

近代中國史料叢刊續編第二十九輯
沈雲龍主編

太平天國起義記

韓山文著
簡又文譯

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近代中國史料叢刊續編 第二十九輯

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太平天國起義記

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譯者序

本書原名洪秀全之異夢及廣西亂事之始原，The Visions of Hung Si-tsun and Origin of the Kwang-Si Insurrection 茲譯爲太平天國起義記庶辭簡而意顯也。原書以一八五四年出版於香港，旋即分期轉載於North China Herald，越年又重印於Shanghai Almanac and Miscellany中，而倫敦亦有別印本。越八年，一八六三，原本及別印本已頗難得，遂又重印於The Chinese and Japanese Repository 第一冊中。

原著者瑞典人Theodore Hamburg漢名韓山文以一八四七年充瑞士人所設立之巴色會Evangelische Missionsgesellschaft zu Basel 教士來中國，傳教於廣東東部南部客家人之間。一八五四年五月十三號卒於香港，得年僅三十五。餘事蹟見偉烈亞力 Alexander Wylie 所著之 Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese (Shanghai, 1867)，及本書一八五五年倫敦別印本中所附韓氏小傳。

倫敦別印本前尚有校訂者皮茲氏 George Pezom 所爲序一篇，中引韓氏函一通，略云：「僕雖與革命軍人物素不相識然在廣東常見洪秀全之親戚朋友，故能收輯最可信消息之有關於洪氏

作關於洪秀全身世及太平軍初期歷史之種種紀載，其詳實可據，無能出其右者。顧國中頗不易見其書。數年前燕京大學史學系教授洪子煨連取一八六三年之本翻印之。前年以一份寄贈。余得之如獲異寶，即埋頭譯之。並與洪子約先以譯稿交燕大圖書館印行與新印英文本合並發表，然後另行編入拙著之太平天國雜記。然一八六三年之本凡於洪秀全之詩詞僅有英譯，而無漢字，依義回譯，虞失真相，故譯稿雖成而未敢定者，一年又半。會謝子興堯亦素研究太平天國者，另從別處鈔得洪氏各詩原文十一首發表於人間世第二十期中，余遂轉錄於譯稿以寄洪子煨。因謀付印矣，燕大圖書館忽又得一八五四年香港原本，洪子遂議廢一八六三翻本之翻本，而影印香港原本易焉。原本所載漢字詩文較謝子興堯所發表者為多，而文字亦間有不同，故拙譯之稿亦因而改錄焉。此書復傳於中國，洪子之功可嘉，且又稍為拙譯之稿校訂數條，此尤余所甚感謝者也。

簡又文 二十四年五月

第 100 页

原序

此時中國內之變動既爲一般人所注意，則此冊之發表，或亦不爲多事。著者原意不在詳述此事之內容，亦不擬將衆所共知之事文，纂輯成書。關於此端宗教政治之運動，著者欲表現其心地及原因，故僅就個人所知，得自信而有據之來源者，由其發生之先，敘至於其舉兵於廣西之經過耳。

此書之結構及文筆頗有缺憾，著者亦自以爲歉。蓋著者所知既有限，而其所得之消息又多出於答語，言者答著者所問也。若千頁者尙不見棄於讀者而可使中國之兆民得更活潑而永久之同情，則固著者所深望而當引以爲志者矣。

中國內亂方熾，在同情於革命軍者觀之，其結局似可預料；然戰爭未已，則成敗不宜懸斷。在此情形之下，爲謹慎起見，吾人不宜以真實人名地名遽行刊布，爲代招禍害，許多無辜之人已代爲其親戚受罪而死，吾人不願助紂爲暴也。凡人名地名之曾經刊布者茲不復爲隱蔽。其餘，於人名則概爲簡縮，於地名則譯義而不傳音。音本於英文無解，故此法於讀者無損，而全文敘述並不因此而隱晦。凡所譯詩詞，著者既求保全原文之神氣復欲合於英文韻語之體格。

又輒附印原文，所以便於讀漢文者也。

關於景物之描寫自以中國人之看法爲主。著者盡獻其所聞，力免刪潤，且鮮加批判，讀者可自爲評論也。就大略言之：著者頗信其所聞之無誤而可據。然事有越時說遠僅憑記憶追述者，則細小之乖舛，恐或亦不免。述者既與起事之人有親友之誼而於所爲之事有傾向之熱心，則其言或稍涉誇美，亦屬可能。但就大體而論：述者固祖懷而言彼所知及所信以爲真者也，可無疑焉。當彼僅憑記憶以敘述各事時，對於南京所傳來之消息，彼尙不大知悉，此亦其不假之一證也。自南京革命人物處得來之書籍，誠足以使吾人明瞭於革命勢力之範圍及情狀。對於其起義之原先，則尙未詳說。此下若干頁即以補此端之不足者也。

