Her steadfast determination to follow Sun Yat-sen in defending the republic system which they had fought so hard to create has gained her great respect from the entire Sun family.

On January 27, 1893, Soong Ching-ling was born in Shanghai to a minister (missionary) and entrepreneur family. She was 27 years Sun Yat-sen's junior. She received a Western education in America, graduating from Wesleyan University, and became familiar with the democratic system. As she was growing up in America, she also developed a deep patriotism toward her own country as she learned more and more about the revolution that was taking place. She called the success of the Wuchang Uprising "the greatest event in the 20th century", and developed a strong vision of her country being independent, democratic and strong.

Her father Soong Yaoru was a friend and comrade of Sun Yat-sen. It was also the many letters and newspaper clippings that her father sent her that fostered her love and understanding of the revolution that Sun Yat-sen was leading. In 1913, Soong Ching-ling returned to China after graduating from college, but encountered some difficulty finding work that could satisfy her aspirations. At that time, the Republic was in a fragile condition, the tides of revolutionary change had ebbed, and Sun Yat-sen was in exile in Japan. At the introduction of her father and sister Ai-ling, Soong Ching-ling went to see Sun Yat-sen in Tokyo and became his secretary and personal assistant. She was infatuated with the revolution and happily devoted her entire life to Sun Yat-sen and his cause.

On March 12, 1925, Sun Yat-sen died in Beijing. He entrusted the vision "Peace, Struggle, save China" to Soong Ching-ling and his comrades. Soong Ching-ling persisted in promulgating Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary principles and policies, and devoted all her strength to China's revolutionary movement. On May 15, 1981, the Chinese Central Political Bureau unanimously voted to accept her as a member of the Chinese Communist Party. The next day, she was awarded the title of Honorary President of the People's Republic of China.

Granduncle Sun Fo, who grew up in America's western way of thinking, had no objection to his father's affairs. He respected Soong Ching-ling and got along with her well. Grandaunt Chen also got along well with Madam Soong, who decided that she should be called Mrs. Sun in public, to differentiate from her normal title of

Madam Sun. In our family, Soong Ching-ling was called "Shanghai Lady".

In the 1930s, Granduncle Sun Fo used to bring his children to visit Madam Soong Ching-ling. Auntie Pearl recalled that Madam Soong used to give them small presents. On the eve of the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, Madam Soong tried to persuade Granduncle Sun Fo to stay in China, but Granduncle was worried about Madam Soong's safety and had asked Chiang Kai-shek not to harm Soong Ching-ling, who by this time was Chiang's own sister-in-law. Sun Fo ended up going to America and then Taiwan, although Soong Ching-ling always kept in touch with the Sun family.

Earlier, Father and Uncle Moon had spent some time living with Soong Ching-ling at the Headquarters of the Generalissimo in Guangzhou. Father recalled the time when he was still a young boy: his mother had died only forty days after Sun Mei's death, and Grandmother Mei Po, seeing the sadness in the boys, discussed with Sun Yat-sen about how to raise them. Sun Yat-sen immediately sent his aide to fetch them to Guangzhou where they were sent to a missionary boarding school called Pui Ching School. Their weekends, however, were spent with Sun Yat-sen and Soong Ching-ling. After half a century, when my brother Peter visited Soong Ching-ling in Beijing, she asked him whether he was the son of Ah Kin (my father) or Ah Moon.

On May 29, 1981, Soong Ching-ling died in Beiing. Peter accompanied her ashes back to Shanghai where she was buried. I have visited the graves of Madam Soong several times in Shanghai, and in recent years, I have had the opportunity to visit her former residence in Beijing and read about her achievements. The Sun family is greatly touched by her love for Sun Yat-sen and the country, and I am so proud to have had such an outstanding lady as my great-grandaunt.



179.阿太陈粹芬
Ah Tai Chen Cuifen

我的外祖母阿太陈粹芬

阿太陈粹芬，是我兄弟几人中相处最为密切的长辈。她有着双重的身份，一是我们孙家公认的孙家一分子，在族谱里，我们的先辈将她定为孙中山的侧室。论辈分，她应该是我们的曾叔祖母。按规矩，我们应称她为“太叔婆”。又因为她是我母亲的养母，所以她又是我们的外祖母。当我还在牙牙学语时，不太会说“太叔婆”两字，将“太叔婆”叫成“阿太”，此后家中兄弟都跟着我叫“阿太”了，以至后来连长辈们都跟着用“阿太”来称呼陈粹芬了。

家里人习惯称“阿太”为“南洋婆”，卢太夫人为“澳门婆”，宋庆龄是“上海婆”。

我们从小由阿太照看，父母在外做事忙，但家里总是有阿太在。她对我们兄弟，从来都很慈祥，从来没有责骂。我们五兄弟在家吵闹，父母要责难时，阿太总会说好话保护我们。其实，我是在香港念中学的几年时光中，与阿太同住窄小的公寓式房子时，听了她的许多故事，才深深了解阿太传奇而富有色彩的人生。

阿太原名陈粹芬(流亡日本时又取名香菱)，原籍福建厦门同安。1874年，出



180.伯父，父亲与陈粹芬于澳门
Uncle Sun Moon, father and Ah Tai in Macau

生于香港，排行老四，人称四姑娘，随孙中山革命时，同志尊称之为陈四姑。1892年的一天，阿太在香港屯门红楼基督教堂（属美国纪慎会）由陈少白介绍认识了孙中山，当时孙中山只有26岁，而阿太才19岁。阿太说与孙中山初次见面就认定他是一个领袖人物，阿太虽然出身贫困家庭，没有读过很多书，但对孙中山决心推翻满清，效法洪秀全、石达开，并要相率中原豪杰还我河山等的观念，却很明白。她立志革命。两人开始交往，而阿太就成了孙中山的最得力助手。孙中山从香港雅丽医学院附属西医学院毕业后在澳门行医，后来又在广州开东西药局，阿太总是追随左右，打点一切，甚至充当护士。1894年冬，孙中山在夏威夷组织了兴中会，回国后立刻策动起义。第一次起事于光绪二十一年（1895年），起义前孙中山已当医生于澳门广州两年左右，为了反清很多时都采取义诊赠药手段以收揽人心，由于孙中山医术高明，所设诊所都很忙碌。孙中山还回翠亨撰写上李鸿章书，并与陆皓东一起去两广总督府见总督李瀚章，由李的推荐两人相偕至天津见了北洋大臣李鸿章面呈此计划。可惜李鸿章拒绝接见。孙、陆回到上海，接获李鸿章给孙中山的护照，孙随即前往檀香山。光绪二十年冬（1894年）

前往檀香山创立兴中会。光绪二十一（1895年）年孙中山回香港，以红楼诸友为核心，将兴中会总部移设香港，筹购武器运回广州，推荐陆皓东主持其事，陆本人年纪比中山少几岁，胆很大，孙中山说此人乃将才，他运往广州的武器，半年内就有好几批，不幸有一次在广州长堤附近被巡防营的缉私队缉获，陆被解官府，武器则被没收，阿太当时也参与运枪械。她说革命分子都假以扫墓为名，随人群前往广州，阿太坐着轿子，轿子底藏下短枪、短刀、子弹、炸药、手榴弹等，还有在香港眉公家制造的陆皓东设计的青天白日旗，都没有被发觉。得悉陆皓东被捕后，当时是孙中山的护士兼卫士的阿太不敢回诊所，也不敢回家睡，她跑到朋友家静听消息。十月下旬郑士良派人秘密通知，陆皓东已被处死，已出了告示，深夜又得三合会另一首领派人通知，缉拿孙文的公文已发出，于是阿太和孙中山匆匆收拾行装带着一些盘缠和几件衣物深夜逃走，孙中山此前已派人送信至香山家乡叫卢夫人带着儿子立刻去澳门避难。两天之后全家在澳门相聚，凄然相对，过了几天，得悉如果阿太与孙中山迟走几个小时就会被抓去了。广州首次起义原计划集中三合会百余人相机伏击两广总督的，可惜失败了。这一炮打响后，清政府对孙文的追捕直至清朝的覆亡前从未中止过，作为孙中山革命伴侣的阿太始终随同中山流离转徙。

革命同志胡汉民、汪精卫、居正、戴季陶、冯自由、廖仲恺、刘成禹、蒋介石等与阿太熟悉，大家都称呼阿太为四姑。

他们逃难到日本。不久，孙中山又离开日本赴檀香山，然后到英国伦敦。1896年10月11日，孙中山在伦敦被清政府暗探秘密诱至中国公使馆囚禁。孙中山通过清洁工给正在伦敦的老师康德黎送信求援。经康德黎等人的努力，绑架丑闻被公开，孙中山最终获释。阿太当时毫不知情，脱险后陈少白从香港打电话才知道真相。孙中山次年一月由欧洲返抵日本时，送给阿太一件很珍贵的礼物，就是康德黎老师送给孙中山的一只金怀表。上刻有Y.S.Sun（孙逸仙）字样。阿太相信这是孙中山身上最有价值的一件东西，也是阿太身上最珍贵的物件。这怀表不但代表康德黎对孙中山的恩情，也代表了孙中山对阿太的情义。阿太在香港去世前数月，一天叫我到房里，把那金表放在我的手里说：好好的保管它。之后，又把手上戴着的金戒指脱掉，也放在我的手里说：这也是总理给的。

日本是孙中山主要活动基地之一，阿太陪伴孙中山到日本。他们在横滨住了很长一段时间。阿太什么都干，替革命党人煮饭，洗衣，她都不在乎。当年很多日本的朋友如宫崎寅藏、头山满、犬养毅等都是孙中山及阿太的好朋友，我记得

在1960年我从香港再次赴美读书，途经东京，阿太着父亲修书给她的日本朋友，结果，接飞机的两位壮汉，把我带到一所郊区的大别墅，见到一位穿和服的长者，那长者声音雄厚，见面只问了我一句“太夫人好不好，你爸爸好不好”，之后，就命令两壮汉带我去住当年最豪华的酒店，当然，在东京的两天费用，我不用花一文。后来听父亲说，那位长者是当年曾支持孙中山革命的一位日本朋友的后裔。父亲在日本念军校时也见过他。阿太与他们的关系很深。我二弟必兴和三弟必达也曾见过他。

1900年，惠州二次起义由孙中山在日本策划遥控，由香港兴中会实际执行，以广东三合会首领郑士良发动。当时三合会在惠州很活跃，但没有武器。香港的兴中会想从美加各地购买后通过海员工会的海员秘密运输，计划利用香港深圳河通过宝安县运军械至惠州。所有从日本、美国、韩国、加拿大等地来的邮轮，都以横滨为居中策应，视情势而定，由阿太做总联络人，负责来往船只枪械起落。每当邮轮到达横滨，阿太立刻去接船，并告诉海员香港方面的确实消息。

阿太最难忘的就是1907年广西镇南关第六次起义。那一次，总理带着阿太首次直接参与督战(阿太通常称呼孙中山为总理，因为那时孙中山已被推举为同盟会总理)。阿太还记得那一役参与的很多都是金边越南华侨及两广青年。阿太随军煮饭，但主要还是照顾总理。他们还得到越南革命青年及法军的协助，借来大炮，很快就占领了镇南关，并俘虏了数十名清兵。总理当时颁令俘虏不但不可杀，还要释放。此役虽然最终放弃，但却使革命党声威大振。

1909—1911年，阿太因患肺病返香港坚道休养，由尹文楷医师医治。

1912年孙中山于南京就任总统，阿太回澳门，与眉公居住在澳门风顺堂四号的大屋。阿太常常对我们说，那间屋非常大，仅是米仓就比我们现在住的屋子还要大(当时我们住在香港，一座拥有三四个房间的居屋也只不过是一千多平方英尺)，吃饭的时候要敲钟，常常不少于两桌。卢太夫人也在同一屋居住，大家感情都非常好。眉公很严格，不让别人打麻将，因为太吵，只要阿太开台(打麻将)，眉公才不会反对。眉公对阿太特别好。阿太住的房间是整个屋子里最大的。

1912年，孙中山请老朋友宋耀如的女儿宋蔼龄任秘书，1914年9月，宋蔼龄和孔祥熙结婚，推荐胞妹宋庆龄接替其秘书，宋庆龄和孙中山志同道合且情投意合。1915年，眉公去世后，孙中山请卢太夫人到日本去，征得卢太夫人同意离婚。另外再请汪精卫到庇能跟阿太说明，希望阿太明白。阿太亲口对我说过，她

很明白事理，觉得只要能帮助总理料理国事，而且能照顾总理的话，她不反对。

阿太还告诉过我，眉公隐退澳门时，心情并不好，不过仍然有不少人来找眉公谈事情，还有不少是革命党人，也有人找他做生意，但眉公对这些都没有多大兴趣了。

有一天，眉公找阿太谈话。说他既然在国内不能从政，也无法经商，不如到庇能再闯天下。眉公叫阿太先去安排，他随后就来。阿太曾多次到过庇能，当年为革命宣传与筹款，结识庇能很多侨胞，在南洋，一般侨胞都称阿太叫孙夫人或孙太太。

遵照眉公的意思，阿太于1914年独自离开澳门前往庇能。她找到了陆文辉，合伙经营树胶园的生意，不幸失败。没想到，此一去，竟成两人的永别。

阿太当时感觉寂寞，她认识了一个在树胶园的管工苏焕昌。苏先生生了多个儿女，阿太见苏先生几个月大的一个女婴，长得非常可爱，于是问苏先生能否让她领养，很幸运苏先生爽快地答应了。阿太把领养的那个小女孩取名为“孙仲英”，又叫孙容，母女两人相依为命，在庇能、怡保等地生活了一段时间。科叔公于1918—1920年，曾奉命到星马及菲律宾等地为革命政府筹款，路过庇能，特地去看过阿太母女，除给阿太少量安家费外，还问阿太是否愿意回国居住，阿太没有答应。

1925年春，孙中山逝世，阿太很伤心，在庇能设坛对天遥祭孙中山。

1931年秋九一八事变，科叔公再次邀请阿太返国。

阿太带着女儿孙仲英乘坐太古公司的蓝烟通轮船返回香港，赁屋居住。不久，科叔公接阿太母女二人到广州东山大沙头渔庐公馆定居，并托她照料我的叔父治平、治强兄弟。治平、治强叔父当年就读培正中学、岭南附中。科叔公为使阿太安心在那里居住，还把渔庐的地契交给了阿太。前些年，我把地契交还给治平叔，但是平叔临终前又把地契还给我，说是阿太给的，就应由我保管做纪念。阿太在渔庐住了五年，两位叔父长大了分别去上海、南京读书，阿太就搬到广州河南白鹤洞租屋居住，直至女儿孙仲英在真光女子中学毕业赴檀香山读大学后才迁回广州东山。民国二十五（1936年）年蒋介石南下广州时，曾亲托居正同志送上国币3万元，送给阿太作为建房子及养老用，可惜建筑未完成，广州即为日军攻陷。1937年，阿太再迁往香港住在九龙。

是年，孙仲英与我父亲孙乾在意大利结婚，1939年带了两个儿子回到香港。阿太就与我们家永不分离了。父亲返国后立刻要到重庆报到，在陆军大学任教。

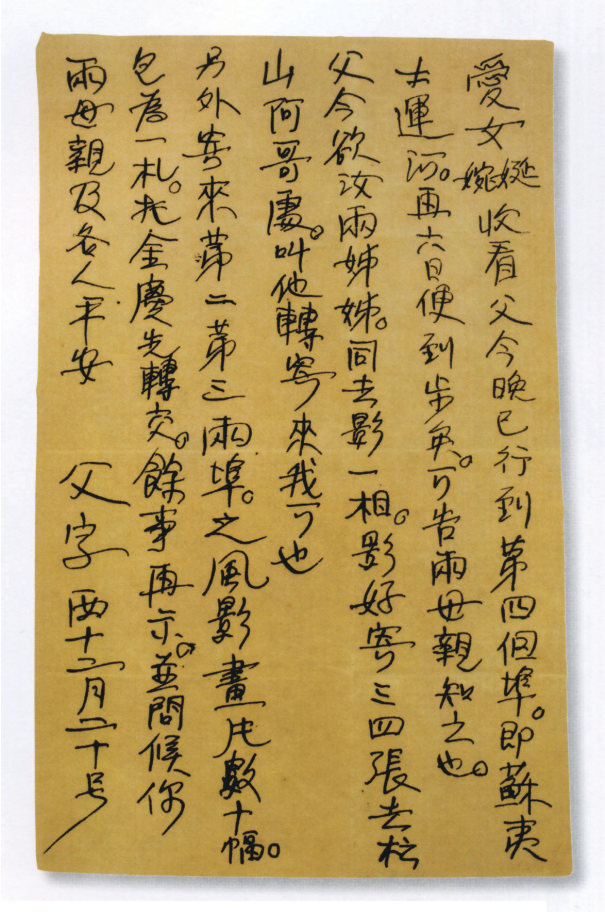
1941年三弟必达在香港出生后，香港已为日军占领，父亲是中国军人，且已经受命出任通讯兵团的团长，必须离开香港服役。那时，最安全妥当的安排是把我们都送到澳门，因为葡萄牙是中立国，澳门很安全。但母亲及阿太都坚持跟随军队，与父亲共患难。父亲当时所属的战区是广东北部韶关到江西前线，由于他带的是通讯兵团，整天被日军追赶，有的时候深夜也要随军走避，阿太总是照顾着我们兄弟，在抗战胜利后回广州居住，直至父亲到中山任县长才搬到石岐。很多老国民党党员、老同盟会员都来到中山探望阿太。1947年秋，国民政府监察委员刘成禹（老同盟会会员）曾亲至中山石岐拜会阿太，事后赋诗一首以志内心的景仰及感触。诗云：“望门投宿宅能之，亡命何曾见细儿；只有香菱贤国妪，能飘白发说微时。”诗中所说的香菱就是阿太，阿太有推倒清朝的大功大德，国妪称之是名副其实的，阿太当之无愧。

我们一家在1949年搬到香港，阿太就与我们同住在九龙。上世纪50年代，蒋介石有一次从台湾托人带了2万港币送给阿太用。

香港居屋很小，我们兄弟五人，常在小屋子里吵闹，父母在外上班，阿太就负起管教我们之责。她对我们每一兄弟都同一看待，她很清楚我们个人的兴趣，她知道我很爱吃香蕉，就常常在她房间的墙上挂上香蕉，每次看到我走过，就叫我进去拿香蕉吃。我们几兄弟好动，在家里玩也会弄得满身大汗。阿太总会逼我们换衣服，而且马上拿去洗。很多时候，我们兄弟和同学们在家里玩，阿太高兴时，就给我们讲故事。这么多年我们与阿太同住，记得她的发型从来没有变过。除了她给我保管的金戒指外，我从来没看见过她手上有任何首饰。而那金色的怀表却是她经常拿出来抚摸的物件。父母给她的零用钱，阿太都花在我们兄弟身上了。1958年母亲过世，父亲怕阿太受刺激，叫我们都不要告诉阿太。每次她问，我们都说母亲出国了。其实阿太心里明白，她的女儿早已离她归天国去了。1962年10月21日，我正在她房里，与她单独说话，她还握着我的手，突然，她把手放开了，我看阿太呼吸也没了，就大喊叫护士进来。但这一刻，阿太就这样去了，她享寿89岁。父亲把她安葬在香港九龙荃湾华人永远坟场，与母亲的墓地葬在一起。1992年，我们把阿太、母亲及妹妹嘉穗的遗骨迁葬回翠亨村，葬在邻近谭家山孙族坟场附近。



181. 孙中山与陈粹芬
Sun Yat-Sen and Chen Cui Fen(Ah Tai)



182. 孙中山给女儿的信提到两个母亲，一个就是阿太。
Letter from Sun Yat-Sen to his two daughter mentioned "two mothers"; one of them is Ah Tai.



183. 孙中山送给阿太的怀表和戒指。
The gold watch, a gift from Sun Yat Sen to Ah Tai and the ring from her finger.



184. 陈粹芬代表孙中山怡保筹募革命基金：二排左八是陈粹芬，左七是孙娅，左九是孙婉。
Picture showing Chen Cuifen and Daughters of Sun Yat Sen in Yi Bao, Malaya while Chen Cui Feng was raising fund on behalf of Sun Yat Sen for the revolution.



185. 阿太与刘成禹摄于中山石岐。
Ah Tai with Liu Chengyu in Shiqi, Zhongshan



186. 阿太与母亲在中山
Ah Tai and mother in Zhongshan



187.阿太与我们全家在中山
Ah Tai and my family in Zhongshan



188. 阿太与必立在香港
Ah Tai with Philip in Hongkong



189. 阿太在香港生活照
左起：容妙表姑、大家姐孙绍如、孙必成、后站戴成功、孙婉姑婆、孙必兴、阿太陈粹芬、林雪英(表姑仔)、母亲苏仲英、林瑞英（B表姑）、孙必立、前站女孩詹蕙兰。
From Left: Rong Miao, Norma Sun, Pershing Sun, Dai Cheng Gong behind, Sun Wan grand auntie, Henry Sun, Ah Tai Chen Cuifen, Lin Xue Ying, Mother Sally So, Lin Sui Ying, Philip Sun, Little girl in front is Angela Jim.

