

Sun Yat Sen.



# Republican Revolutionaries

## Sun Yat Sen, Carlos da Maia and the Macao Harbour Project

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### OVERVIEW

In Portugal from 1910 to 1917, the Partido Republicano Português (PRP) operated a government that was arguably the most radical regime in Europe. While Sun Yat Sen's Chinese Revolutionary Party (Gemingdang 革命党) was being organised in early 1914, the PRP regime, with Bernardino Machado as Prime Minister, sent to Macao as governor one of Portugal's most renowned republican revolutionary leaders. José Carlos de Maia arrived as governor on 10 June 1914,<sup>1</sup> less than two weeks before Sun Yat Sen's Revolutionary Party (Gemingdang) held its first organisational meeting on 22 June in Tokyo. When representatives of eight Chinese Provinces met at Sun's behest, they committed to a new Revolutionary Party that would be a secret organisation, swore personally to obey Sun's direction, and dedicated themselves to a 'Third Revolution'. On 8 July 1914 the new party was formally established, and on 1 September it issued its first manifesto.<sup>2</sup>

While Carlos de Maia was Governor of Macao from 1914 to 1916, had he not been working with Sun's sworn disciples in the Revolutionary Party, he should have been. This group became the core of the

right wing of the KMT (Kuomintang 国民党), over the next three decades that was characterised by intense personal loyalty and reliant upon critically important off-shore bases. Not only was Carlos de Maia Governor of Macao during this critical juncture, but Sun Yat Sen's older brother, Sun Mei 孙眉, who had financed Sun's revolutionary activities for at least ten years from 1894 to 1904 while he ran a major commercial operation in Hawaii was resident in the city from 1914 to early 1915. He had provided Sun with entrées into the Chinese secret societies in Hawaii and America, and he was not a peripheral figure in the revolution. Apart from being known in Hawaii as the 'King of Maui' where he had leased 6,000 acres from the Hawaiian Royal Family,<sup>3</sup> he and his supporters, who included Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培, had pushed for his appointment as Governor of Guangdong following the Xinhai Revolution (辛亥革命 Xinhai Geming) in 1911.<sup>4</sup>

Carlos da Maia's revolutionary pedigree in Portugal is undoubted. Leading up to the Portuguese revolution of 1910, he was the key operational figure within the Portuguese Navy for the revolutionary network that interfaced with the PRP and the Masonic leadership of the Portuguese Republicans. Working directly with the coordinator of the 5 October 1910 Republican Revolt (Vice Admiral Carlos Cândido dos Reis) he reported on the navy's revolutionary network, ensured the allegiance of the Portuguese naval units in the Lisbon harbour during the revolt which included the largest unit, the cruiser *Dom Carlos*, and ordered the naval artillery to drive the Portuguese King, Dom Manuel II, from the city.

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General Huang Xing.

Resident in Macao, then, from 1914 when the Sun Yat Sen's Revolutionary Party was being formed, until Sun Mei's death on 11 February 1915, were two of the foremost organisers of the Portuguese and Chinese revolutionary republican underground networks. By early 1916, Zhu Zhixin 朱执信, the close relative of Sun Yat Sen's right-hand man, Wang Jingwei 汪精卫, was also resident in Macao organising the irregular fight against the Guangdong warlord Long Jiguang 龙济光 and making use of the city as a confidential base.<sup>5</sup> Undoubtedly it was based on this network of relationships that caused Sun Yat Sen to write his famous letter of 23 June 1916 to Carlos da Maia thanking him for his assistance to the Republican cause in China. The timing of the letter signifies the sensitivity of the relationship: it was only written after the political climate had dramatically changed in China as a result of Yuan Shikai's 袁世凯 death on 6 June at the relatively young age of 57, reportedly from a 'natural cause' that was deemed 'blood poisoning'.<sup>6</sup>

With the death of Yuan Shikai in June 1916, Sun's Revolutionary Party's objective had been partially attained. With Yuan no longer attempting to take China back to an autocratic monarchy, revolutionary forces arrayed against him were redeployed. On 25 July the Shanghai HQ of Sun's Revolutionary Party issued a notice to its branches that the 'revolution' was over and the party was to be restructured; and, coincidentally, on 30 July Costa da Maia announced his return to Lisbon for consultations with the Portuguese government of António José d'Almeida (Prime Minister) and Bernardino Machado (President). By 6 September 1916 Carlos da Maia was returning from Macao to Portugal via the United States on the *RMS Empress of Russia*<sup>7</sup> of the Canadian Pacific Lines with a scheduled stopover in Shanghai where Sun's party reorganisation had been taking place. It seems likely that he was joined in his unusual routing through New York City by two of Sun Yat Sen's most important followers, T.V. Song 宋子文 and Sun Fo 孙科. This may have had dramatic implications for Macao's vitally important Outer Harbour Project of 1922 to 1927.

## SUN YAT SEN'S SECOND REVOLUTION, 1913

The year before the arrival of Carlos da Maia in Macao, the assassination of Song Jiaoren 宋教仁, the parliamentary Nationalist Party leader, on 20 March 1913, woke up Chinese Republicans from the dream that a republican system could be easily established in China. His murder initiated the 'Second Revolution' in the summer of 1913, when the old Tong Meng Hui 同盟会 (TMH) cadre revolted after a £25,000,000 loan was extended on 27 April 1913 to the Yuan Shikai government from the Five Power consortium of Britain, France, Germany, Russia and Japan without having attained Chinese Parliamentary approval. As Yuan's premier, Duan Qirui 段祺瑞, surrounded the parliament building with troops and the Nationalists 'impeached the government' a permanent split ensued between Yuan and the Nationalists.<sup>8</sup> Yuan Shikai's rapid dismissal of key Nationalist leaders confirmed an uprising: Huang Xing 黄兴, Li Liejun 李烈钧, Hu Hanmin 胡汉民 and Bai Wenwei 柏文蔚 were all removed as governors in the forty-five days between mid-May and late June, followed by seven southern Chinese provinces revolting against the Yuan Government from mid-July and early August. On 14

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June 1913 Yuan appointed Chen Jiongming 陈炯明 Governor of Guangdong to replace Hu Hanmin.

Support for Chen's acceptance of the position was reported to have come from merchants in Hong Kong, Canton and Macao. It was at this time, 16 June 1913, that Sun Yat Sen made his trip from Shanghai to South China to visit his dying older daughter in Macao ('Annie' Sun Yan 孙延)<sup>9</sup> and to stay with his older brother, Sun Mei. Both would die in Macao with in the next two years. After Annie's return from California in March she died in Macao on 25 June 1913 at age 18. Sun Mei would die in Macao eighteen months later on 11 February 1915. Two years from marrying Song Qingling 宋庆龄, Sun Yat Sen was accompanied by his private secretary, the oldest Song sister, Song Ailing 宋蔼龄. Meeting with Chen Jiongming on the 17 June, also in Macao, and the following day with Hu Hanmin in Hong Kong, Sun's objective was to convince Chen

Jiongming to break with Yuan Shikai and declare the independence of Guangdong along with four southern provinces.<sup>10</sup> He appears to have been successful. On 21 July 1913 the Guangdong Assembly voted unanimously to break with Yuan Shikai and elected Chen Jiongming military governor with the authorisation to act as commander-in-chief of an expedition of 15,000 troops launched against Yuan forces in Jiangxi.

Despite the £25,000,000 Five Power Consortium Loan being designated for industrial and political purposes only, Yuan was able to access it to support military operations against the south. By the end of July Yuan had defeated Huang Xing in Nanjing, and forced him on the 28<sup>th</sup> to flee for Shanghai. Long Jiguang, a general in Guangxi who some supposed was a subordinate to Chen Jiongming,<sup>11</sup> remained allied with Yuan Shikai and invaded Canton through the West River Valley to drive Chen Jiongming out of the city

while Chen's top generals were bribed to defect. On 4 August Chen's troops mutinied and shelled his Governor's House. By the evening of 4 August 1913 army units had rescinded the announcement that declared Guangdong independent and had fully sided with Yuan Shikai against the Second Revolution.

In Canton Chen Jiongming and his close associates fled to the French consulate on Shamian, and then left by gunboat for Hong Kong where the authorities refused him permission to remain. Britain had supported Yuan through its participation in the £25 million loan to his government, and wished



Sun Yat Sen, his wife and sons during his visit to Macao in June 1913.

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to stabilise China not to foment revolution. British police transferred Chen to a German steamer heading for Singapore, where he disembarked at the behest of local Chinese interests and opted to remain in Singapore and Malaysia. By 12 September 1913, the Nationalist leaders in China opposing Yuan had been defeated and had fled overseas. Long Jiguang would rule Guangdong for the next three years until 1916.

