

**International Conference on Secret Societies and Popular Movements in
Chinese and Southeast Asian History**
“ 中國與東南亞秘密社會 ” 國際學術研討會

Faculty of Social Sciences and Department of History
University of Macau
17 – 19 December, 2014

VENUE: E-21, Room G002 (Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences Building)

會場：E-21，G002 室（人文社科樓）

Schedule 會議日程

Wed 17 Dec. (12 月 17 日，星期三)

- All Day Arrival of participants and check-in Post-Graduate House (Building S-1).
(Please arrive if possible before 6:00 pm).
與會者到達澳大并入住宿舍 S-1 座（請盡量在 6:00 前到達）。
- 6:30 pm All participants should gather at the S-1 Post-Graduate House Reception Counter. We will
take a shuttle bus to the restaurant on campus.
所有與會者請在 S-1 座宿舍接待處集合，我們會安排巴士集體前往位於校園內的餐廳。
- 7:00-8:30 pm Welcome dinner at Fortune Inn (Located at N-1 Building).
歡迎餐會：富臨軒（位于 N-1 樓）。

Thu 18 Dec. (12 月 18 日，星期四)

- 8:00 - 8:30 am Breakfast at conference venue (pick up by shuttle bus at the S-1 Hostel at 8:00 am).
早餐：會場（穿梭巴士 8:00 在宿舍前接大家）。
- 8:30 - 8:50 am Welcome and Introduction – Prof. George Wei, Head of Department of History.
致歡迎辭和介紹—歷史系系主任魏楚雄教授。
- 8:50 - 9:30 am • **Keynote Speaker 主講人—David Ownby 王大為：**
道門新視野：近代中國歷史上宗教性質的救世團體
New Perspectives on the ‘Dao’ of ‘Huidaomen’: Redemptive Societies and Religion in
Modern and Contemporary China
- 9:30 - 9:45 am Tea break 茶敘
- 9:45 - 11:45 am Panel One 第一場
- **Thomas DuBois, chair 杜博思 主持**
- **Joseph Lee 李樹熙 and Christie Chow 周翠珊：隱秘與公開：華南與華東的基督教運動**
Covert and Overt Activism: Christianity in Contemporary China
- **Zhou Yumin 周育民：‘三教合一’：明清民間宗教的哲學動因和歷史命運**
‘Union of Three Teachings’: the Philosophic Implication and the Historical Destiny of the
Three Teachings within Folk Religion during the Ming and Qing Dynasties

•Chen Jinguo 陳進國: 論真空教在馬來西亞的傳播與發展
On the Spread and Development of *Zhenkongjiao* in Malaysia

•Teddy Sim and Sandy Liu: 小刀會起義與南洋華人
The Small Sword Society Uprisings and the Chinese in Nanyang

11:45 am – 1:30 pm Buffet Lunch at Venue 自助午餐: 會場

1:30 - 3:20 pm Panel Two 第二場

•Joseph Lee, chair 李樹熙 主持

•David Faure 科大衛 and He Xi 賀喜:
秘密社會的秘密: 自我合法化與其在中國社會虛擬的影響
The Secret Society's Secret: Self-legitimation and Its Perceived Consequences in Chinese Society

•Liu Ping 劉平: 王覺一評傳
Biography of Wang Jueyi

•Wong Yee Tuan: 峇峇福建商人和建德堂在十九世紀的檳城與其區域
The Baba Hokkien Merchants and Kian Teik Tong in the Nineteenth-century Penang and Its Region

•Thomas DuBois 杜博思: 從殉道者的鮮血而起: 清末東北地區基督教的苦難及蛻變
'From the Blood of the Martyrs': Suffering and the Transformation of Christian Mission in Manchuria

3:20 - 3:40 pm Tea break 茶敘

3:40 - 5:40 pm Panel Three 第三場

•Wang Di, chair 王笛 主持

•Shao Yong 邵雍: 法國政府文件中孫中山與秘密會社的關係
The Relationship between Sun Yat-Sen and Secret Societies in French Official Documents

•Vincent Ho 何偉傑: 同盟會與二十世紀初的澳門秘密社會
Chinese United League and Secret Societies in the early 20th-Century Macau

•Isabel Morais: 致公堂在莫桑比克: 在葡萄牙殖民統治下的生存策略(1858-1975)
The Chee Kung Tong in Mozambique: Survival Strategies under Colonial Rule in Portuguese East Africa (1858-1975)

•Wu Yun 武云: 從文化傳統探析當代中國邪教問題的根源
Examining the Origins of Chinese Heterodoxical Sects from the Perspective of Traditional Chinese Culture

6:30 - 8:30 pm Dinner at Pousada de Coloane (bus pick-up at 6:30 in front of Post-Graduate House).
晚餐: 竹灣酒店 (6:30pm大巴於住宿處接大家)。

Fri 19 Dec. (12月19日, 星期五)

8:00 - 8:30 am Breakfast at conference venue (pick up by shuttle bus at the S-1 Hostel at 8:00 am). 早餐: 會場 (穿梭巴士早上 8:00 在宿舍前接大家)

8:30 - 9:00 am •**Keynote Speaker** 主講人– **Qin Baoqi 秦寶琦**:
對清代會黨史研究的幾點思考-- 國家《清史. 典志. 會黨篇》考異的展開
Notes on the Origins of Secret Societies in the Qing Period: Discrepancies, Arguments, and Refutations

9:00 - 9:15 am Tea break 茶敘

9:15 - 11:45 am Panel Four 第四場

•**Vincent Ho, chair 何偉傑** 主持

•**Wang Di 王笛**:吃講茶: 清末民國時期成都茶館、袍哥與地方政治空間
'Drinking Settlement Tea': Teahouses, Gowned Brothers, and Local Political Space in Late-Qing and Republican Chengdu