My Grandmother Ah Tai, Chen Cuifen

Of the older generations, Ah Tai Chen Cuifen was closest to me and my brothers. Within the Sun family, she had always been considered Sun Yat-sen's second wife, though they were never married, and our elders referred to her as his wife in our family tree. My brothers and I would therefore consider her our great-grandaunt, but as she also adopted my mother as her child, she was also very much our grandmother. When I was just learning to speak as an infant, my parents instructed me to call her Tai Po (Great-grandma) but I could only utter "Ah Tai" each time, and so everyone in the family from then on would also call her Ah Tai!

In the Sun Family, Ah Tai was usually referred to as "Nanyang Po" (Malaya Lady), while Madam Lu was called "Aomen Po" (Macau Lady) and Madam Soong, "Shanghai Po" (Shanghai Lady). These appellations reveal that, within our family, and despite whether there were formalized marital statuses, the three women were each equally important and highly regarded by Sun Yat-sen.

When my brothers and I were young, Ah Tai was always our primary care giver, as our parents had to work whereas Ah Tai was always home. She was always kind to us, and never felt the need to scold us. If our parents did feel that need, for example if we boys had made a mess of the house, Ah Tai would always come to our rescue and protect us. Still, it was only when we all lived together in a small apartment in Hong Kong, when we had the chance to hear her many stories, that we came to appreciate how amazing and legendary she was to the Sun Family.

Chen Cuifen is Ah Tai's real name, though she also used another name, Xiangling, while she was in exile in Japan. She was born in Hong Kong in 1873 the fourth child in her family, which is why she was called "Sigu" ("Fourth Aunt") by all the revolutionary comrades, including Hu Hanming, Wang Jingwei, Ju Zhen, Dai Jitao, Feng Ziyou, Liao Zhongkai, Liu Chengyu, and Chiang Kai-shek. One day in 1892, she met Sun Yat-sen in the Christian Church in the Red Chamber at Tuen Mun, Hong Kong, when she was introduced by Chen Shaobai. Sun Yat-sen was twenty-six years old at the time and Ah Tai was only nineteen. Although she had come from a poor family and did not have much of an education, she understood very well Sun Yat-sen's aspirations, his ambition to overthrow the Qing Dynasty, and decided to become a revolutionary herself. They soon became friends and she became his aide. Ah Tai was always at the side of Sun Yat-sen, whether he was practicing medicine in Macau or Guangzhou. She managed his practice, and even

worked as his nurse whenever necessary.

During the two years prior to the first uprising, Sun Yat-sen drafted, together with his friends in the Red Chamber, a plan for political reform. He and Lu Haodong were chosen to go to Tianjin to submit their proposals to Minister Li Hongzhang of the Qing government. Unfortunately, Minister Li refused to see them and failed to respond, thereby convincing Sun Yat-sen that peaceful resolution would not be possible. In the winter of 1894, Sun Yat-sen went to Hawaii to form the Xing Zhong Hui and started to plan the first uprising with fellow revolutionaries from the Red Chamber. The audacious and bold Lu Haodong, who was younger than Sun Yat-sen, was chosen to lead the uprising. He was able to smuggle several crates of weapons into Guangzhou, but unfortunately, he was eventually caught and jailed. Ah Tai herself also took part in smuggling weapons into Guangzhou, telling us how they had staged funeral processions, hiding the weapons in the coffins. She herself sometimes would ride inside of a sedan chair, underneath which were hidden guns, ammunition, grenades, knives and explosives, along with the flags designed by Lu Haodong. When she and Sun Yat-sen learned of Lu's arrest, she was working as a nurse and could not return to the clinic or her home. She hid in a friend's house to wait for news. At the end of October, Zheng Shiliang sent word that Lu Haodong had been executed. Late at night one evening, a leader of the secret society San He Hui informed Ah Tai that a warrant had now been issued for the arrest of Sun Yat-sen. Ah Tai and Sun Yat-sen quickly packed just a few things and fled in the middle of the night. Sun Yat-sen also immediately sent a message through a relative to his wife Madam Lu, instructing her to take their son to Macau. Two days later, the entire family reunited in Macau. They found out a few days later that if Sun Yat-sen and Ah Tai had left just a few hours later, they would surely have been captured. The plan for the First Uprising had been to amass more than 100 strong San He Hui gang members to attack and gain control of the governor's house, but it failed. From this first attack, Sun Yat-sen became a fugitive until the end of the Qing Dynasty. Ah Tai was his constant companion and endured every hardship with him.

Sun Yat-sen and Chen Cuifen fled to Japan, but before long, Sun Yat-sen left Japan for Hawaii and then England. On October 11, 1896, Sun Yat-sen was placed under house arrest in the Chinese Embassy in London. He was able to send a message to his mentor Dr. Cantline who then made the arrest public which facilitated his eventual release. Ah Tai knew nothing at all about what was happening until after Sun Yat-sen was released, when Chen Shaobai called by phone from Hong

Kong to let Ah Tai know. In January the next year, Sun Yat-sen returned from Europe and brought Ah Tai a precious gift: a gold watch that had been given by Dr. Cantline to Sun Yat-sen with his name inscribed on it. Ah Tai understood deeply how important this possession from the man who had saved his life was to Sun Yat-sen, so naturally it became her most valued gift from him as well. This watch not only represented the kind affection Dr. Cantline had toward Sun Yat-sen, but it also embodied the love and care Sun Yat-sen had toward Ah Tai. One day, several months before her passing in Hong Kong, Ah Tai called me into her room and placed this watch in my hand, saying: "Take good care of it". She then took a gold ring off her finger and, handing it to me, said: "This is also from him".

Japan was one of the most important bases for Sun Yat-sen's revolution, and Ah Tai had kept Sun Yat-sen company when he lived in Yokohama for a lengthy period of time. There, Ah Tai had to do everything, including washing and cooking for the other comrades. Many Japanese supporters such as Miyazaki Toten, Toyama Mitsuru, and Inukai Tsuyoshi were friends of both Sun Yat-sen and Ah Tai. I remember in 1960 when I was on my way returning to school in California, Ah Tai had asked my father to write to someone in Japan to meet me in Tokyo. I was greeted at the airport by two strong men who took me to a villa to meet an old man who, through an interpreter, asked me: "How is old lady madam and how is your father?" Later, he ordered his men to take me to the best hotel in the city and show me the town. Of course, I did not need to pay one cent for the two days' stay. I heard from father later that this old man was the descendant of a very influential figure in Japan called Toyama Mitsuru. When Father was attending the military academy in Japan, he had also met him. Ah Tai also knew him well.

In 1900, the Second Uprising at Huizhou was planned and remotely controlled by Sun Yat-sen from Japan, with the Xing Zhong Hui in Hong Kong designated to execute the plan. Sun Yat-sen was planning to make Guangdong independent and appointed Zheng Shiliang, the leader of the San He Hui, to lead the attack. The San He Hui was active in Huizhou but they lacked weapons. The Xing Zhong Hui in Hong Kong therefore was to transport weapons from America through sailors belonging to the Sailors Union. The plan called for transporting the weapons through Baoan County to Huizhou along the Shenzhen River. All the vessels coming from America, Korea, Japan and Canada used Yokohama as the dispatch center, and Ah Tai was the actual dispatcher in Yokohama in charge of the loading and unloading of cargo. Every time there was a vessel coming into port, Ah Tai would meet the vessel

and inform Hong Kong of details of the cargo, arrival time, etc. Needless to say, it was a dangerous assignment.

Ah Tai said the most unforgettable was the Sixth Uprising in 1907 at the Guangxi Zhennan Pass. For that uprising, Sun Yat-sen was personally in charge and took Ah Tai along. They had help from the young Vietnamese revolutionaries as well as from the French Army. They took over the Pass with borrowed cannons and captured many Qing soldiers. Sun Yat-sen, however, ordered that no prisoners were to be killed and eventually released them all. Even though they had to give up in the end, the battle gave the revolutionary party a tremendous shot in the arm. Ah Tai remembered that most of the young revolutionaries were overseas Chinese from Cambodia and Vietnam, with a few from Guangdong and Guangxi. Ah Tai cooked for all of them, although her main job was to take care of Sun Yat-sen.

At some point between 1909 and 1911, Ah Tai contracted pneumonia and went to Hong Kong to see Dr. Wen Men.

In 1912, Sun Yat-sen became the first President of the Republic of China and Ah Tai left to go live with Sun Mei in Macau. Ah Tai used to tell us that the house in Macau was very big. Just the room that stored rice, she said, was almost as big as our apartment in Hong Kong, which was around one thousand square feet. They had to ring a bell to call everyone to come to dinner because there were quite a few die-hard revolutionaries who stayed with Sun Mei long after the revolution. Madam Lu also lived in the same house, but they got along very well. Sun Mei was strict and the only person that he would allow to host games of mahjong in the house was Ah Tai. The room that Ah Tai lived in was the largest one in the house.

Soong Ai-ling, daughter of a good friend Soong Yaoru, had been Sun Yat-sen's secretary. After she married Kung Xiang Xi in 1914, she recommended her sister Soong Ching-ling to take her place. Soong Ching-ling and Sun Yat-sen soon fell in love and wanted to get married. Sun Yat-sen asked Madam Lu to come to Japan so he could explain his case personally and dispatched Wang Jingwei to Malaya to talk to Ah Tai. Ah Tai told me herself that she understood it was better to have Soong Ching-ling, who had received a Western education and had studied and written about the revolution, to help Sun Yat-sen navigate the turmoil of the new republic. Ah Tai selflessly agreed that the two should be married to legitimize their association.

Ah Tai also told us that Sun Mei was rarely in a good mood after retiring to Macau. There were still many revolutionary comrades who figured they could exploit

Sun Mei for their own political gain. Some were also looking for him to lead in business ventures, but he was not interested. Under such circumstances, Sun Mei became more guarded with his friendships, a trait that ran counter to his tendency to be affable, accessible and supportive.

Still, one day Sun Mei had a serious talk with Ah Tai, telling her that he wanted to start all over because his brother Sun Yat-sen was planning for the second revolution and he would need to make more money in order to support him. He asked Ah Tai to go to Malaya to make arrangements first, and he would follow after tying up loose ends in Macau. As Ah Tai was quite well known in Malaya because of her relationship with Sun Yat-sen, Sun Mei knew it would be easy for her to make connections.

Obeying Sun Mei's wish, Ah Tai left Macau for Penang in 1914. She went to see Lu Wenhui and together they invested in a rubber plantation, which unfortunately failed. Ah Tai never saw Sun Mei again, as he passed away that winter.

Ah Tai felt lonely in Malaya. She met So Huanchang, a supervisor in the rubber plantation, and asked if she could adopt one of his children, a baby girl. To her delight, Mr. So agreed and she took her home and named her Sun Zhongying. They lived in the Penang-Ipoh area for quite a while. When Granduncle Sun Fo was on a mission to raise funds from among the overseas Chinese in the Philippines, Singapore and Malaya around 1918 to 1920, he passed through Penang and paid Ah Tai a visit, giving her some money to live on and asking whether she would be willing to return to China. She said no.

In 1925, when Sun Yat-sen passed away, Ah Tai was heartbroken but could only hold her private memorial for him from far away.

In the fall of 1931, Granduncle Sun Fo again asked Ah Tai to return to China. This time she accepted, bringing her daughter Sun Zhongying with her. They first settled in Hong Kong but later moved into Granduncle Sun Fo's house called "Yulu Mansion", which was located at Dashatou, in Dongshan, Guangzhou. Sun Fo also asked her to help care for his two sons, my Uncles T.P. and T.K., who were attending Ningnam School nearby. To give her a greater sense of security, Granduncle Sun Fo gave her the house title deed for her to keep. Several years back, I had returned the deed to uncle T. P., but he gave it back to me before his passing, saying that it was from Ah Tai and that I should keep it as a memento. Ah Tai lived in Yulu Mansion for five years, until my two uncles left for school in Shanghai and Nanking. She moved into a rented house to the south of the Pearl

River, Guangzhou, so that her daughter could walk to the nearby True Light School for Girls. Ah Tai eventually moved back to Dongshan, Guangzhou, after her daughter left for college in Hawaii. In 1935, when Chiang Kai-shek came down to Guangzhou, he asked Ju Zhen to allocate thirty thousand yuan for Ah Tai so that she could build a house for her retirement. Unfortunately, the Japanese captured Guangzhou before the house was completed, and in 1937, Ah Tai moved to live in Kowloon, Hong Kong.

In the same year, her daughter married my father Sun Kin in Italy and changed her name back to So Zhongying. In 1939, they returned to Hong Kong with their two sons (myself and Henry) and reunited with Ah Tai. Ah Tai would stay with our family from then on. Father reported for duty in Chongqing as a lecturer at the military college. In 1941, their third son Peter was born in Hong Kong. At the time, Hong Kong was under Japanese control, but Father was assigned to be a combat officer and had to leave Hong Kong. The safest place was Macau, as Portugal was a neutral country, but both our mother and Ah Tai insisted on going wherever my father went. As Father was the leader of the Communication Corps, he was always a target of the Japanese Army, so for several years, it seemed that we were continually being chased by the Japanese Army. Regardless, Ah Tai managed to take great care of us. Following the war, we lived in Guangzhou until Father was appointed Magistrate of Zhongshan County.

Many old revolutionaries came to Zhongshan to visit Ah Tai, one of them being Liu Chengyu, who even wrote a poem in tribute to praise her after his visit:

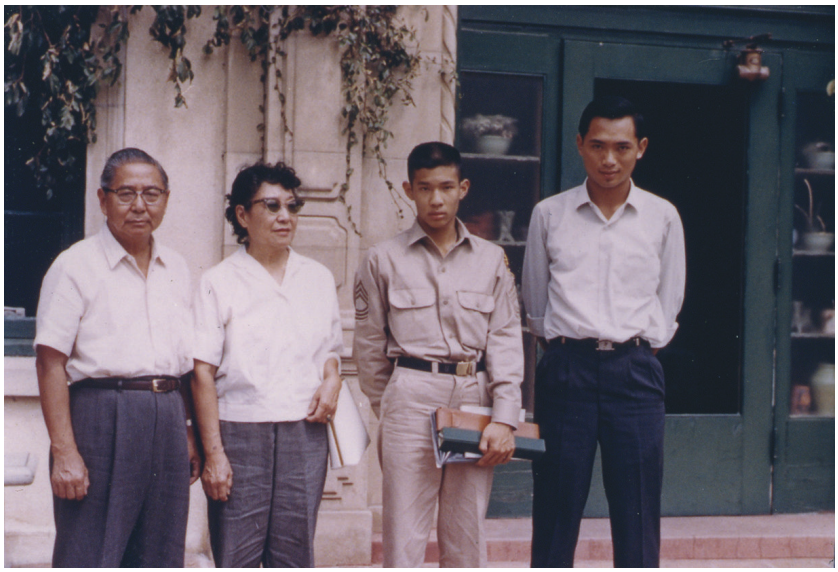
Looking for a place to sleep,
Where can you find care while seeking refuge,
Only Xiangling the national heroine,
Can still recall so many details of the past.

Xiangling was the other name Ah Tai used while she was in Japan.

Our whole family moved to Hong Kong in 1949, and Ah Tai continued living with us in an apartment in Kowloon. In the 1950s, Chiang Kai-shek sent twenty thousand Hong Kong dollars to her out of deference.

With five young boys running about while our parents were at work, life in the apartment was noisy, but Ah Tai would patiently look after us, treating each of us the same. She knew exactly what each of us wanted and always tried to satisfy us.

She knew, for example, that I loved bananas, and so she always maintained a small stash of them in her room for me, calling me to come in every time she saw me pass her room. We were all boys and we often played hard inside the house, usually until we were covered in sweat. She would then instruct us to take our clothes off for her to wash right away. Once in a while, when we had our school friends in the house to play, she would tell us stories about the war and about the revolution. In all the years that I lived with her, I don't recall her ever changing her hair style, as her concern and care were always directed outward, to the loved ones around her. She wore no jewelry except the ring on her finger which she would later give me. She spent all the allowance our parents gave her on us brothers. I think all of my brothers and I would agree that she remains the kindest person we've ever known. In 1958 when our mother died, father told us not to tell her for fear that she might be badly upset. We all told her that mother had gone some place and would return soon, but I think she knew in her heart that her daughter was gone. On October 21, 1962, as I was holding her hand and talking to her, she suddenly released my hand and stopped breathing. I yelled for her nurse, but Ah Tai was gone. She was 89 years old. Father buried her in a cemetery in Kowloon near Mother's grave, and in 1986, we relocated both of them as well as our sister Jiasui back to Cuiheng Village, into the Sun Family Cemetery.



190.1961年，与叔公、叔婆、国雄合照于加州
Picture taken with grand uncle Sun Fo, grandauntie and Leland in California in 1961

我的叔公孙科

科叔公于1891年10月20日出生于翠亨村的祖屋。4岁时母亲到茂宜依靠眉公生活。时眉公牧场附近没有学校，科叔公得母亲教导，学会念《三字经》、《千字文》和四书五经等，母亲又教他临摹字帖。到科叔公约七岁时，眉公在牧场附近办了一所私塾，请了一位叫黄端祥的老师，还招集邻近十几个华人儿童，与科叔公、阿威、顺霞等一起念书。黄老师教的都是四书五经类的中国古书。在私塾读了四五年后，眉公把他送到卡胡卢镇的一个朋友家住，并在邻镇位碌古的一所圣·安东尼学校(St. Anthony School)接受西方教育。1906年，科叔公考入了檀香山的圣·路易士学院(St. Louis College)。这是一所中学，以前孙中山也曾入读过一个学期的书。眉公安排叔公住在郑金、郑照兄弟的家，后来因为离校太远，才搬到学校宿舍去住。

叔公好学，英文阅读能力很强。他喜欢看报，对于国际政治动态，很感兴趣。加上父亲的教导，故在求学时期，已经决心献身革命。1910年，同盟会在檀香山大声周刊社（当年革命党的宣传机构之一）楼上举行加盟大会，由孙中山主

盟。科叔公就在那时参加了同盟会，投身革命。

1911年，科叔公中学毕业后，被孙中山安排到三藩市进入加州大学。但那时科叔公整天都参与海外的革命宣传工作，没有时间参加入学考试。1912年，辛亥革命成功，民国成立，科叔公与她的妹妹婷、婉都回国到南京与父亲团聚。但不久，孙中山辞去临时大总统职，科叔公又带着两个妹妹回美国。途经檀香山，叔公与陈淑英于7月22日结婚。婚后到三藩市参加入学考试，结果被录取了，主修文科，兼修理科。1916年毕业。治平叔与治强叔分别在1913年及1915年出生。

叔公在求学时期，已经为革命事业奔走效力。由于他精通中英文，文笔也好，加上他又是孙中山的儿子，所以当年革命党在美国的宣传工作，科叔公起了很大的作用。当林子超担任国民党驻美洲总支部部长期间，及黄克强于1913年二次革命失败后到美国访问，叔公都担任传译工作，华侨对他的认识更深。叔公更会利用课余时间，担任侨界报刊编撰，鼓吹舆论。革命党在檀香山办的《自由新报》、《大声周刊》，都由他做过编辑工作。在三藩市的《少年中国晨报》，也由他编写过墨西哥革命的消息。他还替纽约的《民气报》编写过俄国革命新闻。对革命宣扬，贡献很多。1917年毕业回国，先到广州，在大元帅府任秘书。1919年，除任参议长林子超的秘书外，还与黄宪昭合办一份英文的《广州时报》(*Canton Times*)，由科叔公负责编写国内政治新闻。

从新闻界出来后，1920—1927年，科叔公三度出任广州市市长之职。穗瑛姑姐与穗华姑姐也分别在1922年及1925年出生。叔公曾在国民政府担任各种重要的官职。如党中央委员会委员、1928年任铁道部长、1931年出任行政院院长、1932年任立法院院长、国民政府副主席等。

叔公与叔婆在1949年辞职到香港，1951年赴法国治病，1952年移居美国。1965年到台湾任考试院院长。1973年9月13日，科叔公在台北去世。

我的曾祖父孫眉

My Granduncle Sun Fo

Granduncle Sun Fo, Sun Yat-sen's only son, was born on October 20, 1891 in the family house in Cuiheng. In proper genealogical terms, I am actually Sun Fo's first cousin twice removed since Sun Chong is both his cousin and my grandfather, but all my life I have always called him Granduncle, a more familiar term. At the age of four, Sun Fo was brought by his mother to live in Maui with my great-grandfather Sun Mei. There was no school around the ranch at the time so his mother taught him the basic Chinese classics such as the "Three Word Classics", "Thousand Word Scripture", the Confucian Classics, as well as Chinese calligraphy. When Sun Fo was seven, Sun Mei opened a private tutoring school for all the children in and around the ranch, including Sun Fo, Awai and Shun Ha. The instructor was Mr. Huang Ruixiang, who mainly taught the Chinese classics. Upon graduation, Sun Mei sent Granduncle to stay with a friend in Kahului so he could attend the nearby St. Anthony School in Wailuku. In 1906, Granduncle was accepted into St. Louis College in Honolulu where Sun Yat-sen also attended for a term. Sun Mei first put him to stay at the house of the brothers Chang Kim and Chang Chou, but later on Sun Fo became a boarder at the school because the distance from the Changs' home was too great.

