A STUDY OF THE AGRARIAN POLICY OF
THE T'AI-P'ING T'IEH-KUO

BY

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ABSTRACT

The purposes of this thesis are to present a study of the agrarian policy of the Taipings as enunciated in the "Land System of the Heavenly Dynasty”, to trace, through events during the existence of the T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo, salient attitudes toward the agrarian policy and to suggest, so far as possible, the degree to which the policy was successful.

To accomplish these purposes in Chapter I and II, I have briefly discussed the ideological sources of the "Land System" - its origin, its nature and its sociological implications. Because there is neither a complete nor satisfactory translation of this document I have included my own translation of it.

In Chapter III, I undertake to follow the course of the agrarian policy as it developed and changed during the period of the rebellion. Included in this section are descriptions of these shifts, while possible reasons for their occurrence are also offered.

Because there are no Taiping documents dealing in detail with their overall economic policy during the early stages of the rebellion I have included a translation of Chapter 10 of Tsei-ch'ing hui-tsuan, by Chang Te-chien, a contemporary.

As a study of the views of mainland Chinese and Soviet historians reveals considerable divergence of opinion on the implementation and intention of the agrarian policy I have included in Chaper V a survey of some of these views.
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INTRODUCTION

The Taiping Rebellion (1850-64) is to-day viewed by many historians and students of modern Chinese history as the beginning of the end of the Chinese traditional state. It cannot be considered a separate, isolated incident but must be thought of as an event that had far-reaching and lasting effects on the pattern of Chinese history. Many of the historical, religious and administrative aspects of this rebellion have been thoroughly discussed and analyzed and many questions may now be thought answered. One area of importance and interest however, had received only limited attention from Western scholars—the agrarian policy of the T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo 太平天国, (The Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace), its nature and implementation.

The need of a thorough analysis of and inquiry into the agrarian program becomes very obvious when we realize how closely connected it is with a clear understanding of the Taiping rebellion as a whole. In this agrarian program are most clearly reflected the expectations of the landless peasantry and small landholders who become the main moving force of the rebellion. Judging by the sources, the Taipings drew their main support, at the earliest stages, from the lowest stratum of society—the mass of poor and dispossessed peasants, tenants and "floating" population. As long as the Taipings were acting as champions of this segment of the population they received the necessary support in replenishing their armies with recruits and the physical and moral collaboration of the people of the countryside.
Failure on the part of the Taiping authorities to carry out promises made to the peasants concerning their agrarian needs was greatly responsible for the withdrawal of this support in the latter part of the rebellion. Therefore, one may say that this was a prime reason for the eventual collapse of the rebellion.

However, it is not the aim of this study to investigate the causes of the downfall of the Taiping state, but rather to trace, through events of this period, salient attitudes and policies towards the agrarian question, drawing as much as possible on the extant documentation. After the suppression of the rebellion the desire of the Ch'ing authorities to eradicate all memories and references to the Taiping resulted in the systematic destruction of most writings and documents. The surviving diaries, memoirs and eyewitness accounts were written from obviously hostile positions taken by authors loyal to the Manchu regime. Even so, a thorough perusal of this material and the extant Taiping documents which escaped being destroyed allows one to reconstruct a different picture from that given in the official reports on the Taipings drawn up by supporters of the Ch'ing.

First and foremost among documents which escaped destruction and which are preserved to-day is the T'ien-chao t'ien-mou chih-tu 天朝 田畝制度, ("Land System of the Heavenly Dynasty").¹ This is one of the most important enunciations of the goals of the Taiping movement and therefore deserves closer examination. The "Land System" was created by Hung Hsiu-ch'uan 洪秀全,² the leader of the rebellion, who assumed the title T'ien Wang 天王, (Heavenly King) upon the establishment of the T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo. Born into a poor peasant family and living during the reigns of Chia Ch'ing 嘉慶 and Tao Kuang 道光, periods which were marked by great natural disasters and

¹ The reference number is incorrect in the original text. The correct number should be 1.
² The name is incorrectly spelled as 洪秀夫 in the original text. The correct name is 洪秀全.
economic distress, Hung had himself endured the many hardships and sufferings of the peasant. The first half of the nineteenth century was marked by numerous rebellions which were the result of corruption among government officials, over-taxation of the farmers, banditry, internal migration which led to the overcrowding of fertile areas and the attendant rush to the towns, and the growth in strength and influence of secret societies—all the usual conditions which had set the stage throughout the course of Chinese history for change and revolt. Another element appeared during this time which was to have a special effect upon the already serious situation. This was the pressure of population upon the available land. An increasing disproportion between population and land under cultivation became a significant, determining economic factor. Human labour had become cheap and the result was a drop in the living standard. The "floating" population san min grew in number:

They go about in companies men, women and children, representing themselves as distressed by inundation, drought or famine, and insist on being supported by the forced contributions of the industrious inhabitants. Government disallows them, but they continue . . . they are called san min, scattered or dispersed people.

The lot of these san min as well as that of the peasant, which was so sharply disparate from that of the rich and powerful, had reached a desperately low level. It was these people who were to become the backbone of the Taiping movement. In creating the "Land System" Hung was expressing the expectations and aspirations of the poorest peasantry. Without a doubt the "Land System" was a product of the times.

In the "Land System", as in many other documents published by the Taipings, were revealed the basic goals of the rebellion. These were the elimination of the Manchu domination, which in the minds of the people was responsible for the hardships and disasters that were affecting their
livelihood, and the creation of a just social order based on the equitable distribution of land among the peasants. The former was clearly manifested in proclamations like "The Proclamation on the Extermination of Devils, the Saving of the World and the Pacification of the People by the Will of Heaven". The latter is found in the "Land System" which outlines both the agrarian programme which was contemplated and the social and political organization of the people.
NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. Hereafter called "Land System". For a translation of this document see below "Land System".

2. For Hung Hsiu-ch’uan's background see Lo Erh-kang, T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo shih-kang (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1937), Kuo T'ing-i, T'ai-p'ing t'ien shih-shih jih-chih 2 Vol. (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1947).

3. see Table 1 in Franz Michael, The Taiping Rebellion (Seattle and Lund: University of Washington Press, 1966), I, 14. A steady increase in population occurred from the beginning of the dynasty, probably trebling by the early 1800's to about 300,000,000. In the period from 1753 to 1833 the land-population ration (mou per capita) decreased from 3.8 to 1.8, thus suggesting a serious problem of overpopulation.

4. Chinese Repository (July 1832).

CHAPTER I

IDEOLOGICAL SOURCES OF THE "LAND SYSTEM OF THE HEAVENLY DYNASTY"

Many of the fundamental ideas and concepts found in the "Land System" may be traced to the two traditions which must have influenced the founder of the movement—Christianity and Confucianism.

The Taiping concept of Christianity had little to do with orthodox Christianity, either in dogma or in religious observances. This was frequently noted by Christian missionaries. The contents of Christian books, with which some of the leaders of the rebellion were acquainted, were sometimes distorted in order to prove that Hung Hsiu-ch'üan was the second son of God and the younger brother of Jesus Christ. The various concepts that made up Hung's religious teachings lent themselves well to political application and subsequently became the basis of much Taiping social and political theory. Visitations which Hung Hsiu-ch'üan reported having experienced were recorded and used to establish through spiritual means his supremacy as leader. Through simple and literal interpretations of Christian doctrine Hung arrogated for himself a special, divine position as the one sent, by Heavenly Command, to organize and establish on earth, the T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo or the Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace.

The Christian concept of one great family under the paternal care of Heaven was not alien to the Chinese tradition and therefore, it is not surprising that this was accepted and became the underlying principle of the political system of the Taiping state. Thus the structure of the
political administration had all the characteristics of a theocracy. Hung Hsiu-ch'uan, as T'ien Wang, was both spiritual and political head, basing the sanction and authority of command on his proclamations which were regarded by his followers as coming directly from God.¹ Those immediately under his command were also religious leaders, some even enjoying the same reputation of having communicated directly with the Heavenly Father.

Religion was very closely connected with social policy and religious ideas penetrated all levels of state administration becoming an essential part of government machinery. The "Land System" allowed for the establishment of one church for every twenty-five families under the care of a liang ssu-ma 兩司馬 ² who was responsible for the handling of marriages, baptism and funerals and who was also in charge of the daily religious instruction of all young boys. In order to disseminate their religious teachings the Taipings printed and published large quantities of texts. The most important of these were the Old and New Testaments and a third publication, which contained the story of Hung Hsiu-ch'uan's ascension to Heaven and the Heavenly Father's revelations, known as T'ien-ming chao-chih shu 天命詔旨書 , ("The Book of Heavenly Decrees and Proclamations"). The "Land System" ordered:

All central and local officials, as well as the people each Sunday shall hear preaching on the Holy Books, offer sacrifices and sing hymns to the glory of the Heavenly Father, the Lord God.³

Just as religion regimented the daily lives of the people during peacetime, so would it contribute toward military discipline during wartime.

The concept basic to Hung Hsiu-ch'uan's ideal Kingdom of God, that is the belief in one great family under the care of Heaven, was not solely derived from Christianity. Hung had originally been a Confucian. He had studied traditional history and the Classics (in preparation for the
official examination which would have granted him the status of a member of the gentry had he succeeded) and was, thus, well-acquainted with his country's past. It is not surprising, therefore, that this too influenced his thinking, especially in the earlier years of the movement. There can be little doubt that Hung understood well the ideal of the age of Ta T'ung (Great Unity), a world in which everything is shared by all the people (t'ien-hsia wei kung 天下為公). This utopian society was described in the chapter Li yun 禮運 (Evolution of Rites) and represented the Confucian ideal of the highest social order.

This concept of the "brotherhood of man" was expressed during the Chint'ien Rebellion in Hung Hsiu-ch'uan's Yuan-tao using shih-hsun 原道醒世 ("Precept of the original doctrine to awaken the world"), in which he says:

All Under Heaven consists of numerous states. But together they belong to one family. The Lord God is the Father of all that exists. He is the Lord and Creator of everything that is in our state. The same thing can be said about distant and foreign lands. In distant and foreign lands the Lord God is the Defender and Protector of all living things. The same thing can be said about our state. All men on earth are brothers. All women are sisters.

Why should there be barriers separating people? That is why Confucius says: "When the great Tao was in practice, the world was common to all; men of talents, virtue and ability were selected; sincerity was emphasized and friendship was cultivated. Therefore men did not love only their own parents, nor did they treat as children only their own sons. A competent provision was secured for the aged till their death, employment was given to the able-bodied, and a means was provided for the upbringing of the young. Kindness and compassion were shown to widows, orphans, childless men, and those who were disabled by disease, so that they all had the wherewithal for support. Men had their proper work and women had their homes. They hated to see the wealth of natural resources undeveloped, so they developed it, but this development was not for their own use. They hated not to exert themselves, so they worked, but their work was not for their own profit . . . . This was called the great unity."

This, certainly, is not far removed from some of the teachings of Christ about the Kingdom of Heaven. Along with Confucianism, inclining towards
the secular side of governing and stressing the importance of moral qualities and capabilities in those chosen to be leaders and making provision for the care of the unfortunate, at the same time there are the Christian ideas of everything belonging to God, of equality and co-operative endeavour. All these are enunciated in the "Land System" and are part of the ideology of the Taiping movement providing the framework upon which their new social order was to be built.

Many of the ideas behind the structure of the Taiping social hierarchy may also be traced to another important book written probably during the latter part of the Western Han (i.e., some time during the First Century B.C.). This is the Chou Li (Rites of Chou). The laws laid down in this work are traditionally considered to be those of the Early Chou, a period venerated by the Confucianists as an age of peace and order—the time of the ideal state.

Because the army and the people in the T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo were one and the same, the social organization was patterned after that of the military which in turn followed a system outlined in the Chou Li. The chapter "Hsiao ssu-t'u" of the Chou Li says:

... organize the people into troops and use them. Five men make a wu. Five wu make a liang. Four liang make a tsu. Five tsu make a lu. Five lu make a shih. Five shih make a chun.

This means, according to the commentaries:

... wu, liang, tsu, lu, shih and chun are all names. A liang was 25 persons, a tsu, 100 persons, a lu, 500 persons, a shih, 2500 persons, a chun, 12,500 persons. This was the way in which the Ancient Kings regulated agricultural and military affairs.

Thus, the administrative system, based on the unit of twenty-five families and graded upward to the largest unit, the chun, corresponded to that set forth in the Chou Li which provided also the nomenclature for the system. The duties of officials, as recorded in the "Land System"
and according to the rules set down in the Chou Li, appear also to have parallel purposes. The "Ti kuan ssu-t'u" says that "The official duties of each village head was to maintain law and order in his village [hsiang]." The commentaries note that one hsiang consisted of 12,500 households. This is equivalent to the local administrative unit, the ch'un advocated in the "Land System" and under the control of the ch'un-shuai who, being in charge of all affairs, was responsible for maintaining law and order in his ch'un.

Perhaps the most important part of the "Land System" is that which deals with the organization and distribution of land. The land question was one which had plagued China for centuries and many attempts had been made under previous dynasties to solve this problem with varying degrees of success. Whether the Taiping leaders were successful in bringing into practice their programme of land distribution is a matter for later discussion. However, there is no doubt that, while attacking the traditional social order and seeking to replace it with their own, they also sought to re-organize the economic structure, dependent as it has always been on the agrarian conditions. The Taipings did have a plan to relieve economic distress by means of the redistribution of wealth and land reform. The "Land System" which contains this plan, may be considered quite an unusual document, prescribing, in effect, a system of complete economic control combining land distribution, agricultural efforts (which were the means of producing the wealth) and social organization under one highly-disciplined administrative order. As the origin of much of the social formation may be found in the ancient Classics, so may the land-grading plan. The "Ti kuan ssu-t'u" describes a system of land taxation and fair land distribution based on nine categories and then goes on to say that "... nine categories are three kinds of..."
the high, middle and low grades."\textsuperscript{13} The "Land System" provides for essentially the same thing in its plan for the distribution of land and includes a fairly extensive description of the criteria upon which this grading was to be based.

The "Land System" reflects the land rules of the Chou Li but appears to differ from them in one respect. In the Chou Li the fair or just equalization of land is enunciated for the adult male population but no provision appears to be made for women. The "Land System" divides land equally in terms of quality of the land, considering the number of mouths in a household but making no discrimination between men and women. In fact, it specifically mentions that "... the division of land will be according to the number in the family \textit{irrespective of sex} [italics not in the original],\textsuperscript{14} and "... every man and woman [italics not in the original] sixteen years of age ... will receive ... land ... ".\textsuperscript{15} The new position of women suggested in this and in other edicts\textsuperscript{16} was certainly one of the most revolutionary ideas of the time and serves to further emphasize the notion of equality and brotherhood introduced under the influence of the Christian religion.

It would seem that the Taipings were opposed to private ownership and advocated public ownership of land.

All land Under Heaven will be farmed jointly by the people ... All land, whether productive or barren, must be mutually accessible.\textsuperscript{17}

and common enjoyment of all things:

Thus, all people Under Heaven will enjoy great happiness given by the Heavenly Father, the Lord God, tilling the fields, sharing food, sharing clothes and spending money together. Nowhere will there be inequality; no one will be hungry or cold.\textsuperscript{18}

In order to ensure the just distribution of all things, the concept of the "holy treasury" was introduced. Because, the people all
worshipped the Lord God of Heaven who gives both life and sustenance, it was considered necessary that:

... people Under Heaven will not pursue their own interests. If all surplus is returned to the Lord then he will put it to use for everyone's benefit.19

On these grounds the people knew that their land and resources were to be returned to the Lord and in turn: the T'ien Wang, acting as the emissary of the Heavenly Father, would see that all was equally distributed among the population. Thus they were envisioning an agrarian society in which the land would be worked by all for the good of all.

The first prerequisite to this utopian society was the classification of land into nine categories and then its redistribution according to its quality and the number of members of a family, irrespective of sex. A family with many members would, therefore, receive more land than one with fewer members. Each person over the age of sixteen was to receive a specified amount of land and this amount was to be halved for those under that age. Thus, the amount of land given to a family was dependent upon the number of its members and their ages. There was to be an equal distribution of good and bad quality land. In the apportionment of land the quality was most often stressed. Evaluation of the land was quite carefully elaborated in the nine categories ranging downward from that which yields two harvest a year of 1200 chin per mou to that which yields 400 chin. The document then went one step further and evaluated the good land with the comparable amount of bad land. For example, one mou of the best quality land was equal to one mou one fen of the second, and one mou two fen of the third, and so on down the scale to the poorest quality land. The "Land System" then announced that every household would receive half good land and half bad. Much attention, therefore, was given to this question of the productivity of the land and its careful and fair distribution. This
underlines the concept of the equalization of land distribution and theoretically, at least, allowed every individual a fair share.

Special attention was given to preparation for times of famine or shortage. Provisions were made for excess produce to be placed in storehouses for distribution so that "... all will be well-fed and well-clothed." The principle was established that help be sent from an area of good harvest to any region which was suffering a bad harvest. This would suggest that the age-old difficulties which were so frequently characteristic of China's agricultural scene were to be dealt with. Often while one region was enjoying an abundant harvest another would be suffering from great famine and depravation due to drought, floods or other natural calamities. For numerous reasons, such as administrative inability to cope with the situation, lack of sufficient or adequate transport or even for selfish political reasons, no attempt would be made to alleviate the conditions in the distressed area. The Taipings seem to have planned a modern method of relieving distressed areas by shipping food and other supplies rather than re-locating large numbers of peasants.

Provision was also made for unfortuitous times by the inclusion of strict measures of economy in the rules governing the celebration of weddings, baptisms and funerals. The rules covering these functions stated precisely the amount of money allowed to carry them out and not a more was to be allowed over the prescribed limit. The injunction was made: "Everything must be used economically in order to provide for war or calamities." Peasants were not permitted private incomes although they were allowed to keep sufficient grain, along with other produce, to live until the new harvest. The liang ssu-ma was responsible for seeing that
the needs of the twenty-five families in his care be taken care of between harvests. The excess produce was to go into state storehouses. The liang ssu-ma was also in charge of money and was required to keep account of this in a register reporting all income and expenditures to his superiors handling financial matters.