## SUN YAT SEN'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY, 1914

The year 1914 marked two fundamentally important events for China: Sun Yat Sen's organisation in Tokyo of the Chinese Revolutionary Party (Zhongguo Gemingdang 中国革命党) between 22 June and 8 July 1914;<sup>12</sup> and, the outbreak in Europe of World War One on 4 August. In Portugal, the government was under the control of the Partido Republicano Português (PRP), arguably the most radical regime in Europe from 1910 to 1917. As the Chinese Revolutionary Party was being organised, Carlos de Maia was sent to Macao as Governor, arriving in Macao on 10 June 1914, just two weeks before Sun Yat Sen's Revolutionary Party held its organisational meeting on 22 June in Tokyo. When representatives of eight Chinese Provinces met, they would form a secret organisation that was pledged personally to Sun Yat Sen and be committed to a 'Third Revolution' that targeted Yuan Shikai. On 8 July 1914 the new party was formally established, and on 1 September it issued its first manifesto.<sup>13</sup>

Members of this underground network would be key officers of the future KMT, including Wu Tiecheng 吴铁城, Feng Ziyou 冯自由, Sun Fo, Xie Yingbei 谢英北 (Tse Ying-po), Lin Sen 林森, Dai Jitao 戴季陶, and Chen Qimei 陈其美. Sun Fo, Sun Yat Sen's only son, was still only an undergraduate at Berkeley and would not graduate until May of 1916, but for this organisational trip he seems to have made it out to Tokyo from San Francisco.<sup>14</sup> Key participants in the June 1914 meetings (Xie Yingbei, Lin Sen and Sun Fo) would importantly also sit on the nine-person committee in October 1923 that restructured the KMT into a Soviet style party as Mikhail Gruzenberg acted as adviser.<sup>15</sup> Others, including Wu Tiecheng, Dai Jitao and Lin Sen would be critical cadre of the KMT during the Pacific War. Dai would be the chief KMT ideologist. Wu would be Mayor of Shanghai during the battles

with Japan in 1932, run Guangdong Province until the Japanese invasion in 1938, and then be Secretary of the KMT beginning in 1941. Lin Sen would be chairman of the National Government. Further, Chen Qimei, the 37-year old former military director of Shanghai after 1911, who was named Director of General Affairs for the Revolutionary Party, despite being assassinated in the spring of 1916, would have an overwhelming influence in the later KMT as Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi 蒋介石) was his protégé and the two influential Chen brothers, Chen Lifu 陈立夫 and Chen Guofu 陈果夫 were his nephews. Chen Lifu became Chiang's confidential secretary and Minister of Education, while Chen Guofu eventually controlled the Organisation Department of the KMT,<sup>16</sup> as Chen Lifu ran Chiang's party secret police through the Central Statistics Bureau (Zhong Tong 中统; Guomindang Zhongyang Weiyuanhui Tongjiju 国民党中央委员会统计局).<sup>17</sup> In late 1913 Lin Sen and Xie Yingbei had sworn the oath of Sun's Revolutionary Party and then were sent to Hawaii and the United States to reorganise the existing, previous Guomindang there. Before Wu Tiecheng, Feng Ziyou and Sun Fo left for the Western Hemisphere after the organisational meeting they were designated representatives of the Revolutionary Party.<sup>18</sup> Xie was elected head of the Chinese Nationalist party on arrival in San Francisco, but resigned in favour of Feng Ziyou; by the winter of 1914 Lin Sen had been elected Chairman of the party in the Americas with Feng as Vice-Chairman. Later from 1932 to 1943 until his death Lin Sen would be Chairman of the National Government of China.

## MACAO'S BORDERS, 1914

Critical to the creation of a modern port in Macao, which would enable the city to regain its position as a leading trade port for China, was the conclusion of an agreement with the Chinese authorities over Macao's borders. Since 1849, when Ferreira do Amaral had evicted the Qing government representatives, it had been impossible for Portugal to reach agreement with the Qing. The impasse continued after China's Republican revolution of 1911, but would be resolved sufficiently to allow the Macao's Outer Harbour Project of 1922-1927 to move ahead by the fall of 1922. Negotiations over Macao's border delineations could not have recommenced until spring of 1914,

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likely beginning under the first premiership of the key Portuguese Republican, Bernardino Machado, and shortly thereafter when the Republican revolutionary José Carlos da Maia was in place as Macao's formal governor. The relationship between Bernardino Machado and Carlos da Maia was obviously strong. As a young Naval Lieutenant in October 1910, Carlos da Maia had personally seen to the success of the military actions that caused Bernardino Machado to come to power as the first Republican Foreign Minister under the Provisional Portuguese Republican government of October 1910 to September 1911, then under the subsequent parliamentary regimes. Bernardino Machado in his first term as Prime Minister from 9 February 1914 to 12 December 1914, appointed Carlos da Maia as Macao governor. During Bernardino Machado's subsequent first term as President of Portugal, from 5 October 1915 to 11 December 1917,<sup>19</sup> Carlos da Maia retained the position. It is uniquely congruent that by June of 1914 Bernardino Machado and Carlos da Maia, two of Portugal's leading Republicans, were in position to have serious discussions with Chinese authorities on the delimitation of Macao's borders just as Sun Yat Sen's Third Revolution was to be launched via his Revolutionary Party.

The picture that follows suggests the political structure in Macao on the arrival of Carlos da Maia.<sup>20</sup> Taken at a reception held at the home of Lou Lim Ioc 卢廉若, Carlos da Maia is the bearded Portuguese in the center of the photo in civilian attire. Shown two persons to his right appears to be Sun Yat Sen's older brother, Sun Mei. Recall that as the 'king of Maui' he financed Sun Yat Sen's education at Hawaii's best school from 1879-1883 and his revolutionary efforts for the ten years from the formation of the Xingzhong Hui 兴中会 (Revive China Party) in Hawaii in 1894 up until Sun Mei's bankruptcy and his family's departure from Hawaii for Hong Kong over the years 1906 to 1908. To the left of Carlos da Maia is Lou Lim Ioc, the gambling king of Macao and its richest man. It is clear then that one of Portugal's leading Republican conspirators, Carlos da Maia, who was closely associated with Portugal's key international Republican functionary (Bernardino Machado), is sitting between two, if not three, of the top financiers of Sun Yat Sen's revolutionary efforts.

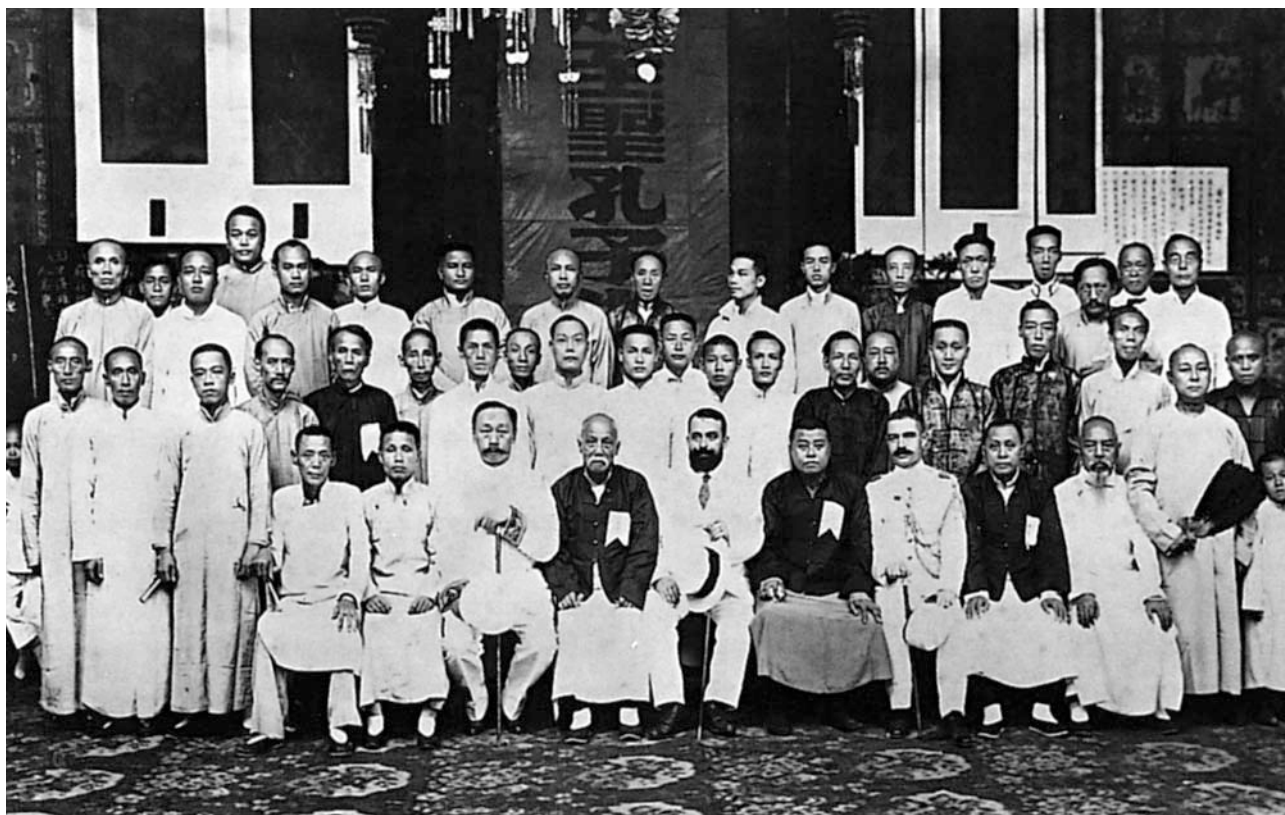
As a revolutionary Carlos da Maia could not have have missed the opportunity to work with Sun's sworn disciples in the Revolutionary Party that sought a Third

Revolution between 1914 and 1916. Sun's followers from this effort became the core of the KMT and established a pattern of intense personal loyalty with critically important off-shore bases. George Yu in his description of how the party was forced to operate emphasised that it was Sun's international bases that provided his support, stating that 'since the outlawing of the old Kuomintang in 1913, its successor, the Zhonghua Gemingdang 中华革命党, had never been able to operate openly in China'.<sup>21</sup> And further that 'between 1913 and 1919... only the branches in Southeast Asia, the Americas, and other foreign lands comprised integral units of the revolutionary organisation'. Across the Pacific in America, from which Sun Mei had come in 1907, there were over a hundred branches with a membership that exceeded 10,000, while an open convention was held from 24 July to 3 August 1915.<sup>22</sup> For revolutionary action directed toward Guangdong Province, a target Sun Yat Sen had steadfastly maintained throughout his revolutionary career, there could have been few better places than a Macao governed by Carlos da Maia with his brother Sun Mei as a resident.