By all accounts, Sun Fo was a very good student. He was an avid reader and liked to read the newspaper. He was especially interested in public and international affairs. With tremendous influence from his father, Sun Fo pledged early in his life to be a revolutionary. In 1910, when the Tong Meng Hui held an inauguration meeting in Honolulu, Sun Fo joined the party.

Upon graduation in 1911, he was told to enter the University of California in San Francisco by his father, but Sun Fo was so busy traveling and promoting the cause of revolution that he had missed the time for the entrance examination. In 1912, at the inauguration of the Republic, he went to Nanking with his two sisters to see their father. Shortly thereafter, however, Sun Yat-sen resigned from his presidency and Sun Fo returned to America with his sisters. He married Chen Shuying in Honolulu on July 22 that year and then moved on to San Francisco to take his entrance examination. He was accepted by the University of California and enrolled to study both literature and science courses, graduating in 1916. Uncles T. P. and T.K. were born in 1913 and 1915, respectively.

While attending college, Sun Fo was active in revolutionary work. A terrific

writer in both Chinese and English, and coupled with the fact that he was the only son of Sun Yat-sen, Sun Fo played a major role in spreading pro-revolution propaganda. When Lin Zizhao was head of the KMT party's US branch and Huang Keqiong visited the US after the failure of the Second Revolution in 1913, Sun Fo served as their interpreter. Overseas Chinese in America knew him well, as Sun Fo made use of his spare time from his collegiate studies to write for several newspapers to spread the cause of revolution. He worked as the editor for the "Freedom News" and "Da Shen Weekly" in Honolulu. He wrote about the Mexican revolution for the "China Youth News" in San Francisco and reported the Russian revolution for the New York "People's News". He returned to China after graduating in 1917, and first went to work for his father as secretary at the Marshal Mansion in Guangzhou. In 1919, in addition to being the secretary of Congressional Chairman Lin Zizhao, Sun Fo founded an English newspaper with Huang Xianzhao called The Canton Times, with himself being the editor for Political Affairs inside China.

After leaving the media, Sun Fo was appointed to three terms as mayor of Guangzhou between 1920 and 1927. Aunty Pearl and Aunty Rose were born in 1922 and 1925, respectively. Sun Fo also held many posts as a KMT central committee member, such as Head of Ministry of Railway in 1928, Chairman of Executive Yuan in 1931, Chairman of the Legislative Yuan in 1932 and Vice Chairman of KMT, to name a few.

Sun Fo resigned in 1949 and moved on to Hong Kong with his wife. They traveled to France for a health checkup and in 1952 relocated to the United States. In 1965, he returned to Taiwan to become Chairman of the Examination Yuan. Eight years later, on September 13, 1973, my granduncle Sun Fo died in Taipei.

Honolulu August 23, 1910

Dear Brother Chong,

A letter came to me announcing the death of our grand-ma several days ago. According to your father's letter, she died on June 13th.

I herewith enclosed the two letters I received from your father. They are self-explanatory. Your father is anxiously waiting for your return. If you are able to go to the Orient together with your mother and family, I would advise you, in obedience to the wishes of your father to return as soon as possible. Your father are getting to be an old man now , and he needs a help to manage his affairs, family as well as business. I, as your brother sincerely implore you to comply with the wishes of your dear father.

With love to you all,

Your brother, Fo

檀香山 1910 年 8 月 23 日

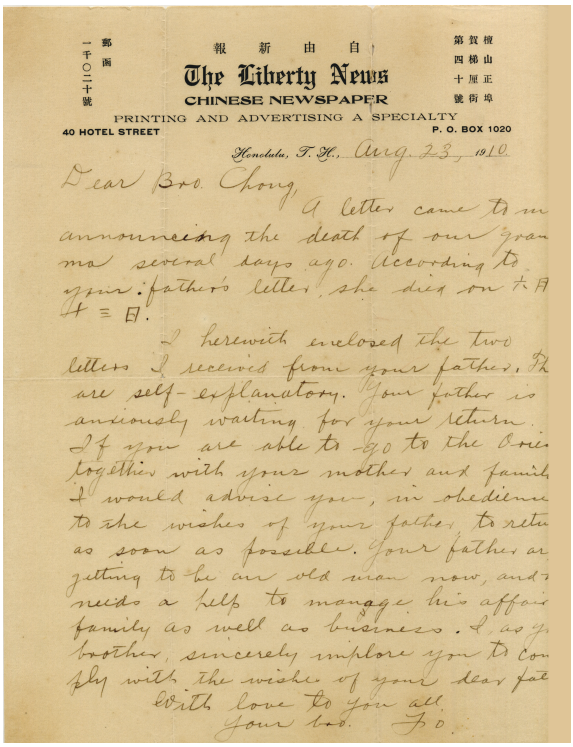
昌弟，

一封来信通知我们的祖母已于数天前去世。根据你父亲的信，她死于6月13日。

我谨附上两封你父 亲的来信。内容不言自明。你的父亲很焦急地等待您的回去。如果您能跟你的母亲和家人离美返亚洲，我劝你要服从你父的意愿，尽快返回。你的父亲年事已高，他需人帮助管理其事务、家庭以及生意。我作为你的兄弟，真诚地恳求您遵从你父亲的意愿。

祝大家安好，

弟，科


自由新報
The Liberty News
CHINESE NEWSPAPER
PRINTING AND ADVERTISING A SPECIALTY
40 HOTEL STREET P. O. BOX 1020

Honolulu, T. H. Aug. 23, 1910

Dear Bro. Chong,

A letter came to me announcing the death of our grandma several days ago. According to your father's letter, she died on 六月十三日.

I herewith enclosed the two letters I received from your father. They are self-explanatory. Your father is anxiously waiting for your return. If you are able to go to the Orient together with your mother and family, I would advise you, in obedience to the wishes of your father to return as soon as possible. Your father are getting to be an old man now, and he needs a help to manage his affairs, family as well as business. I, as your brother sincerely implore you to comply with the wishes of your dear father.

With love to you all,

Your bro. Fo.

191. 孙科写给孙昌信
Letter from Sun Fo to Sun Chong

Honolulu June 23, 1911

Dear Brother Chong,

I have not heard from you for several months. I presume that you are busy all the time and could not write to me. But if can find time to drop me a few lines, don't fail to do so.

I herewith send you my latest photo under separate cover. This picture was taken last week, just after my graduation from the St. Louis College.

From newspaper accounts, I have learned that my father has arrived in San Francisco from the East. I hope he will visit you if he has not done so yet.

I wish you all good health and prosperity.

Your Brother, Ah Fo

檀香山 1911年6月23日

昌兄，

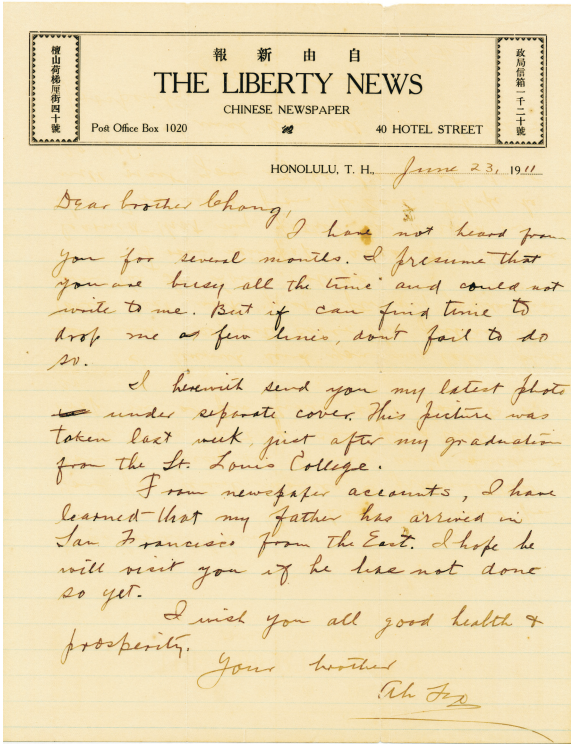
已经数月没有你的信息。我相信你是因为太忙碌不能写信给我。有空请来信。

另信送上我的近照。这张照片是上周我刚刚在圣路易斯学院毕业礼后照的。

根据报纸报道，我的父亲已经从东岸抵达旧金山。我希望他会去探望你们。

我祝愿大家身体健康和幸福。

弟，阿科


檀山荷姆厘街四十號 自由新報 THE LIBERTY NEWS CHINESE NEWSPAPER 政局信箱第一千二十號
Post Office Box 1020 40 HOTEL STREET
HONOLULU, T. H., June 23, 1911
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From newspaper accounts, I have learned that my father has arrived in San Francisco from the East. I hope he will visit you if he has not done so yet.
I wish you all good health & prosperity.
Your brother
Ah Fo

192. 孙科写给孙昌信
Letter from Sun Fo to Sun Chong

San Francisco Sept., 4, 1911

Dear Brother Chong,

I have been in San Francisco for about a week. I came for the purpose of education. I intend to get in the University of California as a regular student. If I cannot enter directly, I will enroll as a special student.

My father has left here for Portland last Saturday night. He will tour through all the Northern States, and will also go to the East.

How is your family at present? I hope all of you are well and happy. I should like to pay you a visit. But I will not be able to do so until some future opportunity. Give my regards to your mother, wife and boys.

Your brother, Fo

旧金山， 1911年9月4 日

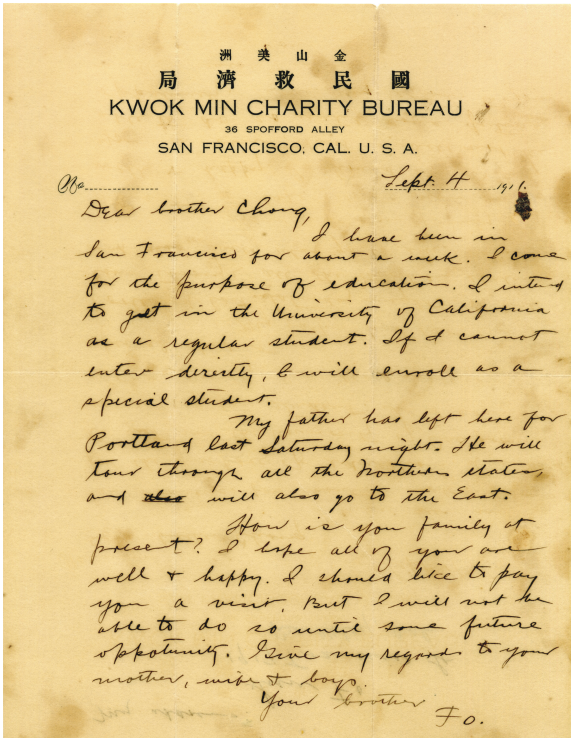
昌兄，

我抵达旧金山已经有一周了。我来是为了上学。我打算进入美国加州大学当一个正式学生。如果我不能直接进入，我将报名作为一个特殊学生。

我的父亲已于上星期六晚离开这里前往波特兰。他将周游北部各州，并将前往东岸。

你的家人近况可好？我希望大家都很快乐。我很想去探望你们。但要等机会。代问候你的母亲、妻子和孩子们。

弟，科


洲美山金
局濟救民國
KWOK MIN CHARITY BUREAU
36 SPOFFORD ALLEY
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL. U. S. A.

No. Sept. 4 1911

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Your brother,

Fo.

193. 孙科写给孙昌信
Letter from Sun Fo to Sun Chong

San Francisco Oct. 16, 1911

Dear Brother Chong,

I send you herewith a letter from your father and his picture. I think you have heard about the latest news from China. The Revolutionary Army has occupied several provinces in central China. We will finally succeed in over-throwing the Manchu rule this time, as our position is firmly established and we are meeting with the greatest success everywhere. We had a great celebration in honor of the New Republic yesterday in this city. The San Francisco Chronicle this morning printed my picture and our account of the work which we are carrying on in this city. We are receiving much publicity these past few days. My father is in Chicago. He will stay there for several days, after which he will go to New York. I think he will return to Asia via Europe.

How are you and your family getting along? I had not heard from you for about a month. If it is not too much trouble for you, I would ask you to write to me oftener, so that I may know something of your condition.

I close with the best wishes to you and your mother.

Your brother, Fo

旧金山，1911年10月16日

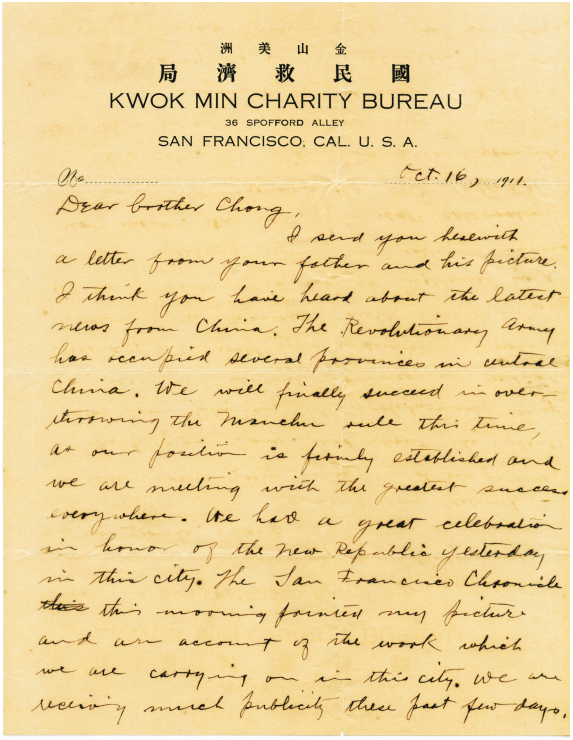
昌兄，

兹送上您父亲来信和他的照片。我想你已听到来自中国的最新消息。革命军已占领中国中部的一些省份。我们将最终成功地推翻满族统治，因为各地的响应而巩固了我们的地位。昨天这个城市为新共和国有盛大的庆祝活动。旧金山纪事报今早登出我的照片以及我们在此地的工作活动。过去几天我们获得许多宣传。我父亲现在芝加哥。他将在那里逗留几天后去纽约。我相信他将会经欧洲返回亚洲。

你和你的家人好吗？已一个月没有你的消息。如果不是太麻烦，我希望你常常写信给我，这样我可以知道你的情况。

最后，祝愿您和您的母亲安好。

弟，科


洲 美 山 金
局 濟 救 民 國
KWOK MIN CHARITY BUREAU
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SAN FRANCISCO, CAL. U. S. A.

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194. 孙科写给孙昌信
Letter from Sun Fo to Sun Chong

San Francisco Oct., 19, 1911

My Dear Brother:-

I have received your letter of the 17th inst. Your letter to my father has been sent to him in Chicago. He wants to keep his movement in secrecy. If there is any newspaper reporter who come to you and inquire about his movement, please do not say anything which will bring disadvantage or inconvenience to our cause.

We have sent a great deal of money to the interior to aid the cause. We expect our patriots will rise in Canton soon. If that city is taken, our success will be assured.

Hoping to hear from you again.

Your Brother, Fo

旧金山， 1911年 10月19日

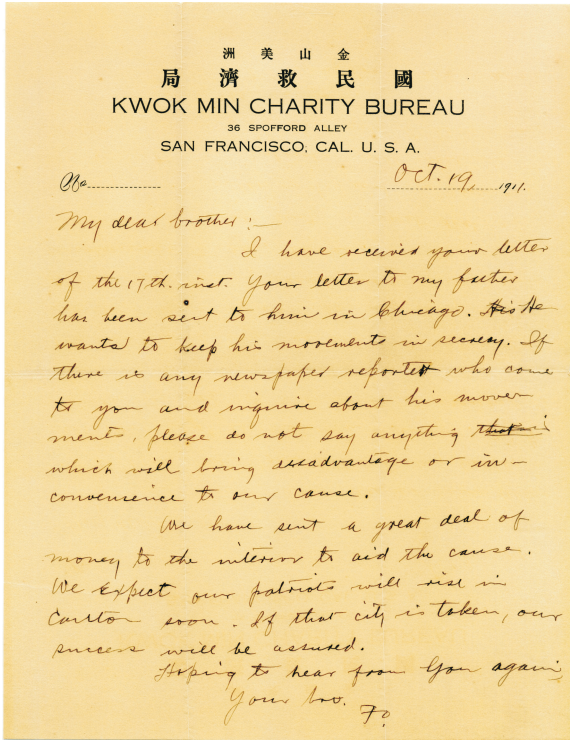
昌兄： -

17日来信已收悉。你给我父亲的信已发送到芝加哥给他。他希望行动保密。如果有任何记者向你询问有关他的行动，请不要说些对我们的事业带来不利或不便的话。

我们已经汇出大量的金钱到内地援助我们的事业。我们祈望我们的爱国志士将很快在广州起义。如果能拿下这个城市的话，我们的成功将得到保证。

希望您尽快来信。

弟， 科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Your bro. Fo

195. 孙科写给孙昌信
Letter from Sun Fo to Sun Chong

San Francisco, California Nov., 14, 1911

My Dear Brother Chong,

My father is in London, he will leave shortly for China to take up the work that is waiting for him there. Please do not let outsiders know of his whereabouts, because it will hinder his work if his movements are made known.

I am considering the plan of returning to China within the next two or three months. If it be convenient with you, I would like to return with you by the same boat. I am waiting my father's reply before deciding the move. Kindly let me know of your intentions and plans regarding your return.

Your loving brother,
Fo

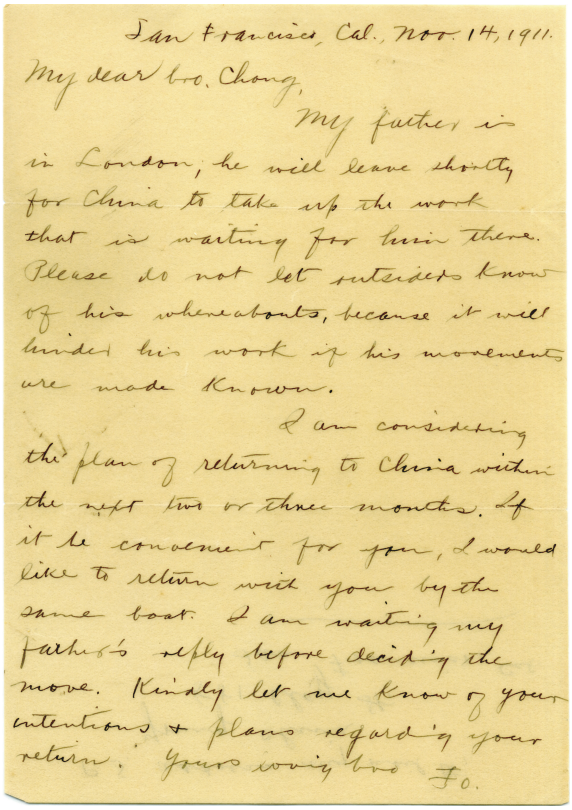
加利福尼亚州旧金山，1911 年11月14日

昌兄，

我父亲现在伦敦，他将很快返回中国处理正等待着他的很多事情。请不要让外人知道他的下落，因为如果他的行动为人知晓的话，将妨碍他的工作。

我正在考虑在未来两三个月返回中国。如果方便的话，我希望能与你同一条船返国。我在等父亲的答复后再作决定。请让我知道你对回国的意图和计划。

弟，科


San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 14, 1911.
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I am considering the plan of returning to China within the next two or three months. If it be convenient for you, I would like to return with your by the same boat. I am waiting my father's reply before deciding the move. Kindly let me know of your intentions & plans regard'g your return. Yours loving bro Fo.

196. 孙科写给孙昌信
Letter from Sun Fo to Sun Chong

Shanghai, June 25, 1912
My Dear Brother Chong,

The letter containing the draft of $600 gold has been returned to Shanghai, but my father has had the draft cashed. He said he needed the money very urgently and therefore could not spare it to you. I have told him that you needed the money for paying debts incurred in San Francisco, but he said they can be paid later on. I am very sorry that I cannot render your help in this matter as I myself is not permitted to have my own money.

My father asked me twice whether I will obey his commands or not in reference to the matter of going to America. He told me straight that if I am to have my own way, he will have nothing to do with me hereafter. So I am forced to return to S.F. by the S.S. Shinyo Maru sailing from Shanghai on the 28 of this month. My sisters are going with me. I didn't expect that I would leave China so soon, but as my father wills it I can't do anything but obey.