Another important policy, by which the destitute, the aged, the handicapped and the orphaned were assured care, was advocated by the Taipings and was expressed in the "Land System":

... the widowed, the orphaned, the unmarried, the crippled and the sick, will be exempt from military service and are to be supported at the expense of the state storehouses.\(^{22}\)

This may be derived from Mencius' attitude toward the need for social security which he related very closely to a sound economic base. In describing his concept of an orderly, co-operative, agrarian society, Mencius stated that each family should plant mulberry trees so that the aged may wear silk. Each family should raise fowl and pigs so that its aged members may be nourished with meat. If this is done, then "... the people nourish their living and bury their dead ..."\(^{23}\) Closely paralleling this is the following passage from the "Land System":

Let mulberry trees be planted close to the wall. Women must raise silkworms, spin thread and sew clothing. Each family Under Heaven ought to have five brood hens and two sows and their breeding season must not be neglected.\(^{24}\)

In the procedures determining promotions and demotions, which were described at length in the "Land System", another element in Taiping ideology was revealed. The foundation of the entire organization rested on rules and regulations (in effect, laws based on religious doctrine) which were promulgated in order to tell people what they could and could not do. The conduct of the population was to be carefully watched by those in control; that is the hierarchy of command from the wu-chang.
upward to the T'ien Wang. This is not to suggest that any real authority lay in the hands of the lower officials or even in those higher. All power lay ultimately with the T'ien Wang. Each official had to report, in detail, on the behaviour of those under him. These reports eventually reached the T'ien Wang who, with his supreme authority, then acted accordingly. Those who violated the laws would be punished and those who obeyed were rewarded by promotion. No one's position was secure; anyone could be demoted at any time.

In cases where the central or local officials either have great merit or are guilty of flagrant injustice, the Heavenly King allows recommendations for promotion or demotion at any time regardless of whether it is the year for promotion or demotion.²⁶

The methods of promotion and demotion of officials and the careful grading of their ranks are significant in so far as they were so closely associated with the new social theory. The general principle was that all officials were to obey the Ten Commandments as well as the Heavenly Edicts. This underscores again the links between religious and political-administrative organization. Those who obeyed conscientiously were to be rewarded by promotion and "... the hereditary right to a Heavenly salary,"²⁷ and "... will receive the right to pass on their rank to their descendants."²⁸ However, those who disobeyed or were found guilty of taking bribes or dealing in any other form of corrupt activity were to be degraded to a lower position. The ultimate in degradation would seem to have been to the status of peasant. This, ironically enough, is mentioned several times in the "Land System". For example, those who were to be demoted "... will be demoted from high position to low, even to the status of peasant."²⁹ Again, in the final sentence of the "Land System" we find: "Those who show themselves lazy and tardy at this will be demoted to the rank of ordinary peasant."³⁰
Emphasis is placed on the responsibilities of those recommending men for promotion or demotion. If the wrong man were promoted his sponsor would be punished. If, in recommending the promotion or demotion of a superior, an inferior official were to offer false counsel, the punishment would be even more severe than when a superior wrongly recommended an inferior. In this way an attempt was made to prevent bribery and indiscriminate recommendation.

The system of promotions and demotions with its corollary of rewards and punishments was certainly not new with the Taipings. The general principle of reward and punishment was basic to Legalist theories concerning organization and leadership of government. The Taipings were searching for realistic methods for dealing with great social and political changes and needed, at the same time, a strong central government. But, unlike the Legalists, they included in their endeavours idealistic programs for the common good. Hsün Tzu's view of the ideal ruler and his administration based on strict social control may also be reflected in the "Land System". Hsün Tzu says:

Someone asked how to govern, and I replied: In case of worthy and able men, promote them without waiting for their turn to come up. In the case of inferior and incompetent men, dismiss them without hesitation. In the case of incorrigibly evil men, punish them without trying to reform them.31

He further says:

... see that the laws and regulations are upright, receive reports and proposals and review them at fixed times, judge the merits of the lesser officials, and decide what rewards and punishments are to be meted out, attending to all matters carefully and at the proper time, so that the minor officials are encouraged to do their best and the common people do not dare to be slack.32

The pattern of the Taiping promotion and demotion system may also be after that of the Chou Li. The Chou Li discussed the need for the promotion and demotion, every three years, of those in service. Those
who performed meritoriously and conscientiously were to be rewarded and those who failed in their duties were punished. It must be remembered, too, that the old Chinese ideas of laws and regulations to constrain the population into obedience coincided well with the Christian doctrine of Heaven and Hell, another form of reward and punishment.

There is no doubt that the life of the people as advocated in the "Land System" was subjected to regimentation, control and frequent investigation. With the important and revolutionary laws issued in the "Land System" the Taipings hoped to apply to the country as a whole the same structure of organization and command in which their original movement was founded. This was based on complete control through strict military discipline by the leaders of all facets of life. The "Land System" emerged as an outgrowth of the deteriorating social and political conditions of the time. It was essentially directed against the traditional social theory which had resulted in certain inequalities and injustices in the fabric of Chinese society. The "Land System", as one of the most significant and extraordinary documents put forth by the Taiping leadership, was revolutionary in its challenge to the established social order.
NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. Ch. XII, "Nineteenth-Century Interpretation" in Vincent Shih's *The Taiping Ideology* describes the views and attitudes held by Westerners towards Taiping Christianity.


3. "... now the Lord is angry again. In the year 1837 He summoned the Heavenly King [Hung Hsiu-ch'uan] to Heaven and ordered him to exterminate the devils, take power and save the people." (TV, p. 25).

4. see below "Land System" and Glossary of Terms in appendix.

5. see below "Land System".

6. "Li Chi", *Shih san ching*, (Ch'ung-k'ai sung pen'shih san ching chu-su), pp. 430. Facsimile reproduction of Chia Ching 20 years (1815).

7. In Kwangsi, the site of the outbreak of the rebellion September 1850.


10. Ibid.


12. Ibid., "Hsiao kuan ssu-ma," pp. 420-9. Among the Taipings a ch'un represented an administrative unit of 13,156 households but in the army it represented 13,156 men including all ranks.


14. see below "Land System."

15. Ibid.

16. Lo, Erh-kang, *T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo Shih-kao* (Peking: Kai-min shu-tien, 1951), pp. 150 and 158. Women's military units were organized as early as the Chint'ien uprising along the same lines as the men's armies. It is reported that there were as many as forty ch'un (armies) of women in the Taiping state. They were also organized into labour units. After the establishment of the capital of Nanking (1853) the women's armies guarded the capital and sometimes sallied forth to attack the enemy. Under the Taipings women also
occupied official positions and gained the right to participate in examinations.

17. see below "Land System".

18. ibid.

19. ibid. Out of the principle that all property should be held in common came the system of the "holy treasury". Captured gold, silk cloth and other valuables were to be handed over to the "holy treasury". In return regular food and clothing rations as well as pay from the "holy treasury" were made to the soldiers and officers of each army.

20. ibid.

21. ibid.

22. ibid.


24. see below "Land System".

25. see glossary of terms.

26. see below "Land System".

27. ibid.

28. ibid.

29. ibid.

30. ibid.


32. Ibid., p. 49.

CHAPTER II

"THE LAND SYSTEM OF THE HEAVENLY DYNASTY"

In every army two men, a chief and his assistant who are also shih-shuai and lu-shuai will be in charge of each of the following: land division, criminal code, finances and supplies, income and expenses. Those appointed to office will take direct control of affairs and those not in office will assist them.

In each army the ch'un-shuai will report in detail to the chien-chun such matters pertaining to life and death and promotions and demotions. The chien-chun then reports in detail to the ch'in-ming tsung-chih who reports in detail to the chiang-chun, the shih-wei, the chih-hui, the chien-tien, and the ch'eng-hsiang. The ch'eng-hsiang then respectfully reports to the ch'un-shih who memorializes to the T'ien Wang. When the T'ien Wang issues a decree it will be carried out by the ch'un-shih. Worthy officials will receive the hereditary right to a Heavenly salary for support.

Each family, of those who join us, will provide one man as a common soldier within each army. When there is an alarm the leaders will lead them like soldiers to kill the enemy and to capture bandits. When there is no danger then he will direct them as farmers working the fields, thus, providing for the superiors.
All land is to be divided into nine categories. The land of the first category (shang shang t'ien) will be that which yields two harvest a year of 1200 chin per mou. The land of the second category (shang chung t'ien) will be that which yields 1100 chin. The land of the third category (shang hsia t'ien) will be that which yields 1000 chin. The land of the fourth category (chung shang t'ien) will be that which yields 900 chin. The land of the fifth category (chung chung t'ien) will be that which yields 800 chin. The land of the sixth category (chung hsia t'ien) will be that which yields 700 chin. The land of the seventh category (hsia shang t'ien) will be that which yields 600 chin. The land of the eighth category (hsia chung t'ien) will be that which yields 500 chin. The land of the ninth category (hsia hsia t'ien) will be that which yields 400 chin. One mou of the first category land will equal one mou one fen of the second category; one mou two fen of third category land; one mou three fen five li of the fourth category; one mou five fen of the fifth category; one mou seven fen five li of the sixth category; two mou of the seventh category; two mou four fen of the eighth category and three mou of the ninth category land. The division of land will be according to the number in the family irrespective of sex. Families with more members will receive more land and those with fewer less. The land assigned will be of various categories. If there are six people in the family then three persons will receive good land and the remaining three poor land—that is, half good and half bad. All land Under Heaven (天下) will be farmed jointly by all the people.
If there is not enough land in one place then the people will move to another place. All land, whether productive or barren, must be mutually accessible. In a case where there is a bad harvest in one area then help will come from an area where there is a good harvest. Thus, all people Under Heaven will enjoy great happiness given by the Heavenly Father, the Lord God, tilling fields, eating food, sharing clothes and spending money together. Nowhere will there be inequality; no one will be hungry or cold.

Every man and woman sixteen years of age or more will receive twice as much land as those of fifteen years and less. For example, if a person of sixteen years or older is allotted one mou of first category land then a person of fifteen years or younger will be allotted one-half that amount— that is, five fen. Again, if a person of sixteen years or older is allotted three mou of ninth category land then a person of fifteen years or younger will be allotted one-half that amount— that is, one mou five fen of ninth category land.

Let mulberry trees be planted close to the wall. Women must raise silkworms, spin thread and sew clothing. Each family Under Heaven ought to have five brood hens and two sows and their breeding season must not be neglected.

After the harvest the liang ssu-ma 兩司馬 will direct the wu-chang 伍長 to turn over the grain to the state storehouses, except the amount necessary to sustain each member of his twenty-five families until the new harvest. The same will apply to wheat, beans, hemp, clothing, chicken, dogs and other things as well as silver money. For everyone Under Heaven belongs to the one great family of our Heavenly Father, the Lord God; the people Under Heaven
will not pursue their own interests. If all is returned to the Lord then he will put it to use for everyone's benefit. In the Great Family Under Heaven equality will be everywhere and all will be well-fed and well-clothed. This is the Will of the Heavenly Father, the Lord God who expressly ordered the T'ai-ping True Lord^{19} (t'ai-p'ing chen-chu 太平真主) to save the world.

Only the liang ssu-ma will have custody of money and grain. The amount is to be entered in a register. He will report the amount to his superiors who are in charge of finance and supplies and to those who are in charge of income and expenses. For every twenty-five families one state storehouse will be established and one church under the authority of liang ssu-ma. The means to celebrate weddings, baptisms and "joyous occasions"^{20} will be supplied to every twenty-five families from the state storehouse but the prescribed limit may not be exceeded by one ch'ien. For example, should a family have a wedding or baptism it will be given 100 ch'ien and 100 chin of grain. This rule extends to all people Under Heaven. Everything must be used economically in order to provide for war or calamity. In marriage wealth is not to be a consideration [i.e. buying of a wife would not be permitted].

In each community of twenty-five families, the wu-chang and the ordinary soldiers will be employed as potters, blacksmiths, carpenters and stonemasons when free from agricultural work.

In each community of twenty-five families the liang ssu-ma will direct weddings, "joyous occasions" and other matters always making the sacrifices^{21} and praying to the Heavenly Father, the Lord God. All false customs of former times are completely abolished.
In each community of twenty-five families all boys are to attend church daily where the liang ssu-ma will preach and read the Old Testament, the New Testament and the Book of Heaven-Commanded Edict's.

Every Sunday the wu-chang will lead the men and women of his section to church with the men and women walking separately. There they will listen to sermons, praise Heaven and sacrifice to the Heavenly Father, the Lord God.

In each community of twenty-five families the diligent farmers will be rewarded and the lazy punished.

If there is strife or litigation both parties will take their case to the liang ssu-ma who hears both sides. If the controversy is not settled then the liang ssu-ma will send up their case to the tsu-chang 舍長 who will report the matter to the lu-shuai, the shih-shuai, the tien chih-fa 典執法 and the chün-shuai. The chün-shuai and the tien chih-fa together will pass judgment. When sentence has been passed then the chün-shuai must report this to the chien-chün who will report in detail to the tsung-chih, the chiang-chü, the shih-wei, the chih-hui, the chien-tien and the ch'eng hsiang. The ch'eng-hsiang then will report to the chün-shih who will respectfully report to the Heavenly King. The Heavenly King issues a decree directing the chün-shih, the ch'eng-hsiang the chien-tien and the tien chih-fa to carefully investigate the matter for irregularities. Then, the chün-shih, the ch'eng-hsiang, the chien-tien and the tien chih-fe will directly inform the Heavenly King for a judgment. The Heavenly King then decrees his judgment, either granting life or sentencing death; either giving or taking that which the litigation is about. The chün-shih will then carry out the sentence accordingly.
Those officials who always follow the Ten Commandments, obey orders and are faithful to the state unto death are considered loyal and will be promoted from low to high position and will receive the right to pass on their rank to their descendants.

Those who violate the Ten Commandments, disobey orders, take bribes and abuse their power are considered disloyal and will be demoted from high position to low, even to the status of peasant.

The people who follow the commandments and obey orders and work diligently in the fields are considered virtuous and peaceful and will be promoted or rewarded.

Those who violate the Ten Commandments, disobey orders and are lazy in farming are considered sinful and wayward and will be subject to death or other punishment.

Once each year, in order to fill vacancies in various offices, Under Heaven, there will be recommendations. For the recommendation of the right person a reward will be given. For the recommendation of the wrong person punishment will be given.

If there are any among the ordinary soldiers who observe the Heavenly Commandments, obey the laws and farm diligently, the liang ssu-ma will then register their behaviour, record their names and recommend them to the tsu-chang. The tsu-chang will carefully look into these persons within the hundred families under his jurisdiction. If the information given by the liang ssu-ma is correct the tsu-chang will write a detailed report on these people and recommend their names to the lu-shuai.

The lu-shuai will carefully look into these persons within.
the 500 families under his jurisdiction. If the information given by the tsu-chang is correct the lu-shuai will report on these people and recommend their names to the shih-shuai.

The shih-shuai will carefully look into these persons within the 2500 families under his jurisdiction. If he finds the information given by the lu-shuai to be correct he will report on these people and recommend their names to the chün-shuai.

The chün-shuai will conduct a thorough investigation of these persons within his own army. If he finds that the information received is correct he will report on these people and recommend their names to the chien-chün.

The chien-chün will write a report to the tsung-chih who in turn reports to the chiang chün, the shih-wei, the chih-hui, the chien-tien and the ch'eng-hsiang. The ch'eng-hsiang then will respectfully report to the chün-shih and the chün-shih informs the Heavenly King.

The Heavenly King will issue a decree appointing those who were recommended from each army Under Heaven to the position of shih-shuai, lu-shuai, tsu-chang, liang ssu-ma, or wu-chang. Those who make recommendations carelessly will be reduced to ordinary peasants.

Once every three years promotions and demotions of all officials Under Heaven will be conducted. Thus, the justice of the Heavenly Dynasty is shown. Those who make recommendations carelessly for promotions or demotions will be reduced to ordinary farmers. In the year in which promotions and demotions are made those who are in charge will recommend the promotion or demotion of their subordin-
The tsu-chang will make himself thoroughly familiar with the activities of the liang ssu-ma and the wu-chang who are subordinate to him. If one of them truly performs a worthy action, he will make a note of it. If one of them truly performs an unworthy action he also makes a note of that.

These names recommended for promotion or demotion will be brought to the attention of the chün-shuai by the tsu-chang himself.

If any of the liang ssu-ma or wu-chang do not deserve promotion or demotion then there will be no promotions or demotions.

The lu-shuai will then consider in detail the merits of his subordinates—the tsu-chang, the liang ssu-ma and the wu-chang. If one of them has truly performed a worthy action he registers it. If one of them has truly performed an unworthy action that will be also registered. He will write a report on these people and himself recommend their names for promotion or demotion to the shih-shuai.

The shih-shuai will examine, in detail, information about lu-shuai and lesser officials under his jurisdiction, register their worthy or unworthy actions and then report their names to the chün-shuai with a recommendation of promotion or demotion.

The chün-shuai will forward to the chien-chün the names of all those recommended by the shih-shuai and the ranks below him, as well as the names of those he himself recommends.

The chien-chün will then carefully examine the activities of the chün-shuai under his jurisdiction. If any of them has truly performed a worthy action he will register it. If any of them has truly performed an unworthy action he also registers that. Their
names and the names of those recommended by his subordinates he then reports to the ch'in-ming tsung-chih.

The ch'ing-ming tsung-chih will carefully examine the chien-chūn who are subordinate to him and register their good or bad deeds. He will then report their names and the names of those recommended to him for promotion or demotion by the lower ranks to the ch'ang-chūn, the shih-wei, the chih-hui, the chien-tien and ch'eng-hsiang. The ch'eng-hsiang will respectfully report to the chūn-shih. The chūn-shih will inform the Heavenly King of the names recommended for promotion or demotion by the ch'in-ming tsung-chih, the chien-chūn and the chūn-shuai.

The Heavenly Father then will issue a decree. He elevates the chien-chūn recommended by the ch'ing-ming tsung-chih to the rank of ch'ing-ming tsung-chih or shih-wei and demotes the chien-chūn on the recommendation of the ch'in-ming tsung-chih to the rank of chūn-shuai or shih-shuai.

He bestows the rank of chien-chūn or shih-wei on the chūn-shuai on the recommendation of the chien-chūn and demotes the chūn-shuai to the rank of shih-shuai, lu-shuai or tsu-chang on the recommendation of the chien-chūn.

He elevates the officials recommended by the chūn-shuai one or two degrees higher in rank or to the rank of chūn-shuai. He demotes officials recommended by the chūn-shuai one or two degrees lower in rank, even to the status of ordinary peasants.

When the Heavenly King issues such a decree the chūn-shih informs the ch'eng-hsiang who informs the chien-tien, the chih-hui, the shih-wei, the chiang-chūn and the tsung-chih.
The tsung-chih, in his turn, will inform the chien-chün who informs each lesser rank who must carry out the orders obediently.

Officials below the rank of chien-chün may recommend for promotion or demotion only persons lower in rank. Only the ch'ing-ming tsung-chih may, with the permission of the Heavenly King, be recommended for promotion or demotion by the chien-chün subordinate to him. The same rule applies to the officials of court—the ch'eng-hsiang, the chien-tien, the chih-hui, the chiang-chün, or the shih-wei and other officials.