In Macao, *O Progresso*, the weekly Portuguese newspaper edited by Luiz Gonzaga Nolasco da Silva, which would have virtually the same life span as the Macao governorship of Carlos da Maia, published its first edition on 6 September, five days after the Revolutionary Party had issued its founding manifesto.<sup>23</sup> In 1916 *O Progresso* was to be the journal that launched the campaign against the Portuguese General Consul in Shanghai who shut down the business of selling Portuguese nationality as protection for Chinese nationals operating in China. The use of Portuguese nationality to shield Sun Yat Sen revolutionaries clearly would have been highly advantageous. It is difficult to construct an argument that the paper was not directly connected to the political needs, and possibly patronage, of Carlos da Maia.

Earlier, just before the appointment of Carlos da Maia as Macao Governor on 7 May 1914, the new Portuguese premier and former Foreign Minister in the PRP Government, Bernardino Machado, attempted to rekindle the stalled Macao border delineation talks through an approach in Beijing from the Portuguese Ambassador J. Batal de Freitas to Yuan's foreign minister, Sun Baoqi 孙宝琦.<sup>24</sup> Sun Baoqi immediately contacted the Canton Military and Civilian Governors for their input. Although these individuals are not

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At a reception in Lou Lim Ioc's house, Carlos da Maia is the beard Portuguese in the centre in civilian attire.

identified by Huang Hongzhao 黄鸿钊 in his well-researched article, one must have been Long Jiguang, the senior military commander in Guangdong. Negotiations continued throughout the year of 1914-1915, while the Macao Government under Carlos da Maia purchased dredging equipment in anticipation of the implementation of some part of the plan for Harbour improvement proposed by Loureiro in 1884 and Castelo Branco in 1908.

### WORLD WAR, 1914

The initial battles of World War One had a profound impact on China as in the early fall a joint Japanese-British Empire operations against the German territory at Qingdao resulted in the occupation of Shandong Province by Japanese forces, and the imposition of the infamous 'Twenty One Demands' in January of 1915. This significantly complicated China's foreign relations, made apparent Japan's military power in China proper and displaced Britain as the dominant power in the Far East. If the

Portuguese foreign ministry had viewed the provision of the £25 million reorganisation loan by the Five Power Consortium, of which Britain and Japan were leading members, as an opportune moment to press the Yuan Shikai government of China for concessions in Macao, they were likely mistaken. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902, the Five Power Loan of the spring of 1913 led by the Hong Kong Shanghai Bank, and the joint Anglo-Japanese operation against German positions in Shandong in the fall of 1914, pushed British and Japanese policy into close synchronisation. Japanese assistance to Britain in guarding Singapore and escorting Allied Merchantmen through the Mediterranean guaranteed Britain could not articulate a disapproving view of Japanese actions. If Britain and Japan had fundamentally different positions in China, those differences would not be of sufficient magnitude to disrupt Britain's war effort in Europe.

With Portugal also being a long-term British ally, any request to the Yuan government for consideration on the Macao border issue, would likely have been treated



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by Yuan Shikai's government with apprehension. Japan pressed him heavily with the Twenty One Demands, while Sun Yat Sen operated from Tokyo attempting to topple him. It may have been easy to view Japan and Sun Yat Sen as pushing his government unnecessarily, with Britain unable to provide any offsetting assistance and Portugal not having any independent diplomatic capability. Sun, in fact, was reported to have been attempting to structure a relationship with the Japanese government that would have granted Japan extensive economic benefits in China in return for training and equipping a military force that could overthrow Yuan. Citing Wilbur, Jansen, the *South China Morning Post* of 23 June 1924 and Lee Ao's 1987 *Sun Zhongshan Yanjiu* 孙中山研究 as references,<sup>25</sup> Leslie Chen states that in order to overthrow Yuan, 'Sun would rely on Japan to equip and train China's armed forces, use Japanese advisers, seek Japanese capital to develop mining, railroads, and coastal trade and help establish a Sino-Japanese Bank...'<sup>26</sup>

Chen Jiongming, along with other Chinese nationalists who included Huang Xing and three military governors Yuan who had fired (Bai Wenwei, Niu Yongjian 鈕永建, and Li Liejun) refused to agree to working with the Japanese, or any foreign power, for the purposes of overthrowing Yuan. This was laying a marker for future clashes with Sun Yat Sen, while at the same time putting into greater perspective divisions that may have existed in the Nationalist ranks over-and-above the less stressful demand from Sun on Nationalist sensibilities that those joining the Revolutionary Party pledge personal loyalty to him. Huang Xing and Chen Jiongming had, in fact, organised a group in Tokyo with the unusual sounding name of 'Association for the Study of European Affairs', which had expressed the 'willingness to cease revolutionary activities against Yuan Shikai and join in a common front against Japan'.<sup>27</sup> They are also reported to have refused to join the Revolutionary Party due to objections to the personal pledge of loyalty.

Within six months from the start of the Macao Governorship of Carlos da Maia in early June 1914, by January 1915 Japanese pressure on the Yuan Shikai government had risen dramatically. After the German defeat at Qingdao in November 1914 and the subsequent destruction of the German Pacific Fleet under Admiral von Spee at the Battle of the Falklands in December, from January until May of 1915 Japan

demanding that China recognise its succession to German rights in Shandong. Other demands included recognition of special Japanese rights in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, joint operation of China's iron and steel industries, restrictions on the Southeast China coast, employment of Japanese advisers in Chinese governmental institutions and the purchase of 50% of China's munitions from Japan.<sup>28</sup> A Japanese ultimatum on 7 May was followed by Yuan's capitulation on 25 May.<sup>29</sup> Agreements signed with both Russia and Britain also recognise their special interests in Outer Mongolia and Tibet.<sup>30</sup>

Any negotiations Portugal would have attempted for Macao with the central Chinese government under Yuan Shikai in Beijing had to be squeezed between these other substantially more cataclysmic issues, while seeking to position the discussions in the least threatening manner. Given Japanese demands on China, Japan's formal alliance with Britain, the war time alliance of both with Russia, and the historic alliance between Britain and Portugal, this was in all likelihood an impossible task for Portuguese diplomacy.

## YUAN SHIKAI ATTEMPTS TO RETURN TO MONARCHY, 1914-1916

While the Portuguese Republicans under the PRP were moving forward with their own radical restructuring of Portugal's government and religious institutions, Yuan Shikai, contrary to the strategy of Republicans and Socialists globally, was attempting to push China in reverse. On 18 March 1914 he called a national conference to modify the Provisional Constitution of 1912 by converting it from a cabinet to a presidential government. Then, on 1 May 1914, as Bernardino Machado was appointing Carlos da Maia to the Governorship of Macao, Yuan implemented the Constitutional Compact which gave the Chinese president a ten-year term, made him eligible for unlimited reelection, and gave him the ability to appoint his successor. On 12 December 1915 Yuan took the final step when he announced the creation of the new Hongxian 洪宪 Dynasty, for which he was to be the founder.<sup>31</sup> The attempt to crown himself emperor was not well received: the military governor of Yunnan, Tang Jiyao 唐继尧, revolted and sent General Cai E 蔡锷 into Sichuan and General Li Liejun to Guangxi, though in Guangdong Long



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Jiguang remained loyal to Yuan and his brutality kept him in power.

By late 1915 Sun Yat Sen was accelerating the work of the Revolutionary Party against Yuan. Both Chen Jiongming and Wang Jingwei's cousin Zhu Zhixin organised opposition to Yuan in Guangdong Province. Sheng Yonghua 盛永华 in his 1991 Beijing published history of Sun Yat Sen and Macao focuses on Zhu Zhixin, while ignoring Chen Jiongming.<sup>32</sup> He reports that by late 1915 Sun began to make greater use of Macao as a basis to operate against Yuan and sent Zhu Zhixin from Tokyo to develop a Chinese Revolutionary Army in Guangdong to overthrow Long Jiguang. Ten years before in 1905-1906 Zhu Zhixin had come to Tokyo from Guangdong, playing a leading role that included composing cutting edge articles for the Tong Meng Hui's *Min Bao* 民报. Zhu Zhixin set up one command center in Macao, but in January of 1916 with this army he commenced an uprising in Eastern Guangdong at Waichow (Huizhou) on the other side of the Pearl River. He was defeated. In March Zhu Zhixin launched another self-led uprising with one-third of the force coming from Macao.<sup>33</sup> Leslie Chen reports that during the process of forming an army in the East River District, Chen Jiongming was also deeply involved, having returned from Malaysia, first coming to Hong Kong, then slipping into the East River area to help form the anti-Long Jiguang army.<sup>34</sup>

By early 1916 the consensus supporting Yuan Shikai's regime in Beijing continued to deteriorate. In March General Lu Rongting 陆荣廷 in Guangxi declared Guangxi province independent while the Tang Jiyao subordinate Li Liejun, who had been sent into Guangxi from Yunnan, defeated Long Jiguang's brother on the border. Yuan Shikai's rescission of his imperial proclamation on 22 March 1916 did not stem the political breakdown. Threatened by both Lu Rongting and Li Liejun, Long Jiguang on 6 April also declared Guangdong independent from Yuan. A similar declaration for the eastern part of Guangdong at Swatow had been made the week before by a Colonel Mo. Chen Jiongming seized the opportunity to meet with Colonel Mo, established an understanding based upon republican principles, and added Colonel Mo's forces to the approximately 20,000 that had been raised through his efforts with Zhu Zhixin. By July 1916 Long Jiguang was surrounded on three sides by the armies of Lu Rongting, Li Liejun and Chen Jiongming.<sup>35</sup>



Yuan Shikai wearing the uniform of the General-in-Chief of the Northern Army.