As to yourself, I know you are in a pretty hard fix. If you cannot find anything to do in China, it may be better for you to go somewhere where you can earn a livelihood without troubling anyone of the family and the family troubling you.

When you have settled down to some definite business, please let me know of it. You may address letters to me c/o Young China Newspaper, 881 Clay Street, San Francisco, California.

With best wishes for your future, and regards to all. Farewell,

Your brother, Fo

上海，1912年6月25日
昌兄，

附有600元黄金汇票的信已退回上海，但我的父亲已经兑现该款。他说他十分迫切需要钱，因此不能与您分享。我已经告诉他，你需要钱支付在旧金山的债务，但他说那些债可以稍后支付。我很抱歉我不能帮忙因为我本人是不允许有自己的钱。

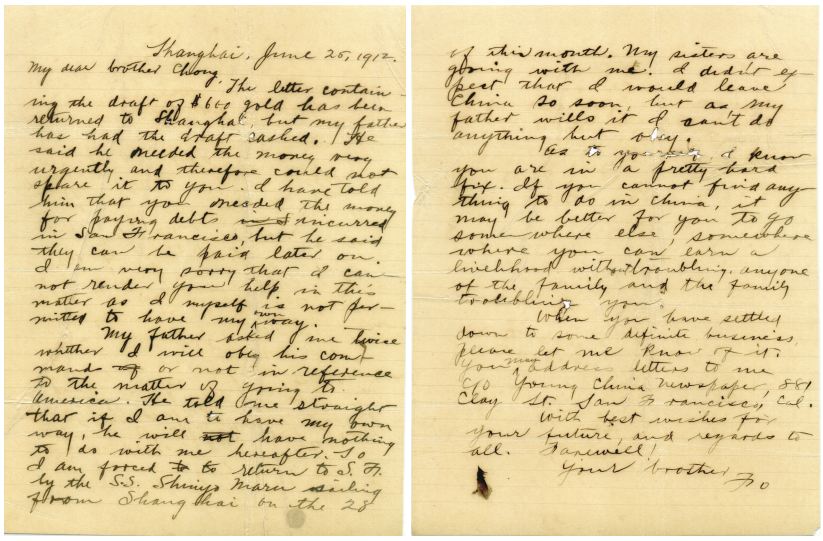
我父亲两次问我有关去美国事是否服从他的命令。他跟我直说，如果我不听他的他将以后不再理我。因此，我被迫于本月28日从上海乘Shinyo Maru船返回旧金山。我的姐妹会与我同行。我没有想到我会这么快离开中国，但我父亲的意愿，我只好服从。

至于你，我知道你目前处境相当困难。如果你在中国找不到适当的工作，你可以别处谋生不打扰家里任何人或让家里的人烦你。

当你的一些明确的生意稳定下来后，请让我知道了。您可以按下列地址写信给我：中国青年报，881Clay街，加利福尼亚州旧金山。

祝你有美好的未来，并代候各人。再见，

弟，科



197. 孙科写给孙昌信
Letter from Sun Fo to Sun Chong

July 18, 1912

My Dear Brother Chong,

We arrived Honolulu on the morning of the 15th inst. We will leave here for San Francisco on the 22nd. By S.S Siberia. Miss Chan, my bride-to-be is also going with us to California.

Yesterday I met your brother-in-law Mr. Wong Wai Bo in a street corner. He asked me about your family and I told him as much as I know.

Please let your father know that we are all right. And with our best regards to everyone at home.

Your brother, Fo

1912年7月18日

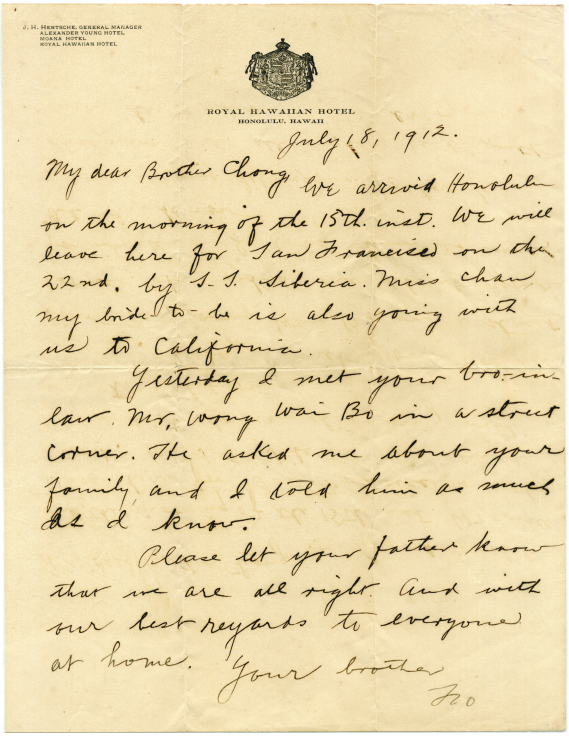
昌兄，

我们已于15日上午抵达檀香山。我们将于22日离开这里乘坐西伯利亚邮轮前往旧金山。我的未婚妻陈小姐，将与我们一同到加利福尼亚州。

昨天在街上我遇见你妻舅黄惠宝先生。他问及你的家人，我知道的都告诉他。

请告知你的父亲我们都很好。向家里各人问好。

弟，科



J. H. HEINTSCHEL, GENERAL MANAGER
MOANA HOTEL
ROYAL HAWAIIAN HOTEL

ROYAL HAWAIIAN HOTEL
HONOLULU, HAWAII

July 18, 1912.

My dear Brother Chong We arrived Honolulu on the morning of the 15th. inst. We will leave here for San Francisco on the 22nd. by S. S. Siberia. Miss Chan my bride-to-be is also going with us to California.

Yesterday I met your bro-in-law Mr. Wong Wai Bo in a street corner. He asked me about your family and I told him as much as I know.

Please let your father know that we are all right. And with our best regards to everyone at home. Your brother

Fo

198. 孙科写给孙昌信
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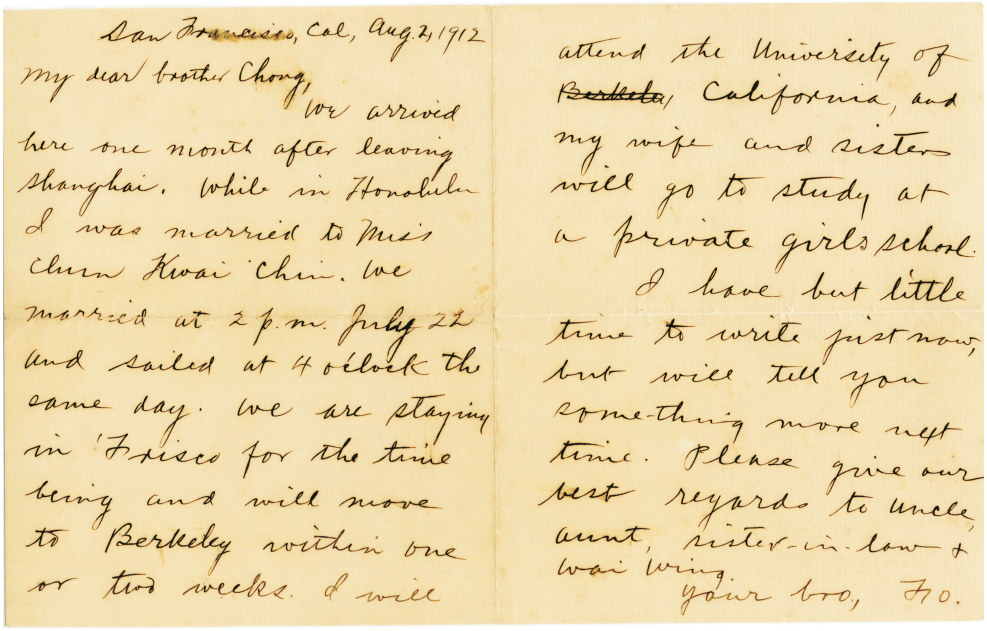


San Francisco, Cal, Aug. 2, 1912
My dear brother Chong,
We arrived here one month after leaving Shanghai. While in Honolulu I was married to Miss Chun Kwai Chiu. We married at 2 p.m. July 22 and sailed at 4 o'clock the same day. We are staying in 'Frisco for the time being and will move to Berkeley within one or two weeks. I will attend the University of ~~Berkeley~~ California, and my wife and sister will go to study at a private girls school.
I have but little time to write just now, but will tell you some-thing more next time. Please give our best regards to Uncle, Aunt, sister-in-law & Wai Wing.
Your bro, Fo.

199. 孙科写给孙昌信
Letter from Sun Fo to Sun Chong

San Francisco, Cal. Aug. 2, 1912
My dear Brother Chong,

We arrived here one month after leaving Shanghai. While in Honolulu I was married to Miss Chan Kwai Chiu. We married at 2 P.M. July 22 and sailed at 4 o'clock the same day. We are staying in Frisco for the time being and will move to Berkeley within one or two weeks. I will attend University of California, and my wife and sisters will go to study at a private girls school.

I have but little time to write just now, but will tell you something more next time. Please give our best regards to uncle, aunt, sister-in-law and Wai Wing.

Your brother, Fo

旧金山，加州。 1912年8月2日
昌兄，

我们离开上海一个月后抵达这里。在檀香山，我与陈桂珠小姐结婚。我们7月22日下午2时结婚，同一天4点钟开航的。我们暂住旧金山一两周后将迁移到伯克利。我将就读加州大学，我的妻子和姐妹们入一所私立女子学校进修。

我现在没有时间多写，但下一次会告诉你更多。请代问候叔叔、姑姑、嫂嫂和惠永。

弟，科

叔父治平、治强，姑姐穗瑛、穗华

治平叔是孙中山的长孙，1913年11月15日在美国加州出生。孙中山当时期望着国治民安，天下太平，就为他起名“治平”。他童年时候返回广州，曾入读培正小学，在岭南大学附中读初中，在培正中学读高中。后来在上海圣约翰大学就读三年。1937年赴美国加州大学完成大学学业。再入纽约大学攻读政治经济学获硕士学位。随后在中国驻纽约市总领事馆当随习领事。1945年抗战胜利后回上海经商，1949年移居香港。1965年随科叔公移居台湾，曾任“总统府国策顾问”，“总统府资政”等职。2005年4月6日在香港逝世，享年92岁。妻谢秀玲，生子国雄(Leland)。离婚后娶妻张佩霞。

治强叔是孙中山次孙，1915年1月27日出生于美国加州。孙中山有感于治国之道，先求平安，再求强盛，故而起名“治强”。他童年时也回广州，在培正小学读书，岭南附中、培正中学读书。后来返美入加州大学完成政治经济硕士学位。回国后曾在中央信托局任职。1949年移居美国加州。1973年因叔公病逝于台湾，返台奔丧，就留在台湾陪伴母亲。强叔与前妻刘肇云生女嘉琳(Kailin)、嘉瑜(Kaiyu)。在台湾与林伦可(Tina)结婚生子国元(Alan)、国升(Bill)。强叔于2001年7月4日在美国加州因病去世，享年86岁。

科叔公长女穗瑛(Pearl)1922年1月16日（民国十一年壬戌十二月十九日寅时）出生于广州，毕业于美国卫里斯莱大学(Wellesley College)，与新会林达文（邦汉）结婚。姑丈林达文是加拿大满地可大学航空工程硕士，长期在IBM工作。他们生有一子林德杰(Gregory Lin)，一女淑真(Regina Lin)。

穗瑛姑姐和她父亲一样，对宋庆龄夫人十分尊重，敬爱。1949年10月25日，穗瑛姑姐在美国写信给孙夫人宋庆龄，字里行间充满了对祖母的热爱、思念以及热爱祖国之情。信中写道：“我们经常想念您，很遗憾近期形势的迅速发展，中断了我们正常的通讯联系。……衷心希望在不久的将来，我们的人民重又享有真正的和平与安定的生活”。“我们希望将来能回中国，为祖国，为人民做些力所能及的事，无论以何种方式……”1981年5月22日，孙夫人病重，穗瑛姑姐、穗华姑姐专程从旧金山赶回北京到孙夫人寓所探望她，并连日探视陪伴在侧。姐妹俩不时在呼唤祖母，孙夫人曾面露激动之色。5月28日，宋庆龄病情恶化，在20多个小时的抢救中，瑛、华姑姐和张家恭、林达文、陈恕、陈志昆、黄寿珍、陈燕等亲属均守候床前，直到孙夫人停止呼吸。

我的曾祖父孫眉

科叔公二女穗华(Rose)1925年3月18日(民国十四年乙丑二月二十四日巳时)出生于上海，毕业于美国史密斯大学(Smith College)嫁云南张家恭。姑丈系麻省理工学院机械工程硕士，在加州经营房地产建筑事业，居圣地亚哥，姑丈之父张邦翰，早年追随孙中山，曾参加云南起义。

穗华姑姐育有一男二女。长子张孔颖(Ted Tchang)，女张乐文(Lorna Tchang)、张乐真(Genevieve Tchang)，均在美国。

Uncles T.P. and T.K. and Aunties Pearl and Rose

Born on November 15, 1913, in California, Uncle Tse Ping (T.P.) was the eldest grandson of Sun Yat-sen. His name "Tse Ping" reflects what Sun Yat-sen was longing for, for China at the time: peace and tranquility. Uncle T.P. attended Pui Ching School and Lingnan high school in Guangzhou before moving on to study at St. John's University for three years. He completed his college education at the University of California in 1937, and then earned his Master's degree in Political Science and Economics from New York University. He worked in the Chinese Consulate in New York for a while and after the war in 1945, he returned to Shanghai and went into business. In 1949, he relocated to Hong Kong, and in 1965 went to join his father in Taiwan, where he was appointed Advisor to the President in Taiwan. On April 6, 2005, Uncle T. P. passed away in Hong Kong at the age of 92. With his first wife Mildred Jay, who was from Hawaii, he had two sons: the first born died as an infant, but his second son Leland now lives in Los Angeles. Uncle T.P. had a second wife, whose name was May Chang.

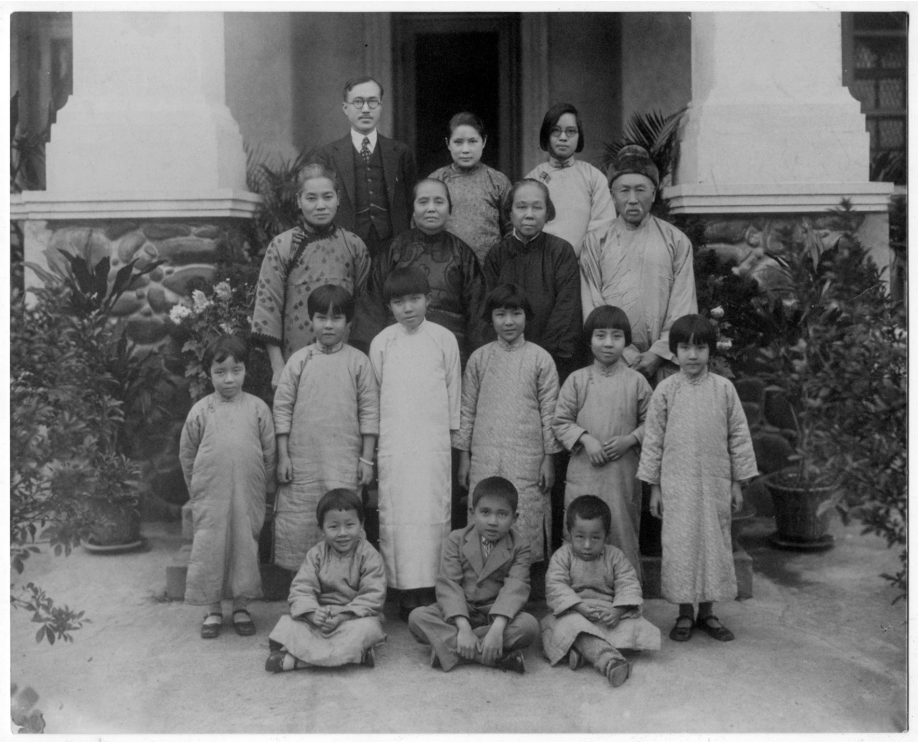
Uncle Tse Keong (T.K. or Tsi Qiong) was the second grandson of Sun Yat-sen. He was born on January 27, 1915, in California. Sun Yat-sen wanted China to be strong and named him "Tsi Qiong" to reflect this ideal. Uncle T.K. also attended Lingnan and Pui Ching School in Guangzhou in his youth, also completed college, and also earned his Master's in Political Science and Economics, though he from the University of California. Uncle was a commissioner for the Central Trust Bureau, but in 1949, he moved to live in California, where he stayed until 1973, at which point he returned to Taipei to live with his mother after his father's death. He and his first wife Velma had two daughters, Kailin and Kaiyu, and his second wife Tina bore him two sons, Alan and Bill. On July 4, 2001, uncle T.K. passed away in California.

Aunty Pearl was the eldest daughter of Sun Fo. She was born on January 16, 1922, in Guangzhou. She graduated from Wellesley College and married Andrew Lin, who after receiving his Master's degree in Aeronautical Engineering from Montreal University in Canada, worked for a long time for IBM. They had one son Gregory and a daughter Regina.

Like her faher, Aunty Pearl has great respect and love for Madam Soong Ching-Ling. In a letter dated October 25, 1949, Aunty Pearl wrote to Madam Soong from America expressing her love and affection for Madam Soong and hope for the future of the motherland. On May 22, 1981 when Madam Soong was gravely ill,

Aunty Pearl and Aunty Rose visited her in her Beijing residence. Madam Soong was visibly moved when they repeatedly called her “Grandma”. On May 28, 1981, Madam Soong fially passed on but her family including Aunty Pearl, her husband Andy Lin, Aunty Rose and her husband Paul Tchang, Uncle Walter Chun and his wife Chen Shouzhen, Chun Shu and Yen Chun were all at her bedside till her final hour.

Sun Fo's second daughter Rose was born on March 18, 1925, in Shanghai. She graduated from Smith College and married Paul Tchang, the son of Tchang Han Bang, who was a follower of Sun Yat-sen and took part in the uprising in the Yunnan area. Paul held a Master's degree in Mechanical Engineering from MIT and operated a very successful property development business in the San Diego area. Paul and Rose have one son, Theodore, and two daughters, Lorna and Genevieve.



200. 澳门戴恩赛公馆合影：戴恩赛(后排左一)、孙婉(后排左二)、陈粹芬(中排左一)、卢慕贞(中排左二)、孙殿(中排左三)、陈秋光(中排左四)、戴成功(前排女孩左三)、戴永丰(坐地小孩中间)
Picture taken at the front door of the Dai Ensai residence in Macau.
Back roll left 1:Dai Ensai;left 2 Sun Wan
Mid roll left 1:Chen Cuifen;left 2 Lu Muzhen; left 3 Sun Dian,
Left 4 Chen Qiuguang
Front roll left 3 girl:Dai Chenggong;
Sitting on ground middle bo:Dai Yongfeng

孙婉姑婆的一家

婉姑婆是孙中山的第二个女儿。她于1896年11月12日在檀香山出生。1907年跟着母亲卢太夫人去香港与眉公住。1910年，眉公被逐离香港，卢太夫人也带着两个女儿到庇能与孙中山团聚。辛亥革命成功，民国成立后，婉姑婆与姐姐跟着哥哥科叔公返美国读书。1915年在三藩市与王伯秋结婚，生女王缵蕙，子王弘之。后来离婚就回澳门与卢太夫人同住。1921年，在澳门与戴恩赛结婚。生男戴永丰，女戴成功。我们小时住在澳门的一段时间，常到他们家玩。她家院子很大，养了很多狗。她对我们小孩很好。差不多二十多年后，1978年，我到澳门镜湖医院由成功表姑陪我去看她，表姑问她，看谁来看您了？她竟然能叫出我的名字，记忆力实在惊人。姑婆于1979年在澳门逝世。她的姐姐孙娗已早于1913年去世，享年仅20岁。

我的曾祖父孫眉

The Family of Grandaunt Sun Wan

Grandaunt Sun Wan (Grace Sun) was the second daughter of Sun Yat-sen and Madam Lu Muzhen. She was born on November 12, 1896, in Honolulu. In 1907, she left Hawaii with her mother to go live with Sun Mei in Hong Kong. In 1910, Sun Mei was expelled from Hong Kong and Madam Lu took her two daughters to reunite with Sun Yat-sen in Penang. After the success of the 1911 Revolution, Grandaunt Wan returned to California for schooling, along with her brother Sun Fo and elder sister Sun Yan (who would die in 1913 at the age of only twenty). In 1915, Grandaunt Wan married Wang Boqiu in San Francisco and had two children, a girl named Wang Sanghui and a boy named Wang Hengzi. They divorced later and she moved back to live with her mother in Macau. In 1921, she married Dai Ensai and had two children, a girl named Dai Chenggong and a boy named Dai Yongfeng. When we were attending school in Macau, we used to go to their big house to play. I remember the large yard, the many dogs in the house, but mostly, I remember her kindness. After more than twenty years, I visited her in the Baptist Hospital in Macau with her daughter Aunty Chenggong. Aunty asked her to see if she recognized who had come to see her and she immediately called out my name. She had an amazing memory. She died in that hospital in 1979.