•**Xu Youwei 徐有威** and **Phil Billingsley**: 陝北的土匪和共產黨: 以劉志丹為中心的討論
Bandits and Communists in the Shaanbei Badlands: a Case Study of Liu Zhidan

•**Robert Antony 安樂博**: 盜匪、老鼠與貓的聯想--清代珠江三角洲流域的民間趣事逸聞
Of Rats, Cats, and Bandits: Some Curious Episodes from the Pearl River Delta in the Late Imperial Age

•**Venus Viana**: 警察是強盜嗎? 試探民國時期廣東中山地區的警察系統
Were Policemen Bandits? A Study of the Police System in Republican Zhongshan

•**Qiu Geping 邱格屏**: 英屬馬來亞政府懲治華人秘密會黨立法之演進
Development of the Regulations on Punishment of Chinese Secret Societies in British Malaysia

11:45 am -1:20 pm Buffet Lunch at Venue 自助午餐: 會場

1:30 -2:30 pm Closing remarks and Future plans 閉幕致辭和未來計劃

Thomas DuBois 杜博思

David Faure 科大衛

Joseph Lee 李樹熙

Liu Ping 劉平

Qin Baoqi 秦寶琦

Wang Di 王笛

Robert Antony 安樂博

Comments and Suggestions from Participants



Qing officials are arresting members of a secret society - the image of the goddess on the wall is Wusheng Laomu (here called Wuji Shengmu)

Abstracts 摘要

Keynote Speakers

•**Qin Baoqi 秦寶琦**, People's University, Beijing

對清代會黨史研究的幾點思考: 國家《清史·典志·會黨篇》考異的展開

Notes on the Origins of Secret Societies in the Qing Period: Discrepancies, Arguments, and Refutations

ABSTRACT: 天地會起源問題，在中外學者中有很大的爭議，具體說法至少有十三種之多，但歸納起來無非是“康熙說”和“乾隆說”。“康熙說”認為天地會是由明朝遺老為了“反清復明”，於清初康熙年創立的。“康熙說”，主要論據有三，一是，康熙年間《大清律》中已經有懲辦異姓結拜弟兄的條款。二是，乾隆年間有“復興天地會”的條款，說明天地會始於康熙年間而於乾隆年間又“復興”了。三是，利用“香花僧秘典”支持萬五（康熙年間）道宗創立天地會之說。“乾隆說”，主要論據有三，一是，最初蔡少卿依據汪志伊在《敬陳治化漳泉風俗疏》提出，天地會是萬提喜於乾隆二十六年創立的。二是，筆者於檔案發現，在嘉慶十一年到嘉慶十七年期間，先後有奏報天地會根源時，均有一段同汪志伊所述完全相同的內容。三是，後來筆者在一件殘檔裡找到一條線索，表明汪志伊等人所奏是根據伍拉納、徐嗣增的奏摺。筆者支持“乾隆說”，認為天地會起源於乾隆朝。並在《外紀簿》裡找到了伍拉納等的奏摺。伍拉納等依據審訊果寫成奏摺，是清朝官員歷時四年追查天地會根源的最終結論，為天地會起源乾隆說提供了有力證據。

Concerning the origins of the Tiandihui (Heaven and Earth Society), there are two main arguments since Qing dynasty. In fact, the debates began in the Qing dynasty and there are over thirteen different points of view on this heated topic. One argues that the Tiandihui was founded in the Kangxi period and the other argues that it started in the Qianlong period. The argument about Tiandihui originating in the Kangxi reign is based on three assumptions. The first is that some of the late Ming remnants (loyalists) were still supporting the Ming government instead of the new ruling Qing government. The second is that in Qing law there is a provision stating the punishment for sworn brotherhoods. The third is that a historical document, 《香花僧秘典》 (the Secret Code of Fragrant Monk), stated that the Tiandihui was founded in the Kangxi reign. There are also three main findings to support the argument that the Tiandihui was founded in Qianlong reign. The first person who brought forward this argument is Cai Shaoqin. He based his arguments on 《敬陳治化漳泉風俗疏》 written by Wang Zhiyi. The second is that several Qing officials during Jiaqing reign had the same statement in their memorials as those in Wang Zhiyi's. Third is that an incomplete Qing archive stated that Wang Zhiyi and other statements were all based on Wunala and Xu Sizen's memorial, which is in 《外紀簿》. The author supports the argument that Tiandihui was founded in the Qianlong reign and he presents his reasons in this presentation.

•**David Ownby 王大為**, University of Montreal, Canada

New Perspectives on the 'Dao' of 'Huidaomen': Redemptive Societies and Religion in Modern and Contemporary China 道門新視野：近代中國歷史上宗教性質的救世團體

ABSTRACT: During the Yan'an period, Communist authorities coined the terms “huimen” and “daomen” to refer to “feudal secret societies and sects” that exploited the masses, often through the manipulation of religious symbols and discourse. The groups subsequently became the object of a successful campaign to eliminate them in the early 1950s, and the categories remain important in scholarship and politics on the mainland, despite the greater openness to religion evidenced since the 1980s.