On 5 May 1916 Sun Yat Sen felt secure enough by defections among Yuan's military supporters to return to Shanghai with sources referring to him as returning from both the U.S. and Japan. Newspaper reports on the 8 May 1916 stated he was transiting Shanghai, where he still maintained a home in the French Concession, for Canton.<sup>36</sup> On 18 May, Chen Qimei, the former Governor of Shanghai and the uncle of the influential Chen brothers of Pacific War fame (Chen Guofu and Chen Lifu), who had returned to Shanghai approximately two weeks before Sun, was cut down by Yuan Shikai's assassins.<sup>37</sup> Chen Qimei had been the director of the General Affairs section of the Revolutionary Party Bureau since its formal founding on 8 July 1914.<sup>38</sup> With Chiang Kai-shek he had arranged the assassination of Yuan Shikai's military representative in Shanghai, Admiral Zheng Rucheng 郑汝成, on 10 November 1915. On 5 December he organised a small group to seize the Chinese flagship in Shanghai, the 2,750 ton *Chao-ho*, and used it to shell the city in support of a rebellion.<sup>39</sup>

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One thing seems fairly certain about the period from the summer of 1913 to the death of Yuan Shikai three years later in 1916: no one in Beijing, Shanghai or Canton had time or incentive to negotiate the boundaries of Macao.

## DEATH OF YUAN SHIKAI AND CARLOS DA MAIA'S RETURN TO PORTUGAL, 1916

The situation in China and Guangdong Province changed dramatically on 6 June 1916 when Yuan Shikai died and was succeeded as President by Li Yuanhong 黎元洪. Li attempted to end hostilities in South China by ordering a cease fire and distributing political appointments to the contending generals. Lu Rongting was named Military Governor of Guangdong, while Long Jiguang became head of Mining Affairs for Guangdong and Guangxi, a post that should have been extremely lucrative. As a new Civil Governor, President Li appointed Zhu Qinglan 朱庆澜, an individual who had not previously taken part in the military struggles. Chen Jiongmeng, with only an army of irregulars, was forced to take a back-seat to Lu Rongting whose professional army gave him military dominance in the province. He began an extended tour of North China with his supporters Deng Keng 邓铿 and Huang Jiang 黄江.<sup>40</sup>

Following Yuan's death in June, by August Sun Yat Sen and Song Qingling were in their home in the French Settlement on Rue Molière.<sup>41</sup> During the previous six month struggle Wang Jingwei's close relative Zhu Zhixin had been organising the irregular fight against Long Jiguang, making use of a Macao base that boasted Carlos da Maia as Governor.<sup>42</sup> On 23 June 1916 Sun Yat Sen wrote his personal letter in French to Carlos da Maia thanking him for his assistance to the Republican cause in China. Carlos da Maia had facilitated Sun and Zhu Zhixin in some significant, but unspecified manner.

On 25 July the Shanghai headquarters of Sun's Revolutionary Party issued a notice to its branches that the 'revolution' was over and the party was to be restructured. By 6 September 1916 Carlos da Maia was already returning from Macao to Portugal via Shanghai, where he arrived on the 8 September on the *RMS Empress of Russia*, a Royal Mail Steamship of the Canadian Pacific Lines. His published purpose in returning to Portugal was to clarify the Macao Harbour

Project and ensure that its funding could come from the reserve funds held by the Macao Government at Banco Nacional Ultramarino (BNU) in Macao and the Hong Kong Shanghai Bank (HSBC) in Hong Kong. The ship offered a 19½ day passage from Shanghai to New York.<sup>43</sup> Its itinerary included stops in Shanghai, Nagasaki, Kobe, Yokohama, and Victoria, British Columbia. An additional week to ten days was needed to get from New York to London and onward to Lisbon.

There is no report that Carlos da Maia met with Sun Yat Sen during his stop in Shanghai on 8 September. The Macao based *O Progresso* and the Shanghai *North-China Daily News* mentioned no interaction in Shanghai between Carlos da Maia and the Sun-Song family. But it would seem unlikely that the Governor did not arrange to meet with someone with a close affiliation to Sun. With Carlos da Maia being regarded as one of the founders of the Portuguese Republic,<sup>44</sup> he and Sun were in a good position to discuss coordination of efforts. Carlos da Maia would have been remiss in not taking advantage of the opportunity to render most effective his return to Lisbon. Rather than taking the shorter route back to Lisbon, south from Macao through the Suez Canal and Mediterranean, he had elected to take the longer route through Shanghai, Japan, Canada and America. The window of opportunity for a face-to-face meeting with Sun was extremely tight. The ship would arrive in Shanghai on the morning of Friday 8 September, with passengers leaving Shanghai required to depart from the Municipal Customs Jetty in Shanghai at 3:30 pm for embarkation.<sup>45</sup> Total time in the city would not exceed six hours. Nevertheless, the impetus for a meeting was substantial: Sun's good friend Francisco Hermenegildo Fernandes was in a peak period of influence in Macao, where Carlos da Maia was still Governor; Fernandes' key associates Pedro Nolasco da Silva and António Bastos had been strong advocates of the Canton to Macao railway; both Fernandes and Carlos da Maia were strong and active Freemasons of the Luís de Camões Lodge, while Sun is reported to have been a Mason and was certainly a member of the Chinese Masons in America; Sun's key TMH organiser and the most active ideologue, Zhu Zhixin, had run a base from Macao while targeting General Long Jiguang for at least the first six months of 1916; And, of course, Sun had just written his personal thank you to Carlos da Maia in French (a language that Carlos

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da Maia undoubtedly read) for his support of Chinese Republicans during the anti-Yuan campaign. Carlos da Maia was being feted in Shanghai by the locally influential Portuguese community.

Further, also resident in Shanghai were the key members of the Song family who had been financially supporting Sun's operations and manning his administrative unit for years. Although Charles Jones Song Jiashu 宋嘉樹 the father may have still been estranged from Sun due to Sun's 1915 marriage (the year before) to his second daughter, Song Qingling, both of the Song daughters who had acted as Sun's confidential personal secretaries were in Shanghai. The eldest daughter, Song Ailing had made use of a Portuguese passport for her trip to the United States that began on 28 May 1904 to commence studies at Wesleyan College in Georgia in that fall. This passport had been obtained by Charles Song from the Portuguese consulate in Shanghai on the basis of a tenuous claim of having been born in Macao and the payment of a special fee.<sup>46</sup> This likely meant that Charles Song traveled on a Portuguese passport as well for his trip to the United States in late 1905 and early 1906, into which entry had been heavily restricted by the Chinese Exclusion Act. While previously this should have given him entree as a 'Portuguese' to the Club Lusitano, he also must have maintained a relationship with the Portuguese consul in Shanghai and senior members of the Portuguese community in Shanghai. On 8 September 1916 it was the acting Portuguese Consul, Mário Nascimento, who led the welcoming party to greet Carlos da Maia on board the *RMS Empress of Russia*.

Unfortunately, earlier in the year on 20 March following the eruption of a major scandal, ten individuals were sentenced in Macao over the sale of 'Portuguese Patents', meaning identity papers, which could give Chinese the protection of Portugal's extraterritoriality while operating on mainland China. Of the many powers that the Governor of Macao (including Carlos da Maia) maintained over the administration, legislation, finances, navy and military, he did not control the judiciary. Although the Governor had a legal advisor in the form of the State Attorney (Delegação da Procuradoria da República) this officer also did not control the Judiciary, which reported independently back to the court in Goa, then Lisbon.

The 'Portuguese Patents' issue had first been reported in the *North-China Daily News* three to

four years before, which had stated that Chinese were purchasing 'patents of Portuguese nationality, which would be held secretly until the owner came into collision with the Chinese or other authorities'. The holder could then escape 'into the shelter of the Portuguese courts'. Numerous complaints from Chinese and foreign governments had ensued. The Portuguese Consul General in Shanghai, Barjona de Freitas, had been instructed to investigate and rectify this situation, which led to the discovery of an influential support network for this business in Macao. There could be no better evidence that this system was being used by Sun's revolutionary cadres than the fact that his chief funder (Charlie Song) and private secretary (Song Ailing) both had made use of Portuguese passports in the recent past.

Following the 20 March events a campaign against Barjona de Freitas was launched that became known as the 'Portuguese Pamphlets' affair. Mr. Carvalho e Régio of Macao who was an editor of the Macao weekly *O Progresso* claimed in a letter to the editor of the *North-China Daily News* of 23 June that he had started the campaign in his paper against the Portuguese Consul in Shanghai, Barjona de Freitas, but also asserted that neither he nor his associate Mr. da Silva were involved in the 'coterie organised in Macao and in Shanghai with the view of dealing in patents of nationality'.<sup>47</sup> Though ten individuals had been sentenced on 20 March, Carvalho e Rego denied that they constituted a 'coterie'.