后　记

本来只是想从曾祖父孙眉那一辈说起，尽量完整地将家族的历史整理出来留给后辈，岂料打开从曾祖开始留下来那些尘封了一个多世纪的书信、契据、照片以及物品后，才知道家族的这段历史跟辛亥革命那段历史有着千丝万缕的关系，也就应了一个家族的命运与国家的命运息息相关之说。于是乎，便有了现在这样的写法，无疑，比之最初的想法，增加了不少的难度与工作量。

动笔之前，沿着本书主人公孙眉创业与革命的足迹，我和夫人彭雅丽，友人陈迪秋与黄向农几乎从头到尾地印证了一次。其间我还先后邀请了孙国雄（曾叔公，孙中山的曾孙）、杨海（曾姑婆，孙妙茜的曾孙）参加。

在檀香山，我们拜访了《孙中山在夏威夷》的作者马宪生与她的丈夫林文光。他们的书给我很大的启发。他们告诉我哪些地方是必须要访问的，同时把一些有关眉公的资料给我们参考。我们拜访了我从小就称作“志昆表叔”的陈志昆与夫人黄寿珍及女儿陈燕。其实，志昆表叔和我叔婆陈淑英（孙科夫人）是堂兄妹。50年代初，他与夫人经香港赴大陆时，我第一次见到他。60年代他在香港工作时我有机会与他有更多联系。今次访问他时已90多岁高龄，记忆还是很好。他建议我们马上去找黄凤群。原来凤群姨就是郑强的外孙女。在短短的两三天内，我们就从这些长辈们那里得到宝贵的资料。通过孙国雄与陈燕的安排，我们很快就联络上一些曾协助孙中山的革命人士（包括钟工宇，传教士蒂文（Damon）、陆灿、杨仙逸等的后人），我们在一个中餐厅共聚一堂，怀想当年我们的先祖，那种亲切感，实在难以形容。

杜利威是杨仙逸的外孙，他在檀香山的家藏满了珍贵的史料。孙中山亲笔的“志在冲天”悬挂在他的床头上。这些革命先辈的后裔，虽然远在他乡，但对先辈们的怀念及祖国的热情，言谈之间，表露无遗。

檀香山是早期中山人移民最多的地方，现在居住于夏威夷的中山人仍然对先祖的文化没有遗忘，对祖国的热爱没有减退。历史悠久的隆都会馆、四大都会馆依然活跃。当他们知道了我们在檀香山寻找资料，很快地组织了接待我们的聚会

和积极协助联系。

在茂宜岛，我们只能看到“孙眉牧场”的大致所在地，里面的建筑物已一无所存。但是牧场背靠大山面朝大海的辽阔气势，确实令人感受到当年眉公选了这片土地作为他发展大本营的独到眼光。

由于孙国雄的努力，我们终于见到了“阿威”的后人。看来他们生活逍遥自在，过得很好，借着我们的探访，他们也寻找到了他们的“唐山根”。

两年后，很意外地接到了一个50年没有通消息的大学同班同学中村的联络，我再次到夏威夷寻找资料。我首先在檀香山档案馆录下了很多眉公买卖交易记录。到茂宜岛，中村把我和夫人接到他家。他家在位碌古，紧靠当年眉公生意最兴旺的“德昌隆”所在地的卡胡卢。中村毕业后一直在夏威夷工作，曾任茂宜岛计划部的主管，退休后更被委任为茂宜糖业历史博物馆的理事。不论地理环境或人际关系，他都了如指掌。有了他的引导，我对茂宜的情况大开眼界。他带我们遍游了孙眉在茂宜岛的足迹，让我更能体会先祖在茂宜以前的生活。不过最重要的是他竟然认识比尔·塔瓦利斯，那位从眉婆手中把牧场买过来的安东·塔瓦利斯的儿子。他安排我们午餐见面，使我有机会看到了孙中山在牧场留下来的日本军刀以及听了他讲述当年他父亲在茂宜岛创业的情况。在此，我要特别感谢中村同学给予我的协助。

和兴会馆在茂宜也有过百年的历史，至今，他们仍然努力整理有关华人移民到夏威夷的历史资料。主管文化部门的叶桂珠博士除提供了一些有关早年华人移民资料外，还安排我到库拉的国安会馆与他们的会员见面。该会馆就在孙眉牧场的附近，这些会员的先祖都是眉公的邻居，意想不到的是很多人都知道孙眉这个人，而且知道他对孙中山革命的贡献。

广州湾(现在的湛江)是孙眉组织革命活动最重要的地方。我们得到了市政协与档案馆的协助，除获得一些眉公当年革命活动宝贵的资料外，还拜祭了当地革命名人杨益三的墓地，见到了他的后人。

在澳门，我们拜访了澳门历史学会理事长陈树荣，了解到一些有关眉公晚年在澳门生活的情况。

孙眉参加了辛亥革命前夕的“庇能会议”，我们到了马来西亚的槟城，得到会议纪念馆的主人邱思妮与吴美润的接待，并安排我们与当地历史学者畅谈当年会议情况。得益不小，非常感谢他们。

为了完成这本书，我动员了很多人，并且得到了他们的支持与帮助。

在此我首先要特别感谢的就是我家的成员。我的夫人彭雅丽除了对书的结构与情节提了不少意见外，还帮忙整理资料，陪着我东奔西跑去搜集与鉴定资料。当我感到心灰意冷时，她不断地鼓励我去完成。我的四位兄弟必兴、必达、必成及必立，从我们决定要把家史留给后人的第一天起，就很乐意地提供了一些资料搜集初期费用以及资料，并帮助确认与修正书中史料及文字。儿子伟伦做了封面设计，儿媳妇蔡琳提供了不少书中文字的修正。亲家蔡之庆（蔡琳的父亲）题了封面“孫眉”二字。女儿慧珍与她的丈夫钟永仁对英文版的写作提了很多宝贵的意见。永仁更花了很多时间去修正英文版的措辞与文法。永仁的母亲，钟赵家聪女士，也参与帮助校勘。

在此我还要感谢两位历史学家，天津南开大学的邹佩丛老师与邓丽兰老师。他们指正了很多有关孙家的史料，而且修正了书中的不少文字用词。

感谢广东语言学院的詹成副院长为英文版的初稿作了文法的修正，培正同学郑国辉也帮忙文字上的修正，我的邻居杜胜军在工余花了很多时间义务到我家做笔录及上网。

翠亨村故居纪念馆的肖润君馆长、林华煊副馆长及黄健敏、李宁等都不断提供资料和意见。还有中山市孙中山研究会的杨海会长以及中山市地方志办的吴冉斌也给了我们大力支持，在此一并致谢。

我还要特别感谢孙中山的长孙女孙穗瑛姑姐给本书的题词“铭记眉公深恩，辛亥勳业永存”，孙家子孙后辈将永志不忘。

诚然，没有陈迪秋女士与曲辰先生两位的共同参与，此书是很难完成的。从构想到搜集资料、写作及编排等，他们都积极地参与。尤其是陈迪秋，她是一位华侨史研究学者，提供了很多有关华人移民动向的历史背景资料，并用心地对书中的各细节作详细的考证，我要特别感谢她。

孙必胜

2011年5月

Postscript

My original intention in writing this book was merely to provide a thorough and updated history of our family, starting with my great-grandfather Sun Mei's generation. However, all the hundred-year old letters, deeds, documents, photos and articles left from our ancestors revealed how closely related our family's history is to the history of the Chinese revolution. This close linkage of the fate of the family with that of the nation made writing this book more difficult, involving a lot more research than I had initially anticipated.

Before writing one word, I and my wife Nhale, along with researchers Chen Di-qiu and Huang Xiang-nong sought out all evidence of Sun Mei's business and revolutionary activities, much of which occurred on the Hawaiian islands. I invited Leland Sun (great-grandson of Sun Yat-Sen) and Yang Hai (great-grandson of Sun Miao Xi, sister of Sun Mei) to join us for the Hawaiian tour.

In Honolulu, we visited authors Madam Yansheng Ma Lum and her husband Raymond Mun Kong Lum, who wrote Sun Yat-sen in Hawaii, a book which inspired us tremendously. They told us where we should go and provided us with some very important information about Sun Mei. We also visited Mr. and Mrs. Chun Chee-kwon and their daughter Yen Chun. I had a very strong impression of the Chuns because I had first met them in Hong Kong in the early 1950s, when they went to China to serve their beloved country. I have always called him "Uncle Chee-kwon" because he was the cousin of my grandaunt Chen Shu-ying. I saw him often in the 1960s and 70s when I worked in Hong Kong, and although he is now in his 90s, he still remembers things well. They told me first to go see Aunt Huang Feng-qun, who was the granddaughter of Zheng Qiong. In three short days, we were fortunate to have met with many elders who shared a great deal of precious information. Through arrangements made by Leland and Yen Chun, we were able to assemble quite a few of the descendants of those revolutionaries living in Hawaii who had made significant contributions to Sun Yat-sen and the revolution, including Chung Kung Ai, Damon, Lu Can and Yan Xian-yi. All of us descendants gathered in a Chinese restaurant and the atmosphere was wonderfully warm and friendly. Leigh-

Wai Doo is the maternal grandson of Yang Xian-yi, and his home in Honolulu is filled with historical treasures, including Sun Yat-sen's personal calligraphy, which hangs on his bedroom wall. All of these descendants, despite how far they were from their motherland, showed great respect for their ancestors and great admiration and warmth toward their motherland.

Honolulu was a popular destination for emigrants from the Zhongshan area, and their descendants here still remember and cherish their cultural heritage. The venerable "Lung Doo Benevolent society" and the "See Dai Doo society" are still very active, and upon hearing of our arrival in town to gather information, were kind enough to receive us and to provide valuable contacts.

In Maui, we could only see the general area which had been Sun Mei's ranch, as there were no standing structures left on the site. But the land with its views of the Haleakala Crater and the ocean behind it are simply magnificent. We can only marvel at Sun Mei's wisdom in making this site his headquarters.

It was Leland's effort that allowed us to meet many of Awai's descendants on Maui. They all looked good and were happy to have discovered the origins of their Chinese roots.

Two years later, I was pleasantly surprised to hear from Howard Nakamura, a Cornell University classmate I hadn't heard from in fifty years, who had read an article in the local newspapers about our visit. He and his wife kindly extended an invitation to me and my wife for a follow-up visit to Hawaii, which we gratefully accepted. On this second trip, I first went to Honolulu to copy as many pages of Sun Mei's transactions that were recorded in the Bureau of Conveyances as possible. I then went over to stay at Howard's home in Wailuku, only a short distance from where Sun Mei's store "De Chong Long" in Kahului used to be. Howard had returned to work in Maui after college and had lived and worked there ever since. He was formerly the Director of the Planning Department so he knew the island well and of course everyone knew him. After retirement, he was also appointed a director at the Sugar Plantation Museum. I learned a vast amount of additional information in the few short days with Howard showing me around. But the most amazing thing is, he also turned out to be a good friend of Bill Tavares, the son of Antone Tavares, who had purchased the ranch from my great-grandmother in 1908. We had lunch in a local restaurant and were thrilled to hear stories about Bill's father; Bill even showed me the Japanese sword that had been left in the ranch house by Sun Yat-sen. I have to thank Howard for his hospitality, enthusiasm and thoughtful

arrangements.

The Wo-hing Society has over 100 years of history, and to this date, the society is still busy sorting out and recording the activities of Chinese immigrants in Hawaii. The Cultural Director of the Society, Dr. Busaba Yip, was generous in providing us with information on some of the early immigrants and kindly arranged for me to meet with members of the Kwock Hing Hall in Kula, which is located near the Sun Mei Ranch. Many of the members had lived in this neighborhood all their lives and knew much about Sun Mei and his contributions to the revolution.

Guangzhou Bay (present day Zhanjiang) was the most important location for Sun Mei's revolutionary activities. With the help of the CCPPCC and the Archives Department of the City, we were able not only to obtain some valuable materials pertaining to Sun Mei's activities but we also met with the descendants of Yang Yi-san, one of Sun Mei's chief recruits.

In Macau, we visited Mr. Chan Su Weng, Head of the Macau Historical Society and learned more about Sun Mei's last few years living in Macau.

Sun Mei participated in the "Penang Conference" on the eve of the Xin Hai Revolution. We were fortunate to have been given a private guided tour of the "conference site" and met with some of the local scholars through the courtesy of Madam Koo Salma Nasution and Ms. Goh Mai Loon.

In order to complete this book, I had to enlist the services of many people.

First of all, I must thank all the members of my family. My dear wife Nhale not only made suggestions regarding the structure of the text but also helped in organizing the materials we had gathered. She accompanied me on my road trips and helped to verify materials. Whenever I felt discouraged by the difficulties of research, she would encourage me to finish the work. My brothers Henry, Peter, Pershing and Philip all contributed with their input and gave financial support to help cover my initial expenses; they also helped verify some of the historical materials and improved the wording in my early drafts. My son Alan designed the front cover and his wife Emily also helped with proof-reading. Emily's father Mr. Cai Zhi-qing wrote the characters "孫眉" for the cover of the book. My daughter Jamie and her husband Dan Chung gave us many valuable opinions on the English version of the text. Dan spent a considerable amount of time thoroughly revising the text into a more readable, idiomatically correct English-language version, even making suggestions on amendments. Dan's mother Madam Rita Chung also assisted in picking out grammatical errors.

Here, I would also like to express my sincere thanks to two noted historians: Professor Deng Li-lan and Zhou Pei-cong of the Nan Kai University, who helped to verify many of the historical materials on the Sun family and to make corrections and changes to many of the wordings in the Chinese text.

My gratitude also goes out to Professor Zhan Cheng, the Deputy Head of the Guangdong Language Institute, who corrected many of the grammatical errors in the first draft of the text in English, our Pui Ching schoolmate Zheng Guo-hui who helped revise the Chinese version, and my neighbor Du Sheng-jun, who spent months of his free-time at my home processing my notes into the computer.

The staff at the Sun Yat-sen museum in Cui Heng Village, including Director Mr. Xiao Run-jun, Deputy Lin Hua-xuan, Huang Jian-ming and Li Ning, all provided materials and their opinion. Yang Hai of the Sun Yat-sen Research Association of Zhongshan and Madam Wu Yan-bin of the Zhongshan Chronicle Department supported this project from its inception. I must thank all of them.

Special thanks must be given to Auntie Pearl whose inscription citing Sun Mei's contribution in the Chinese revolution will be forever remembered by the descendants of the Sun family.

However, without the participation of Chen Di-qiu and Huang Xiang-nong, it would be very difficult to complete this project. From day one in the search for material to the last days of writing and editing, they were both actively involved. Special thanks go to Madam Chen Di-qiu; an historian for the study of overseas Chinese, she has provided from her own research and records a great deal of historical background for the movement of overseas Chinese during that period, carefully verifying all the details presented in this book. I owe her the greatest gratitude.

Victor Sun
May 2011



附录二　孙眉年谱

Appendix 2

Sun Mei's Chronicle

1854年（清咸丰四年 甲寅） 诞生

12月6日（十月十七日） 诞生于广东省香山县（今中山市）翠亨村。

Born on December 6 in Cuiheng Village of Xiangshan County (now Zhongshan), Guangdong Province.

是年，父亲孙达成将祖父孙敬贤迁葬至翠亨村北犁头尖山南峰土名“黄帝田”。

This year, Sun Dacheng buried his Grandfather Jingxian at the “Emperor’s Field” on the south peak of the Li Tou Shan Jian in Cuiheng Village.

1855年（清咸丰五年 乙卯） 一岁 Age 1

1856年（清咸丰六 丙辰） 二岁 Age 2

是年秋，翠亨村重修村庙北极殿，父亲孙达成捐助工金银一圆。

Autumn of this year, Father Dacheng donates one Yuan gold-silver coin for repair work for the Northern Pole Hall of the Cui Heng Village temple.

1857年（清咸丰七年 丁巳） 三岁 Age 3

是年，妹金星出生。

Sister Jingxing (Venus) is born this year

1858年（清咸丰八年 戊午） 四岁 Age 4

1859年（清咸丰九年 己未） 五岁 Age 5

1860年（清咸丰十年 庚申） 六岁 Age 6

11月7日(九月二十五日)，弟孙典（德佑）出生。

Younger brother Sun Dian (De You) is born on November 7.

是年，妹金星卒，享寿四岁。

Sister Jing Xing (Venus) dies at age 4.

1861年（清咸丰十一年 辛酉） 七岁 Age 7

1862年（清同治元年 壬戌） 八岁 Age 8

10月，英国教会属下的圣公会创立意奥兰尼学校（Iolani College）于檀香山，初名为St.Alban’s College。

11月19日（九月二十八），妻谭氏出生。

Wife Tam Shi is born on November 19.

是年，入学读书。

Enters school this year.

1863年（清同治二年 癸亥） 九岁 Age 9

3月14日（元月二十五），妹妙茜出生。

Sister Miao Xi is born on March 14.

3月31日（二月十三日），父孙达成与叔学成联合批耕翠亨孙氏瑞英祖遗下土名“迳仔朗”税山埔一段开荒围园。

Father Dacheng and Uncle Xue Cheng jointly lease land left behind by ancestors.

1864年（清同治三年 甲子） 十岁 Age 10

3月19日（二月十二日），父孙达成与叔孙学成、孙观成联合批耕翠亨孙氏瑞英祖遗下土名“迳仔朗”税山埔一段开荒围园。

Father Dacheng and Uncles Xue Cheng and Guan Cheng jointly lease land left behind by ancestors.

9月18日（八月十八日），二叔孙学成逝世，享年39岁。

Uncle Xue Cheng dies on September 18 at age 39

年渐长，能帮助父亲孙达成从事农业劳动。

Becomes able to help his father in the field as he grows older.

1865年（清同治四年 乙丑） 十一岁 Age 11

1866年（清同治五年 丙寅） 十二岁 Age 12

1月17日（乙丑十二月初一），弟孙典（德佑）卒。

Brother Sun Dian (De You) dies on January 17 at age 5.

11月12日（十月初六），弟孙中山生。

On November 12, brother De Ming (Sun Yat-sen) is born.

是年，结束学业。

Terminates schooling this year.

1867年（清同治六年 丁卯） 十三岁 Age 13

9月5日（八月初八），三叔孙观成去世，享寿37岁。

On September 5, Uncle Guan Cheng dies at age 37.

1868年（清同治七年 戊辰） 十四岁 Age 14

1869年（清同治八年 己巳） 十五岁 Age 15

10月9日（九月初五），祖母黄氏病逝，享寿78岁。

On October 9, Grandmother Huang Shi dies at age 78.

是年，到离翠亨十余里的南朗圩程明桂家当长工。

Working full time at the home of Cheng Minggui, more than 10 kilometers away in Nan Long.

1870年（清同治九年 庚午） 十六岁 Age 16

是年，仍在程明桂家当长工

1871年（清同治十年 辛未） 十七岁 Age 17

9月1日（七月十七日），妹秋绮出生。

On September 1, Sister Qiu Yi is born

因家贫，于17岁决定出外谋生。当时往上海或檀香山踌躇未定，适母舅杨文纳由檀岛返乡，达成公乃使其从母舅赴檀，最后仍卜卦而定去檀岛。

Decides to leave home to make a living. But has to go to the village temple to pick a bamboo slip to decide whether to go to Shanghai or Hawaii. Uncle Yang Wen Na has just returned from Hawaii and encourages him to go there.

二婶程氏将租给达成耕地押出两亩作孙眉旅费成行，与族亲孙梅生等多人同去檀香山。

Auntie Cheng Shi helps to pay for his journey by mortgaging two Chinese acres of land. Other young villagers also make the trip with Sun Mei.

抵檀香山之际，夏威夷政府正鼓励发展农业。开始时，以开垦农业为生。

是年入境檀香山华人共有223人。

This year, the total number of Chinese immigrants is 223.

1872年（清同治十一年 壬申） 十八岁 Age 18

写信回乡报平安及描述檀岛的情况。

Writes home to report his safe arrival in Hawaii and briefly describes the conditions of the island.

自本年到1880年，在奥鸦湖（Oahu）岛从事鱼塘及渔业权的收购。

Between this year and 1880, Sun Mei engages in fishing business and buys interest in fishing farm and fishing rights on Oahu.

12月11日，夏威夷王Kamehameha第五逝世，由William C.Lunalilo为王继位。

On December 11, King Kamehameha V dies and William C Lunalilo succeeds as King.