This paper argues that “daomen” has limited use as a scientific or historical concept, and reflects instead the politicization of religion by Chinese state authorities. It proposes a new term, “redemptive societies” that has been the subject of considerable research over the past few years. “Redemptive societies” include a large number of groups founded mostly during the Republican period, including Yiguandao, Tongshanshe, Wanguodaodehui, Zailijiao, etc. Building on syncretic and even “sectarian” traditions, redemptive societies were part of the complex reconfigurations of the political, secular, scientific, and religious spheres in modern China. Indeed, redemptive societies filled many of the gaps created by statist assaults on traditional religions and culture. They preached neo-traditional values and offered the healing power of qigong and other body technologies, even as they presented themselves as ecumenical and modern, embracing major world religions and science. They marketed themselves variously as religions, charitable organizations, and/or social organizations and sculpted their message to particular ecologies. In short, in a time of rapid change and social instability, in a culture where the notion of “religion” in the Western sense was little known, redemptive societies offered a form of spirituality based on traditional beliefs in morality and healing power, in a package

that straddles the traditional and the modern and is grounded in emotional claims to what might be called “Chineseness.”

在延安時期，中共政權將“會門”和“道門”這一類術語定義為“剝削人民群眾的封建秘密社會和教派”，它們主要通過宗教符號和言論來控制群眾。隨後，在 20 世紀 50 年代早期，國家展開以這些群體為對象的消滅運動，並取得成功。20 世紀 80 年代以來，中共的宗教政策不斷開放，但是這一領域相關學術與政治研究，在大陸依舊佔據重要地位。

本文主要研究的是“道門”。在文章中，筆者認為“道門”這一概念在科學和歷史意義上使用過於局限，它們所反映出的僅是由中共政權進行地宗教政治化。因此，筆者提出一個新的術語“救世團體”，這一術語在過去幾年內已經出現於眾多研究中。“救世團體”包含許多群體，它們大多建立於民國時期，其中有一貫道、同善社、萬國道德會、在理教等等。救世團體是近代中國在政治、世俗、科學及宗教等領域複雜重構的一部分，它們建立在多種教派混合的基礎上。救世團體的存在，在於中共當局對傳統宗教及文化的攻擊，它生存於這種混亂局面下所產生的夾縫中。救世團體宣傳新傳統價值，並提供氣功或其它鍛煉身體的方法，作為宗教性治療手段。它甚至以現代化的宗教面貌，來救贖世人。它們通過多種多樣的方式推廣自己，包括宗教行爲、慈善組織、社會團體等，並將其要傳達的信息刻入特定的社會生態中。簡而言之，在社會迅速發展的不穩定時期，西方意義上的宗教概念在中國鮮為人知，此時所出現的救世團體，它所提供的是，基於中國傳統倫理道德和治愈力量為依托的宗教形式，該形式跨越傳統與近代，並以“中國化”的感情要求為基礎。

Panel One

• **Joseph Lee 李樹熙**, Pace University, and **Christie Chow 周翠珊**, Princeton Theological Seminary
Covert and Overt Activism: Christianity in Contemporary China
隱秘與公開：華南與華東的基督教運動

ABSTRACT: In the past three decades, the phenomenal growth of Catholic and Protestant churches—both officially-registered Three-Self patriotic churches and unofficial house churches—in China has drawn attention to the underlying dynamics of Chinese Christianity. Scholars tend to examine the Catholic and Protestant experiences under two separate analytical categories, and little attention has been paid to the ecumenical efforts by local Christians to overcome sectarian divide and to support each other in dealing with state-controlled patriotic religious organizations. This conference paper draws on archival research and fieldwork to investigate the ecumenical cooperation between Catholics and Protestants in Shantou (Guangdong province) and Wenzhou (Zhejiang province), respectively. Since the Maoist era, the Chaozhou-speaking Catholics, Baptists, and Presbyterians had transcended sectarian boundaries and helped one other cope with religious persecution in rural and urban Shantou. During the Reform era, the Seventh-day Adventists in rural Wenzhou enlisted the help of their Catholic neighbors to rebuild their congregations and protect the church properties against anti-Christian village officials. These local stories of ecumenism reveal that as a collective force, the Chinese Christians have employed congregational and kinship networks as conduits for religious mobilization. Their covert and overt activism highlights the need to combine archival research and ethnographic observation to assess the remarkable revival of Catholic and Protestant movements in China today.

中國教會在過去三十年的迅速增長，已經引起學界的廣泛關注。本文結合田野調查與歷史檔案，以「秘密會社」為詮釋視角，剖析廣東汕頭與浙江溫州地區的基督教發展，尤其是教會如何克服宗派分歧，彼此協助，從而對抗外來力量的控制。在解放初期，汕頭信徒群體透過傳統的宗族力量與海外華人網絡互相支援；溫州地區的信徒，則組織跨越村落與傳統基督教宗派的家庭聚會。這些民間的隱秘宗教活動網絡，讓地方信徒暫時放下信仰與派系成見，共同度過艱困的歲月。到了改革開放時期，跨宗派合作繼續成為整合和鞏固教會實力的必要元素。本文個案說明，唯有結合田野調查與歷史檔案，方能了解中國民間基督教發展的動力。

• **Zhou Yumin 周育民**, Shanghai Normal University

三教合一：明清民間宗教的哲學動因和歷史命運
The ‘Union of Three Teachings’: the Philosophic Motivation and the Historical Destiny of the Folk Religion during Ming and Qing Dynasties

ABSTRACT: 在“三教合一”思想的影響下，由陸王心學走向內丹修行成仙、成佛，成為了在晚明新興民間教派的新教義，無生老母及她派下來下凡的眾仙佛傳授內丹秘法以普度眾生成為這些新教派的基本信仰，從而形成了從晚明到清代中葉長達二百餘年的修煉內丹的“群眾運動”。然而彌勒信仰在明清鼎革之際復興，由反清復明思潮和運動而加強，遭致了清政府對民間教門的不斷鎮壓。到 19 世紀，這場