Importantly, the life of this Portuguese weekly *O Progresso* seems to have been closely tied to Carlos da Maia. If true, this would have placed Carlos da Maia among those who were attempting to remove Portugal's Shanghai General Consul due to his interference in the protection schemes Macao had provided to Chinese nationals operating in China. The paper's lifespan was bounded by the tenor of Carlos da Maia's governorship. First, it was founded on 6 September 1914, three months after his arrival in Macao as governor; secondly, though it ended on 28 July 1918, two years after Carlos da Maia had returned from Macao to Portugal,<sup>48</sup> its closing date was just after Carlos da Maia ceased being the formal governor of Macao and Minister of the Navy in the government of Sidónio Pais.<sup>49</sup> During this period Dr. Luiz Gonzaga Nolasco da Silva had been the director, editor and administrator of *O Progresso* while serving on the Council of the Province (Conselho de Província). Between 1909 and 1935 Nolasco da Silva

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would be six times the President of the Leal Senado, but appears not to have been involved with another paper as editor. This chronology shows a direct correlation between Carlos da Maia as Governor of Macao, the existence of *O Progresso*, and the political career of leading Macanese which had given both Carlos da Maia and Sun Yat Sen political support.

With respect to the Portuguese Patents issue that was roiling by the spring of 1916, the *North-China Daily News* reported that the Portuguese Patents issue had ‘convulsed the Portuguese community, giving rise to general scandal, scurrilous pamphlets and agitation up and down the coast’.<sup>50</sup> In May pamphlets in English had been issued in Shanghai that were highly critical of the Portuguese General Consul Shanghai, Barjona de Freitas. The legal code of Portugal did not allow the pamphlets to be suppressed, and changes were recommended to certain Portuguese legal codes as a result. Foreign pressure was brought to bear on the Consul to resolve the problem, with steps that the *North-China Daily Press* termed ‘drastic’. The Portuguese Minister in Beijing, (who was Batalha de Freitas, not Barjona de Freitas), then arrived to resolve matters. Barjona de Freitas, the Portuguese General Consul in Shanghai, thereupon requested six months home leave, which he was due, and the pamphlets were ‘suppressed’. The report concluded with the unusual observation that, ‘the coterie of dealers in patents of nationality had been taught that they could not rouse the whole Portuguese community in the interests of their trade with impunity. It was advisable to allow time for the air to clear’.

In the critical June of 1916, Barjona de Freitas on 5 June had returned back to Lisbon for his lengthy home leave and had named Mário Nascimento, the secretary of the Portuguese legation, as the acting Consul. Carlos da Maia had also announced his request for replacement on 18 June, but the published reports in Macao state the request was due to the demand from Lisbon that Macao wire the surplus funds back to Portugal that Macao had planned to use for its Harbour improvement. The reports in Macao do not raise the issue of the Portuguese Pamphlets controversy.<sup>51</sup> Nor does the published report of the affair in the *North-China Daily News* describe how Carlos da Maia may have been involved. Since he had been Governor of Macao for the two years from 10 June 1914 during a period of great turmoil in China during which time the Portuguese nationality might

have been very helpful to Sun Yat Sen’s comrades, it would have been difficult for him to have avoided the affair’s implications.

Meanwhile, the Macao-based weekly *O Progresso* reported the arrival of Carlos da Maia on 8 September as being ‘a manifestation filled with great happiness’ (*Em Shanghai a manifestação chegou ao delirio*) while extensive and positive coverage was presented by major international newspapers, including the American newspaper the *China Press*, the English newspapers *North China Daily News*, *Shanghai Mercury*, *Shanghai Times* and *The Union*, and the French newspaper *L’Echo de Chine*. *O Progresso* stated that Carlos da Maia had discussions with the Portuguese Consul in Shanghai, Dr. Mário Nascimento, and with Adelino Diniz, who was described as the oldest Portuguese resident in Shanghai, who may also have had a senior association with the *North China Daily News*. That newspaper covered the Friday 8 September arrival of Carlos da Maia in its 9 September 1916 edition, but it described a tight and constrained schedule which did not include even a full day in Shanghai. The Governor had arrived in the morning on the *RMS Empress of Russia* of the Canadian Pacific Lines and departed later that afternoon. The ship’s 19½ day passage from Shanghai to New York would have put him in New York City on roughly 28 September.<sup>52</sup>

## THE PASSENGERS THAT JOINED THE EMPRESS OF RUSSIA, SEPTEMBER 1916

There were two and only two individuals with Chinese surnames who boarded the *Empress of Russia* in Shanghai, and they are of interest. Listed as outbound passengers in the *North China Daily News* were a ‘Mr. V.T. Sun’ and ‘Mr. K.F. Song’.<sup>53</sup> Had the manifest read ‘Mr. V.T. Song’ instead of ‘V.T. Sun’, this individual could have been T.V. Song the recent Harvard graduate and influential brother of Song Ailing. Or, if the report read ‘Mr. K.F. Sun’ instead of ‘K.F. Song’, the other individual may have been the son of Sun Yat Sen, ‘Sun Ke’, who was also known in his Cantonese dialect as ‘Sun Fo’.<sup>54</sup> The non-standardisation of Chinese names was common practice in a society with multiple dialects and a Romanisation system that had not yet been standardised for the national language of Mandarin (which also had not yet been established). For instance, Wang Jingwei’s noted biographer refers three times to

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T.V. Song in his *Wang Ching-wei a Political Biography* as ‘T.V. Sung.’<sup>55</sup> Inverting the original name Song Tse-ven (Song Ziwen 宋子文) from a Chinese right-to-left format to a western left-to-right format will convert the name ‘Sung T.V.’ to ‘V.T. Sung’. That is very close to T.V. Song being the passenger who accompanies Carlos da Maia to New York City on the *RMS Empress of Russia* in September 1916. If T.V. Song had been on board, one might have concluded that Carlos da Maia would have been able to establish a direct line of communication with two members of the Sun-Song family who would be of considerable importance for the future of Macao.

Just what were Sun Fo and T.V. Song doing in the summer of 1916 and what are the prospects of their having been in Shanghai? Secondary sources relating to T.V. Song and Sun Fo do not appear to address their activities in the summer of 1916 and this has been a serious oversight. The summer of 1916 was one of the most important political periods of the Republican period. In the first half of the year a strong and widespread anti-Yuan movement had arisen within the global Chinese political communities due to widespread opposition to Yuan’s attempts to re-establish the monarchy. Key Southern generals had called for Yuan’s abdication. His death on 6 June initiated a scramble among those groups for political power. Despite these remarkable political events, no secondary sources uncovered address how this period impacted Sun Fo and T.V. Song, two of the individuals closest to Sun Yat Sen and critical for the future of China.<sup>56</sup>

By late September 1916 they had to be in New York City at the end of the railroad line that Carlos da Maia would need to take from Vancouver to reach the ship that he would board for Lisbon. Sitting then, at the end of Carlos da Maia’s train line to New York would be the next generation of Republican Chinese leaders. T.V. Song and Sun Fo were with a small group of Chinese students studying at Columbia University, with a fall semester start date of 28 September. The group also included the future leader of the China’s educational modernisation and Chinese ambassador to the United States, Hu Shi 胡适, and the future Chinese minister to Brazil and Sun Yat Sen son-in-law, Dai Encai 戴恩赛. In the immediately preceding year of 1915-1916 as graduate students, T.V. Song, who was enrolled in a graduate economics program

and Hu Shi in the Ph.D. program of the Departments of History and Philosophy, roomed in the same dorm of Furnald Hall while Dai Encai and Sun Fo lived across the quad in Livingston Hall.<sup>57</sup> By June 1917, Sun Fo would have graduated with a Master’s Degree in the first class of Columbia’s new School of Business. With the Columbia school year of 1916-1917 having only 19 Chinese in a total of 8,023 students, the Chinese student community there must have been close.<sup>58</sup> Dai Encai went on to become Sun Fo’s brother-in-law following his graduation with a Ph.D. in Philosophy and international law in June 1918, and subsequently, after his lengthy eight-year stay in Brazil beginning in 1929, a long-term resident of Macao and Zhong Shan County from 1937. Effectively, Sun Fo, T.V. Song, Dai Encai and Song Meiling 宋美龄 (when she visited) would become a tight-knit family group through the marriage of Song Qingling to Sun Yat Sen in the fall of 1915 and Dai Encai to Grace Sun Wan 孙婉 in March 1921. In the summer of 1914, Sun Fo had taken its oath of allegiance to the Revolutionary Party. It would be a difficult argument to suggest that T.V. Song, Sun’s brother-in-law and Sun Fo’s classmate at Columbia, and Dai Encai were not also members.

Below is a photograph of the group at Columbia University sometime during the 1916-1917 school year. In the first row sitting from left to right are Hu Shi, T.V. Song, Sun Fo, and Dai Encai. Directly in back of Sun Fo appears to be Song Meiling. These are fourteen or fifteen of the nineteen Chinese students studying at Columbia University in that year.<sup>59</sup>

## WHERE WERE SUN FO AND T.V. SONG IN THE SUMMER OF 1916?

Were these leaders also in Shanghai to board *RMS Empress of Russia* that Carlos da Maia would take to Canada? An answer to this requires an assessment of the Chinese political situation, the nature of Chinese student political movements and the status of the Chinese economy. First, in addition to the clashes with and then the death of Yuan Shikai, conflicts among revolutionaries and their student supporters were apparent. It was reported that when Huang Xing returned back from the U.S. to Japan on 9 May, four hundred Chinese students rallied for him in Tokyo and ejected followers of Sun Yat Sen from the meeting.<sup>60</sup>

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Group at Columbia University. In the first row sitting from left to right are Hu Shi, T.V. Song, Sun Fo, and Dai Encai. Directly in back of Sun Fo appears to be Song Meiling. From *Hu Shi Ji Qi Youren 1904-1948* 胡适及其友人1904-1948 (Hu Shi and his Friends). Hong Kong: The Commercial Press, 1999.

