PHAN BOI CHAU AND THE "DONG DU MOVEMENT" IN NORD-ANNAM IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

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Received on 11/6/2019, accepted for publication on 13/7/2019

Abstract: In the early twentieth century, Dong Du Movement was initiated and led by Phan Boi Chau, leading to a new trend in the national liberation movement in Vietnam. Nord-Annam was one of the areas where Duy Tan Association operated; Dong Du Movement in this area also developed strongly, drastically and distinctively. However, previous studies have not yet simulated and analyzed in details of the Dong Du activity in Nord-Annam in the early twentieth century. This article summarizes the unpublished sources of the French Government and reconstructs the movement in Nord-Annam on the following facets: the participant of the movement; funding; the number of young people who studied overseas; the scale of the movement... The article is intended to enrich the local history in the early twentieth century in particular and to study Dong Du Movement in the history of Viet Nam in general.

1. Introduction

Nord-Annam was a part of the Central Vietnam that according to the French colony. The region consisted of three provinces: Thanh Hoa, Nghe An and Ha Tinh. This region has many commonalities in terrain geography, history, culture and society features. Its position was important to the Central Vietnam and was considered as the best, strongest and most effective base for the country's struggles.

In the anti-French movement in the late nineteenth century, the Nord-Annam people directed their own Can Vuong movement (Aid the King movement - 勤玉) which was considered the strongest across the country, featuring leaders of ethnic minorities such as: Ha Van Mao, Cam Ba Thuoc etc. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the anti-French movement took place strongly in three regions of Bac Ky (Tonkin), Trung Ky (Annam) and Nam Ky (Cochinchine), in which the activities of Duy Tan Association and Dong Du were initiated and led by Phan Boi Chau. The Duy Tan movement in Annam was initiated in Quang Nam and led by Phan Chau Trinh, Huynh Thuc Khang and Tran Quy Cap. In Tonkin, there also Dong Kinh Nghia Thuc and other reform activities. These movements progressed fiercely in different locations but stayed interconnected. However, until now, the activities of Duy Tan Association and Dong Du Movement in the Nord-Annam have only been sporadically studied. There has not been much researches describing specifically how Nord-Annam youths went overseas to study and how the movement was connected with other movements within the region and those in Tonkin.

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In order to reconstruct the history of Dong Du Movement in the provinces of Thanh Hoa, Nghe An and Ha Tinh, we rely on the statistics mentioned in studies on Dong Du activitieds, archived from the French at the National Archives Center 4 based in Da Lat City, the National Archives Center II in Ho Chi Minh City and the protectorate of Annam (RSA). Those include political reports (Rapports politiques) issued monthly, quarterly and yearly (from 1900 to 1910). They were sent from the envoys of Nghe An, Ha Tinh and Thanh Hoa provinces to Ambassadors examining anti-government activities in Nord-Annam. The supporting documents are scattered, but in the research process, we have used the method of analyzing, comparing, contrasting and field research in order to verify the authenticity of the movement of Dong Du in the region.

2. Phan Boi Chau and the expansion and interconnection of Dong Du Movement

Phan Boi Chau was one of the pioneers of the Dong Du Movement. In the early twentieth century, he traveled all over the North, Central and South of the country to gather the support of patriots. At the end of "Tan Suu" (1901), the beginning of "Nham Dan" (1902), on account of going to the Capital City to take the examination, he went to mountainous areas of Thanh - Nghe - Tinh to mobilize heroes. Village bully, greenwood outlaws robbers and headman with surnames like Cam, Mao were gathered together". (Phan Boi Chau, 1990, p. 61).

In November 1902, Phan Boi Chau went to Tonkin to see Judge Khong Dinh Trach (a former imperial leader) in Nam Dinh and members of the remaining parties. In Yen The, Phan Boi Chau was not able to meet Hoang Hoa Tham, but he was welcomed by his subordinates and the first son of Hoang Hoa Tham (Ca Trong). Ca Trong told Mr. Phan that if Annam took the initiatives, they were pleased to be supporters (Phan Boi Chau, 1990, p. 63).