已到达檀香山11个月，转到一个楷奈楷籍（当地土人）女园主的菜园工作，一面学习夏威夷土语及管理农场的方法，一面积蓄，并与土人结为朋友，设法向政府租地，自行种稻。此举为当时的政府所鼓励，很易获准。地点在Oahu岛上Ewa方向，珍珠港以西的位巴湖（Waipahu）附近。

Eleven months after his arrival in Honolulu, Sun Mei goes to work for a Canadian lady on her vegetable farm. He soon learns the local language and makes friends with the local Hawaiians. At the encouragement of the government, he is able to lease paddy fields and grow rice in the vicinity of Ewa and Waipahu on Oahu Island.

威理士主教买地在贝阿斯街（Bates Street）为意奥兰尼学校建新校，校舍距离中国城两英里路程，吸引邻近岛屿学生前来寄读，是檀香山有名的男生寄宿学校，学费高昂。

1873年（清同治十二年 癸酉） 十九岁 Age 19

1874年（清同治十三年 甲戌） 二十岁 Age 20

2月3日，夏威夷王William C.Lunalilo 病逝，David Kalakaua被拥为王，发生暴动风潮。美军到檀镇压，平定暴乱。

On February 3, King William C. Lunalilo dies from illness and David Kalakaua is chosen King. Riot occurs and the United States warship Tuscarora comes into port with soldiers to suppress the riot.

8月1日（六月十九日），曾作牲畜之买卖，价值达6000元。

On August 1, sells farm animals for 6,000 dollars.

9月22日（八月十二日），香山飓风成灾，澳门附近海面溺毙万余人。

On September 22, a typhoon strikes Xiangshan; more than ten thousand die on waterfront near Macau.

1875年 （清光绪元年 乙亥） 二十一岁 Age 21

弟孙中山入村塾读书。

Sun Yat-sen enters village school.

交游渐广，在社区内，薄有声誉。

Sun Mei becomes well-known in the community.

11月17日，夏威夷国王大伟·卡拉卡瓦与美国签订互惠条约。规定夏威夷可以免税向美国出口食糖，交换条件是美国可以在夏威夷的珍珠岛设立海军基地。

1876年（清光绪二年 丙子） 二十二岁 Age 22

写信回乡，孙中山因而有出洋之志。

Sun Mei's letters talking about Hawaiian living make Sun Yat-sen more anxious to join his brother

夏威夷与美国订立互惠条约，美国人投资于夏威夷蔗糖业者大增，需大量华工赴檀。

King David signs bilateral agreement with US government. More Americans are willing to invest in the sugar plantation and sugar production business which in turn ups demand for importing large numbers of Chinese laborers.

抵达夏威夷的中国人达1283人。

Chinese immigrant arrival reaches 1,283 people this year.

1877年（清光绪三年 丁丑） 二十三岁 Age 23

在檀香山（Honolulu）怒安奴街开设移民办事处。

Sets up his Immigrant Office in Honolulu.

6月9日（四月廿八日），回到家乡翠亨。

On June 9, Sun Mei returns home to get married.

7月15日（六月初五），与谭氏结婚。

On July 15, he marries to Tam Shi.

向乡人描述檀香山情况，招募华工赴檀。租来一艘大帆船，免费把中国侨民带到檀香山去，从夏威夷王所给每人百元津贴中得到他的酬劳。

He describes to his fellow villagers the life and work conditions on Hawaii and tries to convince them to come to Hawaii to work. He offers free passage to Hawaii but would be awarded $100 fee from the Hawaiian King for every person he brings to Hawaii.

在翠亨设立移民事务分所，把在中国所招的共事者留下处理移民事务。

He sets up the Immigrant Office in Cuiheng village and lets his staff continuing recruiting laborer.

9月22日（八月十六日），偕母亲杨太夫人及妻子谭氏再赴檀香山。

On September 22, he returns to Honolulu with his wife and his mother.

孙中山拟随往檀，不获父准。

Sun Yat-sen also wants to go, but Father does not allow it.

是年到檀香山的中国人有557人。

This year, 557 Chinese arrive in Hawaii.

母杨太夫人在檀居数月后回中国。

Mother Yang Shi returns to China after several months' stay in Hawaii.

1878年 （清光绪四年 戊寅） 二十四岁 Age 24

为适应华工增多，需用日用杂货生活用品增多，把原在檀香山设立的移民办事处转变为德隆商店。

To accommodate the needs of the new Chinese immigrants, Sun Mei converts his immigrant office into the De Long Store.

在奥鸦湖岛的衣哗业农，大有发展，积蓄颇丰，写信回乡，请父母偕幼弟到檀香山就养。

Income from his rice production and trading in Ewa and Waipahu area grow and he writes home to ask his parents to bring over his younger brother.

是年到达夏威夷的中国人有2464人。

This year, Chinese immigrant to Hawaii reaches 2,464 persons.

1879年（清光绪五年 己卯） 二十五岁 Age 25

孙中山随母赴檀香山

Sun Yat-sen arrives in Honolulu with his mother.

九月中旬（七八月间），为孙中山交纳150元学费，孙中山入读意奥兰尼学校。

Mid September, he sends Sun Yat-sen to enroll at Iolani School. School fee is $150.

是年到达夏威夷的中国人有3812人。

This year, 3,812 Chinese immigrants arrive in Hawaii.

1880年（清光绪六年 庚辰） 二十六岁 Age 26

春节，邀请家不在当地的孩子到他家过年。中西商人、警察、商店顾主等到德隆商店共庆中国新年，孙眉派发利是。

Spring festival, he invites many local children to his home. Chinese or non-Chinese merchants, business associates, customers, clients and even local policemen all came to the De Long Store on Lunar New Year Day and everyone gets the red-package from Sun Mei.

8月，出资将涌口村先祖墓迁往翠亨犁头尖竹篙龙安葬，檀香山各孙氏叔侄均有捐输，孙眉捐银最多。

In August, Father Dacheng moves ancestors' graves to a site at the Zu Gao Long on the hill of Li Tou Jian in Cuiheng Village with the money donated by relatives of the Sun family. Sun Mei contributes the most.

1881年 （清光绪七年 辛巳） 二十七岁 Age 27

6月24日（农历五月廿八日），子孙昌生于檀香山。

On June 24, son Sun Chong is born in Honolulu.

7月，茂宜岛铁路全线建成, 总长59英里，总站在卡胡卢镇，其余的车站在位碌古、布汝汝等七个地方，几乎贯通全岛。

In July, the construction of the 59-mile-long Maui railway is completed. Main station is in Kahului with seven other stations on the island of Maui.

10月17日，向同乡、族亲孙启球买到在茂宜岛卡胡卢镇的一间店铺，连同铺里的货物，改新铺名为“德昌隆”。

On October 17, he purchases a store in Kahului with all the goods inside from Sin Kai Qiu and changes the name of the store to “De Chong Long”.

搬到茂宜，以“德昌隆”为基地，发展各项事业。

Moves to Maui, using De Cheong Long as a base to expand into other businesses.

1882年（清光绪八年 壬午） 二十八岁 Age 28

意奥兰尼学校学生多为基督教信徒，孙中山意欲洗礼入教，孙眉反对。

Sun Mei objects to Sun Yat-sen's intention of becoming a Christian like many of his schoolmates in Iolani.

7月27日（六月十三日），参加孙中山在意奥兰尼学校毕业礼，孙中山以英文文法第二名，获国王奖励，孙眉在家中设宴庆祝，招待亲朋。

On July 27, witnesses his brother being awarded by the King for getting the second highest score in English Grammar. He invites many friends and relatives to celebrate at his home.

孙中山在商店协理店务数月。

His brother Sun Yat-sen helps out in the store for several months.

清驻美大臣郑藻如派委员欧阳明、赖鸿逵到檀香山调查侨情，倡建中华会馆。

Ambassador Zheng Zaoru sends envoys to Honolulu to inspect conditions of overseas Chinese and suggests the establishment of a Chinese Association.

是年统计，檀香山华人约13500人，其中土生华人约2700人。

Records show that the Chinese in Hawaii totaled 13,500 persons with 2,700 of them being born in Hawaii.

1883年（清光绪九年 癸未）　　二十九岁 Age 29

1月15日，送孙中山入奥阿厚（Oahu College）学校就读。

On January 15, Sun Yat-sen registers as a student at Oahu College.

7月，因孙中山欲受洗加入基督教，着令其回国，并划拨一半财产给孙中山。

In July, Sun Yat-sen is ordered to go home because of his intention to become a Christian. But before leaving Hawaii, he is assigned half of Sun Mei's assets.

秋，孙中山与陆皓东毁坏翠亨村村庙北极殿神像，被迫赴香港，11月至12月在香港拔萃书室读书，不足两月。

In Autumn, Sun Yat-sen and Lu Haodong wreck the statue of god in the Cuiheng village temple and are forced to leave for Hong Kong. He studies at the Hong Kong Diocesan school for about two months.

年底，接父亲孙达成信，得知孙中山在乡毁坏神像事。

At the end of the year, Sun Mei receives letter from father Dacheng and learns about the wreckage of the statue of the god by his brother.

年底，孙中山在香港加入基督教。

Sun Yat-sen becomes a Christian.

1884年（清光绪十年 甲申）　　三十岁 Age 30

汇款在乡建平房一间（即今孙中山故居的孙眉房）。

Sun Mei remits money home to build a one-story house.

5月7日（四月十三日），为弟弟孙中山作主，与侨商卢耀显之女卢慕贞定亲。

On May 7, Sun Mei arranges for Lu Muzhen, daughter of a friend from Xiangshan

living in Honolulu, to marry Sun Yat-sen.

5月26日，孙中山与卢慕贞举行婚礼。

11月，得知孙中山在乡破坏神像及在香港入教，十分生气，佯称生意扩充，命孙中山再赴檀香山到德昌隆学做生意，并收回以前赠与的财产以示惩戒。

Orders Sun Yat-sen to return to Hawaii to learn to do business; takes back half of assets from his brother as punishment.

1885年（清光绪十一年 乙酉） 三十一岁 Age 31

4月，孙中山不愿在商店学做生意，得同学钟工宇及奥阿厚教师资助坐船回国。孙眉赶往檀香山慰留未果。

In April, Sun Yat-sen leaves the De Chong Long store and goes to Honolulu to get help from his teacher Frank Damon and schoolmate Chung Kun-ai for fare to return to China. Sun Mei wants to stop him but fails.

1886年（清光绪十二年 丙戌） 三十二岁 Age 32

1月19日（光绪乙酉十二月十五日），养女顺霞出生。

On January 19, Shun Ha, the adopted daughter is born.

2月（一月），有房屋出租。

Has building for rent.

4月18日（三月十五日），檀香山华埠大火，燃烧三日，华埠方园30英亩(12公顷)夷为平地。

On April 18, the Honolulu Chinatown fire burns for three days and buildings across 30 acres are burned to the ground.

11月7日（十月十二日），孙威出生。

On November 7, Awai is born.

是年统计檀香山共有华侨2万人，占全檀香山人口四分之一。

Records show that year the Chinese in Hawaii total 20,000 persons, or about 1/4 of Hawaii's population.

1887年（清光绪十三年 丁亥） 三十三岁 Age 33

在Maui购屋和土地。

Buys land and buildings in Maui

父达成公病重，与孙中山回乡奉侍父亲数月，其间对弟弟关怀备至，兄弟和好如初。

Father Dacheng is seriously ill. Both he and brother Sun Yat-sen return to Cuiheng to serve their father. The two brothers reconcile and are on good terms again as before.

是年，檀香山华侨为反抗西人工党排斥华人的阴谋，在中华会馆保安局集议成立“联卫会”。

The Chinese in Honolulu set up the “United Defense Associa-tion” under the Chinese Association to defend against the conspiracy of exclusion of Chinese workers by the western labor union.

1888年（清光绪十四年 戊子） 三十四岁 Age 34

3月23日（二月十一日），父孙达成去世，享年76岁。葬于翠亨犁头尖西南山脚。

Father Da cheng dies on March 23 and is buried at the foot of the Li Tou Shan Jian southwest. He was 76.

3月28日（二月十一日），檀香山华人“为联络以杜外侮”设立保安局于檀香山，各埠仔俱设分局助理。

On March 28, Chinese in Honolulu set up Security Bureau for uniting the overseas Chinese against foreign harrassment. Branches are set up in other cities in Hawaii.

是年，夏威夷政府档案中的人事记载，孙眉系IAO酒店的主人。居卡胡卢，通邮地址为Kahului德昌隆号。登记为实业买卖家。自是年至1891年，孙眉增加酒店及楼宇股权。许多大小地段产权、牲畜养植及建筑业，都有其股份。

According to records kept in the Hawaii government archives, Sun Mei is the owner of IAO saloon. His residence is in Kahului, Maui, and correspondent address was De Cheong Long in Kahului. He was registered as a property dealer. Between this year and 1891, Sun Mei increases his holding in the saloon and other real properties. He has interest in many land properties, buildings and farm ranches.

1889年（清光绪十五年 己丑） 三十五岁 Age 35

1月28日（光绪戊子年十二月廿七日），从Keoni Kaio夫妇处收养一男童，叫Ai Mi. 改名阿威。

On January 28, Sun Mei adopts a one-year-old boy called Ai Mi from Keoni Kaio and names him Awai.

8月1日，以卡莫奥莱会（Kamaole Hui）名义，向夏威夷政府内政部承租库拉牧场3900亩地，租期由1889年8月1日起至1899年7月31日，为期10年。

On August 1, Sun Mei leases 3,900 acres land in Kula from the government under the name of Kamaole Hui. Term of the lease is 10 years beginning August 1, 1889, until July 31, 1899.

是年起，在茂宜位碌古、库拉投资地产。是年让受土地四段。

He also buys other properties in Wailuku and Kula on Maui this year.

1890年（清光绪十六年 庚寅） 三十六岁 Age 36

是年，进行八宗土地交易。

Eight transactions of land property this year.

是年至1894年，卖出茂宜岛上地产12起。

Between this year and 1894, there are at least 12 transactions in real property on the island of Maui.

1891年（清光绪十七年 辛卯） 三十七岁 Age 37

1月26日（光绪十六年十二月十七日），从Manuel Da Gros夫妇收养一个三岁男童，名Jeo Gros.

On January 26, Sun Mei adopts a three-year-old boy called Jeo Gros.

10月20日（九月十八日），侄孙科出生于翠亨村。

On October 20, Nephew Sun Fo is born in Cuiheng Village.

是年，让受土地五段。

Five transactions of land property this year.

1892年（清光绪十八年 壬辰） 三十八岁 Age 38

年初，汇款回乡，将1884年所建屋扩建，共用白银九百三十四两七钱。

Beginning of this year, Sun Mei remits money home to expand on the family house first built in 1884. Total money spent is over nine hundred white silver.

3月12日（二月十四日），上书夏威夷内政部史宾塞（Spencer），说明托Steamer Claudin带上355元作为卡莫奥莱土地之租银，请给回收据。

On March 12, Sun Mei writes to Mr. Spencer of the Ministry of Interior informing the ministry that the $355 rental fee for the Kamaole land has been sent by Steamer Claudin.

3月15日（二月十七日），内政部复信，确认1892年3月15日收到355元作为政府出租卡莫奥莱土地之租金。

On March 15, he receives a reply from the Ministry confirming the receipt of the $355 rent.

9月30日（八月十日），从丁阿安（T.Aon）处收养女童阿盖（Ah Koi），8岁又15日。

On September 30, Sun Mei adopts a girl named Ah Koi from the T. Aon family. She is 8 years old.

受让土地五段。

This year, five transactions on real property are recorded.

1893年（清光绪十九年　癸巳）　三十九岁 Age 39

1月，檀香山推翻君主制度，建立夏威夷独立共和国临时政府。其后，夏威夷渐为美国吞并。孙眉思想渐有变化。

In January, the Royal monarchy is overturned in Hawaii and a republic government is established. Later on, Hawaii is annexed by the United States. Sun Mei's thinking begins to change.

1894年（清光绪二十年 甲午）　四十岁 Age 40

1月至2月，孙中山在翠亨起草上李鸿章书。

Early that year, Sun Yat-sen submits his reform plan to Li Hong Zhang.

3月31日（二月二十五日），孙中山长女孙娅出生。

On March 31, Sun Yat-sen's elder daughter Sun Yan is born.

7月4日（五月二十一），森福·B.杜尔（Sanford B.Dole）就任夏威夷政府临时总统。

On July 4, Sanford B. Dole becomes provisional president of Hawaii.

7月25日(六月二十三日)，中日甲午战争爆发。

On July 25, Sino-Japanese war erupts.

是年秋，孙中山自上海来檀香山，拟向旧日亲友集资，回国“实行反清复汉之义举”。孙眉“移书各亲友为总理先容”，孙眉首赞成之，且愿拨财产一部为助。

Autumn that year, Sun Yat-sen comes to Hawaii from Shanghai, trying to raise funds from friends and relatives to carry out his wish of overthrowing the Qing government. Sun Mei is the first to offer his help by urging his own friends and relatives and commits part of his own assets to the cause.

11月24日，在孙眉支持下，孙中山在檀香山创立兴中会。首批兴中会员达

25人，后发展至126人。

On November 24, with the support of Sun Mei, Xing Zhong Hui is formed in Honolulu. There are 110 founding members.

是年冬，担任兴中会茂宜分会主席。好友邓荫南介绍茂宜15位会员交纳会费入会。

Winter that year, Sun Mei becomes Chairman of the Maui Branch of Xing Zhong Hui and introduces Deng Yin Nan to join. There are 14 members from the Maui branch who pay their dues.

年底，以每头六七元价，贱售其牛牲一部分以助孙中山回国起义经费。邓荫南尽卖其商店及农场，随孙中山回国起义。

Year end, Sun Mei has to sell his farm animals at the 6 to 7 dollars low price per head to raise funds for Sun Yat-sen. Deng Yin Nan sells his own store and ranch to follow Sun Yat-sen back to China for the revolution.

让受土地5段。

5 transactions on real estate are recorded.

1895年（清光绪二十一年 乙未） 四十一岁 Age 41

1月21日（甲午年十二月二十六日），交兴中会会底银五元，后交股份银二百元。

On January 21, Sun Mei pays the $5 base fee for Xing Zhong Hui but later pays $200 share price.

1月22日（甲午年十二月二十七日），兴中会在檀香山发行中国商务工会股单。

On January 22, Xing Zhong Hui issues China Commercial Union Stock.

2月21日（正月二十七日），孙中山成立香港兴中会。

On February 21, Sun Yat-sen founds the Hong Kong Xing Zhong Hui.

二三月间，茂宜卡贺蕾赌徒在租赁孙眉的房屋开赌，被警局拘控，连带孙眉也吃官司。

Around February and March, police find gambling activities on properties rented out by Sun Mei which incriminates Sun Mei.

3月下旬，孙中山与陆皓东在广州建立兴中会分会，筹划发动广州起义。

In March, Sun Yat-sen and Lu Haodong found the Xing Zhong Hui in Guangzhou, preparing for uprising in Guangzhou.

4月17日（三月二十二日），中日签订《马关条约》。

On April 17, the Treaty of Shimonoseki between China and Japan is signed.

8月16日（六月二十六日），孙眉呈檀香山内政部函，希望政府宽限租金至下月第一周。

On August 16, Sun Mei requests in a letter to the Ministry of Interior to delay payment of rent on Kamaole land until the first week of next month.

9月16日（七月二十八日），刘寿（Lou Shou）让给孙眉一些零碎地段3～160亩，附有骡马牲口，付价1500元。

On September 16, Lou Shou sells pieces of land from 3-160 acres to Sun Mei including farm animals for $1,500.

9月28日（八月十日），阿祥（Ah Cheong）让给孙眉卡贺蕾地区六段地连同吉字标志，付1500元。

On September 28, Ah Cheong sells to Sun Mei six plots of land in Kahului together with the logo brand for $1,500.

秋，孙中山筹划广州起义，得孙眉经济上的大力支持。

Autumn that year, Sun Yat-sen prepares for the Guangzhou uprising with financial help from Sun Mei.

10月27日，广州起义失败，孙中山遭通缉，母亲等家人避居香港。

On October 27, the Guangzhou uprising fails. Sun Yat-sen is ordered for arrest. His family is sent to Hong Kong to avoid trouble.

11月2日（九月十六日），孙眉出让库拉卡莫奥莱牧场牛只920头给William H.Cornwell.

On November 2, Sun Mei sells 920 heads of cattle to William H. Cornwell.

11月13日（九月二十七日），孙中山到日本横滨。

On November 13, Sun Yat-sen arrives in Yokohama, Japan.

11月20日，孙中山离日本赴檀香山。

On November 20, Sun Yat-sen leaves Japan for Honolulu.

卖出茂宜岛上地产七起。

Sun Mei sells off land on Maui with seven transactions.

是年至1899年，先后卖出0ahu岛地产10起。

Within the next four years, he sells at least 10 properties on Oahu island.