Having key student leaders representing Sun Yat Sen's Revolutionary Party in North America was critical for Sun's political position among overseas Chinese there. It would have been extremely advantageous by the fall of 1916 to have had Sun Fo, T.V. Song, Hu Shi, and Dai Encai at Columbia University with Song Meiling at Wellesley pledged to and promoting his efforts.

Secondly, T.V. Song had graduated from Harvard in June of 1915<sup>61</sup> with a B.A. in Economics and was working for the International Banking Corporation of New York City, a subsidiary of the National City Bank of New York (now known as Citibank).<sup>62</sup> The IBC had a significant Asian presence, was a regular advertiser in the *North-China Daily News* and operated a branch in Shanghai on Kiukiang Road.<sup>63</sup> It is reliably reported in secondary literature that Song only permanently

returned to China with his younger sister Song Meiling in the summer of 1917 after she had graduated from Wellesley. But few sources investigate his actions in the summer of 1916. Neither Howard Boorman in his 1967 *Biographical Dictionary* nor Sterling Seagrave in his 1985 'exposé' on the Song family detail T.V. Song's activities as the Yuan Shikai government ended; his employer investigated a major loan to the new Chinese government with encouragement from the U.S. State Department, and a financial run on China's two leading banks was brought under control.

At a minimum, without considering the needs for Sun to organise the Chinese students in America, there is a case to be made that he undertook a trip to Shanghai for business purposes as his employer dealt with two major financial issues in China. The first broke

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out on 13 May when a financial run on the Bank of China and the Bank of Communication in Beijing that derived from an excess distribution of bank notes, almost caused their collapse. An order from the Cabinet signed by the Premier Duan Qirui had suspended all payments on debt, deposits and note exchange. This action was threatening to turn into a major cross-border financial crisis.<sup>64</sup> It was necessary for an international financial consortium to agree publicly to support the institutions before the crisis had passed. The members of the banking consortium included Song's employer, the International Banking Corporation, along with the other top banks operating in China, namely the Chartered Bank, HSBC, Mercantile Bank of India, Yokohama Specie Bank, Bank of Taiwan, Banque Belge, Banque de L'Indochine, Russo-Asiatic Bank and the Nederlandsche Handels Bank.<sup>65</sup>

When the bank run had been brought under control, the death of Yuan Shikai three weeks later shuffled China's economic and political deck. It would have been reasonable for National City Bank and its International Banking Corporation subsidiary to have wished for clear assessment of the rapidly changing Chinese political and economic situation. What better person to investigate the situation than T.V. Song, the Harvard-educated brother of the wife of the first Chinese President? He would have been able to access directly the network of his father, Charlie Song; his two brothers-in-law, Sun Yat Sen and H.H. Kung, the latter being the product of one of China's leading banking families; and his two sisters, Song Ailing and Song Qingling, who were Sun Yat Sen's confidential secretaries. Much of the political controversy surrounding Yuan Shikai had involved the financing of his government through international banking consortiums. Had National City Bank not made use of T.V. Song, an extraordinary asset in their employ in New York City, they would have misused one of their best connected resources in China. International banks employed the children of politically and economically well-connected elites precisely for these purposes.

In fact, three days before the arrival and departure of Carlos da Maia from Shanghai, on 5 September the *North-China Daily News* had carried a lengthy article describing the results of attempts by the American banking consortium that included National City Bank, the parent of T.V. Song's employer, to supply China

with new credit facilities. The US State Department had encouraged the banking group to support the Chinese Government, but the banking consortium of J.P. Morgan, Kuhn Loeb, National City Bank, and First National Bank 'found it impossible under the conditions which exist to make the loan'. Despite China having turned to the American International Corporation as an alternative, bankers viewed the likelihood of success as minimal.<sup>66</sup> The American banking consortium had agreed in 1911 to a five-year period whereby a consortium of banks from Britain, Japan, France, Germany, Russia and the United States would not work independently of one another with respect to loans to the Chinese government. The Wilson Administration had prevented the American banks from joining in the loan of the Six Power Consortium in April of 1913, but the five-year term on the original agreement was not to expire until the next year. Despite encouragement from the US State Department, it proved impossible to structure a transaction that was acceptable to the American bankers.

Though youthful and undoubtedly aggressive, given T.V. Song's capabilities, relationships in China and his future roles as both Sun Yat Sen's financial manager and the organiser of the Central Bank in China in 1924, he should have been supporting the team that undertook the discussions on behalf of National City Bank. It is also likely that Sun Yat Sen was opposed to any new loans to the Beijing government as the *North-China Daily News* on 17 August explained there were Chinese in America opposed to a loan to the new government, pending incorporation of their associates into the government that was being contemplated.<sup>67</sup> Sun Yat Sen, China's leading Republican revolutionary was not in that government. The individual best placed to make the assessment as to whether the leader of the Chinese revolutionists, Sun Yat Sen, would agree to a reorganisation loan to the successor government to Yuan Shikai, was Sun's brother-in-law, T.V. Song, a Harvard-graduate, an IBC employee and a Columbia Economics Department graduate student.

With respect to Sun Fo, George Yu in *Party Politics in Republican China* has already implied that while Sun Fo was still an undergraduate he returned from San Francisco to Tokyo in June of 1914 to take the oath of allegiance that his father required for the Revolutionary Party.<sup>68</sup> His trip across the Pacific for political purposes



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General Li Yuanhong.

would not have been unusual. Earlier, following the 1911 revolution Sun Fo had quickly returned to China, but his father sent him back to the United States to finish his education.<sup>69</sup> It is also conceivable he made a summer trip to China to visit his father in Shanghai and his mother in Macao following his graduation from Berkeley in mid-May of 1916. By early fall of 1916 he was scheduled to enter Columbia University to study for a masters degree in business administration while his step-uncle, T.V. Song, was studying economics.<sup>70</sup> Since both Sun Fo and T.V. Song would need to be in New York City in the fall of 1916, they could have returned from Shanghai together after visiting their joint 'Sun-Song' family in Shanghai. The 28 September arrival date would have met the scheduled date for the commencement of Columbia University's fall semester of late September. Had T.V. Song and Sun Fo been on the *Empress of Russia*, they would have accompanied Carlos de Maia from Shanghai all the way to New York City, the destination of all three.

Unfortunately past authors who have provided biographies of Sun Fo do not provide sufficient detail to verify a summer-1916 trip to China. This includes

Lai Jeh-hang 赖泽涵, who in 1976 completed a dissertation focused on Sun Fo entitled *A Study of a Faltering Democrat, the Life of Sun Fo, 1891-1949*, and Howard Boorman's *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*. These lack data for the period from Sun Fo's graduation from Berkeley in 1916 until his graduation from Columbia University in 1917.<sup>71</sup> Lai Jeh-hang makes two claims and an omission without providing citations: the first is that Sun Fo graduated in May 1916 and was so short of cash that he sent his wife back to Hawaii to live with his in-laws; the second was that he arrived in New York in August.<sup>72</sup> He fails to mention anything concerning Sun Fo's mother or surviving sister during this period, despite Sun Fo having spent his infancy and youth with them and with his recently deceased uncle Sun Mei. Additionally, since Columbia University's fall 1916 semester began not in late August but on 27 September, with final registration on 30 September,<sup>73</sup> Lai is likely to have been in error. An arrival in August would have required Sun Fo to wait with little to do for well over a month before classes began. It is therefore feasible that Sun Fo returned to Shanghai following his graduation from Berkeley in May, or subsequent to Yuan Shikai's death in June. There was sufficient money available from Charlie Song to facilitate Sun Fo's trip back to Shanghai. Significantly, Charlie Song's older daughter Song Ailing had looked after the affairs of Sun Fo's mother and sisters during her lengthy service as confidential secretary to the TMH, which appears to have been as long as the five years from 1909 to 1914.

In addition to the personal and financial issues that may have brought T.V. Song and Sun Fo to Shanghai in the summer of 1916, there was also the significant political event of the implantation of the Revolutionary Party's (Gemingdang) headquarters in Shanghai and the reconfiguration of the party. Not only would Sun need to build his domestic Chinese base, but he would need to build his international network to support his operations. On 25 July the Shanghai headquarters of the Revolutionary Party issued a notice to all the party's branches and representatives from Sun Yat Sen which restated the reasons for the creation of the Revolutionary Party in 1913 and announced the steps to be taken subsequent to the death of Yuan. Sun explained that the Party's chief object had been 'overthrowing the despotic government and restoring our Republic'. In condemning 'the traitor Yuan', he also

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announced that with legal succession to the Presidency of Li Yuanhong, the restoration of the Provisional Constitution and the assembling of the Parliament, 'the word "Revolution" was no longer appropriate either in name and in principle and all the activities of our party will be stopped'. The party was to be reconstituted and an invitation was extended for plans, views and opinions on that process from branches and representatives at home or abroad.<sup>74</sup>

Three days later at the home of Wu Tingfang 伍廷芳, the senior Chinese political leader who would work closely with Sun until Wu's death in 1922 in an effort to restore a unified Chinese republic, the World Chinese Students Federation held a promotional meeting of 300 to 400 Chinese students.<sup>75</sup> Wu was undoubtedly one of the key political personalities of this era, having begun his political career in Hong Kong as a British trained barrister from 1877 to 1882, then joining Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 to support the Self Strengthening Movement and modernisation program, and finally becoming Qing Ambassador to the United States from 1897 to 1902. On his return he worked in various governmental capacities, leading to his engineering Yuan Shikai into the Chinese Presidency in 1911-1912. Following his decision to join with Sun Yat Sen in Sun's first Guangdong Government in 1917, he would play numerous roles, including being both Foreign and Finance Minister, acting President in early 1922 and Governor of Guangdong in spring of 1922. However, despite their work together beginning in the fall of 1917, he only formally aligned with Sun in March 1920.<sup>76</sup> His hosting the World Chinese Students Federation event did not necessarily imply these organisational efforts were being undertaken in conjunction with the restructuring of Sun's Revolutionary Party, despite the proximity of the report in the *North-China Daily News* which suggests the possibility.