In the spring of 1903, Phan Boi Chau came to Hue to study at Quoc Tu Giam Temple, but he actually wanted to expand his relationship with Hue's mandarins and to recruit patriots in Annam. He went to Nam Tinh Village, Thang Binh District, Quang Nam Province to meet Tieu La Nguyen Thanh and got advice from him on three important strategies: winning people's hearts, raising fund and buying weapons. One of the most important strategies was to win people's hearts, but to do that, he had to honor a royal member. He returned to Hue and chose Cuong De (The prince of the Nguyen dynasty and a Vietnamese revolutionary in the early 20th century). After that, he wrote "Luu Cầu huyết lệ tân thu" (Ryukyu's Bitter Tears), indicating the path for Hue's mandarin. Thanks to this writing, he was able to form relationships with many patriots at that time such as Phan Chau Trinh, Huynh Thuc Khang, Tran Quy Cap, etc.

In the middle of 1903, he went throughout Cochinchine and met a lot of patriots. At That Son - a mountain area close to the Cambodian border, he met Tran Nhat Thi, a monk (Phan Boi Chau, 1990, p. 69). After that, he went around all over the provinces of Mekong Delta to look for other patriots. There, he met Nguyen Than Hien from Sa Dec, who later became a strong supporter for the Dong Du Movement.

On the way to Annam, Phan Boi Chau investigated the situation of Phu Yen and Binh Dinh Provinces in January 1904. After attending in Hue, he continued to mobilize

Christian believers from Quang Binh Province to the North area, building the first base to later support the Dong Du Movement.

In the first 10 days of April 1904, about 20 people together with Phan Boi Chau held a meeting at Nguyen Thanh's house in Quang Nam for establishing Duy Tan Association with three action plans: developing the power of the association both in manpower and finance; rushing preparation for violence and post-violence activities; identifying established principles and devising a plan to go overseas to seek for help.

In December 1904, at Tieu La Nguyen Thanh's house, Phan Boi Chau and the secretive members Mr. Trinh O Da (also called Trinh Hien), Ton That Thoai, and Chu Thu Dong called a meeting to discuss the plan of going abroad participants agreed to nominate Phan Boi Chau, Tang Bat Ho and Dang Tu Kinh to Japan. Nguyen Thanh (in Quang Nam), Dang Thai Than (in Nghe An) were in charge of domestic activities. They quickly formed recruitment bases and arranged logistics for members to go overseas during the Dong Du period. In Tonkin, the centers were located in Nam Dinh, Thai Binh, Lang Son and Ha Noi. In Annam, there were centers in Nghe An, Ha Tinh and Quang Nam. In Cochinchine, there were centers established in Sai Gon, Vinh Long, Ha Tien, etc.

In February 1905, having prepared for a while, the mission went abroad from Hai Phong, Quang Ninh, and Mong Cai to China, then from China to Japan. In the report sent to French Residency in Vinh in 1907, through the disclosure of Nguyen Van Hien (from Duc Tho District, Ha Tinh Province), he acknowledged having a relationship with Phan Boi Chau in 1905. He himself and Phan Boi Chau went to Bac Giang to meet Hoang Hoa Tham), the colonial government realized that what Phan Boi Chau did was carefully planned and had been spread to Tonkin. Phan Boi Chau met Dao Nguyen Pho and the confucians in Ha Dong to discuss how to get to Japan through Chinese merchant ships from Hai Phong (Rapport A.M. Le Résident Supérieur, 1907).

3. Activities of Dong Du Movement in Nord-Annam

Nord-Annam was the core of the Dong Du Movement in Trung Ky, a land of patriotism. The ultimate goal of sending people to Japan, which was a political and cultural center of Asia at that time, was to train members for the national liberation task. In Japan, Phan Boi Chau wrote many patriotic poems and sent them to Vietnam in order to propaganda against French colonialism. In Nord-Annam, the patriots quickly prepared to mobilize the participants and to create an operational fund.

