

陶成章：教會源流考

The Evolution of China's Secret Sects and Societies

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Introduction

MR. T'AO SAYS: In China two large secret societies oppose the government and exert influence throughout the whole country.¹ What are they? One is called the Pai-lien chiao 白蓮教 (White Lotus Sect), which is the Hung-chin 紅巾 (Red Turbans). The other is called the T'ien-ti hui 天地會 (Heaven and Earth Society), or Hung-men 洪門 (Hung-men Society or the "Hung League").

In general, such organizations as the Wen-hsiang chiao 聞香教 (Incense-smelling Sect), Pa-kua chiao 八卦教 (Eight Trigrams Sect)—also known as T'ien-li chiao 天理教 (Celestial Principle Sect), Shen-ch'üan chiao 神拳教 (Boxers Sect), Tsai-li chiao 在禮教 (Observance Sect), and various other sects are all off-shoots of the White Lotus Sect. Similarly, the San-ho hui 三合會 (Three Convergence Society), or San-tien hui 三點會 (Three Dots Society or The Triads), Ko-lao hui 哥老會 (Elder-brother Society), and various other societies are ramifications of the Heaven and Earth Society. China is a large country where the living conditions of the people and the customs of different places vary. The most notable examples are with the people of the Yangtze valley and those living along the Yellow River. Generally speaking, the areas south of the Yangtze River are called South China; the areas north of the Yellow River are called North China. The southerners are witty and clever, less superstitious, and more politically inclined. The northerners are straightforward, but slow; they admire physical strength and believe in divine power and superstition.

How do we know the difference? It is said that in the regions of Shantung, Shansi, and Honan, all people are fond of the novel *Feng-shen chuan* (Investiture of the Gods).² In the territory of Kiangsu, Chekiang, Fukien, and Kwangtung, most people like to read the *Shui-hu chuan* (Tales of the Water Margin). Therefore, the White Lotus Sect (*chiao*) prevails in the North; the Hung-men Society (*hui*) is popular in the South. But both *chiao* and *hui*

¹Mr. T'ao is T'ao Ch'eng-chang, author of this classic essay, referring to himself.

²*Feng-shen chuan* 封神傳 or *Feng-shen yen-i* 封神演義, a popular novel written during the Ming dynasty, is a favorite of the ordinary people who take delight in the vivid descriptions of King Wu's warriors of the Chou dynasty (traditionally 1766-

1122 B.C.) who fought against the authorities of the preceding dynasty. Many generals in the novel are equipped with supernatural or mysterious powers to enable them to fight sometimes in the air and at other times under the earth. Here the author's demarcation of admirers of the two novels seems to be arbitrary. As a matter of fact, both are popular throughout the country.

have followers in the area between the north bank of the Yangtze River (or northern part of Kiangsu) and the south bank of the Yellow River, where the customs of the North and the South are fused.

Some members of the White Lotus Sect are in the South, although their influence cannot be compared with that of the Hung-men Society. Some members of the Hung-men Society are found in the North, although their power does not match that of the White Lotus. This is probably because of the difference of customs and social conditions of the people. At any rate, since these two secret organizations have been influential throughout the country, it is obvious that we who hope to save the nation [from the Manchu domination] must investigate their inner workings.

When I [T'ao Ch'eng-chang] was in Burma, I wrote a chapter on the history of the Hung-men Society. It was given to a member of the Hung organization (and was subsequently published in the Rangoon newspaper *Kuang-hua jih-pao* or "Glory to China Daily". In February 1910, the article was reprinted under a different title in the *Chung-hsing jih-pao*, "China Revival Daily", under the name Chih Ko 志革, which was the pseudonym I used when I was in Rangoon.) I no longer like this article, which deals only with the historical side of the subject. I now rewrite it under the title "A Study of the Evolution of Sects and Societies" for the use of those who hope to save the country [for the Chinese].

Causes for the Rise of Sects and Societies

The ancestors of the Chinese migrated from the Western regions [sic], struggled for survival among the various barbarians, and set up their own banner of independence. The idea of preserving our race and protecting ourselves has been firmly implanted in our minds. Among the ancient heroes whom we Chinese admire are such rulers as the San Huang 三皇 (Three Sovereigns), Wu-ti 五帝 (Five Lords), San Wang 三王 (Three Kings),³ and the Wu Pa 五霸 (Five Hegemons),⁴ and such generals as Ying Lung 應龍, Chu Jung 祝融,⁵ Kao Yao 皋陶 [Minister of Punishment to the Emperor Shun], Duke Chou, and Kuan Chung; all were great leaders who expelled alien invaders. After a long period of peace between the end of the Eastern Han (220 A.D.) and the beginning of the Western Chin (317), people forgot their ancestors' warnings and instructions to guard China against foreign barbarians. Suddenly, they allowed the barbarians, who had surrendered to China, to move to the interior, causing the Rebellion of the Five Barbarians.⁶ Nevertheless, the Five Barbarians were conquered aliens who mixed with the Chinese in the interior and adopted Chinese culture. Even though they seized the opportunity to rebel, their habits and customs were the same as ours.

³These are legendary or semi-legendary rulers of varied appellations or designations. For a good source see Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *Shih chi*, ch. 1-2.

⁴The Five Hegemons are the famous rulers of the seventh century B.C., viz.: Duke Huan of Ch'i, Duke Wen of Chin, Duke Hsiang of Sung, Duke Mu of Ch'in, and Duke Chuang of Ch'u. See Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *Shih chi*, ch. 5.

⁵Both Ying Lung and Chu Jung were legendary figures. General Ying Lung fought against Ch'ih Yu 蚩尤, who was one of the earliest rebels against the Yellow Emperor (see *Shih chi*, 40, p. 1). General

Ying Lung also took part in the onslaught, and he killed Ch'ih Yu on the battlefield. Ma Hsiu 馬驥 *I shih* 釋史 (The stream of ancient history), ch. 5, p. 32 (Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu edition).

⁶The rebellion of the five barbarians: the Hsiung-nu, Hsien-pi, Chieh, Ti, and Ch'iang tribes of Turkic, Mongolian, and Tibetan stock appeared in A.D. 304 and 439 in North China, where they set up Sixteen Kingdoms. Chang Ch'in, *Chung-hua t'ung-shih*, (A general history of China), (Shanghai: the Commercial Press, 1933), pp. 591-598, 607-627.

Moreover, they were ashamed of their inferior stock, and so they took Chinese names to cover up their ugliness. Before long, they were completely absorbed by the Chinese with few of their original characteristics left for us to trace. Although they caused trouble for a while, they rose and fell like common rebels, and did not seriously injure the Chinese race.

The Chao Sung dynasty (960-1280) lacked wisdom. Instead of preventing foreign invasions, the rulers only guarded against domestic uprisings, leaving inadequate military forces at the national frontiers. Furthermore, they concentrated on improving the techniques of despotism. Military preparation was neglected; literature was cultivated in order to soften the fighting spirit of the people. Consequently, the power of China greatly declined. The invasions by the Khitans, the Jurchens, and the Mongols subdued China and the Chinese race entirely.

The Ming dynasty restored Chinese sovereignty for a time, but in less than three hundred years the Manchus invaded China and achieved the reconquest of our nation and subjugation of our people.

A race with several thousand years of civilization was suddenly controlled by these dogs and sheep. The desire for resistance and revolution would naturally be strong everywhere. Nevertheless, a revolution cannot be carried out single-handedly. Thus the situation gave rise to the organization of secret societies. After the fall of the Sung dynasty, the White Lotus Sect arose. (Previously, near the end of the Han, Chang Chio had led the Yellow Turban rebellion⁷ and Chang Lu the White Rice Party.⁸ They used religious appeals to stir up the masses of the people in revolt against the government. Their means were the same as those of the White Lotus Sect, although the White Lotus, the Yellow Turban, and the White Rice differed in origins and were unrelated.)

The White Lotus borrowed some ideas from Buddhism because the Mongol emperors and ministers were devotees of this religion. No Buddhists, no matter how serious their offenses, would be subjected to thorough investigation. Therefore, ambitious men took advantage of this religious bias of the Mongols to organize the White Lotus Sect without the Mongol rulers and ministers being aware of their purposes. Within a few decades the sect flourished greatly. Hence Han Shan-t'ung, Liu Fu-t'ung, Hsü Shou-hui, Chih-ma ("Sesame") Li, Kuo Tzu-hsing and others started military uprisings. Among these leaders Chang Shih-ch'eng was a salt smuggler; the others were all followers of the White Lotus Sect. Ch'en Yu-liang, Ming Yü-chen, and Chu Yüan-chang all followed suit, joining the so-called Red Turban Army, which consisted of members of the White Lotus Sect. Finally Chu Yüan-chang achieved the restoration of Chinese sovereignty and became Ming T'ai-tsu, the great founder of the Ming dynasty.

Ming T'ai-tsu was originally a minor chief of the Red Turban Army, and before the start of the revolution he had been a mendicant monk of the Huang-chüeh monastery. Unfortunately, the Ming house again had domestic trouble after several generations. Taking

⁷Chang Chio (or Chüeh) 張角 of Hupeh claimed to have believed in the philosophy of Huang-ti and Lao-tzu and used water and charms to cure people's illness, thus attracting many followers to his sect, called Tai-p'ing chiao. During the time of Han Ling-ti (A.D. 168-188), he led his numerous disciples, wearing yellow turbans, in launching an unsuccessful rebellion. This information is based on the biography of Huang-fu Sung in the *Hou Han-shu*, ch. 101, p. 1. (Taipei: I-wen shu-chü ed., 1965).