難以驗證的群眾性修煉內丹運動逐漸退潮，“三教合一”思想也在主流意識形態中邊緣化，為了避免政府的取締，教門也淡化了具有政治顛覆性的彌勒信仰結構。

Under the influence of the “Union of Three Teachings” people turned from the Lu-Wang xinxue (陸王心學) to practicing inner alchemic Daoism (內丹道), whereby to be immortals or bodhisattvas became an emerging folk religion teaching in the late Ming dynasty. Its basic belief consists of the Unborn Mother (無生老母) and immortals, appointed by her, who delivered inner alchemic Daoism teaching to all living creatures to save them from torment. This practice of inner alchemic Dao had become the main stream for over two-hundred years from the late Ming to the mid-Qing. However, after the revival of “Mile belief” (彌勒信仰 Matreya Buddhism) in the Ming-Qing transition, the teaching was suppressed by Qing government because of the teaching’s anti-Qing movement. During the 19th century the inner alchemic Daoism teaching had gradually faded. Meanwhile, in order to avoid being prohibited by the government, it adjusted the subversive political aspect of the Mile belief. At last, the “Union of Three Teachings” has been marginalized in mainstream ideology.

•**Chen Jinguo 陳進國**, China Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing

論真空教在馬來西亞的傳播與發展

Research on the Spread and Development of *Zhenkongjiao* (Teaching of True Emptiness) in Malaysia

ABSTRACT: 真空教是形成于十九世紀中葉的一個新興宗教，隨後隨著移民傳入馬來亞，曾經發展到 100 多間道堂的興盛局面。但隨著社會的急劇變遷，真空教開始走向衰弱，不少道堂已淪為殯儀館，甚至消亡。本文分析真空教在馬來西亞的分布情況及其走向衰敗的原因。

As a new religious form in mid-19 century, *Zhenkongjiao* (Teaching of True Emptiness) in Malaysia reached an apex as Chinese immigrants moved into the region. It had more than a hundred meeting halls at its maximum. Because of the rapid social changes, however, it had declined dramatically. Some meeting halls became funeral homes, while others disappeared. This paper discusses the distribution of *Zhenkongjiao* (Teaching of True Emptiness) and the reasons for its decline.

•**Teddy Sim and Sandy Liu**, Nanyang Technical University, Singapore

The Small Sword Society Uprisings and the Chinese in Nanyang 小刀會起義與南洋華人

ABSTRACT: The field of secret societies in China has witnessed admirable works being done, seen in the contributions of J. Chesneaux, D. Ownby, and D. Murray, etc. Studies are moving in the direction of “decriminalizing” these organizations and locating them as part of mainstream societies. This paper seeks to locate the Xiaodaohui (Small Sword Society) and its uprisings, a relatively limited researched subject, in the context of the societies-in-contact across geographical regions from China to Southeast Asia and the temporal time span preceding and succeeding the uprisings of the societies in the 1850s (1840-1870). Combining studies done on Xiaodaohui, this paper will seek to address a few issues, including performing a systematic comparison of the uprising and disturbance fomented by the society in Shanghai, Xiamen and in Singapore (to the extent it can be proven to link to Xiaodaohui). The thrust of the paper seeks to locate the individuals, especially the Straits Chinese, and the society between China and Southeast Asia and look at their activities in relation to their sojourner status. In the process, the fallout of the tumultuous period from the 1840s to 1860s in China on the wider region is also briefly discussed.

中國秘密會社範疇的研究已有顯著的成果。回顧 J. Chesneaux, D. Ownby 以及 D. Murray 等學者的研究，其論述朝向着將秘密組織定位為社會主體的一部份。此篇論文將起承前述，以小刀會以及起義相關議題為主軸，跨越 19 世紀 50 年代中國與東南亞的時空，整合廈門，上海，以及新加坡社會騷亂（與小刀會成員相關事件）的因果關係。再進一步，此篇論文將側面觀察小刀會起義平息後，其成員的後續活動。透過往來于中國與東南亞之間的海峽華人個案，瞭解小刀會成員寄居于南洋的處境。綜上述，將探討範圍推展至 19 世紀 40 年代至 60 年期間與中國交流的鄰近地區，歸結出秘密組織流布所隱含的社會寓意。

Panel Two

•**David Faure 科大衛 and He Xi 賀喜**, Chinese University of Hong Kong

The Secret Society’s Secret: Self-legitimation and Its Perceived Consequences in Chinese Society

秘密社會的秘密：自我合法化與其在中國社會虛擬的影響

ABSTRACT: How might historians understand the “secret society” of nineteenth-century China? They no longer believe it was made up of a single structure, but rather refer to it as “networks” or “groups”. Has this added much to our insight? And if “secret societies” did not survive as “groups” in the decades between the Lin Shuangwen rebellion and the Taiping rebellion, did they merely survive as “lore”? Surely, Qing dynasty

officials, looking for culprits (sometimes on a witch hunt), sought out such “groups” and the reports from these “groups” contained in “lore”. Why did the “groups” repeat the “lore”? This paper, re-examining relatively minor incidents invoking secret society membership discovered in Jiangxi province in the Jiaqing and Daoguang periods, argues that the reason might lie in the manner by which legitimacy supported by written words, deities and magic, might come to be viewed and re-enacted in a world that was increasingly oriented towards the lineage.