According to the Report of Nghe - Tinh Legation sent to the General Governor of French Indochina, the propaganda methods used throughout Annam mainly were: "attacking", "slamming" and "using popular documents" printed in Japan. The first appeal of Phan Boi Chau released through writing "The blood letter of an Annam man" in 1906. The photos of Than De King and Phan Boi Chau in Japanese military costumes were issued throughout Nghe - Tinh provinces (Rapport A.M. Le Gouverneur General, 1908).

Nord-Annam people who went to study overseas included a large number of intellectuals, scholars of the Confucian school, and the patriotic patriarch such as Nguyen Thuc Tu, Dang Thuc Hua, Dang Tu Kinh (in Nghe An Province), Dinh Chuong Duong (in Thanh Hoa Province)... together with many patriotic parishioners such as Mai Lao

Bang, Luu Song Tu and Ly Trong Mau etc... Most foreign students in Nord-Annam went to Japan to be admitted to Dong Van Thu vien School (Tokyo Dubun Shoin), a member of East Asian Association of Language and Chan Vo School. We re-examined the history of districts of Nghe An and Ha Tinh, read some articles and books such as "157 persons of the Dong Du Movement" (Nguyen Thuc Chuyen, published in Nghe An in 2000); "Viet Nam nghia liet su" (Vietnam's history, by Dang Doan Bang, published in 1972) and French archives. We found that there were 54 young people in Nord-Annam participating in this movement, including 34 people from Nghe An Province, 14 people from Ha Tinh Province and 6 people from Thanh Hoa. Among 28 Catholics who studied in Japan, there were 12 people from Nghe - Tinh, including pastors Nguyen Than Dong and Mai Lao Bang. Out of 150 people who studied in Japan (Nguyen Phan Quang, 2009, p. 320), there were 40 people from Nghe An and Ha Tinh who attended Dong Van School.

The performance of Vietnamese youths in general and Nord-Annam students in particular in Japanese schools was highly respected. According to Kashiwabara, the Deputy Director who was in charge of Dong Van School: "altogether, Vietnamese students of 1907 academic year performed well and are considered good students" (in Nguyen Tien Luc, 1995, p. 26). Furthermore, Annam students were enthusiastic in their military learning while nurturing the will to fight for the country's independence.

In order to create funding for Dong Du activities, patriots in Nord-Annam established trading offices led and invested by intellectuals. Some typical examples were Phuong Lau Company in Thanh Hoa, Teo Market (Duc Tho District, Ha Tinh Province), Mong Hanh wholesale store of Le Phu Thanh (younger brother of Le Van Huan), "Trieu Duong Thuong Quan" of Dang Nguyen Can, Ngo Duc Ke, Dang Van Ba and Le Van Huan in Vinh. The operation of "Trieu Duong Thuong Quan" was mentioned in the 1906 in Report of the Ha Tinh Residency as follows: "...In April of the 18th year of Thanh Thai (1906), Dang Nguyen Can and Ngo Duc Ke started mobilizing capital to open a store, but the main purpose is to send money to Japan..." (Rapport A.M. Le Résident Supérieur, 1907). Along with Trieu Duong Thuong Quan, a system of trading stores was formed such as Dong Thai, Duc Tho, market at Can Loc District (Ha Tinh), and Dien Chau (Nghe An). "Trai Cay" in Nam Dan, Thanh Chuong and Strawberry Farm in Hung Nguyen (Nghe An)... were built and expanded to support Dong Du (Phan Boi Chau, 1990).

Christians in Nghe An and Ha Tinh also had their own commercial activities. Priests such as Dau Quang Linh, Nguyen Tuong, Nguyen Than Dong... encouraged Catholic youths to go abroad to study and to establish economic associations including Thuan Nghia Fish Sauce Association (Quynh Luu), Tien Long Association (Duc Bui, Duc Tho), Vietnamese Conical Hat Association (Ke Tung, Duc Tho), Silkworm Association in My Du, owned by Mr. Nguyen Van Ho (Hung Nguyen), Yen Phu Wholesale Association (Yen Thai, Duc Tho)... Merchandise of these associations was diverse with all kinds of goods such as sugar, honey, dried areca, conical leaves, silk, firewood, etc.