⁸Chang Lu 張魯 of Anhwei was a grandson of Chang Ling, the founder of religious Taoism. He charged each disciple five bushels of rice, hence the White Rice Party. Chang Lu took Han-chung as his headquarters, where he preached his doctrine and demonstrated his magic power to muster a crowd against the government. Allied with Chang Chio, he was virtually the ruler of Han-chung for a generation and his forces were finally routed by Ts'ao Ts'ao in the 180's. See *San-kuo chih*, "Wei Chih", ch. 8, pp. 22-24.

this opportunity, the Manchus conquered China and once more the Chinese fell under alien rule. Patriots and idealists, who could no longer bear the miserable devastation of China, reorganized secret societies for the recovery of their fatherland, and thus the Hung League was formed.

What does Hung-men or Hung League mean? This name is taken from the title of Ming T'ai-tsu's reign, Hung-wu. It is also called the T'ien-ti hui (Heaven and Earth Society), because heaven was considered the father and earth the mother. Its founder was Cheng Ch'eng-kung (Koxinga); his successor and the modifier of the society was Ch'en Chin-nan. All people who belonged to the society were called Hung-men. *Men* means a doorway of a home, so the organization was also called the Hung Family (*Hung-chia*). Since they belonged to one family, they were brothers. All who joined the society addressed one another as brothers, regardless of their former official positions and seniority. The Chinese people suffered more under the Manchu yoke than under the Mongols. Accordingly they had a stronger desire to avenge their grievances than the Chinese had had near the end of the Sung dynasty.

In the initiation ceremony, the novice members had to unbraid their hair, because the queue was not indigenous to China, and then they pricked their fingers for blood to become sworn brothers before their ancestors, who would be loath to see the Manchu style of hair-dress. By the same token, those who officiated at the ceremony traditionally put on ancient Chinese hats and costumes. Moreover, a neophyte must shoot three times at an effigy made of grass of the Manchu emperor, or a drawing of him, and swear that he would kill the Manchu emperor to show that he would not forget the enemy.

The great Ch'ing, the name of the Manchu kingdom, has no relation with the Chinese. The Manchu emperor is the head of our enemy, and should not be recognized as the emperor of China. For this reason, when the Hung League brothers write the character Ch'ing 清, they write it as 涓, signifying that the head of the Ch'ing should be taken off. Our enemy of course is not only the emperor alone; all Manchus are our enemies. Naturally, the Chinese and Manchu cannot live together; the Manchus must be exterminated. For this reason, the brothers of the Hung League write the character *Man* 滿 as 漏, indicating that all Manchus should be headless. Thus, our ancestors' strong hatred against the Manchu is well expressed. How can their descendants forget it?

The Cradles of Sects and Societies and Their Areas of Expansion

In the declining period of the Sung dynasty the regions along the Yellow River and to the north of the Huai River and Anhwei were conquered first by the Jurchens and then by the Mongols, hence they suffered the most. The Chingchow and Hsiangyang area of Hupeh, the gateway to the upper valley of the Yangtze, was closely guarded after the Sung capital had been moved from Kaifeng to the south, and was repeatedly and severely attacked by the Mongols. The see-saw battles lasted for a few score years, and Hsiangyang was a bone of contention. Finally the southern Sung fell to the Mongols, who wreaked havoc upon the area, as they had done along the two sides of the Yellow River and north of the Yangtze. Those who suffered the most had the strongest determination to revolt. (When aliens invaded China, the more the people suffered from the destruction and cruelty of the conquerors, the stronger was their desire for revenge. But after several abortive attempts at rebellion, the strongminded who could not bear the humiliation would be wiped out; only those who were cunning and cowardly survived.) This is, indeed, the logical consequence and natural outcome.

The White Lotus Sect probably first arose in the Chingchow and Hsiangyang area



A PAINTING OF LOTUS in which the common origin of the three sects of Hung-men 洪門, Ch'ing-pang 青幫, and Pai-lien 白蓮 is emphasized.

and gradually expanded its influence to Honan, which became the center of assemblies of its members. From Honan it spread to northern Anhwei, to north of the Huai River and to Shantung, and thence to Chihli and Shansi. How is this known? It is said that those who first started the patriotic movement near the end of the Mongol dynasty were Tsou P'u-sheng and Hsü Shou-hui. These two sect leaders were natives of Hupeh; however, Liu Fu-t'ung (some say with a few followers) was a native of Honan, and Han Shan-t'ung (also a sect chief), that of Chihli. Most of their uprisings took place in Honan, and from this evidence we conclude that Honan was the real base of the White Lotus Sect at that time. Following the footsteps of Han, Hsü, Tsou, and Liu, were Kuo Tzu-hsing, Chih-ma Li and others, who were natives of northern Anhwei or Shantung. The rebels in Anhwei outnumbered those of Shantung. Ming T'ai-tsu, a subordinate of Kuo Tzu-hsing and a minor chief of the Red Turbans, seized the favorable opportunity and achieved the restoration of China to the Chinese. After he became emperor, he concealed the deeds of his earlier life. Nevertheless, because he started his career in the organization, he did not thoroughly investigate his erstwhile party members. Thus, the secret sects continued in existence.

Near the end of Ming [1622], Hsü Hung-ju led an ineffective uprising; not many people responded to his call.⁹ Yet many had joined the earlier revolt of Liu Fu-t'ung. What

⁹Hsü Hung-ju 徐鴻儒, a leader of the White Lotus, started an uprising in Shantung in June 1622, and claimed the emperorship. The uprising was soon suppressed. *Ming Hsi-tsung, T'ien-ch'i*

Shih-lu 明熹宗, 天啓實錄 (The veritable record of the T'ien-ch'i reign). Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1966. ch. 17, p. 10b.

was the reason? The answer is to be found in the ethnic problem. The original objective of the White Lotus Sect was to expel the Mongols. Religion was used as an instrument to arouse the people, but at bottom the movement embraced the idea of nationalism. Liu Fu-t'ung revolted against an alien government, while Hsü Hung-ju rebelled against a government of his own race. Since the basic motives were different, the response differed accordingly. For the same reason, after the Manchus entered the strategic gateway at Shan-hai-kuan, the influence of the White Lotus was stronger than it had been under the Ming. For instance, although the White Lotus rebellion in the seven provinces¹⁰ and the revolt of Wang Lun¹¹ and Lin Ch'ing¹² were unsuccessful, the number of people who joined these righteous uprisings was in each case several times greater than those who followed Hsü Hung-ju near the end of Ming.

As for the area where the White Lotus Sect flourished, the most popular places were Honan and North Anhwei, but less so in Hupeh, Chihli, and Shantung; still less in Shansi, Shensi, and Szechwan. Honan, North Anhwei, Hupeh, and Shantung were the original starting points of the White Lotus, while Shansi, Shensi, and Szechwan were organized by Liu Chih-hsieh and his disciples. In Chekiang there were also White Lotus adherents whose leader, Hsü, was a descendant of Hsü Hung-ju, who had migrated to Chekiang after Hung-ju's failure. Most of those who joined the sect were his relatives, who kept everything so secret that it is difficult to learn the details of their organization.

The White Lotus Sect was but the original name; as time went on, other appellations evolved, such as the Incense-smelling Sect, the Eight Trigrams Sect, the Boxers Sect, the Observance Sect, etc. The Incense-smelling Sect has now disappeared. The Eight Trigrams Sect was a branch of the White Lotus; the Boxers, also known as Harmonious Fists (I-ho-ch'üan), was a ramification of the Eight Trigrams Sect. The Tsai-li chiao (Observance Sect) was derived from the reformed faction of the White Lotus. The various sects mentioned above were based on some tenets taken from Buddhism. After these groups became popular, the Taoists, hearing of them, also took some principles from the Observance Sect to form the Chai chiao (Vegetarian Sect), which was transformed into the An-ch'ing tao-yü 安慶道友 (Taoist Friends for Peace and Prosperity).¹³ (In Kwangtung, An-ch'ing 安清 is wrongly understood as signifying that the sect was aiming at the protection of the Ch'ing dynasty. This is a great mistake.) But the latter two sects had only limited influence because more men and women have bowed down to Buddhism than those who believed in Taoism.

Now let us list in detail the present areas of distribution of the various sects:

¹⁰The rebellions were led by the religiously inspired White Lotus Sect, ravaging seven provinces: Hupeh, Honan, Shansi, Shensi, Szechwan, Shantung, and Chihli, lasting many years. This rebellion for the first time uncovered the weakness of the Ch'ing dynasty. See Wei Yüan, *Sheng-wu chi* (Sacred military campaigns). (Taipei: Shih-kai shu-chü, 1970), ch. 9-10.

¹¹Wang Lun 王倫 led his adherents of the Eight Trigrams to attack the city of Lin-ch'ing, Shantung, in October 1774. Government troops from Peking, Tientsin, and elsewhere were concentrated at the front. Consequently Wang Lun perished in the flames. Arthur W. Hummel, ed. *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*. (Washington D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1943-1944), p. 660.

¹²Lin Ch'ing 林清, leader of the Eight Trigrams Sect, plotted an abortive attack on the Peking palace and claimed incarnation of the Maitreya Buddha, while he was in fact an unprincipled person in his private life. Daniel L. Overmyer, *Folk Buddhist Religion* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976), pp. 166-167 and Susan Naquin, *Millenarian Rebellion in China*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), pp. 117-118 and *passim*.

¹³An-ch'ing tao-yü was the predecessor of the Ch'ing-pang 青幫 (Green Band). Chang Chen-yüan 張振元, *Tao-i cheng-tsung* 道義正宗 (The Orthodox sect of Tao and I [The Ch'ing Pang]), in *Mi-mi she-hui ts'ung k'an*. (Taipei, 1975), Serial 1, v. 2, pp. 20-21.