巴色會教士韓山文

一八五四年四月香港

太平天國起義記

洪仁玕述

簡又文譯

韓山文著

一 洪氏之世系

洪氏世系遠出于宋朝，時爲徽欽二宗之世，約在十二世紀之始。兩宗既爲金人擄去，有洪皓者，官居台輔，感于忠節，挺身赴金，以爲蒙塵之主服務，僅與一人同行，共冒此險。既抵北境，天氣奇寒，復被流遞於渺無人煙之野林中。此時衣服食料俱不足以供二人生活之所需。同行者乃慷慨獻議，犧牲一己之身命以救洪，盡予以糴糶衣物，使其得以繼續行動，而自己則甘留而葬身于野林中。洪未幾困苦殊甚，糧盡則食野樹根以苟延殘喘。金人見其久而未死，頗以爲奇，卒釋之南歸。（譯者按洪皓字光弼，鄞縣人。生於哲宗元祐戊辰（二零八八），卒於高宗紹興乙亥（一一五五），高宗建炎戊申（一一二八）以徽欽間待制假禮部尚書充大金通問使。留金十五年，和議成，乃得釋歸。忠節最著，高宗稱蘇武不能過。後以忤秦檜論死。餘事蹟詳洪汝奎著洪忠宣公年譜（宣統己酉洪氏晦木齋刊洪年譜本。）此處所述在金野林間生活一段，殊不可據，殆依野史傳說而已。凡括弧內註釋，除標明原註者，皆譯者所加，下同。）