The Heavenly King also permits them to present recommendations for promotion or demotion of each other, irrespective of rank, in order to prevent the concealment of vice and the abuse of power.

In cases where the central or local officials either have great merit or are guilty of flagrant injustice, the Heavenly King allows recommendations for promotions or demotions at any time, regardless of whether it is the year for promotion or demotion.

However, those superiors who falsely recommend inferiors for demotion or promotion will be reduced to the rank of peasant. If the recommendation for promotion or demotion of a superior by an inferior is false, the punishment is more severe.

All recommendations for promotions or demotions must contain evidence of the worthy and unworthy acts done by those recommended. Only then will the recommendations be valid.

Each army will be made up of 13,156 families. First, the
position of the chün-shuai will be filled and then the five shih-shuai subordinate to the chün-shuai, the five lu-shuai subordinate to each shih-shuai (altogether twenty-five lu-shuai), the five tsu-chang subordinate to each lu-shuai (altogether 125 tsu-chang), the four liang ssu-ma subordinate to each tsu-chang (altogether 500 liang ssu-ma) and finally five wu-chang subordinate to each liang ssu-ma (altogether 2500 wu-chang).

To each wu-chang will be given four privates. Thus, the number of wu-tsu 伍卒 25 will be ten thousand. The total of one army will then be 13,156 men.

As the population increases there will be a corresponding recruitment for the army. For instance, if the increase is five families there will be one additional wu-chang. If there is an increase of twenty-five families there will be one additional liang ssu-ma. If there is an increase of 105 families there will be one additional tsu-chang. If there is an increase of 526 families there will be one additional lu-shuai. If there is an increase of 2,631 families there will be one additional shih-shuai. If there is an increase of 13,156 families there will be one additional chün-shuai. Until the new chün-shuai is appointed the newly-appointed commanders from the shih-shuai down are still subordinate to their former chün-shuai. As soon as the new chün-shuai is appointed they all come under his command.

All central and local officials as well as the people, each Sunday shall hear preaching on the Holy Books, offer sacrifices and sing hymns to the glory of the Heavenly Father, the Lord God.

Every seventh Sunday the shih-shuai, the lu-shuai and the
tsu-chang will personally attend the churches in the care of the liang ssu-ma subordinate to them where they will explain the Holy Scriptures, preach to the people and at the same time investigate whether they are following the Commandments and orders and whether they are diligent or lazy. For instance, the first Sunday the shih-shuai will attend the church of one liang ssu-ma, the next Sunday he will attend the church of another liang ssu-ma and so on, visiting each one in turn. The lu-shuai and the tsu-chang will also do the same.

Under Heaven each man will have a wife and as a rule from three to nine children. One man from the family will become a soldier. The other members of the family, as well as the widowed, the orphaned, the unmarried, the crippled and the sick, will be exempt and are to be supported at the expense of the state storehouses. Each Sunday a meal will be offered to the officials when they carry out sacrifices, praise the Heavenly Father, the Lord God and read the Holy Books. Those who show themselves lazy and tardy at this will be demoted to the rank of ordinary peasants. Respect this.
NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. This translation from the Chinese is based on the text found in the T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo (1), 319-326) compiled by Hsiang Ta and others of the Chinese Historical Association.

2. TPTK, I, 119-152. Shih-shuai commanded 2531 persons which constituted one shih; one shih consisted of five Lu of 526 persons each.

3. Ibid., Lu-shuai comanded one Lu

4. Ibid., Chun-shuai commanded five shih, altogether 13,156 persons which constituted an army (ch'un).

5. "Nekotoroye Svedeniia o Voennoi Organizatii i Voennom Iskusstve T'ipinov" in B.A. Borodin, Problemy Vostokovedeniiia (Moscow: Akademia Nauk SSSR, 1960), Vol. 6, pp. 28-42. During military operations one inspector-of-the-army (chien-ch'un) was appointed to each ch'un and was liaison between the army and higher commandes.

6. Lo, TPTKSK, Chap. 12, pp. 152-9. The highest position in the army was that of Ch'in-ming tsung-chih (superintendent-of-the-army) there being one tsung-chih in each army.

7. Borodin, Problemy, pp. 28-42. A number of ch'un were sometimes formed into an army group which was commanded by a chiang-ch'un or chih-hui. (see below note 9). During large military operations these army groups were commanded by wang "king".


9. Borodin, Problemy, pp. 28-42. Court officials (see above note 7).

10. TV, p. 322. A court official second only to the ch'eng-hsiang.


12. Borodin, Problemy, pp. 28-42. In charge of all military forces. Nominally the direction of all military forces was carried out by the general staff of the T'ien Wang. In fact the general staff was headed by two ch'un-shih and two assistants, fu ch'un-shih.

14. **TPTK, I, 119-152.** The smallest military unit was a **wu** which comprised a commander, **wu-chang** (see below note 18) and four privates, **tsu**.


16. See below glossary of terms.

17. **TPTK, I, 119-52.** Five **wu** constituted a **liang** which was commanded by a **liang ssu-ma**; thus, together with the commander there were twenty-six persons.


20. "... because they [the Taipings] believed that after death the soul ascended to Heaven, therefore they considered this a joyous occasion. It was strictly forbidden to weep or show sorrow. Lo, Erh-kang, *T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo ti li'hsiang-kuo* (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1950), p. 9.


23. Borodin, *Problemy*, pp. 28-42. Four **liang** were commanded by a **tsu-chang**; this constituted 105 men.

24. The person in charge of the criminal code.

CHAPTER III

AN EXAMINATION OF THE AGRARIAN POLICY OF
THE T'AI-P'ING T'IEN-KUO

The events surrounding the Taiping rebellion and hence, those connected with the agrarian policy which it is my intent to examine here, seem to fall rather naturally into three main periods. These are: the initial stage from the inception of the rebellion in 1850 to the establishment at Nanking in 1853 of the Taiping capital; the middle stage from 1853 to 1859-60 when, because of a number of reasons inherent in most rebellions, the Taiping state failed to consolidate its gain of the previous period and started on the road of decline; and the final stage of 1860-64 which saw the rapid disintegration and collapse of the Heavenly Kingdom.

1. The First Period

At the early stages the Taipings did not have any stable, territorial base and therefore, did not create any administrative machinery in the territories: they passed through on their way to Nanking. Although well-organized and well-disciplined, there is no evidence to suggest that at this point the Taipings had formulated a definite agrarian policy. During this time they did, however, do away mercilessly with government officials, landlords and the wealthy who were openly against them. Money, foodstuffs and other movable property were confiscated and turned over to the "holy treasuries"
which supplied the Taiping armies with all necessities. The landlords and gentry who were not directly involved in fighting the Taipings, as a rule were not harmed physically, but were forced to make contributions in cash or kind to the "holy treasuries". The rich would help with their material wealth and the poor with their labour.\(^3\)

As the rebellion moved from Kwangsi to the area of the middle Yangtze, the Taipings began to set up temporary centres for the collection of levies. Soon after the capture of Wuchan they issued an order establishing such a bureau.\(^4\) It is to be noted, however, that these bureaus operated only for a few days and then moved on: "the collection bureaus... in each place usually opened for several days and when they had made sufficient collections they were moved."\(^5\)

At this time it appears that it was only the more well-to-do who were being forced to make large donations: "The rich families", says Chang Te-chien, "were compelled to pay one thousand chin or several hundred chin, several hundred tan\(^6\) of grain, a number of pigs and chickens, as well as other things."\(^7\) The repeated demands on these wealthy families of landowners, merchants and others finally drained them of their possessions and left them destitute.\(^8\)

The Taipings tried by every means to win the support of the peasants. During the early stages they did not molest villagers and even assisted them with food and clothing. Consequently, the people welcomed the rebels and were openly hostile toward the government armies when they appeared. This was especially true in the province of Hupei.\(^9\) At the beginning of the rebellion one of the leaders, Hsiao Ch'ao-kuei 蕭朝貴 (also called the Western King) strictly forbade the extortion of anything from the peasants: "... Taipings
must practise good discipline and must not rob the people of their possessions when entering villages. . . .”

The Taipings summarily dealt with those of their own who tried to rob or suppress the populace: “. . . when the Taiping army reached Hsinyü 新圩 among them was a man who took a piece of cloth from a vendor. The vender reported this to the Taiping army who immediately executed the offender.”

In occupied territory they frequently allowed the poor to share their food, thus encouraging co-operation from the local inhabitants: “. . . when the Taiping army was in Paisha, during the mealtime many children and poor gathered to watch. The Taipings then shared their food with them. Because of this many joined the Taiping army.” It seems that on entering villages “. . . the Taipings did not burn the houses, did not kill the people nor rob them of their possessions.” Again, “. . . not only did they not abuse the villagers but when passing through an area would distribute to the poor clothing which had been seized . . . [obviously from the wealthy].” Another way of winning popular support was through the announcement that peasants would be freed from paying taxes for three years after victory was achieved. Even such limited measures brought to the Taiping wide support of the peasants; “. . . villagers who are without the means to exist joined the rebels without pressure or force.”

Therefore, we can see that from the initial stages of the rebellion the arrival of the Taiping armies into new areas brought about extensive support on the part of the peasants on the one hand, and a temporary decline, at least, of the landlord on the other. It also freed the peasant from the oppressive power of the Ch'ing officials. The Taipings,
after conquering a county or village, first of all dealt a crushing blow to the established social order. Some of the gentry and officials were killed, while others escaped and still others committed suicide.\textsuperscript{17}

2. The Middle Period

By 1853, after the capture of Nanking, a definite and clear agrarian program had become imperative in order to solve the agrarian question in controlled territories. At this time the "Land System of the Heavenly Dynasty" was published. In this document the principle of equitable division of land was proclaimed. Land was classified into nine categories according to its fertility. The distribution of land was to be made according to the size of the family with only the number of people taken into account, irrespective of sex. This meant that every man or woman over sixteen years of age was to receive land. Any surplus land was to be divided equally among those under fifteen years of age. There was also to be a fair distribution of good and bad land. One serious omission in the "Land System" was that the size of allotment was not determined.

Although the principle of equal distribution of land occupies the central theme in the document which calls for joint-farming and mutual help, "... it is imperative that all lands under Heaven shall be farmed jointly by the people,"\textsuperscript{18} it is not clear whether the land was to be given into the actual ownership of the peasant or was just to be used by him. Without doubt the idea of equitable land distribution was greatly dependent on the success of the "utopian" ideas of joining the peasants into patriarchal communal units based on the principles of primitive communism, as well as the idea of
replacing taxes by depositing produce, above the minimum need for the peasants' own use, into the "holy treasuries". This, of course, would in no way encourage increased production.  

Reflecting the desire to create a new social order based on equality and well-being of all people, the "Land System", in essence, was so revolutionary in its concept and scope that it presented an immediate threat to the established order of things in mid-nineteenth century China. Although it owed much of its content not only to Christian but also to ancient Chinese ideas, it was unacceptable to the educated classes steeped in the Confucian tradition.  

Soon after the publication of the "Land System" the Taipings tried to implement some of its features. An unknown author who was in Nanking at the time writes of many proclamations and decrees appearing in the capital in which it was declared that all the land belonged to T'ien Wang and that the people were freed from paying taxes but were to turn over to the state all produce. In turn they were to receive from the treasury grain and the other necessities of life according to certain norms. 

Chang Te-chien 張德堅 also talks of the orders of the Taiping authorities:  

... especially peculiar is the fact that the rebels are misleading the peasants by false promises of abolishing taxes in future for three years, but after they rob thoroughly, they appoint village officials, and issue a proclamation saying 'everywhere Under Heaven the grain possessed by the peasants and the wealth possessed by the merchants are the property of the Heavenly Father and must be deposited in the "holy treasuries". Each adult will receive, during one year, one tan of grain and each child will recive five tou'.  

Then he adds, "There was no one who would obey this order and it was not carried out." There are no indications that the Taipings were
implementing the equitable distribution of land. In practice, the policy did not correspond to the program. This is shown by one of the first measures taken shortly after the publication of the "Land System" itself, the introduction of the old Ch'ing system of land taxation.

The Taiping wangs Yang Hsiu-ch'ing 杨秀清 Wei Ch'ang-hui 韦昌辉 and Shih Ta-k'ai 石达开 memorialized to T'ien Wang 天王 about the necessity of gathering taxes in the same manner as had been done under Ch'ing administration:

"Because our armies multiply daily it is necessary to have large stores of supplies for these armies. Therefore, a system of tax-gathering must be established. We unworthy brothers well know that Anhwei and Kiangsi have plentiful supplies of grain. Therefore, we ought to order the commanders of the armies who are defending these provinces to gather the land tax according to the old tax-roll [italics not in the original]. That is, the tax-roll used under the Ch'ings').\(^{23}\) The T'ien Wang 天王 concurred with this.\(^ {24}\)

The sources contain much evidence that, after this memorial was approved, taxes were gathered according to the "old tax-roll". In the provinces of Anhwei and Hupei the Taiping officials "... sought out the former taxation rolls and gather taxes according to them."\(^ {25}\)

The actual implementation of the law on the gathering of taxes began first of all in the provinces which were rich in grain - Anhwei and Kiangsi and later in all other areas. The land tax was gathered once a year in the fall; the size of the tax varied from 2 to 4 tou per mou of land.\(^ {26}\) The heaviest taxation was in the region south of the Yangtze where 4 tou per mou was exacted. This was probably because of the area's proximity to the capital. Formerly, under the Ch'ing the peasants had been taxed a minimum of 6 tou for one mou of land. Thus, it can be seen that the Taipings decreased the amount of taxation. A shortage of supplies needed for the conduct-
ing of war also had an important effect. The return to the old system of taxation in order to get sufficient means to carry on continuous warfare and to provide the army with adequate supplies is an indication of the abandonment of the agrarian program as it was enunciated in the "Land System". In fact there was a reappearance of the former landlord and peasant owner with the consequent landlord-tenant relationship, as is demonstrated by documentary evidence.28

In order to have effective administration on the local level the Taipings were forced to resort to the services of the educated. When the main territorial base of the rebels was the provinces of Anhwei and Kiangsi many members of the gentry received Taiping degrees which gave them the right to become officials. One of the members of the gentry, Chang Chi-keng (張基謙) writes: "Fortunately the rebels did not know that I was an educated man. Thus, I was able to avoid being drafted into false office and taking part in their false examinations."29 He also notes that the rebels were careful to make a distinction between "good" and "bad" Ch'ing officials. Although they gave no quarter to the bad ones, they tried to convince the others to join them: "You are a good official. We will not kill you if you are willing to submit. [i.e. join the rebels.30]"

In this case the official remained loyal to the Ch'ing and was promptly executed.

To what degree the attitude of the Taipings toward the landlord owner had changed may be judged by the following statement by Chang Te-chien: "The rebels forced those who had land to become commanders and local village heads and the peasants to become ordinary
soldiers. People seeking peace went along with this.\textsuperscript{31} It would seem indeed, that the Taipings widely used representatives of the landlords and landholders as well as gentry in the work of local administration because they themselves were almost all illiterate. Although it is beyond the scope of this discussion to describe fully the administrative system used by the rebels it is interesting to note that the local government on the rural level was better than that of the Ch'ing even though the use of the local educated class must have had some effect, probably unfavourable to the Taipings.\textsuperscript{32} Of course, we are talking here mainly about small landlords and landholders who did not actively resist. With officials and representatives of the gentry and landlords who remained loyal to the government, the Taipings dealt just as severely as they had at the earlier stages of the rebellion.

Chang Te-chien describes in detail how, with the help of peasants, houses of Ch'ing officials and gentry were searched by special detachments which confiscated all valuables and supplies.\textsuperscript{33} Unlike earlier, when we can only speculate as to what happened to the lands of the murdered and run-away landlords, during the middle stage there is evidence that such lands were passed on to the tenants who were working the land. To the tenants and the poor also were given the confiscated land and properties of Buddhist and Taoist monasteries and temples.\textsuperscript{34} Many tenants stopped paying rent and became owners simply because the owners had run away from the area of rebellion to the protection of the Ch'ing authorities. There are known cases where a tenant refused to pay land rent even to a landlord who remained. The following conversation between one Wang Shih-tou
a landlord and a contemporary of the Taipings, and a tenant will serve to illustrate this:

I remember the time I was going to settle in the village of Tsai-tsun. There I was connected with more than 1000 families . . . everyone was uneducated and all hated the official magistrate. So I asked, "Is the official greedy and does he use the law to suit his own interests?"

A man said, "I don't know".

"Then why do you hate him?"

The other replied, "Because he collects money and grain."

I asked, "The long-haired ones - do they not also collect grain and money?"

He said, "I give money and grain to the long-haired ones but will not again give the landlord any."

I asked, "Your fields belong to the landlord, why don't you give him grain?"

And he said, "If I give him grain then I wouldn't have enough. I have several sons and daughters. How could there be enough?"

So I said, "It is the custom that grain be given to the owner of the field by the tenant. How can you say there is not enough for you, even if there is not enough you should give it up."

He answered, "There is no way to make a living. No money to make a living."35

We can judge to a certain extent the degree to which tenants became owners of land by the fact that twenty years after the rebellion was suppressed, in some areas which at one time or another had been part of the Taiping state, it was impossible to find large landlord holdings. Most of the land had become the property of the peasants.36 This, in general, was the picture of the agrarian situation in the Taiping state in the latter part of the 1850's. During this middle period the "Land System" was published announcing the intention of equal distribution of land and the abolishment of taxes was also
indicated. But, in fact, none of this was carried out and there was a return to the former tax collection system and a reversion to the landlord and landlord-tenant relationship.

3. The Final Period.

In the last period of the rebellion, 1860-64, when the main territorial base was Kiangsu and Chekiang, the Taiping authorities, in order to raise enough revenue, usually forced the landowners to receive for a certain amount of money a certificate of landownership. They also levied an excessive tax on the landowners and punished those who tried to evade it. In some cases these certificates (which will be discussed in more detail later) served also as a type of permit granting the right to collect rent. Thus in many areas the collection of rent was done by the landlord with the permission of the authorities. In one of the sources it is reported:

... in the ninth month the head of the rebels declared that the commanders must again compile land lists enumerating individually owners and tenants of the land. He also ordered all the owners to give information about their land possessions, especially about land rented to tenants. The landowners were permitted to gather rent only after they had paid one tou of grain for each mou of land for the certificate of ownership. Only then would they get the certificate.