(1) The White Lotus Sect is still popular in Hupeh, North Anhwei, and Honan, less so in Shantung and Chihli, and still less in Shansi, Shensi and Szechwan. Its influence in Chekiang, Kiangsi and Kiangsu is very weak.

(2) The Eight Trigrams Sect is still popular in Honan, next in Shantung and Chihli, and then in Hupeh and Szechwan; its influence in other places was very limited.

(3) The Boxers Sect—Shen-ch'üan chiao, also called I-ho-ch'üan—was very popular in Shantung and Chihli before 1900. Thereafter its influence in these areas waned, but it has become very strong in Szechwan, next in Shensi and Honan, and finally in Sansi and Manchuria. Occasionally its members can be found in Chekiang, Kiangsi, Anhwei, Hunan, and Kiangsu.

(4) The Observance Sect prevails in Shantung and Manchuria, with fewer members in North Anhwei, the northern region of River Huai and Chihli. Its influence in Honan and Shansi is very small. Among the various sects the Tsai-li chiao observes moral principles most strictly.

(5) The Vegetarian Sect is most numerous in Shantung, North Anhwei, and next in North Kiangsu, while south of the Yangtze it also has some members in Chekiang and Kiangsi.

(6) The An-ch'ing tao-chiao (Taoist Sect for Peace and Prosperity) has members in Shantung, North Anhwei, and North Kiangsu. This is the weakest of the various sects.

These sects are all derived from the White Lotus Sect. Their influence spread from the east to the west of China, and then from the north to the south.

Social conditions at the fall of the Ming dynasty were different from those of the Sung. Many people along the Yellow River had been slaughtered by the roving bandits (*liu-k'ou*), leaving a desolate land with little trace of human habitation. When the Manchus crossed the boundaries of China, few people in this area resisted them. Only people to the south of the Yangtze rallied to expel the Manchus. The hardest fighting was in Chekiang, Fukien, Kwangtung and Kwangsi, because the last southern Ming emperors stayed in the latter two provinces. Moreover, those who fought the enemy were remnants of the followings of the two rebel leaders Chang (Hsien-chung) and Li (Tzu-ch'eng); not all of them were the righteous army fighting to restore the dynasty. In Chekiang and Fukien the situation was different. Those who resisted the Ch'ing were all local volunteers. The provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangsi had been lost to the Manchus during the 11th-12th year of the usurper [Ch'ing] Emperor Shun-chih [1654-55]. The volunteer army of Chekiang was not wiped out until the 3rd year of the usurper Emperor K'ang-hsi [1664], and that of Fukien was driven to Taiwan. Taiwan fell to the Manchus in the 22nd year of K'ang-hsi [1683]. Prior to that time the loyalist armies of Chekiang and Fukien protected each other as lips do the teeth. There was more fighting in Fukien than in Chekiang. Therefore, the Manchu government appointed a governor-general to control the two provinces. Since Chekiang had come to the rescue of Fukien, the governor-general residing at Foochow was also given command over Chekiang. Because Fukien had resisted the Manchus most strenuously, the people there had suffered the most ruthless slaughter, and the survivors hated the Manchus intensely. Consequently, in this area the secret organization of the Hung League took root, and the Heaven and Earth Society also appeared.

Near the end of the Ming dynasty the patriotic armies of Chekiang and Fukien were allies and the Hung League first spread from Fukien to Chekiang. The natives of Chekiang promulgated it widely in Kiangsu and Kiangsi. In the middle of the bogus reign of K'ang-hsi [ca. 1700] a Chang Nien-i (also known as Monk I-nien) led a rebellion using Ta-lan-shan, a mountain in eastern Chekiang, as his base. He formed an alliance with secret society members in the mountain, T'ien-mu-shan, in western Chekiang and in the lake region of T'ai-hu, as well as with the remnants of a certain Ko and Ch'en in Lake P'oyang. Unfortunately

Chang's attempt was abortive, and he failed to achieve his purpose. Thereupon K'ang-hsi applied all his despotic power to suppress the members of the Heaven and Earth Society, leaving hardly a trace of its members in Chekiang, Kiangsu and Kiangsi. Strangely enough, its adherents in Fukien were said to have been unknown to the Manchu government. The Hung League in Fukien then changed the direction of its development by fleeing to Kwangtung. In order to avoid the suspicion of the Manchus, the title Heaven and Earth Society was no longer used there. Instead they took the three dots from the character Hung 洪 and styled themselves the San-tien [i.e., the Triad]. Some members disliked the onesidedness and incompleteness of the name, which suggested a bad omen. Therefore "San-tien" was changed to "San-ho" [literally the Three Convergence, or Three Unions].¹⁴ The Triad and San-ho movements spread from Kwangtung to Kiangsi and Kweichow, where they were very powerful.

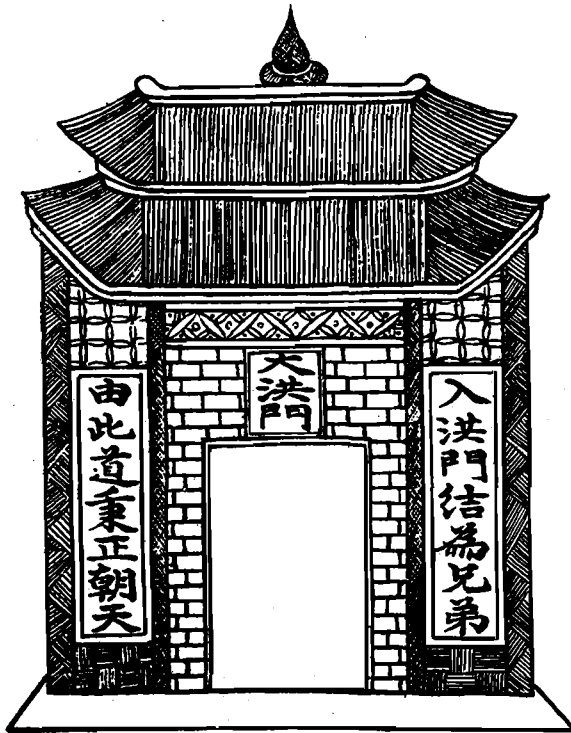
Chu Chiu-t'ao 朱九壽, a leader of the San-ho hui, taught the principles of the Heaven and Earth Society to Hung Hsiu-ch'üan [sic]. Hung took some ideas from Catholicism [sic] and grafted them onto the tenets of the Triad. (He regarded Heaven as his Father and adopted the Heavenly Kingdom as the title of his dominions. He also used "heavenly" to precede official titles [such as "heavenly general"]. Among themselves superiors and inferiors addressed one another as brothers. These practices were not entirely derived from Christianity, but were actually based on the old customs of the Hung League.)

When Hung Hsiu-ch'üan started his rebellion at Chin-t'ien [Kwangsi], all his generals were brothers of the Hung League, including such as Lin Feng-hsiang, Shih Ta-k'ai, Yang Hsiu-ch'ing, and Feng Yün-shan. After they took Nanking, the people of Hunan could not understand their purpose but considered them heretics. Thereupon, Tseng Kuo-fan, Tso Tsung-t'ang and others trained the Hunan Braves to fight against the Taipings. The fate of the Heavenly Kingdom was sealed; Li Hsiu-ch'eng, Li Shih-hsien, and other Taiping leaders realized that, although they had not yet avenged themselves on their great enemies [the Manchus], they had lost control of the situation. They felt sick at heart and disillusioned. They anticipated that the Manchu government would rely upon the Hunan Braves, who would undoubtedly be a powerful force in the future. Therefore, they secretly sent the Hung-men Society brothers of Fukien and Kiangsi to infiltrate the Hunan Army and to entice them into their secret organization. They avoided the use of the titles San-tien and San-ho, but instead adopted the name Ko-lao hui (Elder Brother Society), because the secret society leaders had been referred to as elder brothers. The influence of the Ko-lao hui in the Hunan Army soon became predominant. Wherever the Hunan soldiers went, the Ko-lao hui was spread. From that time [the 1850's] until now [1910], the Ko-lao hui has been a thorn in the side of the Manchu government.

To sum up, the San-tien hui, San-ho hui, and Ko-lao hui are all derived from the T'ien-ti hui, which had been called the Hung-men or Hung-chia. Later on the Hung-men was alternatively called the Hung-pang 洪幫 (commonly mistaken as the Red Gang 紅幫).

After the appearance of the Ko-lao hui, a man by the name of P'an Ch'ing 潘慶 took some ideas from the Hung-men to form the P'an-men 潘門 or P'an-chia, which is also referred to as Ch'ing-pang 慶幫, meaning (P'an) Ch'ing's gang, but is usually mistakenly called Ch'ing-pang 青幫 (the Blue Gang). The distinction between the two was caused by the fact that P'an Ch'ing was a chief of the salt smugglers, while the Ko-lao hui members were Hunan

¹⁴The translation "the three convergence society" is based on the secret society verse, "San-ho ho-shui wan-nien liu 三河合水萬年流" (The water of the three rivers' convergence will flow ten thousand years.). Hsiao I-shan, comp. *Chin-tai mi mi she-hui shih-liao*, ch. 2, p. 15. The harmonious union is a union of heaven, earth, and men. Note that the preceding paragraph of T'ao Ch'eng-chang is very similar to the paragraph of the *Hai-ti* 海底 compiled by Li Tzu-feng 李子逢, n.p., n.d. p. 2.



A DRAWING EMBLEMATIC of the Hung-men Society. The couplet on the gate exhorts its members to band together in brotherhood to work for a noble cause.

Braves, who were supposed to arrest salt smugglers. As they were on opposing sides, they operated under independent banners. Nevertheless, the Hunan soldiers arrested salt smugglers only pro forma; in reality they had secret connections with them. Therefore, although ostensibly they fought against each other, they were not really antagonists. Furthermore, both the Hung-pang and Ch'ing-pang were derived from the Hung-men Society, and the two organizations remembered their common origin. When the P'an and the Hung brothers met they usually began their conversation by saying that P'an and Hung belonged to one family.