年底，由同乡陆灿护送杨太夫人、卢太夫人及孙科兄妹共四人由香港经日本到檀香山，历时一个月。

Year’s end, fellow villager Lu Shan accompanies mother Yang Shi, Sun Yat-sen’s

wife Lu Muzhen, her son Sun Fo and sister from Hong Kong to Honolulu via Japan. The voyage takes over a month.

1896年（清光绪二十二年 丙申） 四十二岁 Age 42

母亲杨氏、弟妇卢太夫人，侄儿孙科、侄女孙娅抵达檀香山，住郑照家。不久由眉妻谭氏接到茂宜库拉牧场居住。

Mother Yang Shi, sister-in-law Lu MuZhen, Sun Fo and Sun Yan arrive in Honolulu and stay with Chang Chow. Sun Mei's wife Tam Shi soon comes to fetch them back to Maui and stays at the ranch.

孙中山抵檀香山，孙眉慰勉孙中山，劝其勿馁初志，并共商再举计划。

Sun Yat-sen arrives in Hawaii. Sun Mei encourages him not to lose his spirit and works out together plan to reorganize for further attempts.

6月中旬，在孙眉等建议下，孙中山赴美国旧金山进行革命活动。

Mid June, Sun Yat-sen travels to San Francisco to promote his revolutionary ideas at the suggestion of Sun Mei.

10月初，因干旱，牧场所种11700株咖啡树枯死过半。

In October, more than 1,000 coffee trees die due to the drought situation in Kula.

10月，孙中山被清驻英使馆诱入囚禁。

In October, Sun Yat-sen is placed under house arrest in London

11月12日（十月初八），孙中山次女孙婉出生。

On November 12, second daughter of Sun Yat-sen Sun Wan is born.

1896－1908年，孙中山的家属一直住在库拉牧场。

From 1896 until 1908, Sun Yat-sen's family is staying at the Sun Mei Ranch in Kula.

卖出茂宜地产五起。

Sells off land in Maui in five transactions.

是年，檀香山共有华人21609人，其中有实业者195人，批地建屋出赁者758人。

This year, there are a total of 21,609 Chinese living in Hawaii. 195 are in industry and commerce. 758 are developers who built and leased.

1897年（清光绪二十三年 丁酉） 四十三岁 Age 43

让受土地八段。

Eight land property transactions are recorded.

卖出茂宜地产12起。

Sells off 12 real properties.

1898年（清光绪二十四年 戊戌） 四十四岁 Age 44

6月11日（四月二十三日），光绪皇帝下诏锐意变法图强，史称“戊戌维新”。

June 11, Qing Emperor issues imperial edict on reform.

8月12日（六月二十五日），夏威夷与美国合并，华人入境自此后按美国法执行。

On August 12, Hawaii is annexed by the United States. Immigration procedure for Chinese into Hawaii will be governed by the U. S. laws.

在茂宜岛办私塾。

Sun Mei sets up school at the ranch.

是年及1899年，共让受土地六段。

Within the next two years, there are transactions for six pieces of land.

是年，檀香山共有华人27817人。

This year, the number of Chinese living in Hawaii totals 27,818.

1899年（清光绪二十五年 己亥） 四十五岁 Age 45

6月，康有为在加拿大成立保皇党。

In June, Kang Youwei founds the Royalist Party in Canada.

12月19日（十一月十七日），梁启超离开东京赴檀香山，出行前孙中山为之作函介绍予孙眉等。

On December 19, Liang Qichao leaves Tokyo for Honolulu; but he gets a letter of introduction from Sun Yat-sen to see Sun Mei.

12月31日（十一月二十九日），梁启超抵达檀香山。

On December 31, Liang Qichao arrives in Hawaii.

1900年（清光绪二十六年 庚子） 四十六岁 Age 46

1月20日（己亥年十二月二十日），檀香山华埠发生第二次大火。

January 20, second great fire erupts in Honolulu’s Chinatown.

1月25日（己亥年十二月二十五日），兴中会机关报《中国日报》发刊，应孙中山来信要求，曾多次汇款相助。

January 25, *The China Daily*, a Xing Zhong Hui publication, receives funds from

Sun Mei at the request of Sun Yat-sen.

2月10日（一月十一日），梁启超致函孙中山谈在檀岛事。孙眉在茂宜岛接待梁启超，受骗加入保皇党，命儿子孙昌、侄孙科拜梁启超为师，并命孙昌随梁启超赴日本求学。

February 10, Liang Qichao writes to Sun Yat-sen about his Hawaiian trip. Sun Mei receives Liang in Maui and joins the Royalist Party. He also lets his son and nephew look up to Liang as their teacher and orders his son to follow Liang to Japan for schooling.

8月1日及11日，梁启超致函孙眉陈筹款保皇各事。

August 1 and 11, Liang Qichao writes to Sun Mei regarding raising funds for the Royalist Party.

是年至1903年，转让股权共达65宗。

Within the next four years, there are more that 65 business transactions.

1901年（清光绪二十七年 辛丑） 四十七岁 Age 47

是年，招回在日本读书之孙昌。

Recalls his son Sun Chong home.

是年，让受土地六段。

Six plots of land transaction

是年，孙科于私塾毕业后，离开孙眉牧场入住位碌古St. Anthony 学校攻读。

Sun Fo leaves the ranch and enrolls in St. Anthony in Wailuku.

1902年（清光绪二十八年 壬寅） 四十八岁 Age 48

1903年（清光绪二十九年 癸卯） 四十九岁 Age 49

9月26日（八月初六），孙中山离开日本赴檀香山。

Sun Yat-sen leaves Japan for Hawaii.

10月5日（八月十五日），孙中山抵檀香山与保皇派展开斗争，鼓励孙中山应始终一贯，进行革命。

October 5, Sun Yat-sen arrives in Hawaii and begins to fight against the Royalists. Sun Mei encourages Sun Yat-sen to maintain his course and to continue his revolution movement.

与母舅杨文纳劝说孙中山为在美开展革命活动的方便，加入洪门致公堂，领取夏威夷出生证书。

Together with uncle Yang Wenna, Sun Mei convinces Sun Yat-sen that he should join the Hong Meng in order to expand his revolution movement in the U.S. mainland; and to get the Hawaiian birth certificate.

是年及1904年，孙眉让受土地共三段。

In the next two years, there are three transactions on property sales.

1904年（清光绪三十年 甲辰） 五十岁 Age 50

1月11日（癸卯年十一月二十四日），孙中山在檀香山国安会馆加入洪门，受“洪棍”之职。

January 11, Sun Yat-sen becomes a Hong Men member in Honolulu.

3月9日（正月二十三日），与杨文纳等劝说孙中山领取檀香山出生证。

March 9, Sun Yat-sen gets his birth certificate.

是年，政府改订租约，经济状况大不如前。

Government changes its policy on leasing large pieces of land; his financial situation deteriorates rapidly.

1905年（清光绪三十一年 乙巳） 五十一岁 Age 51

是年，孙科毕业于St.Anthony学校。

Sun Fo graduates from St. Anthony

1904－1905年，夏威夷政府改订租地年限条例，按新章对原租地者极为不利。为此，孙眉延请律师上诉。

Sun Mei engages lawyers to fight against the government on the government lease.

经济日窘，不少债务由郑照代为偿还。

Financial conditions getting worse, many debts are taken care of by Chang Chow.

1906年（清光绪三十二年 丙午） 五十二岁 Age 52

5月12日（四月十九日），长孙孙满出生。

Grandson Sun Moon is born on May 12.

5月28日，美国三藩市发生大地震，孙昌一家逃出，急待孙眉救援。

May 28, San Francisco Great earthquake Sun Chong and family fled to Oakland, waiting for emergency aid from Sun Mei.

8月6日，孙眉向夏威夷联邦地区法庭申报破产。

Aug 6, Sun Mei filed for Bankruptcy at the U.S. District Court in Hawaii.

1907年（清光绪三十三年 丁未） 五十三岁 Age 53

春夏间，与郑仲管家杨德初返香港。

Sun Mei returns to Hong Kong with his aide Yang Dechu.

孙眉夫人谭氏仍留茂宜，拍卖剩余财产。

Tam Shi remains in Maui to take care of the remaining assets.

9月8日，与郑仲、杨德初等赴越南河内。时孙中山居河内，筹划粤、桂、滇三省起义，孙中山致电孙眉来河内筹商善后诸事。

September 8, he goes to Hanoi, Vietnam with Chang Chow and Yang Dechu to plan for the next revolution move.

革命同志以孙眉年高德劭，开始尊称其为“眉公”。

Most revolutionaries respect Sun Mei and call him Mei Gong.

1908年（清光绪三十四年 戊申） 五十四岁 Age 54

1月，返九龙牛池湾定居，租种陈少白所有之荒地经营农业。

January, returns to Hong Kong and rents a plot of land from Chen Shaobai in Kowloon Nu Chi Wan.

5月，与田桐、郑子瑜等破坏保皇派在新加坡振武书社的宣传活动。

In May, he is involved in the breaking up of Royalist propaganda activity in Singapore.

7月2日（六月初四），次孙孙乾出生。

July 2, second grandson Sun Kin is born.

12月1日（十一月初八），夫人谭氏把库拉牧场卖给Antoinne Tavares，这是谭氏在夏威夷的最后一次财产转让。

On December 1, Madam Tam Shi sells off the last piece of property on Maui, the Sun Mei Ranch, to Antoinne Tavares.

是年，与孙中山、陈粹芬等住在新加坡（1908－1909年），约住七八个月时间。

He spends 7 to 8 months in Singapore together with Sun Yat-sen and Chen Cui fen.

12月16日，杨太夫人、卢夫人、孙娅、孙婉、养女顺霞、郑强妻女（4人）等一起离开茂宜。孙科留檀香山，靠半工半读继续学业。眉婆独自到三藩市与孙昌一家团聚。

On December 16, Madam Yang Shi, Lu Muzhen, Sun Yan, Sun Wan and Sun Mei's adopted daughter Shun Ha as well as Zheng Qiong's wife and daughter leave

Maui and arrive in Honolulu. Sun Fo stays behind in Honolulu for school but has to work part time. Zheng Qiong's wife lets three of her six daughters remain in Hawaii and brings the other three with her to return to Hong Kong with Madam Yang Shi.

1909年（清宣统元年 己酉）　　五十五岁 Age 55

10月下旬，孙中山发表声明，力举孙眉以资财支持革命的事实。

Later part of October, Sun Yat-sen issues statement strongly citing Sun Mei's financial contribution to the revolution.

是年冬，缝制起义旗帜支持新军反正。

Winter that year, making flags for revolt by the new army.

是年，与家人在九龙城东头村居住。

Lives in Kowloon Dong Tou Cun with his family.

1910年（清宣统二年 庚戌）　　五十六岁 Age 56

4月8日，孙中山收到孙眉来电，获悉母亲病重，孙昌欲孙中山资助回国，孙中山致函孙昌，告知祖母病笃需款，不能同时兼顾。

April 8, Sun Yat-sen receives telegram about mother's serious illness. At the same time, Sun Chong wants Sun Yat-sen to send him some money so he and his family could return to China. But Sun Yat-sen has to send money to cure his mother first.

4月26日，孙中山汇给孙昌500元，催促孙昌马上偕母亲谭氏及妻子赶回香港。

April 26, Sun Yat-sen remits $500 to Sun Chong urging his nephew to bring his mother and wife and sons back to Hong Kong.

6月10日，孙中山由檀香山抵达日本横滨，孙眉同时由香港到达，11日移居东京，住在小石川区原町三十一番宫崎寅藏家，直至24日离去。

Early summer, goes to Japan and stays at 宫崎 home for about ten days before leaving for Singapore and Malaya with Sun Yat-sen.

7月19日（六月十三日），母杨氏去世，享寿83岁。

July 19, mother Yang Shi dies at age 83.

卢慕贞夫人因杨氏夫人去世，即偕两女自香港往槟城投奔孙中山。

Madam Lu Muzhen goes to Penang with her two daughters to meet with Sun Yat-sen after Yang Shi's death.

9月26日（八月二十三日），香港政府致函美国领事馆通告孙眉被驱逐事。

September 26, Hong Kong government informs the American consulate about Sun Mei's banishment from Hong Kong.

9月28日，孙眉被香港政府驱逐出境（原送广州，后解往澳门）。

On September 28, Sun Mei is expelled from Hong Kong. (He is to be deported to Guangzhou but eventually goes to Macau after the intervention by the American consulate.)

孙眉迁居广州湾，易名黄镇东。以广州湾三泰利号为通讯处，宣传革命，大招党人，高雷土人入会者，踵趾相接。

Sun Mei has been in Guangzhouwan (now ZhanJiang) for several years and his name has been changed to Huang Zhendong or Liu Hansheng there. He uses a store called San Tai Li as cover and recruits a large number of party members.

“至此伯父（孙眉）已完全放弃耕耘工作，亦将全部精神从事革命工作，南部革命军也都完全归他联络”（孙哲生先生口述传记）

Sun Fo says in his book：“To this point, uncle (Sun Mei) has given up all his farming work and is devoted completely into revolutionary work. He is responsible to liaise with all the revolution forces in the south.”

10月2日，孙眉致函孙昌，告知被港府驱逐，正前往新加坡。

October 2, Sun Mei writes to Sun Chong about his recent situation.

11月13日，参与庇能会议，策划广州起义。

November 13, Sun Mei participates in the Penang Conference to plan for next action by the revolution forces.

12月1日，孙中山致函香港郑华雄，告知孙眉已回内地，有事可与孙眉联络。

December 1, Sun Yat-sen writes to Zheng Huaxiong to inform him of Sun Mei's returning to China and to contact Sun Mei for any business.

1911年（清宣统三年 辛亥）　　五十七岁 Age 57

年初，在广州湾开设三利泰店铺，家事需人料理，欲谭氏返回内地。

He writes to his wife asking her to return to China to take care of family business. He is in Guangzhouwan.

4月27日，黄兴率选锋攻打两广总督衙门，广州起义爆发。

April 27, Huang Xing led revolutionary forces to attack the Guangdong governor's mansion. The Guangzhou uprising erupts but ends up a failure

8月1日，孙中山致函孙昌，征求孙眉妻谭氏回内地意见。

August 1, Sun Yat-sen writes to Sun Chong asking Tam Shi to return to China.

10月10日（八月十九日），武昌起义爆发。

October 10, Wuchang uprising erupts。

12月29日（十一月初十日），孙中山当选为中华民国临时大总统。

December 29,Sun Yat-sen is elected Provisional President of the Republic of China.

1912 年 （民国元年 壬子 ） 五十八岁 Age 58

1月1日，孙中山就任中华民国临时大总统。

January1, Sun Yat-sen is sworn in as the Provisional President of The Republic of China.

1月，替飞南第转交孙中山一封信。

January, delivers a letter from Francisco H. Fernandes to Sun Yat-sen.

广东各界人士推举孙眉任都督。

People of various organizations in Guangdong recommend Sun Mei to be the governor.

2月26日，孙中山致电孙眉，请其即离开广州。

February 26, Sun Yat-sen asks his brother to leave Guangzhou in a telegram.

二三月间，致函孙昌命其偕同家人回国。

Sun Mei writes to his son telling him to return to China.

赴南京与孙中山见面。

He goes to Nanking to meet with Sun Yat-sen.

3月10日，袁世凯就任第二任临时大总统。

March 10, Yuan Shikai becomes the second Provisional President.

4月1日，孙中山正式解除临时大总统职务。

April 1, Sun Yat-sen relinquishes his duty as Provisional President.

4月18日，妹秋绮去世。

April 18, sister Qiuyi dies.

5月14日，偕孙氏亲属赴香港九龙百花林拜祭母亲杨氏。

May 14, Sun Mei goes to his mother's grave at Bai Hua Lin in Kowloon, Hong Kong to pay respect with his relatives and friends.

5月20日，孙中山在香港与记者谈话，表示希望在澳门建屋给孙眉住。

May 20, Sun Yat-sen tells reporters in Hong Kong that he hopes to build a house in Macau for Sun Mei to live.

5月22日，孙中山自香港抵澳门调停孙眉、王和顺、关仁甫等人之分歧。

May 22, Sun Yat-sen arrives in Macau from Hong Kong to mediate conflicts between Sun Mei and others like Wang Heshun and Guan Renpu.

5月27日，孙中山回乡与孙眉、卢慕贞等家人团聚。

May 27, Sun Yat-sen returns to Cuiheng Village to be with Sun Mei and his family.

5月28日，与孙锦芳商议建合族双宗祠，因建造地点问题而无结果。

May 27, Sun Mei is discussing with Sun Jinfang the idea of jointly build a family temple; but plan is never carried out.

6月8日，孙中山发布明确反对“扶正同盟会”之活动。

June 8, Sun Yat-sen announces the objection of the activities by the so called “Revitalized Tong Meng Hui”.

孙眉在《民生日报》刊载启事，宣称与“扶正同盟会”无关。

Sun Mei states in the *Ming Sheng News* that he has nothing to do with the “Revitalized Tong Meng Hui”.

7月22日，孙科与陈淑英在檀香山结婚。

July 22, Sun Fo and Chen Shuying are married in Honolulu.

是年，孙眉家居澳门，不时回翠亨居住。

Sun Mei lives in Macau but returns to his home village Cuiheng from time to time.

1913年（民国二年 癸丑 ）　　五十九岁 Age 59

6月16日，孙中山与家属乘瑞泰轮到澳门，住在澳门龙富金街孙眉家中，停留约一周。

June 16, Sun Yat-sen and family arrive in Macau by Steamship Rui Tai and stay at Sun Mei’s house for about a week.

6月23号，《民生日报》报道孙中山返澳门探视长女孙娅的病情。

June 23, *Ming Sheng News* reports that Sun Yat-sen returns to Macau to visit his sick daughter Sun Yan.

6月26日，孙娅病逝。

June 26, Sun Yan dies.

是年，孙眉与卢慕贞、陈粹芬家居澳门。

This year, Sun Mei, Lu Muzhen and Chen Cuifen all live under one roof in Macau.

是年至下年间，孙眉主持兴建翠亨家中的厨房、浴室、厕所等。

Sun Mei renovates the kitchen, bathroom and toilet in his Cuiheng family home.

1914年（民国三年 甲寅） 六十岁 Age 60

7月8日，中华革命党在日本东京成立，孙中山被选为总理。

July 8, China Revolution Party is established in Tokyo, Japan and Sun Yat-sen is elected Prime Minister.

越南华侨黄禅侠（顺德籍人），河口起义领导人之一，二次革命失败后，遭追捕，逃到澳门，寄寓孙眉澳门家中。

Vietnanese Chinese Huang Xiangxia, originally from Shunde, is one of leaders of the Kekou Uprising. He is a fugitive after the failed 2nd revolution and fled to Macao and stays at Sun Mei's house.

1915年（民国四年 乙卯） 六十一岁 Age 61

2月11日（甲寅年十二月二十八）申时，在澳门鹅眉街寓所病逝，享寿61岁。因当时“国是未定，饰终之礼缺”，暂葬于澳门旧西洋坟场。

February 11, Sun Mei dies at his home on Aomei Street. Age 61. Because of the unsettled situation in China, he is temporarily buried at the “Xi Yang Cemetery” in Macau.

1934年（民国廿三年 甲戌）

3月，中国国民党中央执行委员会将孙眉遗骸移葬翠亨犁头尖西南半山腰。墓西立墓表，墓表由汪精卫书写。

In March 1934, the Executive Central Committee of the Kuomintang move Sun Mei's remains to be buried on the southwestern slope of the Li Tou Shan Jian in Cuiheng Village. Wang Qingwei is commissioned to inscribe on the tomb stone a brief biography of Sun Mei's legendary life.