The issuing of such certificates by the Taipings appears to have been quite common. For instance, in one of the villages in the district of Chanshui:

... ssu ma and pai chan, of the long-haired ones, came into the village, made a list of the fields, set up timetables for collecting rents, demanding that the owners acquire certificates for land and gather the rent. At present, all the owners did not receive certificates for the fields. The decree of the long-haired ones says that the one who gathered the rent without first having acquired a certificate will have his field confiscated.
In "Yüeh-chou chi-lUeh" 越州紀略 it is stated that the landlords bought such certificates at a price anywhere from a few tens to a hundred chin. The Taiping authorities made it quite clear that the landlords were to gather the rent and were equally adamant about the duty of the tenants to pay this rent. In the declaration of Ma Ping hsing,馬丙興, a local Taiping administrator, it is stated:

... because the time of payment of taxes by the landlord has arrived the tenants must pay the rent fully. In case of deliberate evasion of the payment of rent, the guilty party will be punished according to the law. The persons subject to punishment are not only those who evade payment of rent, but also those who evade payment of land tax.

The same picture appears to have existed in other areas. The manager of the office of tax and rent collection in the district of Wuhsi informed the population of the order of the authorities on the necessity of paying the tax owed and advised all landlords to report "... detailed information to the bureau of taxes paid and the amount of rented land."

Issuing certificates and enumerating tax lists necessitated a certain amount of administrative organization and control. Hence, offices of tax and rent collection were established everywhere. These semi-official bureaus were created by the landowners with the sanction of the Taiping authorities. "In the districts of Chanchou, Yuanhei, Liunsueh, Shentzu, Hsinpa, Paiki and other cities of our district", the sources say, "landowners created offices for the gathering of taxes and rents." There is the report of a case, where on the orders of the Taiping commander, in an attempt to create such a bureau, a few people were beaten with sticks and one even executed.
Wu Yen-nan and Lung Sheng-yun, who investigated the agrarian policy in eighteen districts of the provinces of Kiangsu and Chekiang, came to the conclusion that in those areas the rebels recognized ownership of land and supported the "tenant-landlord" relationship. As earlier, after relevant examinations, the Taipings bestowed scholarly degrees on many landowners and used them quite widely in various positions in village administration. When they captured the city of Suchow in 1860, they ordered the known shen-shih (gentry) to appear for appointments in the local administration. 

The policy toward the officials and landlords who were actively supporting the Ch'ing government was unchanged in this period. In the district of Anchi alone there were about seventy or eighty landlords killed who had Ch'ing scholarly degrees. The lands which belonged to this group was taken over by the tenants and their ownership recognized by the Taipings. In one of the sources it is reported:

An army inspector of the rebels suggested to village elders that certificates be given to the right of ownership for the price of 300 ch'ien for each mou of land. After receiving the certificate the tenants became landowners themselves.

A similar situation existed with the lands of the run-away landlords and the Buddhist and Taoist temples and monasteries. Although the Taipings were not able to put an end, in the occupied territory, to the ownership of land and transfer the land to the peasants, nevertheless they did succeed in dealing a severe blow to the traditional system of agriculture. Those landowners who remained in the areas under rebellion did not dare to oppress the peasants as
before. They themselves were subjected to considerable regimentation and intimidation, being threatened with confiscation of their lands if they did not acquire the land certificates. One Taiping leader, Teng Kuang-ming, 鄧光明 wrote in one certificate for landowner Ch'ien Chin-jung, 陳金桀:

As far as it is known to me in the provinces, districts and counties conquered by our Heavenly Dynasty the rich families did not dare to raise their voices and timidly subject themselves to suffering and hardship.

Again, when the landlords in Tunli refused to give information about the size of their land holdings, the army inspector of the rebels in that district refused to allow the establishment of a bureau of tax and rental collection on the grounds that the landlords were trying to evade taxes.

Lung Sheng-yün quotes a passage from an unpublished diary of a landlord from Chanshu county who complains that under the Taipings the landlords were suffering and selling their land to the tenants for a low price. The Taipings transferred a considerable part of the tax burden to the landlord, in many cases forcing them to pay toward various collections for the poor. For example, in the county of Wuchiang the population was ordered to pay a poll tax and "... if the poor were not able to pay, the rich were to pay for them." In some areas occupied by the rebels, on the direction of the Taiping authorities or on the demand of the tenants, rents were brought down. There are also known cases of the tenants refusing to pay rents. In the county of Hsiaohsin where the Taipings arrived in 1861, the landlords "begged the rent like beggars. At the best they were able to gather a few tou of grain from each mou of land."
In the district of Sungchian at the same time, the tenants who usually paid their rent began to refuse paying it as soon as the landowners began to hide the amount of land they owned from the authorities. The situation in the districts of Wuhsi, Chinsui, Tungshan and Chanshu was similar. Mainly because of the pressure from the peasants, the rent in 1860 and 1861 in a number of districts was lowered to almost one-half. In the district of Wuchiang, in 1862, it was three tou of grain from each mou as against four or five tou in 1860.

Judging by the sources, local Taiping authorities at this time seem to have not had any directives from above about the lowering of rent. They acted on their own accord and a great deal depended on the personality of the administrator, the influence that the local landowners were able to exert and the degree of resistance on the part of the peasants. Therefore, the lowering of rent was not carried out in all districts. Besides the land tax (which was the main tax) the peasants paid additional taxes such as house taxes, taxes for landownership certificates and military taxes. But all those taxes and levies could not have been compared with the taxes and levies of the Ch'ing authorities. The Taiping authorities, when gathering main taxes as well as additional taxes, very often gave the peasants leeway, gathering taxes without accurately establishing the size of the land owned by them. In the district of Fenhwa the peasants who had less than five mou of land were freed altogether from land taxes.

It must be noted, also, that the Taipings did not have a
definite taxation scale. The taxes were determined by the local authorities according to existing conditions. The Taipings, however, as a whole showed considerable care for people in the areas devastated by the war. This policy was not always consistently followed, especially in the latter years of the existence of the Taiping state. In some areas where the landlord elements were influencing the local authorities, they (the authorities) acted against the interests of the peasants by levying heavy additional taxes. For instance, in Tsuchou the Taiping administrator, Ku Shu, became well-known for his mistreatment and corruption.

In Ch'angchu in November 1860, the rebel authorities forced the tenants to pay full rent to the returned landlords or to the local authorities if the run-away landlords had not returned. Approximately the same order was given in the district of Tunghsiang in July 1861. In certain districts the orders also threatened tenants with arrest and jail for those who refused to pay their rent. Using the protection of some Taiping officials, the landlords, in some areas, tried to increase the rent and this naturally brought about resistance on the part of the peasants. In 1861-62 a number of anti-landlord demonstrations occurred. These were often followed by the smashing of the bureau of rent collection and the murder of local Taiping officials.

Further examples of this tendency of the tenants to consider the rented fields as their own and to take all the harvest without paying any rent to the landlord is found in the district of Ch'angshu in the province of Kiangsu:
Hsien Feng, eleventh year, twelfth month, second day . . .
the long-haired ones again wanted those who were working the
fields to get certificates for these fields. From each mou of
land they gathered 5 sheng 什 of rice equal to 125 wen 恭 cash. The lu-shuai is ordered to enforce the receipt of this. 64

"Those who were working the fields" in this document are the peasant-
owners of the land or the peasant-tenants. The report of contempor­
aries are very terse and controversial. It is difficult to formulate
any kind of conclusion. But it is possible that in certain areas
the peasant-tenants had received the official certificates for their
right to ownership of previously-rented land. A note of a contemp­
orary of the district of Wuchiang, province of Kiangsu, says:

T'ung chih, first year, third month, twenty-seventh day, the
false inspector of the army gave each commander of the companies
certificates for land-ownership. For each mou of land they
were to gather 360 cash. After receiving the certificates
they took into ownership all previously-rented land. The
peasants secretly are glad and paid their taxes without
delay. 63

These notes indicate that at least in some areas there was the
official practice of giving the peasants ownership of lands previously
rented from landlords. This was done by issuing special certi­
ficates for land. These certificates are of considerable interests
in the examination of the Taiping agrarian policy, therefore, they
deserve closer scrutiny.

4. Land Certificates

There are eight Taiping certificates for ownership of land
known as t'ien ping 田 憂 and one known as tang ping 湯 憂. 66
All the certificates except the tang ping were given out by local
administrators and not by the central Taiping government. They
are all dated from 1862 except the certificate with the stamp of
the commander of the Taiping armies in the province of Chekiang, Teng Kuang-ming, whose year of issue is not known. It is difficult to say if there were such documents issued before 1860 because up till the present time none for the earlier years has shown up. Sources mention only certificates for landownership which relate to the years 1861-62. The tang p'ing certificate differs from the others. This tang p'ing was issued by an i-tien i-ch'eng to the owner Pan Hsu-k'uei in the district of Wuchiang in the province of Kiangsu in 1863:

The i-tien i-ch'eng notes that in all districts, thanks to the concern and kindness of Chung-Wang Li Hsiu-Ch'eng, the certificates for ownership of land were issued in order to improve the use of it. In the district of Wuchiang there are many marshes and badlands so he, according to a directive from above, issues certificates for these lands because "all mixed taxes and main grain taxes have similar significance." That is, the land of such character also must be taxed. After receiving the tangp'ing, Pan Hsu-k'uei became the owner of the empty land, the swamp-lake Peiyin of the size of fourteen mou. He was supposed to pay his taxes on time without delay or cheating. It seems that Pan, Hsu-k'uei owned other tracts of land and was a landlord. After receiving the certificate Pan was to "guard it forever, gather the rent and pay taxes." The certificate was valid even if he sold his land and also in the case of someone else making a claim against it. The number of the tang p'ing is 375 and this alone suggest that this certificate was not the only one of its kind.
The other certificates were issued by Kuei-Wang Teng Kuang-Ming and T'ing-Wang Ch'en Ping-Wen 邓光明 and Chung-Wang Li Hsiu-ch'eng 忠王李秀成. They are given to various persons but correspond in content. They state that the owner of the certificate has a field of so-many mou which is his own "without fraud, deception and other evil". After the harvest the owners of the certificate has to "each year according to the laws of the Heavenly Dynasty pay taxes with silver or rice without delay". The certificates guarantee the security of the land for the owner and allow him to complain to the authorities in case the land is taken away from him by others.

In the district of Shihmen in the province of Chekiang in 1862, the T'ing Wang Ch'en Ping-wen issued certificates to Wu Sheng-ch'ao 胡生超 who had his own field of one mou, two fen; Li Ch'ang-ch'un 李昌春 whose field was twelve mou, and Ch'en Shou-t'ien 陈寿天 whose field was four mou and eight fen. Teng Kuang-ming issued a certificate to Nien Wen-pin 年文斌 who resided in the same district and his land equalled nine mou, two fen. Three other certificates for land were issued by Chung-Wang Li Hsiu-ch'eng and they are all dated 1862. Ch'en Chin-jung 陈金荣 had a field for four mou, four fen and eight li. Chu Ch'en 朱陈 was the owner of a field of eleven mou, five fen and a field of three fen, nine li. The biggest parcel of land was owned by the family Huang 黄 who received the certificate from Li Hsiu-ch'eng. From these certificates we can see that the local administration when issuing them were not guided by the statutes of the "Land System" or any other decree or directive from the govern-
ment. The certificates emphasized the right of the owner to a partic-
lar piece of land and protection under the law from interference from
others. But, each certificate emphasized also the need for the prompt
remittance of taxes. The question arises - who were the owners of these
certificates? Were they landlords, peasant-owners or peasant-tenants?
The owners of the t'ien ping are called hua hu which means a
taxable unit, that is, a family. In not one certificate is it said that
the land was given by the Heavenly Dynasty or anyone else but the land
of the owner is simply designated as "bought" land. Some certificates
are given to yeh hu which means "the owner of the property"
and some to hua hu, therefore, it seems that the owners of the certi-
ficates were the owners of the property, that is landlords and peasant-
owners. Hence, it would appear that the certificates did not belong
to peasant-tenants who before the establishment of the Taiping state
did not have their own land and who would have been the first to
receive land had the land of the landowners been divided. Pan Hsu-k'uei
is a landlord. He had the right to collect rent from the peasant and is
obliged to pay taxes to the state. But Wu Sheng-chao who received the
certificate from Ch'en Ping-wen has a field of only one mou, two fen.
Ch'en Chin-jung, owner of the certificate with Li Hsiu-ch'eng's stamp,
is the owner of a little more than four mou. These are relatively small
quantities of land, therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that Wu and
Ch'eng are not landlords but peasant-owners who work their own land. Hence,
the certificates were given to landlords, peasant-owners and, according to
the notes of a contemporary which we mentioned earlier, in isolated cases
peasant-tenants also received certificates of land ownership. There is,
however, not one extant certificate which indicates specifically that
it was given to a peasant-tenant.
It seems certain that at the beginning of the 60's the Taiping authorities did not take any steps toward the division of land. But, the establishment of the Taiping state in the province of Kiangsu and Chekiang did undermine the old system of land ownership and taxation. Some tracts of land were taken over by new owners, landlords and peasants. The Taiping government, by issuing the landownership certificates, on the one hand recognized and made secure ownership rights and on the other hand ensured that state taxes would be paid without delay.

The demand for compulsory acquisition of land ownership certificates may be explained as the desire of the Taiping authorities to know the exact amount of land belonging to this or that landlord in order to receive full quota of taxation. Tax-gathering and the supplying of the army and capital became major problems for the Taipings. The problem of taxation had already acquired great importance in the first years of the Taiping state. The continuous war which was being conducted by the Taipings demanded great quantities of supplies. By 1854 an acute shortage of grain was experienced and supplying became bogged down. In such a situation there was no question of trying to implement the principle announced in the "Land System":

... after the harvest the liang ssu-ma will direct the wu-chang to turn over the grain to the state storehouses, except the amount necessary to sustain each member of his twenty-five families until the new harvest.79

This shortage of supplies resulted in the widespread collection of rents by landlords during the last years of the rebellion. There is one receipt for rent. It was given by the Taiping divisional
commander, Lai, and says that the owner of the land, Lai Lan-t'ang, received the rent. In turn, upon receiving the rent Lai Lan-t'ang gave the certificate to the peasant thus certifying that the rent had been paid. This receipt was dated the ninth month of the twelfth year of the T'ai-ping t'ien-kuo (1862) and included the amount of rent paid. There are also three official Taiping documents: the declaration of Ma Ping-hsing, the announcement of the manager, Hsieh of the bureau of tax and rent gathering in the districts Wuhsi and Chink'uei and a certificate of protection to the landlord Ch'en Chin-jung. All these documents allow the gathering of land rent. They also show the existence of landlords in the Taiping state and that they were allowed to collect rent with the permission of the local authorities. The changes which were brought about by the Taipings in the initial stages of the rebellion were substituted in the latter stages by the gradual re-establishment of old principles of tax-gathering and payment of taxes.
NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. Chang Te-chien, "Tsei-ch'ing hui-tsuan", TPTK, III, 273. "In the villages they the Taipings never kill the peasants fearing that they would retaliate and fight against them to the death. But, they ransack the houses of the gentry as well as those of the relatives of officials, killing their occupants and burning them to the ground." (For a translation of Chapter 10 of this work see Chapter IV, pp. 59-85.

2. T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo ch'i i t'iao-ch'a pao-kao (Peking: San-lien shu-tien, 1956), p. 71. "When the Taipings occupied Lungshan in the province of Kwangsi they killed only the landlords Hsun in the village of Liuhe and Chao Fen-yu in the village of Liu chiu because they resisted the Taiping army."


5. Ibid.

6. see below appendix for glossary of terms.


8. Ibid.


10. TPTK, I, 60.

11. TPTKCITCPK, p. 71.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.


15. TPTKCITCPK, p. 71; also Chang, TPTK, p. 271. "... the Taipings declared that in the future taxes would be abolished for three years. The villagers were grateful."


17. Ibid., p. 272.
18. see above "Land System."


22. Ibid.


24. Ibid., p. 204.


27. Ibid., p. 26.

28. see appendix below for a translation of a number of land certificates.


30. Ibid., p. 760.


35. Lo, TPTKSSK, p. 205.

36. Ibid., p. 189.


41. Ibid.

42. TPTK, VI, p. 769, also, Chih Fei, p. 42.

43. Taipenskiye Vosstanie, p. 75.


47. Lung Sheng-yün, p. 54.

48. Ch'üan-Pu Yeh-Lao, p. 104.

49. Wu Yen-nan, p. 22.

50. Taipinskoye Vosstanie, p. 77.

51. Chih Fei, p. 44.

52. Lung Sheng-yün, p. 42.

53. Chih Fei, p. 43.


55. Chih Fei, p. 50.

56. Lung Sheng-yün, pp. 46-47; also TPTK, V, p. 436.


60. Ibid., p. 812.


62. Ibid., p. 47.
63. Ibid., pp. 40-7.


65. Ibid.; also, Chüan-Pu Yeh-lao, p. 104.

66. For a translation of some of these certificates see appendix below.


68. TPTK, II, 877.

69. A title in the Taiping army.

70. TPTK, II, 877.

71. Ibid.

72. Ibid.

73. Ibid.

74. Ibid.

75. Ibid.

76. Lo Erh-kang, TPTKWWTS, p. 139

77. Ibid.

78. TPTK, II, 876.

79. See above "Land System."

80. Lo Erh-kang, TPTKWWTS, p. 139.

81. Ibid.

82. Taipinskoye Vosstanie, pp. 75-77.
CHAPTER IV

"THE SUPPLY SYSTEM OF THE REBELS"\(^1\)

In the Lu Lūn 魯論 \(^2\) there are instructions about providing sufficient supplies. The Ta Hsueh 太學 \(^3\) makes much of the importance of the management of resources. From this it is evident that resources are indeed the basis of regulating the state and putting armies in the field. Han\(^4\) enfeoffed its meritorious ministers and Prime Minister Hsiao 蕭 \(^5\) was first on the list because he was able to supply Kuan Chung 關中 \(^6\). When Wei Wu 魏武 \(^7\) was resisting in Kuan Tu 官渡 \(^8\) he almost suffered disaster because food supplies were exhausted. Fortunately he hastened the battle and was victorious. When Governor Tsang 貞 \(^9\) defended Ch'ing Chou 青州 \(^10\) and Governor Chang 張 \(^11\) defended Sui Yang 睢陽 \(^12\), even with their martial ability they perished because the supplies were exhausted and their defences fell. Such instances of insufficient supplies and resulting failures contained in the historical records are difficult for me to enumerate. Thus, the basis of the success or failure of a military operation, without a doubt, depends on the generals. But, indeed, the very survival of the rebels depends on provisions. There are times, when even with sufficient provisions, there is defeat. But I have never heard of a case where victory was achieved when supplies were exhausted. Has it been carefully considered
that what is stated in the rules about military supplies for an advancing army need not conform with actual facts? The rebels do not trade, yet they prosper greatly; they do not plough, yet eat heartily. Where does all this come from? It is from plundering. If only they would lose their ability to search and plunder then the sources of property and grain would not be exhausted.