Between the P'an and Hung families was another society called Chiang-hu t'uan (literally, River and Lake Wanderers Union). Its members were mostly itinerant entertainers, sometimes joined by roving beggars. There is no way to identify their founder. In order to make a living, these entertainers had to make friends with both the Hung and P'an gangs so that they could travel to and fro and put on their performances without interference. Thus the Chiang-hu t'uan formed a sort of bridge between the two gangs. The reason for this separate entity was to attract people with the same occupation to join it, that is all.

Now let us describe the present distribution of the societies' influence:

(1) T'ien-ti hui. The name has been changed, except for its original headquarters in Fukien.

(2) San-tien hui or the Triads. It is most popular in Kwangtung, next in Fukien and Kiangsi, and next in Kwangsi.

(3) San-ho hui. Very popular in Kwangtung, less in Kwangsi, and still less in Fukien and Kiangsi. In the districts of Hunan adjacent to Kwangsi there are also some members.

(4) Ko-lao hui. Most numerous in Hupeh and Hunan; less in Szechwan, Chekiang (mostly in the eastern part of the province); and less again in Yünnan, Anhwei, Kiangsu, Honan, and Shansi. The membership in the districts of Kiangsi near the Yangtze River is smaller still; and least in Shensi, Kansu, and Sinkiang. Occasionally we can find a few of its members in Shantung and Chihli.

(5) Ch'ing-pang. Its members are mostly in the lower valley of the Yangtze River, in Soochow, Sungkiang, Ch'angchow, T'ai-ts'ang and Chenkiang of Kiangsu; in Ts'aohu, Wuhu, Ningkuo, Kwangteh and Hweichow of Anhwei; in Hangchow, Kashing, Huchow, Yenchow, Ch'üchow of Chekiang; and in Kiukiang, Nanchang and Kwanghsin of Kiangsi.

(6) Chiang-hu t'uan. Mostly living on mendicancy in the upper and lower Yangtze valley, in Luchow and Fengyang of Anhwei; in Huai-an and Yangchow of Kiangsu; in Ch'üchow and Ch'uchow of Chekiang. Each of these places has a large group of its members. Most of them are beggars, and not a few are petty thieves.

All the names in the list above belong to the Hung-men Society. They owe their beginnings to, and are branches of, the Heaven and Earth Society. They spread their influence from Fukien to Chekiang; then, after meeting some hindrance, they changed their direction from Fukien to Kwangtung, Kiangsi, Hunan and all over China. In the main, they have expanded from the south to the north.

Although members of the "chiao" and "hui" exist in both southern and northern China, there is a great difference between the two. Generally speaking, the "chiao" flourishes in the north, not in the south; the "hui" in the south, but not in the north. This situation may be explained by the disparate ways of thinking of the southerners and northerners, which make it impossible for the two to conform. The difference in mentality has created contrasting consequences and tendencies between "chiao" and "hui". The evil practices of the various sects (chiao) are associated with their formation of sub-groups. The larger ones have drifted into mounted banditry (*ma-tsei*), while the smaller ones become "muggers"; all are essentially robbers. The evils of the secret societies (hui) also result from the formation of factions: the larger ones have degenerated into "iron abacus" (t'ieh-suan)—swindlers; the smaller ones pilferers or roving beggars; intrinsically these are but petty thieves.¹⁵

Cooperation and Schism between Sects and Societies

During the Ming dynasty there was a Shao-lin monastery¹⁶ where the monks taught disciples the art of pugilism, and its reputation was spread throughout the country. The

¹⁵From this remark, it is safe to presume that T'ao Ch'eng-chang was not an infiltrator of secret societies, although he tried to utilize them to achieve his revolutionary goal.

¹⁶Here the translator omits the note in parentheses. It reads, "There was also a Shao-lin monastery in Fukien that was famous for its instruction in pugilism. In the Ch'ien-lung period (1736-1795), the monastery was destroyed by the monks from the O-mei mountain, Szechwan. It was different from the Honan monastery, which was destroyed during the Yung-cheng period (1723-1735). Some people say that the five ancestors were monks from the Wu-t'ai temple in Shansi, not from this Shao-lin

monastery. On this we need further research." Apparently this note was inserted by Hsiao I-shan who was confused by the divergent stories. This translator has not yet found a Fukien Shao-lin monastery in any written source, included the *Ta-Ch'ing I-t'ung chih* 大清一統志, Fukien provincial and district gazetteers, geographic dictionaries, and the largest Chinese dictionaries of words and phrases. He has also asked several Fukien scholars, one of whom is a professor of geography, as to whether there is a Shao-lin monastery in their native districts and province. The answer is unanimously negative. In the absence of written and eyewitness evidence, the existence of a Shao-lin monastery in Fukien is dubious.

Shao-lin monks were known as the *wai-chia*, or "external experts". In Chekiang, Wang Cheng-nan had his own school of pugilism known as the *nei-chia*, "internal experts".¹⁷

These pugilists fought against Li Tzu-ch'eng near the end of the Ming and later revolted against the Ch'ing dynasty. Although their followers were almost annihilated, the instruction in pugilism managed to survive. Their followers greatly increased in the middle of the reign of K'ang-hsi (1662-1722). Under the guise of teaching boxing, they actually spread the tenets of the White Lotus Sect. After the fall of Taiwan to the Manchus, most southern patriots fled to become monks. In this way they not only avoided the humiliation of wearing a queue, but also wandered as mendicants from place to place in order to carry out their plan of secretly uniting their comrades. The "Sea-bottom" (*Hai-ti*), containing the rules or regulations of the Hung-men Society, was thus brought to North China. Upon hearing the name of the Shao-lin monastery, the travelers produced their copies of the *Hai-ti* to show the monks. Thereupon the White Lotus Sect and the Hung-men Society were combined into one, leading to the emergence of *Wu-tsu*, the "Five Founding Ancestors".

The Five Ancestors were natives of Shantung but lived in the Shao-lin monastery of Honan. They were Buddhist abbots and skillful pugilists. Under the pretense of spreading Buddhism and teaching boxing, they covertly carried on the plot to restore the empire for the Chinese. Having obtained the *Hai-ti* or regulations of the Hung-men Society, they were so encouraged and hopeful in their efforts that they agreed to combine the forces of the south and north. Unfortunately at that time the Manchus' power was at its height. Chang Nien-i of the Hung-men Society in southern China had just suffered a debacle in his attempted revolt, and for the time being they dared not start another righteous uprising. At this moment the false emperor Yung-cheng of the barbarous Manchu dynasty was engaged in military action in Tibet; the Five Ancestors thought to themselves that if they wished to overthrow the barbarous dynasty, there was no better way than to seize the military power of the Manchus, and utilize this force to overthrow the dynasty with one stroke. But it would be impossible to grasp the military power unless they rendered some service first. Since the Tibetans were not of our race, there would be no harm in assisting the Manchus to vanquish them. Thus, they led their disciples to join the punitive expedition to Chinghai. There they achieved great merit before triumphantly returning to Peking. The Five Ancestors immediately attempted a revolt in the capital, but the plot was discovered by the barbarians; the Five Ancestors and their disciples were caught and executed after being tortured. The Shao-lin monastery was destroyed, and the disciples scattered in all directions. Grieved by the merciless treatment of their teachers, the disciples honored them as the *Wu-tsu* (the Five Founding Ancestors) in order to further spread the White Lotus Sect. As a consequence, the influence of the White Lotus was vastly extended. The Hung-men brothers admired the contribution of the Five Ancestors to their society and also worshipped them. Henceforth the White Lotus and the Hung League honored the Five Ancestors. (Until then the Hung-men Society had worshipped only Heaven and Earth.)

Although the White Lotus Sect and the Hung-men Society thus allied themselves for a while, they eventually split because of the difference in psychological makeup between the people in the south and those in the north. The White Lotus Sect remained independent and the Hung Society kept to its own standard; they developed in the north and the south, respectively.

¹⁷The term "external experts" denotes the aggressive style of fighters of the Shao-lin school, while "internal experts" the defensive pugilists who practiced breath control so that they would not feel hurt when attacked but calmly await an

opportunity to hit their attackers accurately in the most vulnerable parts of the body. Tang Fan-sheng 唐范生, *Shao-lin Wu-tang k'ao* 少林武当考 (A study of the Shao-lin and Wu-tang [schools of pugilism]). Taipei: Hua-lien ch'u-pan she, 1959, pp. 72-77, 87.



AN EIGHT-TRIGRAM BANNER of the Pa-kau chiao 八卦教. Their slogan was: "Overthrow the Manchus to restore the rule of Ming."

In time other patriotic elements combined the essential principles of the two organizations and set up a separate one called Ta-tao hui (The Big Sword Society). (The various societies all had their origins in the south; the Big Sword Society is the only one that arose in the north.) The Big Sword Society, then, possessed characteristics of the other two. From the Ta-tao hui it later developed into the Hsiao-tao hui or the Small Sword Society, which wielded influence in some regions of the country. Below are listed the present locations of the two societies:

(1) The members of the Big Sword Society were most numerous in Ts'aochow, Yenchow, and Ch'ingchow of Shantung; less numerous in Kaifeng, Kueiteh of Honan; less than that in Taming and Paoting of Chihli; and still less in Ssueh, Peichow of Anhwei, and in Hsueh and Haichow of Kiangsu. There were also some members in Shansi and Manchuria.¹⁸

(2) The members of the Small Sword Society were most numerous in Fengyang, Luchow, Shouchow of Anhwei; less so in Hsueh, Haichow and Huaian of Kiangsu; and still less in Chinghua, Yenchow, T'aichow, Ch'üchow, and Wenchow of Chekiang. The branch of Chekiang came from Fengyang, Anhwei. As for the Hsiao-tao hui in Fukien, it is an off-

¹⁸In his reprint Hsiao I-shan noted that the statement about the Ta-tao hui being in Manchuria

"seems to be wrong". Actually, T'ao's statement as translated here is correct.

shoot of the San-tien or the San-ho hui, whose members admired and hence adopted the name of the Hsiao-tao hui; its origin was entirely different.