附录三　部分交易记录

Appendix 3　Partial Transaction Record

1881—1903年孙眉在夏威夷档案局所存部分交易记录

Appendix 3:Partial Record of Sun Mei's Transaction between 1881 and 1903 found at the Bureau of conveyance in Honolulu

受让人 Grantee	授予者 Grantor	签署日 Date of Instrument	记载册号 Book	页号 Page	登记日期 Date of Record	登记内容 Description, No.of Award, R.P. or Grant	土地名 Name of Land	地区 District	岛 Island
AhMi	Keelikolani,R. by Atty	Sept10,1881	72	3	Sept10,1881	3pcs land	Waimano	Ewa	Oahu
AhMi	Akiona	Jan2,1882	72	89	Jan3,1882	1/10in1/8int.in Tai Can Wai & Co	Manana	Ewa	Oahu
AhMi,Sin (alias)	Kalipe K	July26,1881	82	68	June4,1883	R.P.212 Kul 1715	Waiawa	Ewa	Oahu
AhMietals	Waimanalo Sugar Co	Dec30,1885	99	106	Feb19,1886	To C/Mifkeasehikd & c	Waimanalo	Koolaupoko	Oahu
AhMi	Kapena,Jno,M.	May24,1887	105	226	May28,1887	Lands	Waimano	Ewa	Oahu
AhMi	Kawelo(K)etal	Dec1,1886	107	268	Feb20,1888	1/2 int. in R.P.1917 Kul 1347	Hotel St	Honolulu	Oahu
AhMi	Kaio, Keoni & wf	Oct28,1889	119	457	Mar11,1890	Male Child Ah Mi 1yr old 阿威领养纸			
AhMi,etals (K)	DaDros, Manuel & wf	Jan26,1891	120	356	June1,1891	Male Child Jeo Gros 3yr sold			

受让人 Grantee	授予者 Grantor	签署日 Date of Instrument	记载册号 Book	页号 Page	登记日期 Date of Record	登记内容 Description, No.of Award, R.P. or Grant	土地名 Name of Land	地区 District	岛 Island
AhMi	Aon,T	Sept30.1892	137	153	Oct25,1892	Female child Ah Koi 8yrs 15 days 顺霞领养纸			
AhMi	Kahalekou by Mtgee	Nov20,1893	142	448	Nov29,1893	int.inpart of Ap.1 of R.P.1226	Kainin	Honolulu	Oahu
AhMi	Howland,Cate, K.etal	Mar9,1897	168	161	Mar9,1897	Paid$800 for int. in R.P. 217, kul1 1076	Kapauhi	Honolulu	Oahu
AhMi,S.	Grau,MaryH.& hsb	Mar9,1897	168	300	Apr17,1897	1/3intin R.P.217 for $ 700	EmmaSt	Honolulu	Oahu
AhMi	Kaonohi,J.K.& wf	Mar10,1897	172	338	Oct4,1897	R.P.(gr)1806	Keena	Waialua	Oahu
AhMi	Kaonohi,J.K.& wf	Sept30,1897	172	378	Oct4,1897	15A.ofGr.248	Keena	Waialua	Oahu
AhMi,S.	Farden, Chas.K	Sept17,1897	145	346	Dec18,1897	Por.R.P.1226 Ap.1	Koiuiu	Honolulu	Oahu
AhMi	Keawepoo, M.(Mrs.)	July15,1898	178	186	July15,1898	Power granted on May10,1898			
AhMi	Kaukaliu, John & wf	Dec2,1899	203	102	Dec4,1899	45/100 A.of Gr.161 for $200	Manoa	Honolulu	Oahu
SinAhMi	Sin Kai Cion 孙启球	Oct17,1881	70	226	Oct18,1881	Store & C	Kahului	Wailuku	Maui
AhMi,S.	AhCheong	Dec10,1895	126	390	Mar3,1896	int. in various pcs lands live stock & C	Kamaole	Kula	Maui
AHChiu	AhMi,S.&wf	Agu12,1896	165	423	Dec21,1896	R.P.3160	Kamaole	Kula	Maui
AHMI	Achoy	Mar23,1897	190	110	May1,1899	Por.Ap.1.of R.P.1748		Lahaina	Maui
AHMI	Andrew, Alice N.	Dec29,1894	152	239	Feb1,1895	16A.Land	E.Kaupakul ua	Makawao	Maui

受让人 Grantee	授予者 Grantor	签署日 Date of Instrument	记载册号 Book	页号 Page	登记日期 Date of Record	登记内容 Description, No.of Award, R.P. or Grant	土地名 Name of Land	地区 District	岛 Island
AHMI	Wailuku Sugar Co.糖厂	Oct17,1895	154	429	Oct18,1895		Warehu	Wailuku	Maui
AHMI	MaaloG.M.	Oct7,1895	154	462	Nov11,1895	9shares in R.P. 149, 227, 160 & 2182 HuiLands	Peahi	Hamakualoa	Maui
AHMI	Cornwell, William H	Nov2,1895	149	381	Nov22,1895	912 head of cattles brands	Kamaole&C	Kula	Maui
AHMI	Heen, H.A. 钟木贤	Jan28,1896	159	93	Jan29,1896	1/2int. in grs. 1206, 491, 2480, 539 & R.P. 161 Kul. 6419	Kamaole, Mooiki	Kula	Maui
AHMI	Low Shouetal	Dec10,1895	126	390	Mar3,1896	1/2int.in Gr.1697 int in various pcs land, live stock & C	Kamaole	Kula	Maui
AHMI	Ah Chew, Y	Dec-1895	158	167	Mar3,1896	int. in R.P. 3371, 3449, 3450, 543, 492, 390 & pcs land	Kamaole	Kula	Maui
AHMI	AhChew,Y	Dec21,1895	158	168	Mar3,1896	R.P.125,3369,492,&pcs land	Kamaole	Kula	Maui
AHMi	Nui, J.H.etal	Oct1,1898	219	210	Mar25,1901	House & lot	MainSt	Lahaina	Maui
AhMi	Pang Koon You	Sept10,1901	221	376	Sept24,1901	int. in lease hold	MainSt	Lahaina	Maui
AhMi	Kahokuoluna, Peter, M	Feb23,1903	246	104	May18,1903	Premises	Lapakea	Lahaina	Maui
AhMi,S	Parker,Samuel	July26,1892	202	444	Mar26,1900	Lot14.15,16	Kulua	Wailuku	Maui
AhMi,S.&wf	Holdsworth,Edith	Jan18,1901	174	229	Jan19,1901	Lands		Wailuku & Kula	Maui
AhMi,S.	Kahunaina,Kamakaetat	Jan19,1901	219	33	Jan22,1901	Por.Kul409	Mokuhau	Wailuku & Kula	Maui
AhMi,S.Tr	Kulua, John W. & wf	Mar30.1901	224	7	Apr8,1901	To sell for $6000-218/100 Acreland	Vineyard & Market St.S	Wailuku & Kula	Maui

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AhMi,S.	Tam See Youngetal	Mar4,1904	284	434	Dec18,1906	General Power			
TAVARES,A. F 塔瓦利斯	AhMi,Tam See&hsb(s)	Nov30,1908	311	192	Dec1,1908	Various pcs of land & livestock, fowls, tools, & C of S. Ah Mi Ranch	Kamaole	Kula	Maui
Brown,CecilTr	TamSeeAhMi &hsb	Apr2,1908	303	206	Apr2,1908	int. in R.P.3160	Kamaole	Kula	Maui
Hamili,Kaina, &wf	AhMi, TamSee,S.	Mar21,1905	311	191	Dec1,1908	int. in Ap.1 R.P. 128	Kamaole	Kula	Maui
Tam See Ah Mi	AhChew,Y	July3,1896	173	479	Dec30,1897	paid $3,000 for land R.P. 3371, 390, 3450, 543, 492, 3118			Maui
S.AhMi	LouShou	Sept16,1895	158	51	1896	paid $1,500 for one half interest of lands described here in	Kamaole	Kula	Maui
A.AhMi	Ah Cheong	Sept28,1895	158	53	1896	paid $1,500 for one half interest of lands described here in,吉	Kahului	Wailuku	Maui
S.AhMi	Waiu & hsbM. Kealoha	Nov1895	158	166	Mar3,1896	paid $100 for all interest in R.P.2483 of Ainoa	Kamaole	Kula	Maui
S.AhMi	K.Keaho	Jan7,1892	141	100		undivided half of 7/8 acres, portion of LCA 3890	Lamalii	Wailuku	Maui
S.AhMi	Kekahuna	Jan29,1891	141	101		Half interest in 1/3 of 7/8 acres, portion of LCA 3890	Lamalii	Wailuku	Maui
S.AhMi	J.Burns	Feb8,1895	152	320		Half of 87/8acres of land R.P.161 LCA 6419	Kamaole	Kula	Maui
S.AhMi	Holokahiki	Mar10,1897	177	5		6.60 Chains, R.P. 5322 L.C.A. 4441 to Kapahi	Wailuku	Wailuku	Maui
S.AhMi	T.A kanaliilii 唐根	June20,1889	118	119			Kaupakulua	Hamakua	Maui

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S.AhMi	Kaiewe	Feb9,1899	185	352		lease5 acres portion of LCA6657-10yrs from Jan1,1899$15/yr	Kamaole	Kula	Maui
S.AhMi	Nahielua	Jan1,1899	197	468		Lease 3 acres portion of LCA 6657-10yrs from July1, 1899 $ 10/yr	Kamaole	Kula	Maui
S.AhMi	W. H. Rogersetal					6 acre	Kamaole	Kula	Maui
S.AhMi	Lepeka	Apr26,1807	172	230		1/2 interest in Royal Patent 3160 to Kikau	Kamaole	Kula	Maui
S.AhMi	Kuapaa	Sept8,1890	127	444	Mar16,1891	Paid $350.00 for 14.7 acres (Tam Shi sold to Tavares in 1908)	Kamaole	Kula	Maui
S.AhMi	Ahuula	Oct.26,1889	122	228		R.P. 486,15 acres(ranchland sold by Tam Shi to Tavares in 1908)	Kamaole	Kula	Maui
S.AhMi	Kikau	Jan15,1891	141	102		31/2 acres (ranchland sold by Tam Shi to Tavares in 1908)	Kamaole	Kula	Maui
S.AhMi	Pilikia Paakaula	Oct28,1895	155	390		48.20 acres	Kamaole	Kula	Maui
S.AhMi	Ahuula	Oct26,1889	122	228		RP.54630.50acres(sold by Tam Shi to Tavares in 1908)	Kamole	Kula	Maui
A.AhMi	Kuapaa	July30,1890	127	444		RP.54630.50acres(sold by Tam Shi to Tavares in 1908)	Kamole	Kula	Maui
S.AhMi	Kikau	Nov22,1890	127	443		Royal Patent 337164.97 acres sold by Tam Shi to Tavares in 1908	Kamole	Kula	Maui
S.AhMi	Hua	Nov14,1892	152	378		Royal Patent 337164.97 acres sold by Tam Shi to Tavares in 1908	Kamole	Kula	Maui
S.AhMi	KalaiAluli	Dec1889	122	231		2/3 interes to fall land RP390 sold by Tam Shi to Tavares in 1908	Kamole	Kula	Maui

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S.AhMi	A.N.Kepoikai	Dec13,1889	122	233		2/3 interes to fall land RP390 sold by Tam Shi to Tavares in 1908	Kamole	Kula	Maui
S.AhMi	by the King					160 acres Royal Patent Grant No.3450 sold by Tam Shi to Tavares	Kamole	Kula	Maui
S.AhMi	Naa naa and Paea	Feb19,1890	122	229		3 acres RP543 to Paupau, sold by Tam Shi to Tavares in 1908	Kamole	Kula	Maui
S.AhMi	Nale po and Jose Due nas	June20,1890	141	102		10 acres in RP492 to Hilea sold by Tam Shi to Tavares in 1908	Kamole	Kula	Maui
S.AhMi	L.A.Thurston	Dec10,1891	141	104		10 acres in RP492 to Hilea sold by Tam Shi to Tavares in1908	Kamole	Kula	Maui
Tam See AhMi	Y.AhChew	July3,1896	173	479		7.50 acres Land commission Award LCA3547.sold to Tavares	Kamole	Kula	Maui
Tam See AhMi	Mrs.KamakeeP one	July29,1907	299	273		50 acres RP3366 sold to Tavares in 1908	Kamole	Kula	Maui
Tam See AhMi	KainaHamili	Mar21,1905				3 acres, RP6657 sold to Tavares in 1908	Kamole	Kula	Maui
Tam See AhMi	PilikiaPaakaul a	Dec1896	164	493		47.20 acres RP3369,sold to Tavares in 1908	Kamole	Kula	Maui
Tam See AhMi	PilikiaPaakaul a	Mar28,1898	176	483		47.20 acres RP3369, sold to Tavares in 1908	Kamole	Kula	Maui
						totall and sold by Tam Shi to Tavares in 1908 about 500 acres			
						以上 19 项是眉婆于 1908 年卖给塔瓦利斯牧场的全部土地约 500 亩			
Boilec	AhMi	Dec30,1885	99	106	Feb19,1886	Leaseholds, bldg nils	Wainalo	Koolaupoko	Oahu
Ahlo.S	AhMi	Oct23,1885	97	263	Oct28,1885	Bldg	BretaniaSt	Honolulu	Oahu

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Ahlo.S	AhMi	Oct21,1887	109	192	Oct22,1887	Int.in lease holds	BretaniaSt	Honolulu	Oahu
Kan Teen Hee	AhMi	Nov21,1887	110	77	Feb20,1888	pcs land	Hotel & Konia	Honolulu	Oahu
Farden Charles K	AhMi	Nov21,1893	145	346	Nov29,1893	R.P.1226Ap.1	Koiuiu	Honolulu	Oahu
Kaai	AhMi	Sept1,1894	150	198	Nov13,1894	1/2 A of Apl. Of R.P.1728	Koiuiu	Honolulu	Oahu
Lum Adri	AHMI,AHMI	Dec10,1894	150	462	May6,1895	R.P.1226 Kul.933	KingSt	Honolulu	Oahu
Chung Tai Tongetals	AHMI,AHMI	May25,1896	161	90	June2,1896	R.P.4523Aps.1&2	Kailua	Koolaupoko	Oahu
Yuen Kong	AHMI,AHMI	May25,1896	165	3	July17,1896	3/8A.land,bldg&C	EcornerKing St&Desha	Honolulu	Oahu
Alen,WF.Tr	AHMI,AHMI	July13,1896	163	176	July21,1896	Lots90,91,100&101ofR.P.Gr374pcland	Kulaokahua Kailua	Honolulu	Oahu
YuenKong	AHMI,AHMI	Mar22,1897	167	476	July23,1897	Por.Ap.1R.P.1226Kul933	Kapalama	Honolulu	Oahu
Wan Sang. E	AHMI,AHMI	Mar1,1899	178	494	Mar13,1899	int. in Kula Pork Packing Co			HawaiianIslands
Wan Sang. E	AHMI,AHMI	Mar1,1899	178	495	Mar13,1899	Of powers as manager for Kula Pork Packing co			
Waialua Agrctl Co., Ltd.	AHMI,AHMI	Mar11,1899	200	128	Oct14,1899	R.P.s 1806 & 248	Kaena	Waialua	Oahu
YuenKong	AHMI,AHMI	June1896	164	69	Aug4,1896	of land	E.corKingst &DeshasLane	Honolulu	Oahu

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Yeong Young	AhMiS.	June30,1903	243	398	July8,1903	10 shares in Oceanic Gas & Elecco., Ltd		Honolulu	Oahu
Yeong Young	AhMiS.	June30,1903	243	463	July8,1903	int. in Hong Yan Tong & Co	DupontSt	S.F.	California
byjudge	AhMi.S.	Aug17,1906	284	437	Dec21,1906	S. Ah Mi adjudged bankrupt			
Hackfeld H.& Co.	AhMi,S.	Feb17,1886	100	37	Feb23,1886	Leaseholds,bldg&C	Mokuhau	Wailuku	Maui
Sheldon,W.J.	AhMi,S.	Nov23,1887	105	405	Jan9,1888	pcs; amd	Kahului	Wailuku	Maui
xx	AhMi,S.	Apr25,1888	107	492	May15,1888	buying and selling real estates			
Akanaliilii,T. 唐根	AhMi,S.	July12,1889	117	197	July15,1889	R.P.771	E.Kaupakulua	Hamakualoa	Maui
YeongYoung	AhMi,S.	Sept5,1889	118	256	Sept9,1889	int. in premises knowns as "Iao Saloon" for ONE dollar		Wailuku	Maui
YeongYoung	AhMi,S.	Mar7,1890	119	464	Mar25,1890	int. in Iao Saloon		Wailuku	Maui
HopSingCo	AhMi,S.	Sept1,1890	125	409	Oct22,1890	int. in various pcs land live stock& brand	Kamaole	Kula	Maui
ChingSing	AhMi,S.	Jan1,1891	128	402	Feb23,1891	Building & C	Kahului	Wailuku	Maui
Chung Chong	AhMi,S.	Dec13,1890	128	426	Mar16,1891	buildings	Kahului	Wailuku	Maui
Mossman,W.F.	AhMi,S.	May28,1891	134	36	May30,1891	1/2Aoflot2	Kahului	Wailuku	Maui
Hocking,A	AhMi,S.	Sept26,1891	133	411	Nov23,1891	R.P.771	E.Kaupakulua	Hamakualoa	Maui
Brown,J.W.	AhMi,S.	June18,1892	138	113	June24,1892	R.P.(Gr.3450 & pcland. int. in R.P., 390&543 livestocks)	Kamaole	Kula	Maui

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Ashford, Volney V	AhMi,S.	July21,1893	145	262	Oct20,1893	Gr.3450&20 Aland & int. in RP390,543 live stock	Kamaole	Kula	Maui
Hoong Chan Kee	AhMi,S.	Sept23,1893	144	211	Nove20,1893	Room in house	Peahi	Hamakualoa	Maui
Maui Land & Rail road Co	AhMi,S.	Jan25,1894	137	432	Jan29,1894	int.in leasehold bldgs rents	Kahului	Wailuku	Maui
Wailuku Sugar Co.	AhMi,S.	Dec13,1894	152	133	Dec24,1894	87/100 A.of Ap.1 of kul 3890	Lamalii	Wailuku	Maui
Ah Chiu	AhMi&wife	Aug12,1896	165	423	Dec21,1896	RP3160	Kamaole	Kula	Maui
Pilikia	AhMi	Oct29,1896	164	493	Jan4,1897	Gr.3449	Kamaole	Kula	Maui
Tand Sing (K)	TamSeeAhMi	Oct29,1896	164	494	Jan4,1897	5A of Gr.3371	Kamaole	Kula	Maui
Olin,Phillip,de	AhMi	Oct4,1897	176	1	Nov181897	51/3A of kuls.2974 & 311 & pcland	Ulumalu	Hamakualoa	Maui
Crastor,Joaoda	AhMi	Oct4,1897	176	2	Nov181897	81/4A of Grl2974 & kul311 & pcland	Ulumalu	Hamakualoa	Maui
Franco,Antone	AhMi	Oct4,1897	176	3	Nov181897	51/3A of kuls.2974 & 311 & pcland	Ulumalu	Hamakualoa	Maui
Cravelho, AntoniodaS	AhMi	Oct4,1897	176	4	Nov181897	81/4A of Grl2974 & kul311 & pcland	Ulumalu	Hamakualoa	Maui
Mendoca, AntonioF	AhMi	Oct4,1897	176	5	Nov181897	51/3A of kuls.2974 & 311 & pcland	Ulumalu	Hamakualoa	Maui
Santos, Jopseda	AhMi	Oct4,1897	176	6	Nov181897	151/2A of kuls.2974 & 311 & pcland	Ulumalu	Hamakualoa	Maui
Alves, ManuelV	AhMi	Oct4,1897	176	7	Nov181897	51/3A of kuls.2974 & 311 & pcland	Ulumalu	Hamakualoa	Maui
Souza,Antone	AhMi	Oct4,1897	176	8	Nov181897	51/3A of kuls.2974 & 311&pcland	Ulumalu	Hamakualoa	Maui

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Ornellas, Man'ls.de	AhMi	Oct4,1897	176	9	Nov181897	51/3Aofkuls.2974&311&pcland	Ulumalu	Hamakualoa	Maui
Castle, WilliamR.Tr	AhMi	Dec29,1897	174	228	Jan4,1898	Various pcs land		Wailuku & Kula	Maui
Luka(W)	AhMi	July5,1897	177	6	Jan10,1898	int. in RP5332 kul4441	Lamalii	Kula	Maui
Interior, Ministryof	AhMi	July15,1898	178	289	Sept271898	3Aland	Kamaole	Kula	Maui
Ah Lina Hu	AhMi	Nov3,1896	185	235	Jan20,1899	3Aland	Kamaole	Kula	Maui
Kou Kan Sun	AhMi	Feb9,1899	185	319	Feb24,1899	Por.Gr.469	Kamaole	Kula	Maui
Wan Sang, E	AhMi	Mar1,1899	178	494	Mar13,1899	int. in Kula Pork Packing Co.			Hawa iianIsl and
Wan Sang, E	AhMi	Mar1,1899	178	495	Mar13,1899	Of power as mgr for Kula Pork Packing Co			
AChoy	AhMi	Mar23,1897	190	110	May1,1899	Por.Ap.1ofRP1748		Lanaina	Maui
AhYook	AhMi	Nov29,1899	202	188	Dec1,1899	Por. Ahup of	Nuu		Maui
AhChew,Y	AhMi,TamSee &hsb	Dec-1895	158	167	Mar3,1896	int.in RP3371, 3449, 3450, 543, 492, 390 & pcsland	Kamaole	Kula	Maui
AhChew,Y	AhMi,TamSee &hsb	Dec21,1895	158	168	Mar3,1896	RPs125,3369,492&pcland	Kamaole	Kula	Maui
Pilikia(W)	AhMi,TamSee &hsb	Oct29,1896	164	493	Jan4,1897	Gr.3449	Kamaole	Kula	Maui
TangSing (K)	AhMi,TamSee &hsb	Oct29,1896	164	494	Jan4,1897	TA.OfGr.3371	Kamaole	Kula	Maui

附录四　参考书目

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敬贤祖家族世系表 Sun Jinxian Family Genealogical Chart