In addition to economic works, Duy Tan Association in Nghe - Tinh also established contact boards to raise money to support the Dong Du Movement. Vuong Thuc Quy, Vo An, Vuong Thuc Loan and Tran Thi Lua (Nghe An); Phan Thi Hang,

Phan Huy Dien, Nguyen Dinh Kien, Phan Trong, Doi Quyen, Doi Phan (Ha Tinh) were members of this board. Women in Quynh Luu, Yen Thanh, Nghi Loc and Nam Dan districts (Nghe An), including Ms. Ngo Thi Khon Duy (a daughter of Ngo Quang, wife of Ho Hoc Lam), Ms. Nguyen Thi Thanh (a daughter of Nguyen Sinh Sac, a sister of Nguyen Sinh Cung in Nam Dan), Mrs. Ton Thi Chiem (a wife of Le Kim Tuong - an active patriot in Nguyet Bong Village, Thanh Chuong District.

Besides, Duy Tan Hoi in Nghe - Tinh also asked for donations among people to support the movement. The local patriotic organizations had implemented the abolition of dignitaries and wealthy people to collect food and money for Dong Du activities. The secret of France in Nghe - Tinh had recorded the following developments: "On August 20, 1907, Chief of General and Deputy Chief of General Nam Kim, Thanh Chuong District were informed that a group of 5 strangers came to the leader's house of Da Loc asking the dignitaries to provide food and money. Chief Da Loc asked dignitaries to provide food and money. Three of them were arrested and taken to Vinh. As questioned, they revealed that they were dispatched by Governor Cao Dat to deliver letters, threaten people, and collect money. Cao Dat was one of the most reputable old rebel leaders…" (Rapport A.M. Le Résident Supérieur. 1907. p. 3).

In order to assess the activities of the Wholesale Association in Nord-Annam, the French Government had followed up and recorded in the Political Report of 1906 in Nghe - Tinh as follows: "...it is established as a trade association but actually the purpose is to collect contributions in order to support those going to Japan. Members of this group come from all classes: officials working in Ha Tinh, confucian scholars with baccalaureate, bachelor's and doctoral degrees. The bandit also joined this activity. Their main work was to force the rich to participate in the renaissance of the country. Among them were Dr. Ngo Duc Ke, Dang Van Ba, Le Van Huan. The leaders of robbery cases were Doi Quyen and Pham Van Ngon (Rapport A.M. Le Résident Supérieur, 1908).

The amount of money and names of supporters of Dong Du Movement in Nghe-Tinh were recorded in French documents as follows: By July 1906, "the honors graduate Than (Dang Thai Than) contributed \$2,000 (\$ was an abbreviation for Indochina currency) for Luong (i.e. Luong Tam Ky). In January 1907, Dang Thai Than and his uncle contributed 800\$00 for Luong Tam Ky. Dang Nguyen Can and Ngo Duc Ke intended to send more money in May and June, but Can had been transferred to Phan Thiet. When he left, he transferred the management money to Ngo Duc Ke. In Ha Tinh, there were Phan Hoa Huan, Can Ky, Cuu Tri and Cuu Huy, Thong Dai and Thuong Bong; each contributed 100\$00 for Ngo Duc Ke. Priest Xuoc at Tuan Le contributed 200\$00 while Tu Giu and the village raised 60\$00 among the students. Nguyen Duy Phuong (i.e. Tu Phuong), a person in Ha Linh raised 150\$00. Tu Dao in Ha Dong raised 100\$00. Ms. Luan also made some contributions (unknown amount). Ba Tri in Ban Chau donated 200 silver coins" (Rapport A.M. Le Résident Supérieur, 1908, p. 4].