歷史學者可以如何理解十九世紀中國的“秘密社會”？當他們不再相信“秘密社會”是由單一的架構組成，而認為它是一個“會匪”的“網絡”時，這樣的觀點又能增加多少對此問題的洞察呢？如果“秘密社會”沒有作為“群體”存在于林爽文事件以至太平天國運動期間，那麼，他們是否只是“傳說”呢？當然，清王朝為了搜尋罪魁禍首（有時候是迫害），而發現“會匪”時，他們的報告包含著“傳說”。但是，為什麼“會匪”要一再重複“傳說”呢？這篇文章，重新審視嘉慶和道光時期江西省發現的涉及秘密社會的個案，討論隱藏于文字、神祇和魔術所支持的合法性之中的秘密社會的秘密，怎樣可能在一個越來越傾向宗族的世界裏，被觀察和被重構。

•Liu Ping 劉平, Fudan University, Shanghai

王覺一評傳 Biography of Wang Jueyi

ABSTRACT: 該文在重新審視前人研究王覺一及其宗教活動的路向與視角及其具體觀點的基礎上，將王覺一定位為民間宗教家，經由清代檔案與王覺一及其一貫道著述等的細讀與互證，將其宗教生涯以光緒三年開堂創教、光緒九年起事徹底失敗為標志而分為早年、中年、晚年三個時期，并依次對王覺一早年所關涉的生年問題、《嘆五更》的創作年代及其與王覺一向道之間的關係、悟道與傳教活動的時間、教名的獨創性等問題；中年所涉及的東震堂、一貫道與先天道之間的辯證關係及其宗教特質，著述、傳教路線、特點與反清起事等方面；光緒九年事敗後的逃亡路線、傳教活動等，以及王覺一在民間宗教史上的地位與影響等問題，給出新的的解答。該文認為王覺一的歷史地位與影響主要體現在一貫道的創設與民間宗教之儒教化轉型上。先天老母教與末後一著教皆沿襲先天道而來，作為儒教型民間教派，一貫道突破先天道的苑囿而具有新的宗教特質。王覺一的著述、傳教與起事，都是圍繞著一貫道的創設與發展展開的，具有明確的宗教導向。王覺一著述，特別是《歷年易理》作為直接的傳教材料，不僅論及其宗教要義，而且對傳教地點的設定與轉移、傳教與反清起事之間的關係等都有更為詳細的說明。其傳教路線與其扶乩、占卜等宗教實踐有著密切的關係。王覺一由傳教而走向起事有其宗教教義的內在原因，而在光緒九年事敗後對此有所反思與糾正，從而又轉向和平宣教的路線。

Yiguandao was the biggest secret sect in the Republic of China. Wang Jueyi, the Leader of the *Yiguandao* in the late Qing Dynasty, had made use of religion as a cover in the anti-Qing activities for a long time. He was a famous religious practitioner. This paper will try to restore his life mainly by taking advantage of the Qing Dynasty archives.

•Wong Yee Tuan, Penang Institute

The Baba Hokkien Merchants and Kian Teik Tong in the Nineteenth-century Penang and Its Region
峇峇福建商人和建德堂在十九世紀的檳城與其區域

ABSTRACT: A prodigious literature concerning the Babas and Nyonyas (creolized Chinese) has been produced in Malaysia and Singapore. Nevertheless, most, if not all, of the attention has been given to the Babas' and Nyonyas' cultural and material aspects rather than their socioeconomic organizations and networks. My paper will depart from this discourse and explore the 19th-century Penang's Baba Hokkien merchants and their secret society or hui – Kian Teik Tong, which had polyvalent roles and an extensive network. This study intends to broaden and deepen our perspective and understanding of the Baba Hokkien merchants' secret society more as socioeconomic tool and political leverage than as criminal groupings in Penang and its surrounding states, such as Perak, southern Burma, Northern Sumatra, and southwestern Siam. By recovering Kian Teik Tong and its network, it demonstrates how the Baba Hokkien merchants marshaled the crucial elements of the age and the region – manpower, capital, community leadership, and strategic family and business alliances that cut across dialect, ethnic, class and state boundaries to establish their ultimate control of the masses (the coolies) and the lucrative opium, tin and rice businesses, and to secure their political interests in the colonial and indigenous milieus of nineteenth-century Penang and its region.

在馬來西亞與新加坡，關於峇峇娘惹的文獻極為豐富。然而，多數文獻的題材大多著重于峇峇娘惹的文化和物質層面。他們的社會經濟組織和網絡往往被忽略。在這篇論文中，我將探討十九世紀檳城峇峇福建商人和建德堂的多元化、多層面的角色和網絡。在檳城區域，包括霹靂、暹南、南緬甸和北蘇門塔臘，建德堂多為社會經濟工具和政治杠桿，而非犯罪集團。重構建德堂與其網絡，能展現當時峇峇福建商人

如何在殖民和當地環境裏，以跨方言、跨族群、跨階級和跨國界的方式結集和運用人力、資本、領導地位、家族和商業聯盟，來控制群眾（苦力）和利潤豐厚的鴉片餉碼、錫和米生意，以及爭取政治利益。

• **Thomas DuBois 杜博思**, ANU College of Asia and the Pacific

‘From the Blood of the Martyrs’: Suffering and the Transformation of Christian Mission in Manchuria
從殉道者的鮮血而起：清末東北地區基督教的苦難及蛻變

ABSTRACT: During the summer of 1908, a brief but potent explosion of popular piety known as the Manchurian Revival swept through Christian communities across the Chinese northeast. In spontaneous meetings across the region, old believers were moved to confess their sins before friends and strangers, while curious onlookers converted on the spot. However, the tumult was not limited to the Protestants, or even the Christians. In some way or another, the changes and opportunities of the new century agitated a broad spectrum of religious experience. This paper will discuss the events of 1908 both on their own, and as one manifestation of this broader sort of “revival” of religion throughout the region.