According to rumours, the rebel leaders proclaimed boastfully; "Our treasury is the rich houses Under Heaven and our granary the families with storehouses full of grain. Therefore, everywhere we can take what we need." Although these words are impudent and offensive and cause men and spirits to become very angry, is not the position of the rebels ten times better than that of the government army? On the one hand it [the government army] cannot carry on a campaign of holding cities and devastating the countryside. On the other hand the ン 'uan-lien is ineffective. The reason why the rebels have freely moved wherever they want, taking whatever they want and have spread until things reached this extremity is because the rebels receive supplies everywhere and there is no way by which to deny them these sources of clothing and food supplies.

Now it is necessary to develop a plan which would allow us to limit the action of the rebels, to deny them the possibility of receiving supplies and to destroy them without battle. The rebels will not wait for total annihilation but are certain to scatter completely. In order to acquaint the reader with the income and expenditure of the rebels, I have collected all documents about their supply system under the following headings: contributions, robbery, taxation, water transport, tolls, duty and trade, rationing and stores.
Contributions.

The rebels rob as much as they want and although they do not limit themselves only to supplies these constitute the major object of their actions. The leaders of the rebels boast that they send out men several hundred li ahead of the army who proclaim orders which force the rich to pay contributions and the poor to help with their labour. But, these are nothing but misleading and deliberate lies, because our armies are guarding the borders and in the regions which the rebel armies are nearing the local authorities intensify their control. Surely they will not allow the messengers of the rebels to penetrate these areas and hang up their "false" orders everywhere? Or perhaps the men sent out by the rebels deceive them - one cannot be sure. But the rebels everywhere blame the local people because of this. In the areas which they reach or pass orders which are several thousand words in length, are hung up everywhere. The first thousand or more words of the order usually constitute heretical teaching and wild words such as: "The Heavenly Father and the Heavenly Elder Brother in their great mercy send down the Heavenly King and other Kings to pacify the world and the People. You [the people] must quickly repent your sins and become sincere" and such repeated admonitions. Then they reproach the local population saying: "At the time when our army was situated at a distance of a few hundred li from your district, the army commander issued an order, which was posted everywhere, that those who are rich must support us with their wealth and those who are poor must give their labour and that [all who give such service] would without doubt be selected for office after the establishment of the Great Tranquility through the land. But, you stupid people, you did not know how to
repent your sins and are blindly superstitious. Since our armies
pressed on your borders few people came to surrender to our camp and
still fewer brought contributions. It is obvious you are still under
the influence of the devil and we ought to send the soldiers to wipe
you out without mercy. But, taking into consideration the fact that
there was no open help to the cause of the devils in your village,
the army commander, exceptionally again issues a proclamation and is
sending such and such a collector ahead to gather contributions which
must be fully handed over to the holy treasury within three days. Those
who contribute will be given a tribute receipt and all the brethren shall
not molest them. If any family fail to appear for the collection of
contribution all their members will certainly be beheaded." The timid
and cowardly all carry silver and cash and provisions and go along
the roads in an unbroken stream to offer them to the rebels. This
happens not only in the villages but also in the cities.

However, the policy of the rebels changes often. For instance,
soon after the capture of Wuch'ang they issued a proclamation like
this in which they set up an office for the collect of contributions.
But hardly one day had passed when the rebels, seeing that the contri-
butions were too few, began systematically to search and pillage
households. At this time they only robbed in the city and did not touch
the villagepopulation. But, after the capture of Anking and Chiangning,
as well as during the second invasion of Kiangsi and Hupeh, the rebels
did not collect contributions in the cities but robbed the villages.
Then, as usual, they issued proclamations admonishing the people to
come forth with presents. Whenever they came to a place, after they have
opened their office for a few days, the rebels depart having filled their
bottomless bags. These offices, as a rule, are situated at successive
points near the rivers. After all the contributions are collected, the
rebels employ the villagers to load everything onto the boats and only
then are the villagers sent away. In those areas where the boats can
tie up close to shore, the contributions are taken directly there.

The village people who are lucky enough to receive certificates
for the payment of contributions display them high above their gate as
a means of protection, little realizing that before a few days have
passed, a second or third party will appear. If the people refuse to
pay and present their certificates then the leader of the rebels at
once angrily tells them: "Are you trying to intimidate me with those
certificates? The former collector was sent by the Eastern King, but we
are sent by the Northern King or the Assistant King. If you do not
make contributions I will behead your men and burn your houses."

After this, the frightened people pay a contribution once more.
Even during a period of one month, the collectors would sometimes
appear as many as five or six times. The villagers are worn out with
running for their lives and contributions lessen with each time. The
first time the rich families must pay a thousand or a few hundred chin,
several hundred tan of grain, a number of pigs and chickens, as well
as other things. This amount lessens with each collector so that
when the last one arrives he has to be satisfied with one tou of rice
and one chicken. Only in places which the rebels have long occupied
and which have suffered countless separate robberies do they establish
village officials and send down regulations on levying taxes.

Generally, the villagers willingly pay the contributions at first
thinking that the certificate of payment would guarantee them to be
left in peace. But, they do not know that they will be forced to pay
endlessly. Once discovering the uselessness of these certificates,
you then refuse to pay, not realizing that the rebels are sending
armed detachments which rob and leave nothing. The common people
who work in the fields, even though their stores are empty, can support
themselves as soon as the new crop is grown. They do not realize that,
under the guise of pacifying the people, the rebels will soon appoint
their own village officials and time and again despatch their agents
who like sparks from the fire spray over the villages to collect
supplies. As for their robbing and their levying taxes, it is set
forth in detail below and I shall not repeat it here.

The rebels force the peasant to pay the contributions. Among
themselves they also pay special regard to making contributions under
the guise of offering gifts. The subordinates eagerly present gold and
other presents to their kings and important officials on solemn
occasions. Gold and silk gained through robbery are passed on from the
lower ranks to the higher ranks. For instance, the soldiers do not
dare hide stolen valuables, but are required to hand them over to their
commanders. The lower commanders, in their turn, do not dare to
appropriate these valuables in their entirety. They keep only part
of them and the rest is handed over to higher commanders, and thus,
to the false King. The clothing and other articles which do not
represent great value are given by the soldiers to the clerks and the
remaining is kept for themselves. Fresh fruits and other foodstuffs
are also handed over to their superiors.

The rebels, in their despatches talk little about military affairs,
but write in detail about the presents given by them. Even if it is as trivial a matter as twenty duck gizzards or a pheasant they must present it so the false king will write a favourable comment on the despatch. How ridiculous it is!

When you look into it closely, the offering of gifts among the rebels is a matter of necessity. The people who voluntarily join the rebels, of course, use this as a means of furthering their careers. But if a rebel hides too much gold, silver and other valuables, as soon as his superiors discover this they order a search of the house of the suspect who then is accused and executed. Therefore, even if they covet booty extremely, the rebels do not dare to swallow it all.

Note: This was written on the evidence of T'ang Chin-Chao, Li Kuo-ku, T'ien Hsing-ta, Ho Ch'i, P'an Hung-tsa, T'an En-p'u and Ch'eng Feng-huang.

Robbery

When the rebellion began the rebels, at first, plundered foodstuffs in the districts and villages of Kwangsi as they passed through. In each rich household they dug into the earth to the depth of three feet searching for valuables. The Kwangsi gentry went to the capital and kowtowing told of their misfortunes and injury done to them. The Emperor did not spare the gold and ordered his armies to advance and punish the rebels because he wished to save the people from calamity. When the rebels left Ch'angsha and captured Wuhan, their methods of expropriation changed many times. For instance, at the beginning of the rebellion they plundered only the cities. They not.
only did not plunder (abuse) the villagers but when passing through an area would distribute to the poor clothing which had been seized and other goods declaring that they would free everyone from paying land taxes for three years. The villagers were grateful. It reached the point where the rich sat idly in the cities which were besieged unwilling to help with one ch'ien. But, the poor anxiously awaited the arrival of the rebels in order to enrich themselves. Who could have known that when the rebels captured Wuhan and the towns along the Yangtze their supplies were already piled up like mountains and they would be short of boats for transportation? Sometimes they left behind several thousand tan of rice. The rebels were like people who have eaten more than enough food and although having delicacies cannot swallow them. They left the grain, hoping to use it in the future. They also understood that while they had sufficient supplies they did not have to alienate the peasants and treated them well in order to lure them slowly into their nets.

Finally the uncouth people became rebels and traitors. They even greeted the rebels, coming out in droves and having nothing to do with the government forces when they appeared. This was observed everywhere, especially in the province of Hupeh. When the rebel armies occupied Chiangning and Yangchow, the government armies made a camp near the cities only on one or two sides. The rebels still had wide access to the surrounding villages but did not dare to venture more than 10 li from the city walls because the village population formed local militia everywhere who fought to their death.

The people of the areas south of the river Yangtze would have met the rebels in the same way as the people of Hupeh had it not been for a local member of the gentry, Chiang Shou-min, who gathered gold
and silver to feast the rebels, invited them into the city and arranged a banquet of several hundred tables. He was hoping to escape disorder. But, they continued to commit atrocities and to misbehave and Chiang Shou-min still lost his life. After this, noted gentry from the region south of the Yangtze, began to spread the word everywhere: "Who among you have such riches and fame as Chiang Shou-min to make possible gifts of gold and silver and to prepare a banquet of a hundred tables? But even if you are able to do so it will not solve the problem and you would not escape death by them. Wouldn't it be better than, not to listen to the rebels at all?"

This admonition was responsible for creating units of militia among the peasants. In the area of Hsien-Nü-chen these detachments annihilated thousands of the rebels. As a result of this how could they dare pass beyond the city gates? Therefore, the rebels, sitting in their old den Chiangning, falsely declared that they were going to undertake an expedition to the north while trying to establish their base in the provinces of Anhwei, Hupeh and Kiangsi for the supplying of their armies while not for a moment forgetting Hunan. They longed for the regions which lie up the river like a child for his mother's breast. Endless collections of contributions, plunder and tax extortion resulted in the suffering of the people of the provinces of Hupeh, Anhwei, Kiangsi and the region of Nanchu because of their own thoughtlessness and ignorance. They scarcely escaped with their skins. But, we cannot lay all the blame on them for their ignorance because the gentry and the local officials failed to lead them at the proper time. On the contrary, we must show them our sympathy and regret and not blame them now.
There are not enough words to describe the atrocities of the rebels. At the moment let's speak only of the facts known to everyone. The rebels do not use the expression "plunder" but call it "reconnoitering". After numerous collections of contributions, suddenly a vanguard of a few hundred men appears and encamps in the village. For a day or two they don't interfere with anyone and only search for worthless derelicts whom they feed and protect. Then, through these people, they make contact with local tenants and hired men from the rich households in order to discover where the rich hide their valuables. They promise to give part of this bounty to the tenants and hired men. The rebels also gather detailed information about families of the officials and influential gentry who live in the village and then, on this information, plunder the households. Because it is difficult to hide grain and money the rebels are able to take it all. With the help of informers the rebels are able to search and discover valuables even if they are hidden in the roof-tiles or the marshes.

If the rebels are not able to find hidden valuables then they grab the owner of the household or his wife or daughter. Using ropes they hang him from a beam and flogging him with the back of a sword or thorny branch they carry out their interrogation. Sometimes the victim, even beaten to the point of death, refuses to divulge the hiding place of valuables. Sometimes as soon as the victim is hanged by the hand the members of his household, unable to bear his suffering, reveal it. Sometimes the owner of the household will hide himself or run away leaving the house in the care of his servants. Then the rebels torture the servants in order to find out where the master had hidden or where the valuables are stashed away. The servants, under such
duress, reveal everything.

These people [the rich] use various tricks to hide their possessions. Therefore, it happens that the rebels leave sometimes without discovering their whereabouts. But, in the captured areas the rebels make searches eight or ten times and how, after this kind of searching, can there be any valuables left undiscovered?

It is also necessary to note that the thoroughness with which the rebels plunder depends on various factors. For instance, after the rebels left Wuch'ang which they occupied for one month, valuables were left unfound because they had been secreted in the walls and in the ground. It was because at that time the rebels were like beggars who had suddenly become rich and did not see the necessity of thorough searching. Their greed was satisfied so they took only the most precious and light not cumbersome. Because of this, when they found clothing and other things, they disregarded these, and looked only for gold and silver. But, as the coming of the rebels went on incessantly, the poorer of the newly-arrived, while robbing, would not leave one chih of clothes, or one sheng of rice. They rummaged in boxes, taking silk and grain. During this time the rich and the educated silently accepted their fate and the strong and healthy poor peasants voluntarily joined the rebels in order to be fed and clothed.

Thus, the rebels' plundering, is not only for the sake of enrichment, but also to cause the village population who are without the means to exist to join them without pressure or force. Those who have land, still are forced to each chaff in order to exist. As soon as the rebels discover that in the villages there is no more hidden grain or gold and after gathering everything and leaving nothing, they immediately
issue an order for the pacification of the people. In each district or region from among the original rebels is chosen an inspector-of-the-army who distributes registers which are two feet wide and two feet long to all villages. In this register are entered the names of the local population. They are entered as soldiers and junior commanders into military detachments, brigades, divisions, and armies. The rebels force those who have land to become local village heads, and the peasants to become ordinary soldiers. People seeking peace go along with it.

After the households are thoroughly pillaged the search actually stops and orders for storing supplies and various other necessities for the armies are issued and are subject to immediate and prompt execution. If the order is not carried out the village commander or head can execute the offenders. About the rebels' cruelty more will be told in detail in the section on land taxation.

Thus, the rebels take, at first, the most valuable under the guise of a contribution, then plunder completely. The result of this is that people have nothing else left but to join their side. To gather taxes they appoint village heads who force the peasants during the harvest to turn over the grain and try to get the support of the peasants at the same time. Mercilessly they oppress the people. Surely Heaven cannot tolerate this?

The above is only a general description of the system of plunder which the rebels practise. In the villages they never kill peasants fearing that they would retaliate and fight against them to the death but they ransacked the houses of the gentry as well as those of the relatives of officials, killing their occupants and burning them to the
ground. Those who hide the garments of the officials and official papers are subject to execution. Therefore, in the areas passed by the rebels no one dares to hide our officials and their relatives and they are forced to hide themselves in the forests or in the ruins of temples. The garments of the officials are usually burned. Thus, in the areas recovered from the rebels it is impossible to find an official cap. The officials cannot be received by their superiors properly dressed because with the appearance of the rebels they threw away in fear their proper dress. This happens again and again so where would they find these things?

Although the rebels treat the peasants better they deal with the t'uan-lien mercilessly. As soon as they discover that in the village such a detachment is formed or discover its flag and weapons, they immediately seek out and massacre its leaders and burn their houses even if the peasants never had a battle with them. When a member of the notable gentry, the organizer of the detachment, flees and hides himself at the approach of the rebels and returns home after they have gone, the peasants who have barely survived blame him for all their calamities, tie him and turn him over to the rebels as soon as they reappear. Thus, officials who support us cannot expect leniency from the rebels and support from the population. Therefore, in the end the t'uan-lien are still ineffective. The rebels try their best to discover their enemies and render them harmless. In this way they keep the peasants in a state of fear and forestall the opposition of those in other areas. Is it surprising that three or five rebels arriving at a village order around hundreds or thousands of healthy men? Surely this is not because of the rebels' strength but only
because of the fear they command.

Unfortunately there are no capable leaders in the districts and the regions who would know that with the help of the local gentry they could organize detachments of t'uan-lien and unite them so that they would immediately rise at the appearance of the rebels. Could not such detachments annihilate thousands and tens of thousands of rebels? At present nobody thinks about how to organize defence and surround the rebels. Everyone is afraid to be connected with the detachments of t'uan-lien and to resist the enemy. Such people cater to the rebels but in the long run do not escape death at their hands. How regrettable it is! This great evil is the responsibility of the officials who do not take the necessary measures and blame the people for this although this blame is unjustified. Yen Shang-chih, who has investigated the matter, says: "Until detachments of t'uan-lien are formed the rebellion will not be stopped." Although these words are very straight, the only person who could have said them is one who deeply understands the matter and feels it. It is clearly understood that with the presence of such detachments the rebels would not be able to replenish themselves in the countryside. Then, this would be a real application of the tactic of holding cities and devastating the villages by which all sources of supply are cut off for the rebels. And then with each day there would be less plunder and the rebels would scatter everywhere. Concerning the old den of the rebels, Chiangning, cutting off its source of supply which is situated up the river Yangtze would bring about panic in the camp of the enemy. This is, indeed, the tactic to suppress the rebellion and undoubtedly there would be difficulties encountered during its realization. Besides, people are not
always capable of using it [this tactic], thus, bringing about more suffering. This is meant when it is said; "Method is there but the people to carry it out are not". The officials and the gentry have to seriously consider this.

The rebels acquire large stores of supplies by means of plunder therefore I allowed myself to touch on this problem in greater detail.

Note: This was written on the evidence of Yang Tsung-shih, Liu Ch'un-sheng, Tien Hsing-ta and others, as well as from the report of K'ang Tung-hsueh, Fang Wan-ts'ang, Wu Yu-kow and others.

Taxation

The people of the countryside, because they lived in peace for a long time, seldom saw warfare. Therefore, as soon as the rebels appear they scatter leaving their property for them to plunder. This was the situation from the end of 1852 til the spring of 1853. Afterwards the devastating invasion of the rebels along the Yangtze swept back and forth. The population got used to this. In each village the village heads were chosen to welcome the rebels. These elders coming forward as representatives of the local population complained that the people of the village were poor and offered to the rebels a few hundred strings of cash and few hundred tan of grain, in order to escape the house-to-house search. After the rebels had left, this amount of money and grain was collected according to the amount of land owned by each household. This was the rule of taxation when the rebels first appeared in the regions of the Yangtze. Especially peculiar is the fact that the rebels are misleading the peasants by false promises of abolishing taxes in future for three years. But after they rob
thoroughly they appoint village officials and issue a proclamation saying: "Everywhere Under Heaven the grain possessed by the peasants and the wealth possessed by the merchants are the property of the Heavenly Father and must be deposited in the holy treasuries. Each adult will receive during one year, one tan of grain and each child will receive five tou."