After the murders of the Five Ancestors, their disciples were found in various provinces of north China. The White Lotus Sect was prevailing, but for lack of ability its members were incapable of achieving much. Taking advantage of the decline of the Manchu power, they launched a rebellion that caused trouble in seven provinces for eleven years [1793-1804], but they were finally wiped out by the Manchu forces.

After this fiasco some of the more intelligent survivors improved the organization and called it the Pa-kua chiao or the Eight Trigrams Sect. Among its eight leaders the most important ones were Lin Ch'ing, who was the chief preacher of the K'an-kua [the second of the Eight trigrams], Li K'en-ch'eng, the chief preacher of the Li-kua [the third trigram], and Niu Liang-ch'en, the chief preacher of the Ch'ien-kua [the first trigram] and concurrently leader of the Big Sword Society. On the night of the fifteenth, intercalary eighth month of the eighteenth year of Chia-ch'ing [1813], Lin Ch'ing suddenly broke into the Peking palace.¹⁹ The imperial guards fled, and the Ch'ing court was almost taken. Unluckily, the co-plotter, Li Wen-ch'eng, had been arrested on the eighth day of the eighth month, and his force could not come to the scene. Lin Ch'ing was also caught; later Li Wen-ch'eng's supporters freed him from jail, but he was recaptured and executed. Niu Liang-ch'en's plot to interrupt the south-north canal transportation of provisions at Ts'aochow also ended in failure.

Thereafter the power of the Pa-kua chiao dwindled, but that of the I-ho ch'üan (Harmonious Fists) increased. The Boxers, rustic, unlettered, and ignorant of any grand plan or of the current situation, erupted in the great rebellion of the year Keng-tzu [1900].

After the failure of the Pa-kua chiao, some of its patriotic leaders again reformed the organization of the White Lotus Sect and renewed it as the Tsai-li chiao. At present only this sect has maintained its integrity. The various White Lotus Sects were widespread in the north, the various Hung-men societies, in the south. Continuing Lin Ch'ing's attempt to topple the Ch'ing dynasty was Hung Hsiu-ch'üan of the Heaven and Earth Society [sic]. After Hung's forces were put down, the power of the San-tien and San-ho also waned, while the power of Ko-lao hui increased. During the Boxer uprising in North China, the Ko-lao hui led by T'ang Ts'ai-ch'ang also rioted at Hankow in South China. From that time on revolutionary riots occurred every year.

The Organization of Sects and Societies, and Their Defects

The White Lotus borrowed some religious ideas to assemble the masses using the burning of incense and the application of charms as the primary methods of attracting followers; another method was teaching pugilism. Those who joined the sect paid either grain or money. The sect chief granted the novice a certificate. It is said that lottery tickets were occasionally passed to attract the people, but this practice was rarely seen. The dogma of sect followers entirely depended upon their obstinate belief in the use of magic power to fool others; that was their first principle. The sectarian organizational scheme favored

¹⁹Here the author made a mistake—there is no intercalary eighth moon in 1813; the unsuccessful palace attack took place on the 15th of the eighth month, i.e., September 15, 1813 of the

Gregorian calendar. See *Ch'ing Jen-ts'ung shih-lu* 清仁宗實錄 (The veritable record of the Chia-ch'ing 嘉慶 emperor), ch. 274, p. 1b-2.

despotism. The *ta chu-chiao* (great sect leader) was the most prestigious; next was the *chu-chiao* (sect chief), who was a leader of a subdivision. To facilitate control, the great sect leader sometimes divided his domain into five regions, or four directorates, or eight trigrams, or the Heaven and Earth. There was no definite division system; leaders were guided by the exigencies of circumstance. Next in rank to the *chu-chiao* was the *chu-hsiang* (incense burner) and *ssu-lu* (clerk of charms). Ordinary sect members could not participate in the functions of the *ssu-lu*, the *ssu-lu* could not participate in the work of the *chu-chiao*, nor could the *chu-chiao* participate in the decision making of the *ta chu-chiao*. The appointment of a successor to the great sect leader was a very strict procedure. The extension of power was accordingly slow and difficult, as was the promotion of officers. Consequently those who advanced to the position of sect chief (*chu-chiao*) were mostly senile and without aggressive spirit, but self-seeking. For this reason, it was hard for them to launch well-planned uprisings, although they did make some attempts.

In general, the great power of the sects was concentrated in one hand. Even though the members might be separated by a few thousand *li*, they could be controlled by a central authority. When the sect chief launched an uprising, many of his followers would respond, functioning as the body commands the arms, and the arms command the fingers. As they relied on superstitions, the belief of their members was firm, and most of them could keep secrecy, with few traitors. Nevertheless, because they were superstitious, their ideas were restricted. Frequently they made senseless moves and lost lives, but they would not acknowledge their errors.

Within the sect the forms of address commonly used were *tzu shih-kung* 祖師公 (great ancestral teacher), denoting the *ta chu-chiao*; *ta shih-fu* 大師父 (senior teacher), and *erh shih-fu* (junior teacher) both being titles for the sect chiefs; and *ta shih-hsiung* (senior brotherly teacher) and *erh shih-hsiung* (junior brotherly teacher), for the incense master and the clerk of charms. The rest were all called disciples.

The organization of the Hung-men Society was different, following the stories of Liu Pei, Chang Fei, and Kuan Yü. To consolidate their relationship, they imitated the three heroes and became sworn brothers, which they referred to as "the chivalrous spirit of the peach garden." They utilized mountains for their rendezvous as bandits used to do in the den of Liang-shan-p'o [as described in the Water Margin stories]. They wished that a sage-emperor might appear to help them achieve the glory of expelling the Manchus, and so they claimed to possess the awe-inspiring "spirit of Wa-kang-chai" [a famous bandit stronghold of the Sui dynasty, A.D. 589-617]. The society organizers used these allusions to suit the inclinations of the lower-class people of China. Their stories were taken mainly from the three novels, *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, *Tales of the Water Margin*, and *Narratives of the T'ang Dynasty (Shuo T'ang)* to attract members from the lower strata of society. This policy was probably inspired by their need for rallying many people in order to achieve their goal of restoration. Moreover, the lowest stratum of the population was far removed from official circles. The higher and lower classes were so far separated that it was not easy for their secrets to leak out.

The first trick in recruiting members was distribution of lottery tickets. All who entered the society had to pay some money and buy some tickets. The ideal for membership was a heroic spirit, which was regarded as pre-eminent, and members patterned themselves after Liu, Kuan, and Chang. Practicing a form of chivalry, they treated each other on an equal basis and addressed each other as brothers. Their polity was democratic. Those who had sworn to the society were treated as equals, and most of them were privy to the society's confidential matters. Therefore, it was very easy to extend the power of the society. The promotion of staff members to higher ranks and the establishment of lodges were also simple matters. For this reason, their uprisings continued with little cessation.

Nonetheless the various lodges (literally mountain-halls) stood separately; even though they communicated with each other, they lacked close connection and coordination, and so the response to revolutionary attempts was often tardy. This is because the society's founders, who hoped for quick success, left such a loose organization.

The members honored the heroic fraternal spirit and considered themselves as belonging to the same family; even though a member traveled one thousand *li*, he would be given hospitality everywhere. Nevertheless, chivalry is a rather empty and ostentatious term. It could not ensure secrecy because the society did not use superstition as a cohesive force. Occasionally, they engaged in internecine struggles for power and personal interest. Furthermore, the various separated and independent branches lacked unified control, and frequently had armed skirmishes among themselves. Notwithstanding, their members received universal military training, a very good system of organization which the White Lotus Sect could not hope to emulate. The Heaven and Earth, the San-tien, and the San-ho societies still followed the traditional policy, although their names had undergone great changes.

The Ko-lao hui still kept its old system and title. Its members were divided into nine grades, and the various units were uniformly organized. Two of the nine grades, four and seven, were eventually eliminated. In the San-tien and the San-ho societies, two assistants were sometimes established after the grades 1, 2, 3, and 4. This was a totally senseless change of the traditional system. The reason for the change was probably because these premier positions were filled by Sung Chiang, Lu Chün-i, Wu Yung, and Kung-sun Sheng [all bandit chiefs vividly described in *Tales of the Water Margin*]. The two assistants, for the left and right, were assigned to Lin Ch'ung 林中 and others.