From 1906 to 1908, donations were continuously called in order to support sending people overseas. Dozens of young people had registered to study in Japan, including typical names such as Ho Hoc Lam and Nguyen Thai Bat (went overseas in 1906); Phan Lai Luong, Tran Loi Te, Hoang Van Tieu, Hoang Xuan Vien (went overseas in 1907); Hoang Trong Mau, Nguyen Thuc Duong, Mai Lao Bang, Tran Dong Phong, and Tran Huu Luc (went overseas in 1908). According to some sources, from 1905 to

1908, there were approximately 200 people going overseas, in which there were 100 people from Cochinchine, 50 from Annam and more than 50 from Tonkin. As researching, contrasting, and comparing various sources, we found that 34 of them were from Nghe An and 14 from Ha Tinh. Of the 28 Catholics who had gone abroad to study and did their activism in Japan, 12 people were from Nghe - Tinh and three of them were priests: Nguyen Tuong, Nguyen Than Dong in Nhan Hoa Village (Nghi Loc, Nghe An), Do Van Linh (Dang Doan Bang & Phan Thi Han, 1972, p. 189). Mai Lao Bang was the representative of the church in Japan (Phan Boi Chau, 1990, p. 154).

The colonial government realized that the heads of the organizations were closely related to the people in Nghe - Tinh. So, they reported these people to their superiors and arrested them on the charge of "rebellious conspiracy". The list of arrested people included Dr. Ngo Duc Ke; Dang Van Ba; Le Van Huan; Vo Ba Hop; Bac Tu Pham Van Ngon, Dao Van Huan; Bac Si Nguyen; scholar Nguyen Tan Khiem; scholar Nguyen Khac Hoang; Former Chief Justice: Nguyen Dong, Phan Huu Nghi, Dao Su, etc. (Résidence Superieur en An Nam, 1908). For Catholics, in the report of the Ambassador of Vinh sent to the resident superior in Annam, No. 8, on June 26, 1909, said: "I had to order the arrest of three native priests on 12th of last month for contacting our enemies who are hiding in Japan and Thailand. They have used lures in Catholic families and villages. They also transfer money to those people to spend on training Catholic youths sent to study in Japanese schools" (Vuong Dinh Ai, 1986, p. 1).

Wherefore, from the report of the colonial government, the picture of Dong Du Movement in Nord-Annam has become more vivid. Firstly, regarding funding for Dong Du Movement in Nord Annam, although there were no patriotic wealthy like other provinces in Cochinchine, not many fundraising shops like in Tonkin; there was also a trade associations which was a combination of fundraising strategies among the people, in which "the rebels" (as called by French) made a huge contribution. The French Government said that the money raised from these provinces for the movement was "huge". Secondly, participants in economic activities of the area were mainly intellectuals, mandarins, and patriotic parishioners. The intellectuals carried both roles: mounting propaganda campaign and calling for donations. The parishioners actively participated in the movement to raise funds to send people overseas. The parallel activities of priests and patriotic parishioners had contributed to promoting the Dong Du Movement in Nghe An and Ha Tinh provinces much stronger than other regions in the country. Thirdly, the number of young people studying abroad and the scope of the movement in Nord Annam was huge and fast widespread from urban to rural areas. The young people of Nord-Annam who studied overseas were considered to be the most crowded in Annam. They were strong, persistent and all together assembled into a powerful anti-French force, fully prepared for the struggle in the next stage. In the report sent to the resident superior of Annam, the Ha Tinh envoy wrote, "the movement here has a very distinct anti-government purpose compared to the movement of the central provinces, mainly because of the desire to reduce tax for people" (Résidence de Ha Tinh, 1908) At the end of 1908 and early 1909, the Japanese Government allied with France to order the deportation of Phan Boi Chau and Vietnamese students out of Japan. In 1909-1910, Dang Thuc Hua, Dang Tu Kinh and Ho Vinh Long built Cay Farm at Tham Village (a land borrowed from Thailand in Pac Nam Pho) to work and live. Following

the example of Dang Thuc Hua, the young of Thanh - Nghe - Tinh continued going to Siam, then went to China, to participate in revolutionary organizations and study at military schools. Some typical participants were Huu Mai (Ha Tinh), Vo Trong Canh (Nghe An), etc.

In order to prevent people from going overseas, the colonial government had to increase the number of troops at Linh and Phuc Trach, strengthening the detachment of posts to Laos due to the "bustling situation" on the Siamese border" (Situation Politique Generale de la Circonscription, 1908). This proved that the progressive intellectual class in Nord-Annam had boldly overcome the limitations of the era, of feudal thoughts to receive new ideas for the noble purpose of fighting for the national liberation.