With the issuance of such an order the people were freed from their delusions. It is quite obvious that there was no one who would obey this order and it was not carried out. Then the rebels issued an order about taxation. According to it, the village heads determine the area of arable land in the region occupied by this or that army as well as the rate of taxation calculated at one thousand wen of money, three tan and six tou of rice from each tan of seed grain. All this information is entered in a register which is kept by the inspector-of-the-rebel-army in the district or region for future reference. The system of payment of land taxes twice a year is not practised by the rebels. Their agents for the collection of taxes are continuously on the roads. In order to save their lives the village heads cringe before the rebels and carry out all their demands. In places where the rebels have established village officials there are some who, as before, interfere with the people and some who leave them alone. This depends on the village head. Among the village heads there are many opportunists capable of low behaviour. Some of them carry presents to the city for the local head of the rebels and try to bribe him and acquire his patronage. But it happens that, in accordance with the reports of the village heads, some rebels who are caught plundering and misbehaving are beheaded. Their heads are hung up as a lesson to others.
In contrast to the village leaders who sincerely take measures to maintain order in the village, there are the others who use the tax levies in their own interest, arbitrarily increase the taxes and mercilessly rob the people. The taxes are gathered not only in rice and money. The rebels force the village heads to take from the population anything their armies need. For instance, if they need one thousand shovels, a thousand bamboo mats or a hundred boats they immediately issue an order making the people supply these without delay. People are tired of carrying out these orders and bitterly hate the rebels. But, to our great sorrow, this hate is not manifested, but, the help to the rebels on the part of the population is quite obvious. Although it is said that the peasants everywhere help the rebels in their battles, it is hardly possible that they have lost their conscience to such a degree. It happens that the rebels, when pursued by government forces, force the peasants by threats to raise the flags and shout in order to confuse the government forces as to their real strength. Who can say with certainty that such things would not be repeated again?

Note: This section was compiled on the evidence given by Hsu Chung-yuan, Yao Tsao-chien and Chou Ku-Hsien.

Water Transport

The rebels transport supplies by using boats from the regions situated up the river. This goes without saying. After May 1853 when the rebels invaded the provinces of Kiangsi and Hupeh they, from September to the end of 1854, shipped from these provinces all the supplies to the rebel capital using a large fleet of boats. If the rebels when attacking other regions were motivated by different reasons
the invasions of Kiangsi, Hupeh and Hunan are exclusively to capture supplies. This is clear from a recently captured rebel order which says: "...order you to embark with the armies on 1300 boats of the Third Left River Army into the regions of Nanchang in Kiangsi and Wuch'ang in Hupeh in order to prepare the supplies which should be dispatched without delay to the Heavenly Capital. If this is not done it will be considered a deliberate mistake." Another order says: "...you, the leader, will use 1800 boats in order to make the devils retreat in panic from the cities of Kwangchow and Hangyang. All captured supplies must immediately be sent to the Heavenly Capital. The order should not be disobeyed! While transporting the new supplies all precautions must be taken to prevent the devils from capturing them." A third order, issued when an award was being presented to Chang Tse-ming and others, says: "...in the north of the province of Kiangsi in the regions of Huangpo, Hsiaokan and Tean which are rich with supplies you were able to expel the devils and gather 23,000 tan of grain which has already been delivered to the capital. This proves your ability and resourcefulness. The empty boats numbering forty-five are returning and again the supply officer of the Thirteenth Army, Tu Fu-hsin, is ordered to march with the armies to assist you in the destruction of the devils." This shows that the rebels give special attention to the gathering of stores. In April and May 1854, when in Chiangning the supplies were low, the order was issued which bound everybody, except the so-called kings, to eat gruel. Those who dared to do otherwise were to be beheaded. If during this time Wuch'ang had held out one month and the government forces north of the river had attached Hankow, soon the rebels would not have been able to act freely
and occupy themselves with plunder. Their water transport would have been cut and the rebel band in Chiangning would have fallen apart from within.

The rebels use the boats skillfully and cause especially great damage to the regions along the river. While moving north they murder people indiscriminately. They rely on numerous boats putting armed bands ashore and frightening us with their numbers. The supplies in the captured regions are loaded on boats and sent down river. Last year, when the government navy advanced down the river, they burned seven or eight thousand rebel boats. From that time the water transport of the rebels could not be restored; they not only could not send their army where they want but also were not in a position to transport supplies into Chiangning. The destruction of the enemy's boats can be considered the first success in the suppression of the rebellion.

Note: This section was compiled on the evidence of some orders issued by the rebels and information given by Liu Yu-kuei, Hsieh Shih-tsai, Ts'eng Yu-nian and others.

Tolls, Duty and Trade

On the way from Wuch'ang to Chiangning the rebels established four points at which to levy tolls. In Wuch'ang and Wuhu the rebels are not able to gather these tolls and taxes because of military clashes with government forces. In Lunchiang gate the man in charge of the customs has the rank corresponding to the chih-hui.\(^{18}\) In Chuchiang gate the man in charge of the custom house is the tsung-chih.\(^{19}\) Ch'en Tso-lin.

Is it not obvious that the rich merchants would not risk carrying
on trade on the territory occupied by the rebels? The only merchants who are there are the small, pitiful ones who cannot restrain themselves and for the sake of seeking a small profit risk their lives to trade. People who happen to be at the points where they gather the tax say that the rebels do not follow any established rules when levying duty. The goods which are carried are divided into two categories - coarse merchandise and delicate merchandise. For each chang of boat the rebels levy a thousand of ch'ien. If the boat is loaded with the coarse merchandise then the duty is two thousand ch'ien for each chang. If it's loaded with fine merchandise then the rate is four thousand ch'ien for each chang. Generally coarse merchandise is salt, cotton cloth, raw cotton and rice. Fine merchandise is silk cloth, and silk thread. After the duty is levied the owner of the merchandise receives a certificate which protects him from robbery by the rebels. According to the statements of Chen Tso-lin's son, formerly at the Chu-chiang point for gathering duty, the total collection of duties for a month constituted not more than several thousand ch'ien. This money was collected from small traders whose area of activity did not exceed a few tens of li. The merchant ships fully loaded with merchandise have never been seen by the author. If we rely on this information the total collection of duty in Lung-chiang gate is also small. It is clear that the duty collected is practically insignificant. But, the trade brings them considerable profit because very often they sell in the villages, through their agents, stolen goods. After plundering, a great amount of goods and valuables which are useless to the rebels are brought to the large centres of population where three or five of their agents organize sales and sell all at half the usual price. The peasants, at first,
are fearful of buying but then, seeing that there is nothing else, one after another buy up everything, either for cash or produce. Within a few days everything is sold. All the rebels have to do is load their boats with the money and produce received and take it to the old den of the rebels. The main items of goods are salt from the regions of Huei, and cloth from Hupeh. The salt is brought for sale to Hsing-kuo, Chi and Huang. The cloth and cotton stolen in Hupeh are sold to the people of Anhwei and the people south of the Yangtze. All these goods the rebels get by means of plunder without spending capital. Therefore, the trade, together with contributions, plunder and levying of duty, brings them a large income. Trade is usually conducted in the places where they appoint village chiefs. If it is conducted in the newly-captured regions the rebels carefully watch who buys what in order to ascertain how much property various families possess. After this, within a few days a band of rebels break into their houses and strip them of everything including the goods which they sold to them. In this way the rebels used trade as a lure, and stupid people, attracted by profit, fall for this.

Note: This section was compiled on information from Shih Yu-kuei, Kung Tsu-hsiang, Chao Hsing, Wang Yu-mou and the son of Chen Tso-len, Chen Chin.

Rationing

The source of supplies for the rebels was described above. As to the rationing, it constitutes an item in their expense. Thus, the rebels possess four or five ways to make income and only rationing constitutes an expense. Isn't this the reason why they do not have to worry about a shortage of their material resources? All the officials among the rebels, even if they have titles of wang or hou, do not receive a set
salary. But they have a certain ration for meat and other kinds of supplies. For instance, the Heavenly King receives daily ten chin of meat and his officials receive less, depending on their rank. Thus, a tsung-chih receives only half a chin of meat and others who are lower in their official capacity receive nothing. All clothing and foodstuffs are received by the officials from the commissariat; the same is practised in the army. When the rebels have plenty of stolen goods, they spend lavishly and when there are few they willingly live frugally. Their senior officials, all have private stores hidden; sufficient for the satisfaction of their needs. As to low officials, they have to eat rough food and sometimes have to be satisfied with only salt-water.

Each Sunday the officials receive from the commissariat their supplies intended for the sacrifices to the Heavenly Father. The man in charge of the commissariat, taking into consideration the official position of the receiver, issues the supplies either by full baskets or small portions. The set norms are established for the issuance of money, grain, oil and salt which are given by the week. Each official and commander receives one hundred ch'ien, the privates half that amount. For every twenty-five soldiers there is issued two hundred chin of rice and seven chin of salt. This limit is not increased even when they have an excess of stolen goods. If the stores are depleted, then half of the normal amount is given or nothing at all. For instance, during the famine in Chiangning, everybody ate gruel and in Yangchow leather bags were even cooked. At that time no money or rice and salt was issued. Also practised among the rebels is the issuing of money for the purchase of vegetables. The amount greatly depends on the
commanders. For instance, *tsung-chih* and the *chien-chün*, acquiring gold and silver, can spend a considerable amount of it on vegetables for their subordinates. One refugee reported that he saw himself one *tsu-chang* who commanded a hundred soldiers receiving every month from his superior from one to two *liang* of gold and several tens of *liang* silver and the entire amount was spent to buy chickens and pigs for his subordinates. Also, from one of the documents captured from the rebels one *lu-shuai* requested his commander, the *tsung-chih*, to issue money to buy vegetables and he was issued five *liang* of silver. Each man received seven *wen* a day. This was insufficient even to buy vegetables. Therefore, the soldiers were forced to ask their commanders for additional sums.

Note: This section was compiled on information given by T'an En-pu, Yuan Chiung, Chou Kuan-shuo, Kang Tung-hsü and Lan Wên-yu.

**Stores**

In April and May of 1854, when Wuch'ang was occupied by the rebels, captured agents and refugees were interrogated. These people or most of them arrived with their leaders from Chiangning at Hankow in February and March of the same year. Among them were officials of supply and "holy treasuries", clerks and accountants. Therefore, the information given by them about the situation in the supply depots of the rebels is completely true. They advised that there are three types of "holy treasuries" - the main depots, the loading depots and the storehouses for keeping grain and valuables taken as contributions. These storehouses contain as of February 1854, 1,270,000 *tan* of grain and 750,000 *tan* of rice. The monthly ration of grain issued in Chiangning was equal to more than 300,00 *tan*. Therefore, the existing supplies
of grain and rice are sufficient for four months. In the "holy storehouses" for February of 1854 there were 2,630,000 liang of silver, 1,250,000 liang of silver ornaments, more than 184,700 liang of copper ingots and ornaments and 3,355,000 strings of copper cash. Each month 200,000 strings of cash are issued for expenses. The exact amount of oil, salt, silk and cotton cloth stores in the storehouses is unknown.

At first, the authenticity of this information was under question but we wrote it down for further investigation. From the district of Chülyung the information reached us that in April 1854 there was no more than one hundred thousand shih of grain and not more than 300,000 liang of silver left to the rebels. This information differed considerably from the previous information and this made us think about the reason for such disparity. It seems that the total number of rebels and captured people is not less than a few hundred thousand. Let us assume that they are 500,000 altogether. According to the existing norms, each twenty-five persons received 200 chin of grain and 1,250 wen. It means that the amount of dispensed grain for each month should reach more than 170,000 shih and of cash 120,000 strings of wen. If we add that the leaders receive twice as much as the soldiers, then it means that the total of dispensed grain and money doesn't differ greatly from the amount shown by the refugees in their reports. If the provisions of the rebels would not be sufficient even for a month, as we are informed by our spies, why did they issue an order to use gruel instead of rice in June and not before? Is it possible to correctly estimate the amount of exactions which the rebels gather into their storehouses from the captured territories? The information received previously cannot be untrue if we take into consideration that the rebellion has covered a large territory
and the number of rebels and suffering population is great. The government forces hate the rebels intensely and therefore in their reports there are many instances in which the strength of the rebel side is underestimated and the amount of provisions is reported as being depleted. This information is not reliable and does not have real substance.

Note: This section is compiled on information received from Kang Tung-hsü, Lan Wan-yu, and Ch'eng Feng-huang.
NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. This is a translation of Chapter 10 of Chang Te'Chien's Tsei-ch'ing hui-tsuan (A Classified Compilation of Information on the Rebels). There is a partial translation into Russian in Taipinskoye Vosstanie. This has been consulted but, included also in the present translation are those parts not found in the Russian version. For a description and brief summary of the work from which this chapter is taken, see below Bibliographical notes.

2. Analects of Confucius.

3. Great Learning. One of the Classics produced by the Confucian school.


5. Hsiao He. A close associate of Liu Pang, the founder of the Han Dynasty. During the struggle between Hsiang Yu and Liu Pang, Hsiao He defended the passes (see below note 6) and died during the reign of Emperor Hui (r. 194-187 B.C.).

6. Area in present-day Shensi defended by four passes. The seat of power during the Ch'in and early Han Dynasties.


8. Area in Hupeh.

9. Tsang Hung. Was appointed governor of Ching Chou (see below note 10) and defended it against Ts'ao Ts'ao.

10. Area in eastern Shangtung.

11. Chang Hs unh. Fought against An Lu-shan during the rebellion (756-762).

12. In Honan.

13. Voluntary military units organized by local gentry and used in the suppression of the rebellion and in maintaining the status quo.

14. The system of titles and official ranks adopted by the Taipings was very complicated. It was partly taken from antiquity and partly originated by the Taipings themselves. On the highest level of the hierarchy stood the wang (kings) headed by the T'ien Wang (Heavenly King) who was the head of state with
unlimited powers. After the death of Hung Hsiu-ch'üan the title T'ien Wang was taken by his son who was executed by Ch'ing authorities in Nov. 1864. The number of persons having the title wang at the beginning of the rebellion was strictly limited. In Nov. 1851 Hung Hsiu-ch'üan gave the titles Tung Wang (Eastern King) to Yang Hsiu-ch'ing, Hsi Wang (Western King) to Hsiao Ch'ao-kuei, Nan Wang (Southern King) to Feng Yun-shan, Pei Wang (Northern King) to Wei Ch'ang-hui and I Wang (Assistant King) to Shih Ta-k'ai.

15. See above note 14.
16. Ibid.
17. Hung Hsiu-ch'üan.
18. See above "Land System".
19. Ibid.
The problem of the agrarian policy of the Taipings has received little attention from scholars. This neglect may be partly explained by the lack of relevant documentation. Until comparatively recent times the only document known was the "Land System" itself which was issued by the Taiping authorities in 1853 and which contained not only the organization of society but also, very prominently, the agrarian program envisaged. This program has been generally neglected altogether or misunderstood by most historians. The view prevalent among earlier Chinese and Soviet historians was that the Taipings confiscated the land from the landlords, divided it among the peasants but later, for various reason were forced to abandon this policy before its completion.

Since the establishment of the Peoples' Republic in 1949 and as a result of the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the beginning of the Taiping rebellion, the gathering of material pertinent to the history of the rebellion has taken on new dimensions and has been conducted on a large scale. This work was accompanied by great difficulties because the Ch'ing dynasty, trying to obliterate the memory of this rebellion, destroyed much that was created by the Taipings. Nevertheless, in China as well as abroad, a considerable number of
Taiping documents were preserved. Consequently, many previously unknown documents relating to various political, social and cultural aspects of life in the Taiping state have come to light. These have become the object of intensive research and examination by numerous Chinese and Soviet scholars who approach the subject from the position of Marxian methodology. During the past fifteen years many new works such as articles, monographs and compendia have been published which, on close scrutiny, leave one with the impression that there is no general agreement among historians on the implementation and results of the agrarian policy. This prompts the question: what really was the agrarian policy of the Taipings and was it actually put into practice?

One of the earliest modern investigations of this central problem was undertaken by Lo Erh-kang 羅爾綱. In his discussion Lo is of the opinion that the ideological sources of the "Land System" stem from the Christian ideas of equality and common ownership, as well as from the Confucian teaching Ta Tung (Great Unity). They are also based on the Chou Li and the teachings of Mencius. The "Land System" reveals the Taiping ideological and political concept of society. The political line of the leaders of the movement towards the peasants was expressed in its main part (the agrarian program) in which state ownership and equitable division of land were proclaimed. Land reform constituted the principal goal of the Taiping leaders in the area of economics. The land was declared the property of the Heavenly King. From the teachings of the Confucian utopians they derived the system of dividing the land into nine categories according to the size of the family. From the same source was taken the
pattern of organization of society itself. The Taipings were in effect trying to create a communistic peasant society.

Lo also concludes that the system of common land ownership was not implemented from the beginning. He says that some authors who studied the agrarian relationships at the end of the nineteenth century noticed in the province of Kiangsu after the fall of the Taiping state a sharp disparity between land owned by individuals in the areas north and south of the Yangtze River. South of the Yangtze the land belonged to the peasants; there were no large landowners. In the north, as before, the land still belonged to the large landowners because the territory in the south was for a number of years part of the Taiping state, the conclusion of some observers was that it was on this territory that the Taipings followed the "Land System", the result of which was the transference of the land to the peasants. Lo Erh-kang shows that such an explanation has no basis. In fact the territory to the south of the river was an area of continuous military action between the Taiping and government forces and thus was subjected to terrible devastation. Most of the population had fled and the land lay empty for years. After the defeat of the rebellion the questions of resettlement and reclamation of these lands arose. In 1865 a special commission was established for the reclamation of lands in this region and a limited time was allowed during which the former owners could put forward their claims. When the time had elapsed the rights of ownership were given to those who were willing to work the land. Also, many landlords sold their lands cheaply because there was no one to work them. It was to these conditions and not to the implementation of the Taiping "Land System" that Lo attributes the disappearance of large landholdings in the area. The same situation existed in many other regions which had
suffered from military action.

In his analysis of the agrarian measures taken in some areas of Anhwei from 1854 to 60, Lo Erh-kang shows that here the Taipings did not put into effect the system of common ownership of land but openly recognised the existence of large landowners. In some regions the Taipings adopted the principle "ching che yu ch'i t'ien" (the tiller has his own field). Lo Erh-kang gives evidence from sources which show that the peasants of the villages close to Nanking, the capital of the Taiping state, did not pay rent for their land to the landlord but only paid taxes into the state treasury. The land which the peasant worked in fact became his personal property. According to some sources, toward the end of the rebellion, the Taipings freed the peasants of some areas of the province of Kiangsu from paying rent to the landlords. However, this was a result of the policy of "ching che yu ch'i t'ien" and not of the implementation of the system of common land ownership as stated in the "Land System".

Therefore, according to Lo Erh-kang the "Land System" was only a tentative program of agrarian reforms according to which the complete redistribution of land was to be carried out. It was impossible to realize these measures under the existing conditions of war. He further states:

... in order to allay the forces of reaction the Taipings were forced to put off realization of the great revolutionary reform to the period after victory was achieved.4

Mau An-shih 安世 5 follows the view that during the early stages of the rebellion the principle of "ching che yu ch'i t'ien" was carried out on lands abandoned by the landlords. During the
later period of rebellion changes in the agrarian policy occurred. The Taiping authorities began to defend the rights of the landlords and, except for those villages from which the landlords had fled, the rule "ching che yu chi t'ien" was not enforced.