The organizational system of the Ko-lao hui comprised first the *tu-li* 督理 (Commanding Director), seconded by a *tsung-li* (General Director). The *tsung-li* resembled the *ching-lieh tsung-chih* 經略總制, managing executive chief (a civil title), or the *ta chao-t'ao* 大招討, great commanding general, and the *fu chao-t'ao* 副招討, deputy commanding general, (titles of military officers), used near the end of the Ming. *Tsung-li* was later called *yüan-shuai*, marshal. In the Ming dynasty there were only three noble ranks—duke, marquis, and earl. The “five *t'ang*” 五堂 (lodges) did not exist in the early organization of the Hung-men Society; they began with the *Wu-tsu* (Five Founding Ancestors). Henceforth, the noble ranks were divided into duke, marquis, earl, viscount, and baron. As time passed, the organization became more complicated, and the following symbols were used: *piao* 彪, *shou* 彪, *ho* 彪, *ho* 彪, *t'ung* 彪, and *jen* 彪, *I* 彪, and *li* 彪, *chih* 彪, *hsin* 彪—[all characters made with a tiger radical, probably signifying awe-inspiring force]. A leader could receive any of these titles. Among the five *t'ang*, those who established headquarters on a hill-fort or a hall (*shan* 山 means the hill-fort, *t'ang* means ancestral hall) were called *cheng-fu lung-t'ou* 正副龍頭 (regular and vice dragon-head). They thus regarded the *tu-li* and *tsung-li* as their rulers and the five *t'ang* chiefs as generals. (The nine traditional grades have now become ten grades.) What the Cantonese called the *hung-kun* 紅棍 (literally red-club) corresponded to *lung-t'ou* (dragon-head), which was also called Lao-ta-ko 老大哥 (Venerable Elder Brother). (Some people think that *hung-kun* is *hung-ch'i* 紅旗 or red-flag). The five lodges were headed by elder brothers; the second in rank was the sage and wise man, or adjutant general (*ts'an-chün* 參軍). Because he took charge of incense burning when an initiation meeting was held, he was also called *hsiang-chu* (incense-master). The Cantonese referred to him as *pai-hsien* 白扇 (white fan), i.e., the “Lao-erh” 老二, (Number 2). The third in rank was the *hsin-fu* 新副 (the new adjutant) or *hsün-fu t'u-yü-shih* 巡撫都御史 (governor or chief censor). Formerly, there was a fourth rank, in charge of revenue and grain, corresponding to the function of the financial commissioner. It is said that once the holder of this position violated the law and was executed; thereafter, the position was abolished. The new adjutant then handled financial matters. The fifth, *hung-ch'i* (red-flag), corresponding to a provincial

judge or military administrative *tao-t'ai* (in Cantonese it is called *ti-t'ou*, local chief), took charge of military affairs. After the abolition of the fourth rank, an associate red-flag was instituted. The sixth rank *lan-ch'i* (blue-flag) resembled the judicial commissioner or intendant of a circuit. This officer, investigating the internal and external affairs of the members, was called "Lao-liu" (No. 6). The seventh-grade holder was also killed for committing a crime. Accordingly, the post was dispensed with, and an associate Blue-flag was specially installed to perform its duties as an adjunct to No. 6. The eighth rank *hsün-feng*, inspector (called *ts'ao-hsieh*, grass sandal, by the Cantonese), spied on all matters. This was called "Lao-pa" (No. 8). The ninth rank, consisting of the greater nine and smaller nine, referred to ordinary members.

When Ming T'ai-tsu came to power, he degraded the Chinese who had received official ranks and emoluments for meritorious service to the Mongol dynasty, confiscated their wives and maids as official prostitutes and placed them in brothels called "pleasure-seeking households" (*lo-hu*) or "training ward" (*chiao-fang*) [in music, dancing, etc.]. He hated Ch'en Yu-liang, whose remnants refused to surrender to him (i.e., those descendants of a certain Ko, Ch'en, and others) and he decreed that they should not be regarded as equals of ordinary people. Organizers of the Hung League intended to abolish such unequal treatment, but they were hindered by the ancestral system of Ming T'ai-tsu. Nevertheless in ancient times there had been a clear instruction that a criminal's servants should not be punished; and moreover, during recruitment of members those who came forward to join the Hungmen Society should not be refused. Therefore, an additional rank was created under the ninth rank to accommodate the lowest class of people, under such names as *ta-mo*, *hsiao-mo*, *ta-yao*, *hsiao-yao*, *ch'i-p'ai* and *pa-p'ai* to accommodate the lowest members. Among them, anyone who rendered meritorious service to the society could be promoted to become the *tsung yao-mo* (chief of the *yao-mo*) and could enter one of the five lodges from the bottom. After entering that stage he could open his own lodge.

In ordinary address, the *Lung-t'ou* (dragon head) was called Lao-ta-ko (Venerable Elder Brother); the five lodge heads *hsiang-chu* (incense master) and the *hsin-fu* (new adjutant) were called Ta-ko (Elder Brother); the *hung-ch'i*, *lan-ch'i*, and the *hsün-feng* (inspector) were called the Erh-ko (Second Elder Brother); the rest were addressed as San-ti (Third Younger Brothers).

The Hungmen Society had ten rules and ten corollaries.²⁰ Violators of these rules were sentenced to death. Brothers of the first three ranks in violation of the ten rules were expected to commit suicide. If one did not do so, he would be compelled by the members to take his own life. Hence the so-called proverb: "When any one of the first three rank brothers violated the law, he should dig his own grave and jump into it." If anyone from the fourth to the sixth ranks infringed the regulations, he would be compelled to commit suicide by the *Lao-ta-ko*. As the saying goes: "When anyone of the middle three rank brothers violated the law, he should pick up a knife and kill himself." If anyone of those from the seventh to ninth rank broke the law, the "red-flag" would be ordered to execute him. The saying is: "When the brothers in the lower three ranks violated the law, they would not be spared execution by three swords or five axes." Under this system, the purpose of the laws may be considered a salutary one.

²⁰The text is available in Li Tzu-feng, *Hai-ti op. cit.*, pp. 209-210.

Conclusion

Each of the *chiao* sects and the *hui* societies had branches. Some were established earlier, some later. Other clandestine associations comprised from several thousand to several tens of thousands. They included the Tsu-shih chiao 祖師教 (Ancestor-teacher Sect), Lu-pan chiao 魯班教 (Lu-pan or Carpenters Sect),²¹ Wu-ku chiao 五穀教 (The Five Grain Sect), Kuan-yin chiao (The Goddess of Mercy Sect), Pai-pu hui (The White Cloth Society), Ch'ien-jen hui (The One thousand-men Society), Kuan-ti hui (The God of War Society), Yüeh-wang hui (Prince Yüeh Fei's Association),²² Hung-ch'i tang (The Red-Flag Party), Pai-ch'i tang (The White-Flag Party), Hei-ch'i tang (The Black-Flag Party), and Wu-tai tang (The Black Ribbon Party). (Here the *tang* and *hui* can be used interchangeably.) All prospered for a while, but they lacked deep and lasting influence.

But all the *chiao* were essentially patterned after the White Lotus Sect, and all the *hui* and *tang* were branches of the Hung League; they did not all have independent and particular ideas. Other small groups or bodies are numerous beyond counting. In the movement to persuade them to join the revolution, it was difficult to convince the *chiao* to open up, but easy to make connections with the *hui*; it was easy to wield power in a *tang* or *hui*, just as it was hard to expand influence in a *chiao*. As for making use of these people, it was easy to control the *chiao* members but hard to control secret societies. Moreover, to induce the *chiao* members to fight to the death for your cause is easy, but to persuade the *hui* members to do the same is difficult. As for the geographical factors, the *chiao* adherents being close to Peking have poor communications with the coastal cities. The Hung-men Society members have good communication facilities with the revolutionaries in the harbor towns, but they are far removed from the capital. At present, the revolutionary party has more contacts with the Hung League and fewer with the *chiao* followers. Nevertheless, the day of a reunion between the Sect and the Hung League should not be far away.

²¹ Lu Pan is a sobriquet conferred upon a mechanic or carpenter, supposedly a contemporary of Confucius and a constructor of a wooden kite which flew in the sky for three days. He has been worshipped by carpenters as their earliest teacher. In Hunan, however, a sorcerer who was neither a Taoist nor a Buddhist was called a member of the Lu-pan chiao. Such a sorcerer was once invited to a sick man's house where, after reciting for a while, he cut the man's chest with a sharp kitchen knife to frighten away the evil spirits as well as the bystanders. This translator personally watched such a performance in his native village. The patient reportedly felt a little better. Cf. Herbert A. Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*. (Taipei: Photo-

reprint by Literature House, 1964), under Lu Pan.

²² Yüeh-wang hui, Prince Yüeh Fei's Association, was organized by Ch'en Tu-hsiu, one of the founders of Communism in China, in 1904 at An-ch'ing, Anhwei. Yüeh Fei (A.D. 1103-1141) was a national hero and patriot of the Sung dynasty. The Prince Yüeh's Association was obviously aimed at the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty. Ch'ang Hen-fang, "Chi An-ch'ing Yüeh-wang hui" (An account of the Yüeh-wang Association in An-ch'ing), in *Hsin-hai ko-ming hui-i lu* 辛亥革命回憶錄 (Recollection of the 1911 Revolution). Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1961. Vol. IV, pp. 438-441.

TRANSLATOR'S COMMENTS

FOLLOWING MY TRANSLATION of the text above, a few comments may be in order. As a whole, T'ao Ch'eng-chang's survey of Chinese secret sects and societies is informative, succinct and insightful, based on his direct contacts with such organizations. The interpretations reveal his intelligence and imagination. A revolutionary activist with enthusiasm for utilizing the underworld forces, he had no time to document his statements, except for an occasional explanation or presentation of a different version in parentheses. We cannot even be sure if these notes were written by T'ao Ch'eng-chang or were supplied, without clear identification, by the editor, Hsiao I-shan.

T'ao Ch'eng-chang's generalizations merit some discussion. For example, T'ao avers that the southern Chinese are less superstitious than the northerners and that all people in Shantung are fond of the novel *Feng-shen chuan*, while those in Kiangsu, Chekiang, Fukien and Kwangtung are fond of *Shui-hu chuan*. We may wonder what is the basis for such statements. Obviously he did not conduct a poll on popular reading habits in the areas he mentioned. We do know certainly that these two novels and the *San-kuo chih* have been popular throughout China and even in Southeast Asia.