1908年春，基督教的復興風潮曾短暫地盛行於東北的信教社區。其過程雖短，但影響卻極其深遠。在熱鬧的基督教振興活動中，許多老信徒懺悔了過去的罪行重新入教，旁觀的教外人士也紛紛當場入教。隨著新世紀的社會變遷以及隨之涌現的種種機會，這種信仰復蘇現象，不僅僅出現在基督教中，也出現於其它的宗教中。本文將從以下兩方面來分析1908年，基督教在東北滿洲地區的振興現象：一是，該年內基督教復興運動的起落，二是，以基督教振興風潮為例，來說明該地區整個宗教界的復興。

Panel Three

• **Shao Yong 邵雍**, Shanghai Normal University

法國政府文件中孫中山與秘密會社的關係

The Relationship between Sun Yat-Sen and Secret Societies in French Official Documents

ABSTRACT: 在1905-1908年法國外交部、陸軍部的檔案中有一些關於孫中山與秘密會社互動的文件。這些文件介紹了各種秘密會社組織的起源、成分、分布狀況、政治傾向與實際活動，其中關於廣西會黨大造反、西南邊境武裝起義、暹羅華僑社群與孫中山影響下的會黨的關係描述尤為詳實可信。透過這些文件人們可以清晰地瞭解孫中山在辛亥革命時期的群眾基礎、依靠力量以及在國內外的廣泛影響。中國民族、民主革命的領袖孫中山一方面敏銳地看到了秘密會社革命性的一面，果斷地與之建立關係，甚至親自加入；另一方面他清醒地認識到秘密會社尚有破壞性的一面，要求他們遵守革命紀律，以便塑造良好的國際形象，爭取外國人的同情與支持。由於有了秘密會社力量的強有力支撐，孫中山在與法國官方人士打交道時充滿自信，富有底氣硬氣，給對方留下了深刻的第一印象。

The French archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Department of the Army had some documents about Sun Yat-Sen’s interaction with secret societies in 1905-1908. These documents described in great detail the origins, composition, distribution, political tendencies, and actual activities of varieties of secret societies that about the Guangxi Secret Society Rebellion, the southwest border armed uprising, and the relationship between Siam overseas Chinese communities and the secret societies under the influence of Sun Yat-Sen. We can clearly understand Sun Yat-Sen’s mass base, relying on power and extensive influence at home and abroad during the Xinhai (1911) Revolution through these documents. Sun Yat-sen as the leader of Chinese National and Democratic Revolution, on the one hand, had subtly realized the revolutionary potential of the secret societies and decisively established relationships with them, even joining them himself. On the other hand, he was soberly convinced about the destructiveness of secret societies and required them to comply with revolutionary discipline so as to mold an international image and strive for sympathy and support from foreigners. Thanks to the secret society’s powerful support, Sun Yat-Sen was full of self-confidence and strong-willed in dealing with French officials, and he made a memorable first impression to them.

• **Vincent Ho 何偉傑**, University of Macau

Chinese United League and Secret Societies in Early 20th-Century Macau

同盟會與二十世紀初年的澳門秘密社會

ABSTRACT: Since the “Nationalist revolution” (*Guomingming*) concept got its first hearing in the Revolutionary Tactics of Chinese United League (*Tongmenghui Geming Fanglue*), it became a popular slogan used by revolutionaries from early 1900’s to mid-1920’s. During the period, the South China region was the hub of secret societies and popular movements; and, with its colonial identity, Macao played a unique role in the unfolding events. In this paper, the author will analyze this topic from the perspective of secret societies and popular movements in China. Establishment of libraries and schools was initially the core activity of the

revolutionaries in Macao; and modernized Cantonese dramas were used as a means to promote the idea of overthrowing the Qing Dynasty. Whilst local residents were barely enlightened by such effort, members of Chinese United League initiated a military force in Macao to invade Shiqi (石岐) and successfully took over Xiguan (西關), respectively in the vicinity of Macao and in Guangzhou, in November of 1911. Subsequent to establishment of the Republic of China, a significant number of members of the Chinese Revolutionary Party (*Zhonghua Gemingdang*) fled to Macao to pursue the anti-Yuan Shikai movement. With the major revolutionaries being closely watched over and suppressed by the Macao Portuguese government as well as the warlord administration in Guangdong, most of the military uprisings planned in Macao eventually came to failure.

自從「國民革命」的概念在〈同盟會革命方略〉中首先提出以來，便成為了二十世紀初年革命者流行的口號。當此之時，華南地區是秘密社會及群眾運動的重心，而澳門由於其殖民地身分，在當時的處境下擁有獨特的角色。本文作者將以秘密社會及群眾運動的角度來加以分析。在澳門建立圖書館和學校是最初革命分子的主要活動，而用時裝粵劇作為一種傳播反清思想的方法。雖然當地人甚少被這些努力所啟發，同盟會會員卻在澳門組織了一支軍隊進攻石岐，並成功在 1911 年 11 月佔領西關。民國成立後，不少中華革命黨成員逃往澳門，從事反對袁世凱的宣傳活動。由於澳葡政府以及廣東軍閥政府嚴密的監視和鎮壓革命分子，大部分在澳門策劃的武裝起義都以失敗告終。

• **Isabel Morais**, University of St. Joseph, Macau

The Chee Kung Tong in Mozambique: Survival Strategies under Colonial Rule in Portuguese East Africa (1858-1975) 致公堂在莫桑比克的生存策略：葡萄牙殖民統治下的東非（1858-1975）

ABSTRACT: The origins of the Chinese presence in the former Portuguese colony of Mozambique in East Africa, and their multiple stories of class, culture and ethnic identity are almost lost or forgotten. Yet, such long standing presence dates back at least to the period of the first arrival of the coolies and contracted workers from China and Macao in the 1850s and lasted until the independence of the colony in 1975. The Chee Kung Tong, which became known as the “Chinese Club” (“Clube Chinês” in Portuguese language), was one the first of its kind in Africa and it was established in two main cities of that Portuguese colony. This pioneer Chinese society achieved the official recognition of the Portuguese colonial authorities while its members managed to avoid the strict control exercised by the Portuguese secret police or PIDE (International and State Defense Police) over the colonies by engaging in a range of social activities which were beyond a closer scrutiny. This paper calls the attention for the role of the Chee Kung Tong among the “Luso Chinese” communities in Mozambique and focuses on the survival strategies deployed by this so-called “secret society” under colonial rule.