洪皓有三子，長名邁，次名邁，三名邁。（按皓有八子，長邁，次邁，次邁。其下尚有五人。此誤。）邁

亦仕至台輔，一如其父；餘二人均為翰林。遵之子名梓，亦為翰林。（梓原文作 Zih. 按遵二子，

見洪汝奎洪文安公年譜。其名之音皆不似。時謂孫中，唯梓近是。然梓適子也，見洪汝奎洪文惠公年譜。其為翰林不見年

譜中。）同時，洪氏一家在朝為官者共八十餘人。梓十五傳而至升九郎（*Sheng-hoan, Ke-lang* 原名未

詳）。此十五代裔孫居于廣東之潮州府。因受族人之侮辱及壓迫，乃遷居于嘉應州，嗣後其子

孫散居于廣東各處，現共約二萬人。其中得有功名及出類拔萃之士，頗不乏人。復由上言之，

十五代裔孫經十一傳而至洪貢（音譯 *Hong Kung*）。此人生有四子，名賢敬（*Chin-king*），賢倫（*Chin-*

Yan），賢盛（*Chin-Shing*），賢會（*Chin-Wai*）。四子中賢倫與賢會最初遷居于廣州北部之花縣，以耕

種為活，其後復迎其父母兄弟同居焉。洪貢之裔孫今共約五百人。由賢倫四傳而生洪秀全。由

賢會亦四傳而生洪仁玕，即敘述本篇之人也。（原文稱仁玕皆曰洪仁，此蓋著者故為之隱也。）

中國家族之穩固，視其全族勢力之大小與入丁之多少以為衡，以故凡由一個太公傳統而

下，無論支派遠近，均為一家族，以收團結相讓相助之效。其同一班輩之男女，均以兄弟姊妹

相稱呼，尊輩則稱為叔伯姊妹。同姓同族之人絕不許通婚。是故本書之主人翁洪秀全與洪仁玕

雖為同一高祖之弟兄，而其親切之情，比諸西洋人之同祖同姓者為較厚較密也。

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秀全之父名養（英文原作 Yang，漢字未詳；考粵東客家入喜以「養」字爲名，故譯如此）生三子二女，爲前妻朱氏（Chao）所出，繼室李氏（Li）今仍生存，無所出。秀全行四，其下只有一妹。秀全娶妻賴氏（Lai），生子女三人，長女約十五歲，次女約十歲，幼子約五歲。秀全若祖若父類皆德行甚佳，且得享遐齡者。高祖賢倫以慈善名，賙濟全族，享壽九十六歲。其曾祖享壽九十餘歲，其祖考亦享壽八十歲。秀全之父年高德劭，有長鬚，爲人公正耿直，受族人推戴，司理祖宗田產。此爲全族公產，其入息則作利于全族之事者。彼又爲全族之父老，其職責不獨爲族中偶起爭執者之裁判人，而且代表全族與隣族交涉等事。中國村鄉隔縣城或最近之官衙有遠至六七十里路者；每有訟事發生，官吏胥役重重剝削，所費不貲；故鄉人遇有爭執，恒由族中父老判斷是非曲直，甚或與鄰村鄰族械鬥以武力解決。迫戰爭經過數月或長期，乃互相議和了結，而不經官吏之干涉，故官吏對於人民之勢力現已大減矣。

二 洪秀全之產地及童年

洪秀全之本鄉爲花縣之一小村。距廣州城約九十里此處地多平原，四野禾田，村落在其間。在天朗氣清之日，由此可望見廣州近郊之白雲山。秀全之祖先由嘉應州遷此，故族人均用嘉應

州方言。本地人稱此等客籍民爲「客家」。中國人恪守祖宗承法，代代相傳，均事農田，以資糊口而已，外國人所視爲生活必需之品，均視爲無關重要也。在客家村中，只得生活有用必需之品物；其他虛耗奢侈品所以安享福樂者均無有也。洪秀全之本鄉差可爲其他無數小村之儀型。房屋之前面均南向，以得陽光，在夏間又可得溫涼之東南風，在冬月則可避寒冷之北風。一入大門，有天階約大十二方呎，兩房爲廚房及沐浴房。在大門之正面則爲正房及大廳，前面透光通氣。廳之兩房則爲臥室，家中各人分居之，而以正廳爲全家會集處。房屋均一層平房，地以灰和沙擊成，地面磨滑，牆亦以同等原料築成，而雜以多量之土。屋頂則以灰泥板條爲蓋，上鋪屋瓦。屋瓦共鋪兩層，下層則以凹面向上，上層以凹面向下，如是雨水不至滲入屋內。洪氏全村人口僅約四百，大多數爲洪姓族人。村之前面只得房屋六間，其後則有房屋二排，中隔小巷。在第三排之西邊則爲洪秀全父母所居之小宅也。在村中房屋之前有小塘，滿貯泥水。全村之污水糞溺被雨水沖動均流入此處，而成爲全村灌溉禾田之肥料池。但穢氣四播，凡不熟習中國農村經濟者均不能堪也。在村之左邊，靠水塘之旁，有一書塾。此爲村童上學念書，預備科舉考試之處。

在此村中，洪秀全生于一八一三年（按即清嘉慶十八年癸酉）原名爲“Brilliant fire”（譯意爲「亮火」原字本譯成「亮」字）。至成年時，另有一名，表示在家族世系中之班輩（即仁字輩原名未詳），而秀全則爲後輩日取之書名（別號）也。秀全之兩兄助其父耕田，又種些少瓜菜，全家食糧由此供給。其家經濟不裕，只得耕牛一二頭，另養豬狗雞等，此皆中國農家所有者。

秀全自幼即好學，七齡入塾讀書。五六年間即能熟誦四書五經孝經及古文多篇，其後更自讀中國歷史及奇異書籍，均能一目了然。讀書未幾即得其業師及家族之稱許。其才學之優俊如此，人皆謂取青紫如拾芥，行見其顯父母光宗族矣。有幾位業師竟不受其束脩而自願教之。秀全嘗負笈他方，雖其家計不豐，然爲免其輟學起見，家中常樂于供給所需。有幾位族人復贈以衣物。彼之老父每與人談話，最喜談及其幼子之聰穎可愛。每聞人稱讚秀全，輒眉飛色舞。凡有說及其幼子一句好話者，即足令此老邀請其人回家飲茶或食飯而繼續細談此老所愛談之題目矣。