That the White Lotus Sect prevails in the north and the Hung-men society is everywhere in the south ("pien-yü-nan" 遍於南) may be an overstatement. As early as Yüan Shun-ti 元順帝 (1341-1367), a fat monk in Fukien organized a White Lotus Association, wore a red turban, and compelled the people to make contribution to him, just as later adherents did.²³ In 1567 the White Lotus members caused serious trouble not only in Chungking²⁴ but also in the whole province of Szechwan, according to the memorials of a high official, Chu Hsieh-yüan (1566-1638).²⁵ Liang Ch'ing-

²³*Ts'ang-wu so-lu* 滄溟瑣錄 quoted in the gazetteer, *Chin-men chih* 金門志 [Fukien], compiled by Lin K'un-huang 林煥燾 (fl. 1824-1837) (Taipei: *Chung-hua ts'ung-shu*, 1956), p. 359. It is difficult to locate this book. We know, however, that in the Yuan dynasty, branches of the White Lotus Society were found in Fukien and Kiangsi according to Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 430. The Maitreya Buddha is generally painted fat with a kind, smiling, jolly face. See S.J. Henry Doré, *Researches into Chinese Superstitions* (Photoreprint of the Shanghai 1920 edition by Taipei: Ch'eng-wen ch'u-pan she, 1966), pp. 103-105. Fig. 17.

²⁴L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biography: 1368-1644* (Columbia University Press, 1976), p. 514.

²⁵Chu Hsieh-yüan 朱燮元 1566-1638, "Ch'in-chih yao-chiao shu" 擒治妖教疏 (A Memorial about arresting and handling heretic sectarians), in *Tu-Shu shu-ts'ao* 督蜀疏草 (Memorials during the Commissionership of Szechwan), *chüan* 9, pp. 27-47; and the same

author's "Ch'in-pu t'ung-sheng yao-chiao chieh-lüeh" 擒捕通省妖教節略 (A brief report on arresting the heretic sectarians throughout the province), in *Shu-shih chi-lüeh* 蜀事紀略 (A brief account of Szechwan affairs); postscript dated 1621. pp. 45-48. The two Ming editions were photocopied from the National Library of Peking. In addition, Ts'ai Pei-kuan 蔡伯貫 of Szechwan led a revolt in 1566 with several hundred White Lotus adherents, occupied seven districts (*hsien*), and made himself emperor with the reign title of T'ang T'ien-pao as recorded in the *Ming Shih-tsung shih-lu* 明世宗實錄 (The veritable record of the Chia-ching 嘉靖 emperor). ch. 554, p. 8914. Liu Ch'ing-shan 劉青山 of Kwangtung mustered a crowd of the Wu-wei sect to rebel against the government; about seventy mobsters were arrested but the leader managed to escape. (*Ming Shen-tsung shih-lu* 明神宗實錄, The veritable record of the Wan-li 萬曆 emperor, ch. 165, p. 300.) The following year both the White Lotus and the Wu-wei sects rioted here and there in a wide area (*Ibid.*, ch. 176, p. 3248). These primary sources prove that the White Lotus Sect has spread to South China since the Ming dynasty.

yüan also reported, "The White Lotus Sect was very strong in the period of Wan-li (1573-1619) when the sectarians used magical spells to lead astray the multitudes."²⁶ A contemporary scholar informs us that a Lotus sect leader, Wang Chih-tso 王之佐, pretending to be a merchant, travelled in Shensi, Szechwan, Kweichow, Hunan and Hupeh to spread the White Lotus ideas. Wherever he went, he made comrades and established cells using superstitions and portents to plan a great rebellion. It was based in the Ching-Hsiang area of Hupeh, whence it would proceed to Chinling [Nanking] where he would be proclaimed emperor. Although this conspiracy was aborted, a contemporary informant, Ch'ü Chiu-ssu 瞿九思 (1546-1617), remarked that the White Lotus Sect was particularly strong in south China.²⁷ In 1604 several thousand members rioted in Fukien.²⁸

The consensus of these primary sources is that, during the Ming period, the White Lotus Sect prevailed in south China. This is the opposite of T'ao Ch'eng-chang's generalization.

In the Ch'ing period the Wu-wei chiao 無為教 (Non-action Sect), a scion of Lo Chiao 羅教 (the Lo Sect), paradoxically stirred up an insurrection in Changsha, Hunan in 1685 (K'ang-hsi 24th year).²⁹ About the same time the Lo Sect itself, a religious sect stressing a vegetarian diet with many followers along the Grand Canal porters, rioted in Fukien, south China coastal provinces, Szechwan, Hupeh and, in short, a large part of China.³⁰ The Jan-teng chiao 燃燈教 (Lamplighting Buddhist Sect), a ramification of the White Lotus, spread to Yunan in 1746,³¹ while another group, Hou-t'ien-chiao 後天教 (Later Heaven Sect), which also worshipped the Maitreya Buddha, was reported in Kwangtung by a high official.³² Similarly, the so-called Hsien-t'ien ta-tao 先天大道 (Great Pre-heaven Way), advocating a vegetarian diet and construction of vegetarian halls (chai-t'ang) for assembly, spread to Singapore in the nineteenth century.³³ It is a truism that the great White Lotus rebellion (1793-1804) started in Hupeh, fought its way through Honan, Shensi, and

²⁶Liang Ch'ing-yüan 梁清遠 (1608-1684), *Tiao-ch'iu tsa-lu* 雕丘雜錄 (Miscellaneous notes from carving the field), postscript by the author's younger brother, Liang Ch'ing-piao 梁清標, dated 1678 (K'ang-hsi 17th year), blockprint edition. ch. 6, p. 1.

²⁷Ch'ü Chiu-ssu 瞿九思, *Wan-li wu-kung lu* 萬曆武功錄 (Military records of the Wan-li period, 1573-1615). Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1962. 14 Vols., pp. 30, 543-544.

²⁸L.C. Goodrich, *op. cit.*, p. 583.

²⁹*Hua-shan* 華山 *hsien-chih* (Hunan), compiled by Wu Chao-hsi 吳兆熙, et al., blockprint edition, 1877. ch. 37, p. 17. For more information, see Sakai, Tadao 酒井忠夫, "Mimmatsu no Muikyō ni tsuite 明末の無為教について" ("On Wu-wei-chiao of the Ming dynasty"). *Tōyō shigaku ronsō* 東洋史論叢. Vol. 3 (1954), pp. 157-168.

³⁰Daniel L. Overmyer, *Folk Buddhist Religion:*

Dissenting Sects in Late Traditional China (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976), pp. 109, 123.

³¹*Ch'ing-shih-lu, Ch'ien-lung* 清實錄, 乾隆 (Veritable record of the reign of Ch'ien-lung). Taipei: Ch'eng-wen ch'u-pan-she, 1964, ch. 268, p. 3886. For the jan-teng-fo, see Henry Doré, *Researches into Chinese Superstitions*, VI, 89-98.

³²Lan Ting-yüan 藍鼎元 (1680-1733). *Lu-chou kung-an* 鹿州公案 (Official dispatches of Lan Luchou). Kiang-chou, Kiangsi, the Government Publication Office, 1881, ch. 1, pp. 14-20.

³³See Marjorie Topley, "The Great Way of Former Heaven: A Group of Chinese Secret Religious Sects," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, Vol. 26, Pt. 2 (1963), pp. 362-392.

Szechwan, where it had bases, somewhat analogous to the Eighth Route Army which marched to Shensi where Liu Chih-tan and others had established societies.

All this notwithstanding, there were several large White Lotus uprisings in north China in the Ming and Ch'ing periods, such as those led by T'ang Sai-erh 唐賽兒 in Shantung in 1420, Hsü Hung-ju 徐鴻儒 in 1622, Wang Lun 王倫 in 1774, Lin Ch'ing 林清 of Chihli in 1813, and the Boxers' Rebellion in 1900.³⁴ Their center of gravity and field of activities in the nineteenth century were in Honan, Shantung, Chihli, and northern Anhwei, but they did not cease their infiltration and subversion in the Yangtze valley under such appellations as Ch'ing-lien chiao 青蓮教 (Green Lotus Sect), Pai-yang chiao 白陽教 (Bright Sun Sect), and Chai chiao 齋教 (Vegetarian Sect).³⁵ These sects also appeared in Hunan, Hupeh, and Kiangsi and caused governors Hu Lin-i and others much trouble in the 1840's.³⁶

As for T'ao Ch'eng-chang's generalization that the *hui* was ubiquitous in south China, a brief comment may suffice. In north China there were also many *huis*, such as Jen-i hui 仁義會 (Benevolence and Righteousness Society),³⁷ Huang-sha hui 黃沙會 (Yellow Sand Society), and Pai-ying hui 白纓會 (Spears with White Tassels Society), T'ien-men hui 天門會 (Heaven's Gate Society), Ch'ang-ch'iang hui 長槍會 (Long Spears Society), Hsiao-tao hui 小刀會 (Small Sword Society), Ta-tao hui 大刀會 (Big Sword Society), to mention a few. The last society murdered two German missionaries in Shantung in 1897, which afforded the German kaiser (who according to William Langer had been awaiting a pretext for a military expedition to and occupation of the Kiaochow Bay, including Tsingtao) the chance to order his navy into action.³⁸ This incident also served as one of the immediate causes of the Boxer Rebellion, whose participants almost took coordinating action with the Ko-lao hui

³⁴These well-known revolts need no documentation. The interested scholar may like, however, to scan over the following works: Ch'ing-kuei 慶桂 et al., eds., *Chiao-p'ing san-sheng hsieh-fei fang-lüeh* 剿平三省邪匪方略 (Strategic directives in suppressing the heterodox rebels in the three provinces). Taipei: Ch'eng-wen photoreprint of the palace edition, 1970, Vol. 1, pp. 85-121. Ku Hai-ch'en 辜海澄, *Ch'uan Shan Ch'u Pai-lien chiao luan shih-mo* 川陝楚白蓮教亂始末 (The White Lotus Rebellion from beginning to end in Szechwan, Shansi and Hupeh). Taichung, Taiwan: Lan-teng wen-hua shih-yeh kung-ssu, 1976, 386 pp. and Susan Naquin, *Millenarian Rebellion in China, The Eight Trigrams Uprising of 1813*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976, 384 pp.