中國人在東非莫桑比克（前葡萄牙殖民地）的起源、社會階層、文化以及民族認同，在當地幾乎已經徹底遺失或者被人們忘却了。然而，他們的存在至少可以追溯到 19 世紀 50 年代，第一批從中國與澳門來到這裡的苦力。這些從中國來的苦力一直前來，直到該殖民地於 1975 年獨立。致公堂，是中國人在此地最早成立的社團組織，在葡語中稱為“Clube Chinês”，意為“中國幫”。它建立于莫桑比克的兩個主要城市。雖然致公堂獲得了葡萄牙殖民政權的官方認可，但是成員仍需通過組織一系列的社會活動，來成功擺脫葡萄牙秘密警察（International and State Defense Police，簡稱 PIDE）的嚴密控制。這篇論文探討致公堂（葡萄牙統治下的華人社區）在莫桑比克扮演的角色，並且重點討論了這個所謂的秘密社團在殖民統治下所采取的生存策略。

• **Wu Yun 武云**, 中國社會科學院中國社會科學出版社, 北京 China Social Sciences Publishing House, CASS, Beijing

從文化傳統探析當代中國邪教問題的根源

Examining the Origins of Chinese Heterodox Sects from the Perspective of Traditional Culture”

ABSTRACT: 邪教的死灰復燃是社會機體發展過程中的畸變，這一社會問題必然有其深刻的歷史文化根源和錯綜複雜的社會現實根源。本文主要從中國源遠流長的、具有濃重的神秘主義的文化傳統這個角度探討當代中國邪教問題的文化根源，分析當代迷信系統新的變化及特點，說明了包括邪教組織在內的病態社會與神秘主義、迷信之間的文化淵源。

The revival of cults is the aberration of social development, rooted in our traditional culture and contemporary society. From the perspective of traditional Chinese mysticism, the paper explores the cultural origin of contemporary heterodox cults as well as its latest transformation and characteristics. In addition, this paper traces the relationships among modern organizations of cults, mysticism, and superstitions.

Panel Four

• **Wang Di 王笛**, Texas A&M University, USA

‘Drinking Settlement Tea’: Teahouses, Gowned Brothers, and Local Political Space in Late-Qing and Republican Chengdu ‘吃講茶’: 清末民國時期成都茶館、袍哥與地方政治空間

ABSTRACT: As a public space, the teahouse became a center for Gowned Brothers’ activities and an important part of their social network, where they communicated, gathered, and held meetings. Gowned Brothers formed their unique language and behaviors in teahouses and “drinking tea for settlement of disputes” was one of their typical activities there. The practice of settling disputes in the teahouse reflects the relative autonomy of Chengdu residents, who attempted to solve their conflicts without involvement of the government, and proves existence of a social force that was beyond state control.

作為公共空間的茶館成為袍哥的活動中心，他們在那裏聯絡、聚集和開會，成為袍哥社會網絡的一個重要部分。袍哥在茶館裏活動形成了他們獨特的語言和行爲“擺茶碗陣”便是他們經常使用的聯絡方法。茶館作為地方政治空間可以表現在很多方面，不過“吃講茶”仍然是最爲典型和最具代表性的活動，這個實踐顯示了市民的相對自治狀態，他們試圖在沒有官方介入的情況下解決沖，說明一種國家之外社會力量的存在。

• **Xu Youwei 徐有威**, Shanghai University, and **Phil Billingsley**, Momoyama Gakuin (St. Andrew’s) University, Osaka, Japan

陝北的土匪和共產黨：以劉志丹爲中心的討論

Bandits and Communists in the Shaanbei Badlands: A Case Study of Liu Zhidan

ABSTRACT: 發生在 1920- 1930 年代的陝北革命運動，在現代中國革命的歷史上，具有開拓性同時兼具承上啓下的重要地位，劉志丹作為這一地區的革命領袖，則是歷史學家研究的重中之重。基于陝北遠離南方革命中心，劉志丹爲首的革命者，全方位地利用各自的社會網絡關係，開展以“匪運”和“兵運”爲中心的運動，利用當地的土匪武裝，以及其他各種軍閥武裝，“借水養魚”，建立自己的革命武裝力量。同時正因爲利用土匪力量，劉志丹在黨內受到嚴重的質疑。趙二娃，張廷芝和郭寶珊，就是其中的代表性人物，他們和劉志丹的陝北革命運動乃至劉志丹這個名字榮辱與共，甚至直至 1949 年革命勝利後。他們的命運，充分反映了陝北革命的複雜性和艱巨性。

In 1927, Liu Zhidan returned to his native north Shaanxi from studying at the Whampoa Military School and participation in the Northern Expedition. His mission was to create a communist guerilla force in north Shaanxi, but he lacked the crucial ingredient: manpower. There was a solution to the problem, though perhaps only someone with Liu Zhidan’s personality and local ties could spot it. The loess hills of north Shaanxi, particularly those along the border with Gansu province, had been home to innumerable bandit gangs and militarists, impregnable to all but the most determined attacks. In both of those elements, Liu Zhidan saw a chance to turn his dreams into reality. Disregarding the exhortations of Party Central to return to orthodoxy by organizing urban workers, Liu Zhidan set about winning over not only north Shaanxi’s bandits but also as many of its soldiers as possible. He began with the people closest to him – his family: a local landlord with a private militia and a poor peasant who was an active bandit. Another celebrated north Shaanxi bandit was Guo Baoshan, whose reputation as a “lulinhaohan” had spread far and wide. Guo subsequently not only became a stalwart of the communist guerillas but later rose to high rank in the PLA, helping the communists to win control of the country in 1949. This paper focuses on the three cases outlined above, setting out Liu Zhidan’s principles for enlisting irregulars in the revolutionary forces while showing the options available to men of violence in an incipient insurrectionary environment.