Sun was, however, clearly restructuring his global operations to address the new political environment. Two key participants in that process could well have been his son, Sun Fo, who was to be a graduate student at Columbia University in 1916-1917, and the recent Harvard graduate, T.V. Song, who was also working on a graduate degree in economics in the same university. He was also dorm mates (and possibly roommates) with Hu Shi, who shortly would become one of the most important leaders of China's

educational modernisation. Of all the Chinese students in North America, they were best placed to serve as the organisational cadre for the North American branch of the World Chinese Students Federation. The Revolutionary Party, in fact, would continue to operate for another three years until it was formally converted to the KMT on 10 October 1919.<sup>77</sup>

With Carlos da Maia specifically transiting both Shanghai and New York, how would he not take advantage of the opportunity to meet the representatives of China's first President, whose family had multiple links into Macao, Portugal's key Asian base? His visit to Shanghai had been arranged a month before (early August) with the knowledge that he would be in Shanghai only a few hours. His time at the Club Lusitano was not even three hours, with arrival at 12.15 pm and departure at 3 pm. Nevertheless, the Club Lusitano of Shanghai hosted a magnificent reception at which many of the dignitaries of the Shanghai Portuguese community were present.<sup>78</sup> The reception committee included Dr. Mário Nascimento, Portuguese Consul, as Chairman and Celidónio C. Remédios, the Commandante of the Portuguese Volunteers, as Vice Chairman. In the welcoming party were Captain Diniz and Lieutenant Guiterres of the Portuguese Company of the Shanghai Volunteer Defense Corps. Both Nascimento and Remédios delivered welcoming speeches with Remédios clearly stating that Carlos da Maia's return to Portugal was 'on an important mission for the benefit of Macao'. The nature of the visit was not specified. However, Remédios stressed the importance of the Governor for the city and the attention that the Portuguese Community in Shanghai had placed on his efforts:

It is well known that the colony of Macao, by reason of its special circumstances, depends entirely for its prosperity on the man whom Portugal sends to govern it. From this place for more than two years our eyes have been fixed on the Portuguese possession in China, because of the man who was governing it, and we have had reasons for congratulation. ... We Portuguese in Shanghai are cordially united in this manifestation, indicative of the gratitude of the people to a worthy governor of Macao. ... The nomination of your Excellency to preside over the destiny of Macao is sufficient proof that the Motherland has not forgotten its interest.<sup>79</sup>

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Group after the ceremony of the inauguration on Yuan Shikai as President.

## CONCLUSION

Had T.V. Song and Sun Fo undertaken the voyage back to Canada and the United States on the *Empress of Russia* on 8 September 1916, it would have put three individuals critical for the future of Macao on the same vessel: Carlos da Maia, T.V. Song and Sun Fo. It is conceivable that Carlos da Maia's stop in Shanghai may have been entirely insufficient to have enabled any discussions directly with Sun Yat Sen, but it would have been unwise of Carlos da Maia, a significant leader of the Portuguese Republicans, and the Chinese Republicans to have missed the opportunity to coordinate their activities. Publicly, it had been widely announced that Carlos da Maia was to have critical discussions in Lisbon on the development of the Macao port and the use of the city's reserve funds. Privately, he may have had the controversial issue of the Portuguese Passports still to finalise. At the same time, Sun had been using Macao as a base of operations to a presently unquantifiable degree.

With Yuan Shikai's death in June 1916, the Chinese political establishment was in turmoil and its political future uncertain. Sun Yat Sen had been

the immediate predecessor to Yuan as President of the Republic of China, and he was certainly in the running to be Yuan's successor. Sun had just moved back to Shanghai from Tokyo, and Portugal's most important political figure in Asia was returning to Lisbon through Shanghai to discuss the future of Macao, Portugal's key base in Asia. It was just ten years before that Macanese leaders in Macao had attempted to construct a railroad from Canton to the City, and this proposal had been blocked for political reasons in Lisbon. Sun Yat Sen, of course, had been Yuan's Minister of Railroads in 1912 and had visited Macao near the time of his appointment. At the same time, Sun Yat Sen's first wife, Lu Muzhen 卢慕贞 was resident in Macao and Sun Yat Sen's brother was buried there. His surviving daughter, Grace Sun Wan, appears to have still been studying in Berkeley, but the location of this daughter and Sun Fo that summer might also have been Macao. After graduating from University of California at Berkeley in the spring of 1916 and with major political change brewing in China, it would have been reasonable for Sun Fo to have visited his mother, possibly even bringing her surviving daughter back with him.

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Irrespective of the emotional attachment that the Sun family undoubtedly had in Macao, from the commercial and political potential of investment in the city both Sun Yat Sen and Charles Song Jiashu should have exhibited a keen interest. Plans for the development of the Macao Harbour could well have resulted in the economic resurgence of the city as a 'second Hong Kong', while providing an expanded platform for Sun's lifelong attempt to gain Canton as a political and military base. Substantiating this assumption, after graduating from Columbia University with a Masters in Business Administration in 1917, Sun Fo was back in China as his father's personal assistant in May 1918, and by September 1918 he was in Macao buying real estate from Macao's most prominent merchant family (Lou Lim Ioc) in the most secure part of the city.<sup>80</sup> The sites he purchased became the family home of his mother until her death on 7

September 1952 and the present Sun Yat Sen Memorial Hall from 1956.

This coincidence of fact moves the probability of coordination between the Sun-Song family and Carlos da Maia on his return trip to Portugal past 'speculation' into the 'highly likely' category. Substantiating this hypothesis would confirm Carlos da Maia's role as a leading Republican revolutionary, deployed by Bernardino Machado globally. It would concretely bring the revolutionary activities of both Portuguese Republicans into a world political arena far outside the confines of Portugal. This, of course, would have repercussions on the manner in which the Portuguese Republican revolution of October 1910 should be viewed historically, including its relationship to the Republican Revolt in China of October 1911 which established Sun Yat Sen and his Republican movement as the iconic initiator of Modern China. **RC**

## NOTES

- 1 *Anuário de Macao - Ano de 1927*. Macao: Governo de Macao, Imprensa Nacional de Macau, 1927, p. 57.
- 2 *Ibid.*, p. 122.
- 3 Huang Ying 黄莹 and Mao Sheng, *Sun Zhongshan Yi Jiaren, Yige Zai Zhongguo you Juda Yingxiang de Jiazu* 孙中山一家人，一个在中国有巨大影响的家族 (The People of Sun Yat Sen's Family, a Clan in China with Extraordinary Influence). Beijing: Zhongguo Dang Shi Chubanshe, 2004, p. 23.
- 4 *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39.
- 5 Sheng Yonghua 盛永华, Zhao Wen Fang 赵文房, and Zhang Lei 张磊, *Sun Zhongshan yu Aomen* 孙中山与澳门. Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 1991, p. 117.
- 6 Jonathan Fenby, *Chiang Kai-shek: China's Generalissimo and the Nation He Lost*. New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 2005 p. 40.
- 7 RMS is an acronym for 'Royal Mail Ship'.
- 8 Immanuel C.Y. Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970, p. 478.
- 9 An extremely rare Chinese character that some sources read as 'Yuan'.
- 10 Sheng Yonghua, Zhao Wen Fang, and Zhang Lei, *Sun Zhongshan yu Aomen*. Beijing, 1991, p. 18, #105, #106.
- 11 Leslie Chen, *Chen Jiongming and the Federalist Movement: Regional Leadership and Nation Building in Early Republican China*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999, p. 62.
- 12 George T.C. Yu, *Party Politics in Republican China: the Kuomintang, 1912-1924*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966, pp. 123-124.
- 13 *Ibid.*, p. 122.
- 14 No records have been found of the possibility that he had escorted his younger sister, Sun Yan 孙延, back to Macao where she had arrived in March 1913, apparently from California.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 172.
- 16 Jonathan Fenby, *Chiang Kai-shek: China's Generalissimo and the Nation He Lost*, pp. xxiii, 97, 231.
- 17 Frederick Wakeman Jr., *Policing Shanghai, 1927-1937*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995, p. 252.
- 18 George T.C. Yu, *Party Politics in Republican China: the Kuomintang, 1912-1924*, pp. 132-133.
- 19 Douglas L. Wheeler, *Republican Portugal: A Political History, 1910-1926*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998, pp. 266-267.
- 20 Célia Reis et al., 'Conjuntura e vida política'. In *História dos Portugueses no Extremo Oriente*, edited by A. H. Oliveira Marques, vol. 4, *Macao e Timor. No Período Republicano*. Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 2004, p. 27.
- 21 *Ibid.*, p. 152.
- 22 *Ibid.*, pp. 152, 153.
- 23 *Ibid.*, pp. 122, 129, 120-125.
- 24 Huang Hongzhao 黄鸿钊, 'Minguo Shiqi de Aomen Wenti Jiaoshe' 民国时期的澳门问题交涉 (Negotiations on the Macao Question during the Republican Period). *Jiangsu Shehui Kexue* 江苏社会科学 (Jiangsu Social Sciences), 1.
- 25 Marius B. Jansen, *The Japanese and Sun Yat-sen*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967, pp. 189, 192-193; C. Martin Wilbur, *Sun Yat-sen: Frustrated Patriot*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 83-44.
- 26 Leslie Chen, *Chen Jiongming and the Federalist Movement: Regional Leadership and Nation Building in Early Republican China*, p. 66.
- 27 *Ibid.*, p. 68.
- 28 Immanuel C.Y. Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China*, p. 494.
- 29 William F. Morton, *Tanaka Giichi and Japan's China Policy*. London: Dawson, 1980, p. 25.
- 30 Immanuel C.Y. Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China*, p. 479.
- 31 *Ibid.*, pp. 479-480.
- 32 Sheng Yonghua, Zhao Wen Fang, and Zhang Lei. *Sun Zhongshan yu Aomen*, pp. 17-18.
- 33 *Ibid.*, pp. 117, 118.