³⁵Yang Chin 楊楮, *Ch'u-hsieh chi-lüeh* 除邪紀略 (A brief record of ridding of the heresies), an old manuscript written about 1816. 24 pp. I am grateful for Ch'ü T'ung-tsu who made a selective copying and summary for me because the paper is too fragile to undergo the ordeal of photocopying. It deals with the *pao-chüan* 寶卷 precious booklets, or "divine rolls" and the methods of propaganda.

³⁶Wu Yang-yüan 吳養源, *Wu Wen-chieh kung i-chi* 吳文節公遺集 (Posthumous collection of Wu Wen-

chieh's writings). Taipei: photoreprint of the 1857 edition. pp. 313-337, 399-412 and passim; Liu Jung 劉蓉, *Yang Hui-tang wen-chi* 養晦堂文集 (A collection of essays of Yang-hui tang), blockprint edition of 1877 (Kuang-hsü, ting-yu, ch. 8, p. 28; and Philip Kuhn, *Rebellion and Its Enemies in the Late Imperial China* (Harvard University Press, 1970), p. 117.

³⁷The Jen-i hui 仁義會 or Liu-i hui 劉義會, which required blood brotherhood ceremony for destroying the Manchus and restoring China to the Chinese, was probably an extension of the Triad in Honan. Tai Hsüan-chih 戴玄之, *Hung-ch'iang hui* 紅槍會 (The Red Spear Society), Taipei: Shih-kuo ch'u-pan-she, 1973, pp. 10-11.

³⁸William Langer, *Diplomacy of Imperialism 1890-1902* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1951), 2nd ed., pp. 451-453; H.B. Morse, *International Relations of the Chinese Empire* (Shanghai: Kelley and Walsh, 1918), Vol. III, pp. 106-107; *North China Herald*, Nov. 17 and 19, 1897. Because Russia also took interest in this area, it is worth reading N.M. Kaliuzhnaia, "Vostanie 'Bol'shikh mechei' v Shan 'dune v 1896". (The Big Sword Uprising of 1896 in Shantung), *Kratikie soobshcheniia Instituta Narodov Azii*, 85 (1964). pp. 60-71.

in the lower Yangtze valley. These two societies—the Boxers and the Elder Brothers—had a long history, and their anti-foreign sentiments were accelerated by the alleged missionary misdeeds, by the aggression of foreign capitalists, and by a severe crop failure along the Shantung-Chihli border. They tried to destroy missionary properties, kill their converts, and drive the “foreign devils” out of China. After the great debacle many Boxers fled to Szechwan, where they cooperated with the Elder Brother Society in protesting the government railway plan and eventually in delivering the Manchu dynasty a fatal blow on the eve of the 1911 Revolution.³⁹ T’ao knew that some Sectarrians went to the south and some Society members went to the north. He should have noticed that members of the Elder Brother Society followed the Hunan Army to Kansu and Singkiang in fighting against the Nien and Moslem rebels, and many settled there permanently. His generalization of the omnipresence of the *hui* in the south is too restricted. It would be more accurate for him to write that sect members were also numerous in the south, as society brethren were in the north. Especially the Red Spear Society had hundreds and thousands of die-hards who dared to challenge, and sometimes defeated, the regular armies of Chang Tso-lin, Chang Tsung-ch’ang and Wu P’ei-fu.⁴⁰ On the other side the Triads of Kwantung were small units.⁴¹ Moreover, to divide southern and northern China along the Yangtze and the Yellow Rivers omits the northwest and southwest of China. As Lü K’un of the Ming dynasty well stated, the White Lotus sect existed and formed units in the four quarters of the empire.⁴² Thus in dealing with secret sects and societies a demarcation line between the south and north could not confine the activities of such members, who would cross the line when it was propitious, or when they were obliged to do so. The giants of the underworld are like whales swimming in a vast area, submerging or surfacing as they see fit.

T’ao Ch’eng-chang is probably one of the earliest to say that the founder of the T’ien-ti hui was Cheng Ch’eng-kung. Numerous scholars have accepted this

³⁹Two good articles supply a synoptic view: Watanabe Atsushi 渡邊惇, “Shimmatsu Karōkai no seiritsu 1891 nen Chōkō ryūiki kiji no haikai 清末哥老會の成立——一八九一年長江流域起事計畫の背景”. (Foundation of the Ko-lao hui [Society of Brothers and Elders] in the late Ch’ing period: the background of the plot for an uprising in the Yangtze area in 1891), *Kindai Chugoku nōson shakaishi kenkyū*, pp. 109-198; and *The Anti-foreign Riots in China in 1891* (Shanghai: reprinted at the North China Herald Office, 1892), 304 pp., pp. 61-62, 81-89. The Chinese local governments were incapable of maintaining order and peace. Under a mass psychology of popular uprisings, Mervyn Llewelyn Wynne believes that “the Boxer rebellion was in fact, a rising of the Ko Lao Hui against the foreigners.” Wynne, *Trade and Tabert* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilm Inc., 1941), p. 31.

⁴⁰Hsiang Yün-lung 向雲龍, “Hung-ch’iang hui ti ch’i-yüan chi ch’i shan-hou 紅槍會的起源及其善後”. (The origin of the Red Spear Society and its future outlook), *Tung-fang tsa-chih*, 24 (12 Aug. 1927), pp. 35-41; and Roman Slawinski, *La Société des Piques*

Rouges et le Mouvement Paysan en Chine (Warsaw: Uniwersytet Rozprawy, 1975), pp. 57-63. See also Roman Slawinski, “The Red Spears in the Late 1920’s,” in Jean Chesneaux ed. *Popular Movements and Secret Societies in China* (Stanford University Press, 1972), p. 208.

⁴¹The Triad lodges in the Pearl River delta were usually small, from several to several dozen persons as we can see from the Canton government archives which were taken to London after the second Anglo-Chinese opium war in the 1850’s and now they are microfilmed from the British Museum and housed in the Public Record Office 550, F.O. 682. 4 reels. All these documents are mainly confessions in Chinese of secret society members.

⁴²Lü K’un, president of the board of punishments, memorialized in 1597 that the White Lotus Sect expanded in the four directions of the empire; its sect chief established cells in all places. See *Ming shih* 明史, “A biography of Lü K’un,” in Vol. 4, ch. 226, p. 2606. (Taipei: Kuo-fang yen-chiu-yüan, 1963).

leadership assignment without hesitation. Personally, I prefer reliable evidence to blindly following the majority. For several years I have searched in vain for primary sources to ascertain this important fact. Therefore I must leave the popular legend in abeyance, awaiting discovery of written documents and reliable relics.

T'ao mentioned that a Triad chief, Chu Chiu-t'ao, inculcated in Hung Hsiu-ch'üan the secrets and knacks of the Heaven and Earth Society, and that Hung learned Christian tenets from Catholics. We should not blame him for these obvious mistakes because at that time there were many misunderstandings about the early history of the Taipings, such as those concerning Chu Chiu-t'ao and Hung Tach'üan. Thanks to researches in the last generation by Lo Erh-kang, Jen Yu-wen and others, this mystery has been resolved.⁴³ Hung was not a secret society member and that is why he was robbed on his second trip from Canton to Kwangsi in 1847 "depriving him of his bundle of clothes" and "one hundred cash in his pocket".⁴⁴ If he had known the passwords, he would have had protection by his fellow sworn brothers along with room and board. Hung's early religious ideas came mainly from Liang Ah-fa's *Ch'üan-shih liang-yen* ("Good Words to Admonish the Age, being Nine Miscellaneous Tracts").⁴⁵ The Catholics and the Taipings opposed each other from the beginning to the end of the Heavenly Kingdom (1850-1864).

It is true, however, that many secret society members joined the Taipings and/or fought independently for them in sympathetic cooperation and for mutual assistance from Kwangsi through Hunan, Hupeh to Nanking. It is also true that many Triad elements deserted the Taipings because of Hung's strict discipline against smoking, drinking, adultery, and so forth.⁴⁶

Last but not least, that the White Lotus Sect and the Hung-men Society were combined into one and jointly worshipped the Wu-tsu is an important point on which T'ao Ch'eng-chang should have elaborated and offered some sources. This problem requires further research and much space to tackle. Suffice it to say for the time being that secret sects and societies are sometimes friends and at other times enemies, even among the members of the same group, like political parties. On the whole, T'ao has presented us with a panorama of the evolution of the clandestine associations and their major ramifications.

⁴³S.Y. Teng, *The Taiping Rebellion and the Western Powers, a Comprehensive Survey* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 35n.

⁴⁴Theodore Hamberg, *The Visions of Hung-Siu-Tshuen, and Origin of the Kwang-si Insurrection* (Hong Kong, 1854, reprinted by Yenching University Library, 1935), pp. 32-33. This is a valuable primary source with information supplied by Hung Hsiu-

ch'üan's relative, Hung Jen-kan.

⁴⁵S.Y. Teng's introduction to Liang A-fa's *Ch'üan-shih liang-yen*, photoreprint by Taipei: Hsüeh-sheng shu-tien, 1965.

⁴⁶Jen Yu-wen, *The Taiping Revolutionary Movement* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), pp. 69-70, 84, 127, 268 and passim.