• **Robert Antony 安樂博**, University of Macau

Of Rats, Cats, and Bandits: Some Curious Episodes from the Pearl River Delta in the Late Imperial Age

貓、老鼠與土匪：試論明清時期珠江三角洲地區趣聞

ABSTRACT: There is a small hillock right in the heart of the Pearl River Delta, not too far from the great metropolis of Canton, with the curious name Rat Hill. From at least the Ming dynasty, and perhaps earlier, until the middle of the 20th century, and perhaps later, Rat Hill was a well-known bandit lair. It seems that no matter how hard the government tried to rid the area of bandits they persisted. Also curious is the fact that, perhaps in a bit of desperation, when everything else failed, provincial officials erected a statue of an Iron Cat on Rat Hill in their efforts to scare away the bandits. Based on written historical materials and fieldwork conducted in the delta in 2002, this paper gives a preliminary sketch of the persistent problems of banditry and bandit suppression in the Pearl River Delta in the late imperial age.

在廣東省省會附近有一個小山丘，它位處珠江三角洲的腹地，當地人給它取了一個奇怪的名字--老鼠山。從資料上來看至少從明朝起，老鼠山就是個臭名昭彰的盜匪淵藪，這種情況最起碼一直持續到二十世紀中葉。儘管政府想方設法地去消除匪患，然而卻終是徒勞，盜匪始終盤踞著這片山頭。當一切辦法都無濟於事時，或許當地政府出於絕望，他們根據當地傳說，在老鼠山上立起一座“貓”的鉄鑄雕像，希望以此來驅趕盜匪，這也為這片地方憑添了一抹傳奇的色彩。筆者根據史料和 2002 年在此地作田野調查時所蒐集的資料，對明清時期珠江三角洲地區長期以來猖獗不已的盜匪問題，作一個原始詮釋。

•Venus Viana, Nanyang Technical University, Singapore

Were Policemen Bandits? A Study of the Police System in Republican Zhongshan
警察是強盜嗎？試探民國時期廣東中山的警察系統

ABSTRACT: It is a conventional belief, especially for Cantonese people today, that during the 1930s and 1940s, the Nationalist government in Guangdong recruited armed local bosses who scrambled for petty bureaucratic positions in towns and villages as well as in the police forces that controlled the counties. Local police, with the authority of their uniforms and guns were said to have plundered neighborhoods. Some would stop passersby in the streets and rob them. The description of this complicated political setting, and this last description of that situation, might give us a perception that the authorities in the Pearl River Delta area disregarded local security, and ignored or even encouraged corrupt policemen.

Making use of police records and court cases, local journals and records, especially magazines published in villages, along with county newspapers, this article provides a new look and a controversial picture of policing of Zhongshan in the decades before 1949. This research tells us that there were some bad policemen but the authorities were not corrupt to a point that they would ignore police discipline or would hire bandits as policemen.

長期以來人們認為二十世紀三、四十年代國民黨政府在廣東地區所招攬的地方勢力，他們藉著私人武力在鄉鎮間互相競爭、搶奪地方政治資源和治安勢力。那些憑藉私人武力所變成的警察，藉著制服與武器所賦予的權力，魚肉鄉里、攔路打劫。這種印象如今在廣東人民腦海中仍是根深蒂固。箇中複雜的政治背景，使人有珠江流域的國民政府漠視地方治安、無視甚至縱容治安腐敗的印象。然而這篇文章通過當時的警察記錄、法庭案件、當地報刊、及其它資料（特別是地方性的報刊），為我們展現了在 1949 年前，民國時期的中山警務，不同以往的新形象。筆者認為，當時廣東中山地區儘管混雜著一些品行惡劣的警察，但是國民政府却沒有腐敗到無視警察制度和雇用強盜當警察的地步。

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英屬馬來亞政府懲治華人秘密會黨立法之演進

The Development of Regulations on Punishment of Chinese Secret Societies in British Malaysia

ABSTRACT: 英屬馬來亞的華人秘密會黨雖然不像美洲的致公堂那樣是在政府註冊過的合法社團，但是，其在出現之後的六七十年間一直在華人社會扮演重要角色。偶爾會黨之間發生摩擦，給社會安定帶來不安定時，政府也會提出治理、控制甚至鎮壓的方案，但更多的時候則是放任自流。然而，隨著會黨的壯大及海峽殖民地政府執政能力的提升，政府最終認為，只有嚴厲鎮壓華人秘密會黨才能徹底解決華人社會的種種問題。

Unlike the Chinese *Zhigongtang* (Freemasons) which was officially registered in North America, Chinese secret societies in British Malaysia were not legal organizations. However, they played an important role in the Chinese community in Malaysia for sixty to seventy years since their existence. Occasionally, there had been conflicts among different secret organizations which would cause social instability. Therefore, the government sometimes came up with policies in order to manage, to control, and even to suppress. Most of the time, however, the government just let it go. With the expansion of secret societies and the strengthening of government's administrative capacity, the British colonial government eventually decided that the only solution to solve the various problems in the Chinese community was severe suppression of Chinese secret societies.

Information on Participants

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