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- 34 Leslie Chen, *Chen Jiongming and the Federalist Movement: Regional Leadership and Nation Building in Early Republican China*, p. 69.
- 35 Ibid., p. 72.
- 36 'From Day to Day', *North-China Daily News*, 8 May 1916.
- 37 Marie-Claire Bergère, *Sun Yat-Sen*. Paris: Fayard, 1994, p. 39; Jonathan Fenby, *Chiang Kai-shek: China's Generalissimo and the Nation He Lost*, p. xxiii.
- 38 George T.C. Yu, *Party Politics in Republican China: the Kuomintang, 1912-1924*, pp. 122, 129.
- 39 Jonathan Fenby, *Chiang Kai-shek: China's Generalissimo and the Nation He Lost*, pp. 38-9.
- 40 Ibid., p. 73.
- 41 Elmer T. Clark, *Chiangs of China*. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1943, p. 59.
- 42 Sheng Yonghua, Zhao Wen Fang, and Zhang Lei, *Sun Zhongshan yu Aomen*, p. 117.
- 43 'Shipping & Docks', *North-China Daily News*, 9 September 1916.
- 44 Carlos Gomes Bessa, *Macau e a Implantação da República na China. Uma Carta de Sun Yat-Sen para o Governador José Carlos da Maia*. Macao: Fundação Macau, 1999, p. 22. Original text: 'Teve no movimento intervenção decisiva, impondo-se no meio das hesitações e incertezas surgidas, por dominar o Quartel de Marinheiros de Alcântara e o cruzador D. Carlos. Por isso, os correligionários o distinguiram reconhecendo-o como um dos "Fundadores da República"'.
- 45 'Foreign Ports', *North-China Daily News*, 8 September 1916.
- 46 Sterling Seagrave, *The Soong Dynasty*. New York: Harper & Row, 1985, pp. 100, 103.
- 47 Carvalho e Rego, 'Correspondence. The Portuguese Pamphlets', *North-China Daily News*, 24 June 1916.
- 48 Manuel Teixeira, *A Imprensa Periódica Portuguesa no Extremo-Oriente*. Macao: Notícias de Macau, 1965, p. 76.
- 49 By summer 1918 Artur Tamagnini Barbosa, who had been Director of the General Office of the Ministry of the Colonies, was returning to Macao, where he had attended the Liceu, for his first term as official governor of Macao.
- 50 'The Portuguese Pamphlets: Light on a Recent Scandal', *North-China Daily News*, 14 June 1916.
- 51 Nolasco, 'O Pedido de Demissão do Governador da Colonia.'
- 52 'Shipping & Docks'.
- 53 'Passengers', *North-China Daily News*, 9 September 1916.
- 54 The name 'Soong Tze-ven' might have been reversed to provide a 'Western' reading of 'Ven-Tse Soong' of 'V.T. Song'. At the same time, Sun Yat Sen's son was known as 'Sun Ke' in Mandarin, and 'Sun Fo' in Cantonese. Using 'K.F. Sun' would have conflated the two names to facilitate interactions with those alternately using the Mandarin and Cantonese dialects. Finally the names family names 'Sun' and 'Soong' (or 'Song') are easily misstated.
- 55 Tang Liangli 汤良礼, *Wang Ching-wei: a Political Biography*. Tientsin, 1931, pp. 169, 191, 199.
- 56 As an example, five Chinese-language sources checked at random said nothing concerning the summer of 1916. These included: (i) Wang Song 王松, Jiang Shimin 蒋仕民, and Rao Fanghu 饶方虎, *Song Ziwen Zhuan*, 宋子文传 (Wuhan, 1996); (ii) Wang Song 王松, *Song Ziwen Zhuan* 宋子文传 (Wuhan, 2006); (iii) Yang Jing 杨菁, *Song Ziwen Zhuan* 宋子文传 (Shijiazhuang, 1999); (iv) Chen Tingyi 陈廷一, *Song Ziwen Dazhuan*, 宋子文大传 (Beijing, 2004); (v) Yang Zhesheng 杨者圣, *Guomindang Jinrongzhi Fu Song Ziwen* 国民党金融之父宋子文 (Shanghai, 2001).
- 57 *Catalogue, 1915-1916, Columbia University in the City of New York*. New York, 1916, pp. 58, 89, 92; *Catalogue, 1916-1917, Columbia University in the City of New York*. New York, 1917, p. 143.
- 58 *Catalogue, 1916-1917, Columbia University in the City of New York*, p. 255.
- 59 Geng Yunzhi 耿云志, *Hu Shi Jiqi Youren 1904-1908* 胡适及其友人 (1904-1908). Hong Kong: The Commercial Press, 1999, p. 25. The referenced book only identifies Hu Shi in this photograph, but it is eminently clear that Sun Fo is third from the left, while other, slightly newer photos from other sources provide the identities for Dai Encai, T.V. Song, and Song Meiling.
- 60 North-China Daily News Correspondent, 'Huang Hsing's Return: Arrival in Japan', *North-China Daily News*, 10 May 1916.
- 61 Huang Ying and Mao Sheng, *Sun Zhongshan yi Jiaren: Yige Zai Zhongguo you Juda Yingxiang de Jiazu*, p. 509. The data for this early period is not altogether reliable. The author claims Song Qingling was married to Sun Yat Sen in 1914, which is inaccurate. He states that T.V. Song graduated from Harvard in 1915, but does not provide the exact name of the International Bank where he was working for two years in New York from 1915 to 1917; he also claims inaccurately that Song had obtained a Masters in Economics from Harvard.
- 62 Howard L. Boorman and Richard C. Howard, *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1970, vol. 3, p. 149; Sterling Seagrave, *The Soong Dynasty*, p. 190. Boorman also inaccurately claims Sun Yat Sen married Song Qingling in 1914. Seagrave follows Boorman and provides no insight to T.V. Song's activities in the summer of 1916.
- 63 'International Banking Corporation', *North-China Daily News*, 8 September 1916.
- 64 'The Chinese Bank Crisis. Run on the Bank of China. The Government's Moratorium', *North-China Daily Press*, 15 May 1916.
- 65 'Chinese Bank Crisis. Continuation of the Run. Assistance from Foreign Banks', *North-China Daily News*, 16 May 1916.
- 66 'A China Loan in America. The New Group. Business Thought Impossible', *North-China Daily News*, 5 September 1916.
- 67 'More About the American Loan. Favoured by Washington on Conditions', *North-China Daily News*, 17 August 1916.
- 68 George T.C. Yu, *Party Politics in Republican China: the Kuomintang, 1912-1924*, p. 133.
- 69 Howard L. Boorman and Richard C. Howard, *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, vol. 3, p. 162.
- 70 Sources vary as to the nature of the program, with some reporting his studies to be Public Administration, Business Administration or Economics. Boorman (vol. 3, p. 163) states it was an M.A. in economics. Columbia University records show that he studied in the first class offered by the university for a Masters in Business Administration. See *Columbia University Catalog, 1916-1917*, p. 255 previously referenced.
- 71 Howard L. Boorman and Richard C. Howard, *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, vol. 3, pp. 162-163.
- 72 Lai, 'Study of a Faltering Democrat: the Life of Sun Fo, 1891-1949', p. 9.
- 73 *Catalogue, 1915-1916, Columbia University in the City of New York*, p. 319.
- 74 'From the Chinese Press. The Revolutionary Party of China', *North-China Daily News*, 29 July 1916.
- 75 'From the Chinese Press. World's Chinese Students' Federation', *North-China Daily News*, 29 July 1916.
- 76 Linda Pomerantz Zhang, *Wu Tingfang (1842-1922): Reform and Modernization in Modern Chinese History*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, pp. 267, 271, 280, 283, 292.
- 77 George T.C. Yu, *Party Politics in Republican China: the Kuomintang, 1912-1924*, p. 152.
- 78 Luiz Nolasco, 'Governador de Macao', *O Progresso*, 24 September 1916.
- 79 'The Governor of Macao: Reception to Commdr. Da Maia in Shanghai', *North-China Daily News*, 9 September 1916.
- 80 Manuel Teixeira, *A Voz das Pedras de Macau*. Macao: Imprensa Nacional, 1980, pp. 179-180.