Historians Lung Sheng-yun 龙盛运 and Wu Yen-nan 吴雁南 argue that the agrarian policy of the Taipings did not undergo any basic changes at different stages of the revolution and that the Taipings did not abolish private land ownership although they declared their intention of doing so. They consider that documents like certificates of land ownership were proof of the right of ownership of land which were given to the landlord for the protection of his rights and not to the peasants. Therefore, the principle "ching che yu chi t'ien" was not practised; the landlords continued to exist and as before received rents.

Another point of view is raised by Tai I 戴逸 who notes that the "Land System" above all was a demand for the division of land and a protest against the existing agrarian situation in mid-nineteenth century China. He maintains that on the whole the land reforms under such conditions were not realized nor could they have been. Nevertheless, in some areas the land passed into the hands of the peasants who were not paying land rent. In places where the impact of the revolution was not strong the Taiping army retained the right of the landlord to collect his rent.

A number of articles, which dealt with the value of the program documents of the Taiping state and which included an evaluation of the "Land System", were collected and published in 1961 under the title Collected Articles on the Debate Over the Nature of the Taiping Rebellion.
In this Kuo I-sheng 郭毅生 characterizes the "Land System" as agrarian, bourgeois in its nature and directed against landlord agriculture. He notes only the revolutionary and "progressive" qualities of the program. Historians Chin Chung-chi 金沖及 and Hu Sheng-wu 胡繩武 disagree with this. They contend that the "Land System" was directed not only against feudal ownership of land, but generally against any kind of private ownership. The authors of the "Land System" wanted the establishment of the kind of society in which land and all other property would be under common ownership. This would have been based on small peasant economies founded on personal work. In this, they say, lay the utopian ideals of the "Land System" which represented in itself the ideas of peasant socialism. Therefore, they conclude, that it cannot be said that this was a revolutionary program of the peasants, but that it was, in fact, revolutionary and reactionary. It was revolutionary in its complete negation of feudal ownership of land and reactionary in its desire to realise the equitable use of land, retaining the small peasant economies. This, according to the authors, hindered the development of capitalism in China.

Yuan Ting-chung 袁廷中 shares the opinion that the "Land System" contained reactionary elements and backwardness and criticizes Kuo I-shen for stressing the progressive aspects of the document. In the "Land System", he maintains, were reflected the ideas of equality which raised and sustained the revolutionary enthusiasm of the peasants. Of course, they did not question what influence their ideas of equality may have had on the development of the future society had it been realized. However, the equitable distribution
of land would have cleared the way for the development of capitalism.

Li Ch'un begins his investigation with an analysis of the economic views of the leaders of the rebellion referring first of all to the land program of the Taipings. He shows that the ideas of the liquidation of the feudal system of agriculture and of doing away with private ownership generally began to form in the thoughts of Taiping leaders slowly. In the documents of the early period of the rebellion there was nothing about the reform of private ownership or its abolition. The situation changed only after the occupation of Nanking. In the rules for the population, which were published in 1853 when it had already been declared the capital, the abolition of taxes was foreseen. The land was declared the property of the Heavenly King to whom all produce was supposed to be turned over. The population was to receive supplies from the treasury according to certain norms. These documents contain, although not very clearly, the developed idea of the liquidation of the system of private ownership. In the rules, all private ownership, including the property and capital of merchants, was declared public property. The next stage in the development of the economic program, thus argues Li Ch'un, was the "Land System" of the Heavenly Dynasty.

Li Ch'un opposes those who think that the "Land System" abolished all land ownership, both feudal and personal. He argues that if the land had been given into ownership of society the peasantry would have only had the right to use it; after the first division of land new dates for re-distribution in connection with the increase or reduction of land due to a person would have had to be determined. However, there is nothing about this in the document. Therefore,
Li Ch'um supposes that the land, after the initial distribution, was given to the peasants forever and feudal ownership in this way was replaced by peasant ownership. He rejects the opinions of those who base their conclusion of public ownership on the statement contained in the "Land System": ". . . all lands under Heaven shall be worked by all the people under Heaven. . .". Li Ch'um asserts that this means only the abrogation of feudal ownership but does not mean the establishment of public ownership.

In her investigation of the agrarian policy Soviet historian N.A. Karaleva shares the opinion of some Chinese historians that, after the publication of the "Land System", the policy of transferring the land to the peasants was followed. However, later, because of objective reasons inherent in all peasant revolts, this program of the equitable division of land and produce was not carried out systematically nor to the end. The inability of the Taipings to effectively organize the supplies necessary for armies engaged in constant warfare resulted in a situation in which the Taipings were forced to return to the former system of taxation in accordance with the size of the land and amount of harvest instead of depositing all supplies in the "holy treasuries" to be divided equally. During the later stages of Taiping rule the old form of feudal exploitation came to be revived; landowners existed and collected rents from the peasants.

Another Soviet historian, V. P. Iliushechkin writes that, in the early period of the rebellion from 1850 until the taking of Nanking in 1853, the Taipings did not have any definite agrarian program nor the administrative means to carry one out. According to Iliushechkin it is not clear whether publication of the "Land System"
in 1853 forecast the transfer of land into private ownership or simply the use of the land by the peasants. The idea of equitable partition of land was progressive and revolutionary in the conditions prevailing in mid-nineteenth century China. Unrealistic was the idea of the peasants turning over to the state any produce over and above what they needed for their own use as a substitution for taxation. This, contends Iliushechkin, certainly would not have stimulated productivity.

Iliushechkin further suggests that the "Land System", reflecting the desire to create a new social order based on the equality and well-being of all, differed little in its concept from the peasant utopias of the European Middle Ages. Although the Taipings were unable to put an end to the system of agriculture by dividing the land among the peasants, they still "... dealt a crushing blow to the system of feudal exploitation." But, continues the author, in the last years of the rebellion the Taipings, in some regions, were acting contrary to the rights of the peasants and were supporting the rights of the landlord ownership in forcing the tenant farmers to pay rent. This led to the isolation of the leadership of the rebellion from the masses of peasantry and in some areas the peasants refused support. This, undoubtedly, had a negative effect on the rebellion, accelerating its eventual suppression by the joint Manchu-foreign forces.

From this brief survey of the opinions of some Chinese and Soviet historians one may conclude that there is very little common agreement among them on the vital question of the agrarian policy of the Taipings as it was actually implemented. However, there is one area of agree-
ment. Almost all agree that the "Land System" announced the principle of equitable distribution of land among the peasantry, but for various reasons this was not carried out to its fullest application.
NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. See above "Land System".


12. Ibid. p. 105.
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ABBREVIATIONS

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<td>TPTK</td>
<td>T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo</td>
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<td>TV</td>
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APPENDIXES
At that time Hsin Chou prefecture included the four districts of Kueip'ing, Kueihsien, P'ingnan and Wuhsian. Kueip'ing was the prefectural capital. These districts were located in southeast Kwanghsi. Kueip'ing, Kueihsien and P'ingnan were situated along the Taho (Hsi River) and Wuhsian was on the River Liu. All were directly accessible by water from Kwangchou (Canton) and Hongkong. Thus, they were exposed early to the influence of foreign capitalists. Already, more than one hundred years earlier, great quantities of foreign capitalist merchandise had flooded the interior and was being dumped on every market. Local merchant capital was comparatively well-developed. The people also suffered relatively more cruel exploitation by it [local capital]. For instance, Ch'ang Ssu-t'ing, a seventy-eight year old man from the Panlung section of Anch'ung village in the district of Kueip'ing, said: "At that time there was already a great number of merchants from Kwangtung trading in Hongkong. Cotton goods from Canton reached Tayu, Nanlu, Hsinyu, Ssuwang and Kuants'un for sale. Trading methods were set up governing credit selling and payment in grain. When goods were acquired on credit, prices were raised. When payment was made, again a high rate of interest was calculated - in the process as much as a ten-fold profit was made." The cruelty of merchant capital's exploitation in those days may be seen from this.

Following the development of merchant capital, usury capital stretched its exploiting evil claws among the peasants. According to our investigations, at the time Tayu, Nanlu, Hsinyu, Mengyu, Chiangkou,
Kuants'un and Ssuwang and other places all had two pawnshops. All were opened by Kwangtung people. Local people operated small pawnshops and unlicensed pawnshops in the villages were also numerous. For instance, in Muhyin village in Kueip'ing, eighty-year old Chen Te-liu said: "Originally the landlord Chu Yuan-chen received only forty or fifty thousand chin of grain as rent. After taking up the mortgage business his rent increased to eighty or ninety thousand chin." The Lo and Lin families of Kueihsien had pawnshops in every market place in all the districts and by operating pawnshop businesses accumulated capital in excess of two million liang and became known as the district's richest men.

Their methods of exploitation were many. The average interest on borrowing was thirty percent, even, in some instances, forty or fifty percent. Borrowed grain and overdue rent were returned at the rate of one and one-half tan for one tan. Interest varied according to the prosperity or depression of the season and the length of time [of the loan]. For instance, sixty-two year old Liao Chia-chung of Ssuwangyü in the district of P'ingnan said: "If one borrowed one tan in the third or fourth month by the sixth month one had to return one and one-half tan. Most [of the creditors] wanted 1.8 tan. Interest on paying borrowed money with grain was heavier. For example, if the value of each hundred chin was two liang of silver then for each liang of silver borrowed one tan of grain had to be returned." Chang Yuan-min of Ssuwang-yü in P'ingnan said: "There was a saying in the villages: 'For the anxious [creditor] one tan becomes one tan and six. For the patient [creditor] one tan becomes two whole tan'". This was typical of the general lending conditions.
Besides this, there were other forms of lending known as fang-hua 盤花 and mai-ch'ing liu-t'u 買青留土. Between sowing and reaping the peasants had to lower their prices in selling their produce earlier. This was known as fang-hua. Mai-ch'ing liu-t'u was when the peasants nominally sold the trees on their own land in borrowing money from the capitalists and landlords. After waiting for a number of years the buyer than felled the trees. This is to say that the capitalists and landlords not only took possession of the trees but also used the peasant's own land for the trees to mature. By these means they gained even greater profits. This was the most cruel method of usurious exploitation. For a long time the peasants were subjected to heavy exploitation and they progressively sank into poverty and starvation. It is not difficult to imagine.

As a result of the expansion of merchant capital and usury capital, the disintegration of the feudal economy was accelerated, stimulating the inner struggle of the landlord class. Part of the trading and usurious capital was also invested in land. This brought about the alliance of merchant capital, usury capital and feudalism. They carried out the plunder of the land. For instance, eighty year old Chang Tsu-ming from the village of Tayl in the district of Kueihsien said: "Tayl had existed since the reign of Ch'ien-lung. The first merchants to reach Tayl were the Cheng family from Kwangtung. At that time half the street belonged to them. Later the land around Tayl gradually became theirs." Wan A-hsing, a sixty-seven year old man from the Wangyang area of Changling village in Kueihsien district, said: "In the village of Changku the landlords Ch'iu and Wen were the wealthiest. They both competed with each other in buying land. Wen
bought from Chiao-tzuling west to Talochiung and Tungp'otsun. Chiu bought toward the east as far as Hotsun and Liut'ang. The landlord Liang of the Chuan people was also buying greedily. It was rumoured about the struggle between locals and outsiders in Kueihsien. But it was the landlords from Hotsun and Liut'ang who instigated them [the rumours]. Eighty-one year old Tseng T'ing-chi from the village of Hualui in the district of Kueip'ing said: "At that time the Ts'eng family from Tach'ung bought from the Lo family of Lup'an a field capable of producing one hundred thirty tan of grain. A relative named Chang Ching-ssu of the landlord Wang Tso-hsin, of the village of Shihkou, greedily competed in buying [land]. Because of this a litigation ensured, A long-lasting enmity developed between the Wang and Ts'eng families and there was no inter-marriage. (After the liberation they were still not marrying into each other's families). And sixty-one year old Lei Ying-ch'u from the village of Hualui said: "At that time the Lei family and the Wang family of Shihkou village forcibly competed in buying land in Huangnit'ang. The litigation lasted several decades. It reached the point where the Lei family no longer had any money and, unable to do anything about the fact that Wang had money and position, they lost the litigation."

At that time in Kueihsien, Kueip'ing and P'ingnan districts, land was normally concentrated in the hands of a few. Wan An-hsing from Kueihsien said: "At that time, on land owned by landlords, the Wen family received more than 1300 tan of rent, the Chiu family received more than 1000 tan rent and the Liang family also received 500-600 tan rent. Together they owned sixty percent of all ploughed land in the
districts." Chou Lao-po (Chuan) a seventy-seven year old man from Taikai village in the district of Kueihsien said: "All the land upwards for three li on Lungshan, for the most part, was in the hands of the Ch'eng, Liu and Huang families. We, the simple peasants, always ploughed and planted their fields."

Chang Erh-ti, a seventy-nine year old man from Paishayü in the district of Kueip'ing said: "The lands around Paisha earlier belonged to the Chen family of Mantang. Later on when they were drying the deed to the land in the sun, the daughter, not knowing that it was the deed, used it to wrap sweet rice cakes and took it to the home of her husband's grandparents. In this way it fell into the hands of the son-in-law named Li. So they [Chen Family] gave a portion of the land to the Li family." Fu Hsiu-wen, an eighty-one year old man from the village of Mots'ün in Kueip'ing district, said: "At that time, among the landlords around Hsinyü district in P'anlung village, the Ch'ang family received rent of more than 800,000 chin, the Ling family of Anch'ung received rent of more than 900,000 chin and the Ch'en family of Chuwei received rent of 800-900 thousand chin. It was said that the Lo family of P'anhsia had a fortune of one million. Eight-tenths of all the land in the area was owned by them. "Lan Te-kuang, a seventy-three year old Chuan from the Chunying part of Hsiangchüin village in the district of Kueip'ing said: "The landlord Wen of Sanchiangyü had the most money. He received more than 1,600,000 chin in rent. To the capital he reported more than one million. Wang An-yao and Liu An-chang of Mengchang each had nearly one million chin in rent. The Ts'eng family of Tachung and the Lei family of Hualei also each had
several hundred thousands in rent." "Yang T'ien-yang, an eighty-two year old man from Ssuwang in the district of P'ingnan, said: "Chang Chih-yao north of the river and Man Kuo-ch'iu south of the river could be described as P'ingnan's wealthiest men. The reason simply was that the land north and south of the river was owned by them." Kuo Shouchi, a sixty-seven year old man from Ssuwangyu in the district of P'ingnan said: "The Tai family of Kaot'ien and the Lu family of Kut'ang received each about one million chin in rent. The Yuan, Lu and P'an families of Ch'outs'un each had several hundred thousand chin in rent. The P'an family once bragged that their wealth was like the waters of T'ungkut'an Lake. If the waters of T'ungkut'an were to dry up their family wealth would be finished. They compared their own wealth to the waters of the lake in order to brag about it."

Chen Yulan-kuan, a seventy-six year old man from T'ientung village of Loshou in the district of P'ingnan, said: "In the thirteenth district of Huachou the landlord Weng Ma-i was the wealthiest. He had fields of more than 100 square li. Next to him were Lo-te-hsiang, Ts'eng Ta-feng, Hu Chi-Ts'ai of Tanmu village and Wei She-kung of the Tungwang village who also each had two to three hundred thousand chin in rent." Chu Yulan-ho, an eighty year old man from the village of Kuan in the district of P'ingnan, said: "The lands of the landlord Lo of Kuants'un were originally taken forcibly through the prestige of the retired Ming hsia-yun general, Lo Tsu-ch'un [a Lo ancestor]. All the land for more than ten li around was his." Liang Hu-ts'ai, of the Lowents'un of the district of P'ingnan, said: "The land of the landlord Liu of Huachou was forcibly acquired by [his ancestor] the retired ming chung-hsien
official, Lu Yuan-ying, by moving property lines onto public lands."
T'an-tang, of P'anhsiats'un in the district of Kueip'ing, also at the
end of Ming and the beginning Ch'ing, was forcibly acquired from the
Yao minority people." Such land-grabbing conditions, together with
the encroachment and plundering by wealthy merchants and landlords,
naturally forced a lot of peasants to lose their land and they daily
advanced farther along the road to poverty.

As the land became more concentrated [in the hands of the
landlord], and as the number of peasants who lost their land increased
daily the peasants' demand for land became more and more urgent. Therefore, the landlords and wealthy merchants who were in control of large areas of land, by means of this carried out cruel rent exploitation of the peasants who depended on the land for a living.

The rent situation of the time was, in most cases, "100 seeds,
1000 rent." (That is to say, for land that required 100 chin of seeds,
1000 chin of rent was collected.) In other cases, for land requiring
100 chin of seed, 1500 or 1600 chin rent was collected. The highest [rent] was 2000 chin for 100 chin of seed. For instance, sixty-nine
year old Lan Pao-hua of the Chuan minority of the village of Hsiangch'un
in Kueip'ing district said: "In the village of Sanchiang land was
scarce and the people many. Generally, the rent for an area which
required 100 chin of seed was 1500 to 1600 chin; or, in some cases
2000 chin rent was collected. In the village of Ssuwang, in most
cases, the rent was 2000 chin for land that required 100 chin." Chang
Tzu-ming of Kueihsien said: "For double-cropping land which produced
300 chin of harvest from 10 chin of seed, the land rent in Tayü was
1500 chin for 100 chin planted. For a harvest of 500 chin [from 10 chin of seed] the rent was 2000 chin for 100 chin planted."

Eighty year old Liao San-po (of the Chuan minority) of Ch'ishihyü of Kueihsien said: "Around the area of Ch'ishih the rent for one mou of land was three and one-half tan. That is to say, 200 chin of rent for 100 chin planted."

Ch'uan Hsiu-wen of Kueip'ing said: "The land rent around the area of Tahslian was 1000 chin for 100 chin planted. On good land, in some cases, 1000 chin rent could be collected for 80 chin planted and, in other cases, even 2000 chin collected for 100 planted. Later on, in addition to the land rent there was a security bond of one piece of silver for ordinary land planting 100 chin. For rich land the security bond was two pieces of silver. This was introduced first by the landlord Ying Ching-ch'i of Mots'un. From then on landlords of other areas followed his example."