4. Conclusion

Like other Dong Du Movements in other areas of the country, the one in Nord-Annam eventually failed. However, the movement should not be seen as the ultimate outcome of the national liberation.

In fact, the Dong Du Movement and Phan Boi Chau's arrival in Japan placed a big influence on the mindset of Vietnamese people, creating a vibrant atmosphere throughout the North, Central and South areas. Thanks to these activities, an important "force" was formed, enriching the "internal force" for the country and creating a basis premise for the ability to "develop internal resources" in the near future.

This was not only a purely academic movement but also a revolutionary and political movement, a revolutionary training school for Vietnamese youth. Through the Dong Du Movement, Nord-Annam had created some well-trained cadres for the anti-French movement in Vietnam in the early twentieth century such as Nguyen Thuc Canh, Dang Tu Kinh, Hoang Trong Mau, Tran Huu Luc and many other elite names.

Dong Du Movement in Nord-Annam in the early twentieth century also showed that in the near-modern age time of Vietnamese history, to protect the country, to develop society, patriots (i.e. Phan Boi Chau) should not be self-confined within the country but open to and interact with the world; From there, they could see themselves better, understand people, reflect about the reality of the country, and find the right way for the country. The reality showed that a great number of young people and intellectuals of Nord-Annam participated in the movement with a strong and enthusiastic spirit. In parallel to that, there was close coordination between domestic and foreign activities. The Dong Du Movement in Nord-Annam not only provided manpower and finance but also received and spread the thoughts of the movement to the people of all levels, where powerful anti-French forces were gathered to fully prepare for the struggles in the next stage.

Dong Du Movement took place most vibrantly and powerfully in Nord-Annam and Annam, with the number of youths participating twice or three times higher than that of South Annam. The number of people studying abroad in Japan was considered to be excellent and elite students enduring hardships and not subduing. When the Dong Du Movement disintegrated, many students of North-Annam did not return home. Some stayed in Japan to continue their studies; some went to China to work or fled to Siam with Phan Boi Chau to hide and wait for a chance.

The activity of the Dong Du Movement in Nord-Annam also showed people's love for their nation and the connection between lineages. The famous families in the region such as Nguyen Thuc, Ho, and Nguyen were from academic villages, with many patriotic people being successful. Promoting the patriotic tradition of the homeland, Nord-Annam youths went studying abroad not only for purely academic purposes but also to find a way to save their country. This showed that the progressive intellectual class in Nord-Annam had strongly overcome the limitations of the era and feudal ideology to receive new ideas for the noble purpose of seeking independence for the nation. They were the continuation of the patriotic spirit of the intellectuals in the late nineteenth century and the bridge connecting the next generation on the path of proletarian revolution in Vietnam.

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TÓM TẮT

PHAN BỘI CHÂU VÀ PHONG TRÀO ĐÔNG DU Ở BẮC TRUNG KỲ ĐẦU THẾ KỶ XX

Đầu thế kỷ XX, phong trào Đông Du do Phan Bội Châu khởi xướng và lãnh đạo là một khuynh hướng đấu tranh mới trong phong trào giải phóng dân tộc ở Việt Nam. Bắc Trung Kỳ là một trong những vùng có hoạt động của Duy Tân Hội và phong trào Đông Du phát triển mạnh mẽ, quyết liệt, mang sắc thái riêng của vùng. Tuy nhiên, các nghiên cứu trước đây chưa mô phỏng và phân tích chi tiết hoạt động Đông Du ở Bắc Trung Kỳ đầu thế kỷ XX. Bài viết sẽ tổng hợp nguồn tư liệu lưu trữ của chính quyền Pháp và phục dựng lại phong trào xuất dương du học ở Bắc Trung Kỳ trên các bình diện: thành phân tham gia phong trào; nguồn kinh phí hỗ trợ; số lượng thanh niên xuất dương du học; quy mô phong trào... Từ đó, góp phần bổ sung vào khoảng trống của lịch sử địa phương ở đầu thế kỷ XX nói riêng và nghiên cứu phong trào Đông Du trong tiến trình lich sử dân tôc.