Eighty year old Chu Yüan-ho of the village of Kuan in P'ingnan district said: "It was really difficult for the peasants to cultivate the fields of the landlords. Besides paying rent they had to do hard labour without wages for the landlord. When the landlord came to collect rent they had to entertain him. For the New Year and other festive occasions they had to send presents. All told, with these miscellaneous expenses and the cost of seed, fertilizer and labour, and the repairing of implements, cultivating fields was a losing proposition. All year long, they worked hard without having a single full meal; of course, a poor year need not be mentioned. Generally, very few peasants could pay the rent. Usually, they owed
the landlord some money. Once the debt was owed it became difficult to repay it until finally they had to sell their children and consequently families broke up and eventually perished." Seventy year old Huang Hsiang-chih of Shachingts'um of Tayü in Kueihsien district, said: "When the tax collectors came to collect taxes, peasants who could not pay had no alternative except to run away."

Peasants, who had suffered for a long time exploitation under feudal landlords, had long since sunk into poverty and famine. On top of that, there was the exorbitant exploitation by trading capital and usurious capital. Also, because of the huge indemnity after the Opium War which gave rise to the Ch'ing Dynasty's heavy tributes and miscellaneous taxation on the people, the peasants either lost their land or were on the brink of death. The misery of their existence need not be mentioned. Therefore, when the T'ai-p'ing revolution first started there was a slogan: "Land in Lient'ang and Chiaot'ang can be cultivated by all. Death to the people of Shihtouchiao". This meant that all the landlords in Shihtouchiao should be put to death, and the land, which provided more than one million chin rent in Lient'ang and Chiaot'ang belonging to absentee Shihtouchiao landlords, was to be distributed to all for cultivation. This reflected the urgency of the peasants' demand for land at the time and the degree of their hatred for the landlord class.

In addition to the exploitation of the landlord class, there were natural calamities. According to the records of "Hsin Chou-fu Chih": 'In the year of Keng-yin (Tao-kuang Tenth Year) fourth month, [April 1833] there was a great drought. Kuei-ssu (Tao-kuang Thirteenth Year) fifth month, [June 1833] there was a locust plague. Chia-wu
(Tao-kuang Fourteenth Year) Fifth month, [June 1834] there were locusts and floods; seventh month, in the villages of Tahsuan (Hsinyi!), waters from the three rivers of P'enghua, Tzuching, Wuchih overran their banks on the same day and there were three feet of flood water on the plain. The year was very lean. Keng-tzu (Tao-kuang Twentieth Year) Sixth month, [June 1840] in Hsin-chou there was a great drought. Wu-shen (Tao kuang Twenty-eighth Year) from the eighth to the twelfth month August to December 1848] there was again a great drought. The inhabitants of Hsuan village butchered people and sold them as food in the market. Also, in Hsuannerh village, a certain person took his neighbour to gather firewood in the mountains and killed the latter with his axe, smoked his flesh and sold it in the market. Again, according to eighty-eight year old Yu Chao-yun of Liwang village in the district of Kueip'ing: "In the year of Jen-yin there was drought and flood. The price of rice went sky high. The famine was disastrous." We can see that the peasants who had already suffered exploitation fully on the one hand and years of disaster on the other, sank into an inhuman existence.

At the time, strange phenomena occurred. The Ch'ing ruling class became so accustomed to the suffering of the peasants, that they ignored it. This can be imagined. But the Ch'ing ruling class would at this time indulge in great construction and in repairing and building temples! According to the record "Hsin Chou-fu Chih", in the fifteenth year of Tao-kuang [1835] they built the Fu-po Temple in P'ingnan. In the winter of the sixteenth year [1836] they built in Hsinchou the ancestor temple of Pa-kung and the temple to General Liu-meng. In the autumn of the seventeenth year, [1837] they built the
temple of Wen-chang in Hsinchou; in the summer of the twentieth year they renovated the temple of the God of Fire in Hsinchou. In the autumn of the twenty-second year [1842] they built Wen-chang Temple in P'ingnan and renovated the temple of the God of the Underworld. In the winter of the twenty-third year [1843] they built the San-yuan Temple in P'ingnan and in the twenty-seventh year [1847] renovated the temple of the God of the Underworld in Kueihsien. For years in constructing and renovating they squandered over 20,000 in gold. What does this tell us? This tells us that the feudal rule of that time had already become shaky and the peasants had risen to resist. The reactionary ruling class wanted to use the poison of religion to stupefy the people and hoped for the help of the power of the spirits. But, the expense of indulging in construction inevitably fell on the shoulders of the peasants. This deepened one more degree the exploitation of the peasants. Under such circumstances, peasants forced by the realities of life for the sake of their own survival had no alternative but to rebel. Therefore, the intensification of the struggle under such circumstances was an inevitable result.

At that time, a part of the landlord class, because of their desire to fulfill their aim to strengthen themselves and suppress the common people used the feudal relationship to create dissension and strife among different clans and instigated what is known as "the struggle between natives and outsiders" in order to divert the peasants away from the target of their rebellion. According to eighty-two year old Liao-kung Shih-ssu (of the Chuan minority) of P'ingssu village of Takai in the district of Kueihsien, said: "At that time, the struggle
between natives and outsiders was very intense. Whenever they saw an outsider they would chase him away. In a certain village there was an outsider who stayed behind after all the rest of his people had run away. He was finally chased by the natives for nineteen li, caught and killed. Originally, in the three villages of the Upper, Middle and Lower Lungshan, there had been many outsiders living there, but now, only in four or five places such as Nalien, Nalian, Nap'ang are outsiders still living. In other villages there is not a single outsider. All of them were driven away at that time."

Wan A-hsing said: "The struggle between natives and outsiders around the area of TayU was caused by the hatred that was incurred by the competition between the outsider landlord of Hochuan in Liut'ang and the native landlord of the Chuan minority and later on, was caused by further struggles over acquiring women in marriage. At the time the outsiders in the vicinity of TayU were all driven out by the natives. My grandfather and the Chuan people in the neighbourhood got along with each other. They said that my grandfather didn't have to move away. My grandfather said to them: 'Everywhere [in this area] the natives are driving away the outsiders. You can't possibly protect me.' Finally he moved to Ch'iaoyU for a period of time."

Little did anyone expect that the result of this native-outsiders struggle, contrived by the landlord class to divert the peasants from the target of their resistance, was to create an advantageous condition for the peasant revolution at that time. As the displaced peasants, deprived of means of livelihood, had no other
choice but to go to other districts and participate in the revolution there. Written sources gives us an outstanding example of this in the record pertaining to the outsiders from the Lungshan area of Kueihsien who, as a result of losing out in the "struggle between natives and outsiders", turned to taking part in the T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo uprising.

From the above list of facts we can see that the invasion of foreign capitalism while stimulating the development of China's city-village trade economy, on the one hand, quickened the bankruptcy of the feudal economy, and the landlord class, on the verge of bankruptcy, further intensifying the exploitation of the peasant masses and accelerating the peasants daily along the road to poverty and starvation. On the other hand, the newly-established city-village merchant capital and usury capital also ruthlessly sucked the blood of the peasants and accelerated the poverty and bankruptcy of the majority of the peasants.

On top of that, there were continual and exorbitant official taxation, corruption and extortion. With these and the blows dealt by natural calamities the peasants really could not live. In order to survive they consciously armed themselves and carried out an intensive struggle against the reactionary ruling class. This was the natural outcome.

Chairman Mao said: "The contradiction between imperialism and the Chinese people and the contradiction between feudalism and the masses were the main contradictions of modern Chinese society . . .
The struggle and intensification of these contradictions inevitably created the continuous development of the revolutionary movement. The Chinese revolutions of recent and present times were produced and developed on the bases of these contradictions." ("Mao Tse-tung hsuan-chih", 1952, Second Edition, p. 625, published by Jen-min ch'u pan she, Peking). From this, it is clear that the great T'ai-p'ing revolutionary movement was also produced and developed from the foundation of such basic contradictions.
NOTES TO APPENDIX 1.

An investigation of the social and political conditions of the period immediately preceding the rebellion presents certain difficulties due to a lack of relevant information. The extant sources are meagre and "spotty". For this reason I considered it necessary and useful to include, in this appendix, a translation of Chapter II of *T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo ch'i-i tiao-ch'a pao-kao* (Reports of Field Investigations on the Uprisings of the Taiping Kingdom). This was compiled by the "Kwangsi Organization for the Investigation of Taiping Culture and History". Because the investigators entered regions which had never before been investigated in connection with the Taiping, the scope of their reports is broader than that of previous efforts.

In 1954 a team of field workers, comprising historians, writers, artists, musicians and others, began its research in the area of Kwangsi, the original site of the rebellion. They moved through the most important places in Chint'ien area, which included Chint'ien village, Tzuching Mountain and the Hsinyü region, interviewing two hundred and ninety-one elderly people supposedly familiar with the circumstances surrounding the uprising. These persons ranged in age from sixty years to over ninety and included mostly poor peasants - Chinese as well as those from the Chuan and Yao minorities.

Although by its very nature this information is neither complete nor conclusive, it does shed some light on the economic and social conditions of the period. However, one must be careful, keeping in mind that tales told by elderly (often illiterate) people who retained
in their memories stories told them by their fathers and grandfathers, participants in and witnesses to the rebellion, probably contain much that is confused and unreliable. Thus, as much of this material is indirect hearsay, it should be viewed cautiously.

Chang was a police official sent out by Tseng Kuo-fan to gather military intelligence about the rebels. The results of this were compiled in *Tsei-ch'ing hui-tsu*an, a general collection of information concerning Taiping military, political and social organization. This work covered events and situations in the period from autumn 1850 until June 1855 and is now included in volume III of *T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo* as one of the most important source books. There are few documents in which the economic policies of the Taipings are so comprehensively outlined. Although the book was written by an official who remained faithful to the Ch'ing dynasty, it includes facts and observations which reveal the support generally given by the common people to the Taipings. Various sections of Chapter 10 (a translation of this chapter is included in the present study) contain detailed material about the policies of contributions and expropriations which were used by the rebels as one of the main means of maintaining their armies. Chang Te-chien says that the rebels received support everywhere and there were no ways in which the sources of supply could be denied them. He goes on further to state that the peasants greeted the rebels everywhere, boycotting the government forces, while the poorer elements joined the rebellion without coercion. Chang blames the inefficiency and corruption of local officials for the reverses suffered by the government side and suggests a few solutions. These include the formation of local militia detachments, the fortification of cities and the "pacification" of the country-
side. He sees in these measures the possibility of cutting off supplies to the rebels. This action would lead, in his opinion, to the end of the rebellion.

Kuo T'ing-i, T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo shih-shih jih-chih (A Day by Day Record of the History of the Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace).

This work is particularly useful for its annotated bibliography although it contains occasional errors.

Li I-ch'en, T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo ko-ming yun-tung shih (A History of the Taiping Revolutionary Movement).

One of the earlier general works on the Taiping rebellion, published in Shanghai, 1930.

T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo (The Kingdom of Heavenly Peace)

These eight volumes were compiled by Hsiang Ta and other members of the Chinese Historical Association in Shanghai, 1952. This collection, which is by far the most comprehensive, includes official publications, proclamations, documents and confessions by Taiping leaders, as well as fifty-two accounts of the rebellion by writers on the side of the Manchu government. The brief introductory remarks by the compilers provide few biographical data or evaluations of the various included material. Chinese translations of western accounts also appear. The value of this compilation lies in the fact that it provides easy access to almost all relevant materials dealing with the period.

T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo ch'i i t'iao ch'a pao-kao (Reports of field investigations on the uprisings of the Taiping Kingdom)

This book, published in Peking in 1956, is the result of the work
of a group of field workers, specialists in history, literature and art studies, who interviewed nearly three hundred elderly persons living in Kwangsi, the site of the early Taiping uprising. Each investigator was responsible for collecting information on some area of Taiping culture and history and, therefore, these reports offer some insight into the activities of the Taipings in that region.

Ti-fu Tou-jen, "Chin-ling tsa-chi" (Nanking Notes) in TPTK, Vol. IV.

Written in 1856, this book examines closely the various rules and regulations governing the Taiping organization.

Borodin, B.A., "Nekotorye Svedeniia of Voennoi Organizatsii i Voennem Iskusstve Taipinov" (Some Information Concerning the Military Organization and the Art of War of the Taipings) in Problemy Vostokovedeniia.

A description of the military organization of the Taipings and an analysis of their military ranks and regulations.

Efimov, G.V., Ocherki Po Novoi i Noveishei Istorii Kitaia (Essays on the Modern and Contemporary History of China)

Chapter III in this collection of essays on modern and contemporary Chinese history contains a conventional Marxist interpretation of the Taiping rebellion. It is viewed as a revolt of masses of oppressed, poverty-stricken peasants which is an historically significant event in terms of the origin of a national consciousness in modern China. The author's thesis is that the rebellion failed because it lacked proletarian leadership.

Iliushechkin, V.P. and O.G. Solovev, Taipinskoye Vosstanie 1850-1864 Sbornik Documentov (The Taiping Rebellion, 1850-1864; A Collection of
Documents

This is a collection which was prepared in cooperation with the Academy of Sciences of China of more than forty annotated translations of Taiping documents. Well-organized under several headings, including domestic affairs, military affairs, foreign policy, ideology and statements made by captured Taiping leaders upon their arrest, this is a valuable compilation of many documents which appear in translation for the first time.


This is a systematic Marxist interpretation of the Taiping movement and includes descriptions of the socio-economic background of the rebellion as well as an account of the historical development of the movement and its campaigns. Discussed also is the Anglo-French intervention and its consequences.

Skachkov, K.A., *Pekin v Dni Taipinskogo Vosstaniia: Iz Zapisok Ochevidtsa* (Peking in the Days of the Taiping Rebellion From the Notes of an Eye-witness)

These are extracts from the diaries of K.A. Skachkov who was head meteorologist in the Russian Orthodox mission in Peking 1849-59. Although these are not records of first-hand knowledge of the Taipings they are an unusual and interesting source of the atmosphere of the Chinese capital at the time. Of particular interest are the translations of official proclamations and the diarist's comments on them.
APPENDIX 3

LAND CERTIFICATES

T'ien ping (A certificate of land ownership)

T'ing-wang, Ch'en Ping-wen, concerned with the welfare of the people and so that everyone can look after his household, on the basis of the statement by Ch'en Shou-t'ien, a resident of the district of Shih-men under the jurisdiction of the commander of the battalion of a brigade of the Right Army, issue this to certify that he owns the acquired parcel of land with an area of four mou, eight fen situated on the second section of the eleventh district.

According to the laws of the Heavenly Dynasty, the owner of this land upon receiving this certificate will pay every year the taxes in money and produce fully, without any breach of the law and promptly. He will not conceal his ownership from the authorities.

If anyone should attempt to unlawfully seize the said parcel of land from the owner, he [the owner] has the right to bring the matter before the law so that the guilty party may be punished according to the law. To avoid such cases this certificate is issued to the owner in perpetuity. The ninth month, twelfth year [1862] of the Taiping State of the Heavenly Father, the Heavenly Brother and the Heavenly King.

A receipt for land rent.

This receipt for payment of rent is issued by Lai, the commander of a division of the Right Army in the district of Pusan, to the owner of the land, Lai Lan-t'ang, certifying that he has received the rent in the amount of . . . shih . . . tou . . . sheng of grain. After
the rent is paid, this receipt is given to the tenant as proof of payment of rent. Issued in the ninth month, twelfth year [1862], Tai-p'ing T'ien-kuo. Number 34002. The amount of rent received is four shih six tou of grain.

\textit{Chung-t'ien yù Ma Ping-Hsing Pu-kau} (Declaration of Ma Ping-hsing)\textsuperscript{4}

\textit{Chung-t'ien yù Ma}, a member of the retinue of the Heavenly King, merited official who took part in the founding of the Heavenly Dynasty, received an order from the \textit{llian t'ien-fu Tung (Shun-t'ai)} to eliminate injustice and create order among the people.

There are cases when insolent elements rob peaceful people, taking from them valuables and food, unlawfully cutting down forests and bamboo on the property of others. All these evil deeds which bring out hatred among the people must be investigated. This declaration is issued for the maintenance of law and order. If unknown despicable people dare to brazenly break the law, the injured party must complain to the commander of the army or the commander of the brigade. If the complainant is not satisfied with their decision he has the right to report to me in detail. Of this the population is especially informed. The authorities of the Heavenly Dynasty who are responsible for the maintenance of order will harshly punish the bandits who in their self-interest prey upon the people. From now on these people must reform so that they will not be punished according to the law. Because the time for payment of taxes by landowners has arrived the tenants must pay the rent fully. In case of deliberate evasion of payment of rent, the guilty party will be punished according to the law. The persons subject to punishment are
not only those who evade payment of rent but also those who evade payment of land tax. Forewith the tenants and the landlords must abide by the existing laws. The tenth month, eleventh year [1861], T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo.
NOTES TO APPENDIX 3

1. Lo Erh-kang, *T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo wen-wu tu shih*, p. 139. Due to the poor quality of the reproduction of these certificates in Lo's book, I have found it necessary to rely greatly upon the translations found in *Taipinskoye Vosstanie*.

2. Ibid.


APPENDIX 4

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

A. WEIGHTS, MEASURES AND MONEY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chang</td>
<td>a measure of ten feet (Chinese).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch'ien</td>
<td>cash, money; approximately one-tenth of a liang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chih</td>
<td>a Chinese foot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chin</td>
<td>a measure of weight equal to sixteen Chinese ounces.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fen</td>
<td>one-tenth of a mou.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li</td>
<td>one-hundredth of a mou.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li</td>
<td>a measure of length; approximately one-third of a mile.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liang</td>
<td>sixteen liang equal one chin; a tael or ounce.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mou</td>
<td>6.6 mou equal one acre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheng</td>
<td>ten sheng equal one tou.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shih</td>
<td>a dry measure; a picul; one hundred catties.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tan</td>
<td>(see shih above).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tou</td>
<td>a dry measure; ten tou equal one tan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wen</td>
<td>coins; cash.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. SOME MILITARY AND ADMINISTRATIVE TITLES AND RANKS

In Western literature, as well as in translations from the Chinese, Taiping military ranks are frequently given the Western designations. It is difficult to agree with this because these terms do not accurately reflect the nature of these titles and ranks. A parallel to the modern European designations can create confusion. Therefore the following, approximate translations of some of these Taiping
titles is given only for convenience.

**shih-shuai** - a divisional commander.

**lu-shuai** - a brigade commander.

**chūn-shuai** - army commander.

**ch'ien-chūn** - inspector-of-the-army.

**ch'in-ming tsung-chih** - superintendent appointed by Royal Decree.

**chiang-chūn** - general-of-the-army.

**shih-wei** - court adjutant.

**chih-hui** - commander.

**chien-tien** - censor.

**ch'eng-hsiang** - prime minister.

**chūn-shīh** - commander-in-chief.

**liang ssu-ma** - platoon commander.

**wu-chang** - squad leader.