當秀全約十六歲時，其父以家計困窮，不能再供其讀書求學，因此秀全，即如其他輟學之村童，須助理家中農事，或到山野放牛，此爲一般年紀太輕而無力做粗工之少年所常爲之事。

但人人均以秀全如此中途輟學爲可惜。翌年，有一年歲相同之舊友，請秀全陪伴其讀書，以一年爲期，蓋以得此天才爲伴侶，必可收切磋之益也。越一年，其族人及友人均以其文學長才埋沒于粗工之中爲大可惜，遂聘其任本村之塾師，由是復得機會靜中自行繼續研究文學而且修養其人格。中國塾師每年之收入，全視入塾學生之多少以爲定。平常學生數目由十人至二十人，十人以下，束修不足以供生活之資；二十人以上，精神又不足以施教，因塾師須對每人授課，復須一一聽其背誦也。每一學童須納學費如下：米五十磅（厘原支另制錢三百文，燈油，豬油，鹽，茶葉各一斤，此外每人尚須核學童之年齡及才具，每人繳修金一元半至四元。塾師之在花縣學塾授課者，全年不怠，只于新年時放假一月耳。在此期間，塾師關約滿期，東家得續行聘請，或另聘高明。

三 洪秀全之考試患病及異事

秀全年方弱冠，約在十六歲，即赴廣州應試，所以滿足其家族對於彼之文才之期望也。中國科舉功名原有四級，凡人均可赴考。其才思文學及字體優異者考得中式。第一級爲秀才，繼爲舉人，又高爲進士，而最高者則爲翰林。中秀才者須被考選三次，初爲縣考，繼爲府考，終

爲院考，以考官爲朝廷所派也。其在花縣縣考時，知縣任考官，赴考者約五百人均爲欲中秀才者。每人須填報姓名及三代，并須得一已有功名之士保證其確爲本縣籍貫。報名既畢，人領得一試卷，各有號數，各寫文章於其上，第一日考文章，由四書出兩題目，另一詩題。繳卷後，由考官評定優劣，榜列次第，赴考者之名劃爲十榜，每榜有五十人。隔三日或四日，即照樣考一次，直至赴考者共作詩文七次——首三次兩文一詩，末四次則每日僅一文一詩。最後，經過七次考試而其名仍得高列榜上者，即爲縣試考中者。常有當初考數次時，或以文章或以書法太劣而名落孫山者，因之每考一次，榜上名字即減少一次，故至最末一次之後，有時榜上僅餘十五至二十人而已。

第二次府考之情形，約與縣考相同。至第三次院考時，考官爲朝廷所派，中式者即爲秀才。全縣童生均會集應試，試期僅一日。各縣所取之秀才，均依該縣之人口比例，每縣取中八人至廿四人不等；廣州府十四縣共取優秀才二百人有奇。凡中式秀才者，翌日又須經一度試驗，以明其是否真才，抑于應試時有作弊之情。全省各縣所取之秀才，其後復會試于省會，其中七十二人得被取爲舉人。十八省中式舉人復詣京師會試，此中復有一百七十八人被取爲進

士。進士及第者再赴殿試，由皇帝親任考官，欽選其中四五十人爲翰林。凡秀才均須依期赴考，直至六十歲爲止，否則即有被革之虞矣。

縣考時，秀全每試必冠其曹，惟從未能得中秀才。在一八三六年秀全二十三歲時，再赴廣州應試。（原註或在此年之前）在布政司衙門前（原文監督財政之官）彼遇見一人身穿明朝服裝，長袍白袖，結髻于頂。此人不能操中國語，另有一本土人爲舌人。在一大群人環繞之中，其人對衆講話，謂可滿足衆人之願望，不俟人發問。即便侃侃而談。秀全行近其前，意欲問曰己功名前程。其人亦不俟其發言，即云「汝將得最高的功名，但勿憂悲，因憂悲令汝生病。我爲汝有德之父道喜了。」

翌日，秀全在龍藏街又遇見二人。（原註：秀全後來以爲此二人即是先一日所遇見而爲彼卜前程者。大概關於此點數之記憶不確，但亦可原諒，因自彼得獲贈書以迄開始研究讀書之時，已歷七年矣。）二人中，其一手持小書一部共九本，名勸世良言。其人將全書贈與秀全。秀全考畢即携之回鄉間，稍一涉獵其目錄，即便置之書櫃中；其時并不重視之。

翌年，秀全再赴廣州投考。初考時其名高列榜上，及覆考則又落第。在悲苦失意之中，秀

全又復得病，乃雇一肩輿，用精壯轎夫二人抬之回鄉。陰曆三月初一日回到家中，病勢甚爲沈重，臥床多日。

在此臥病期間，彼連續入奇夢，見異象多次。最初，見多人對彼歡迎招致。初以爲此乃死亡之朕兆，於是召其父母及家人等至病榻前而告之曰：「我的日子短了，我命不久了。父母啊！我不能報答大恩，不能一舉成名以顯揚父母了。」其時彼之長兄二人扶其坐于榻上；秀全言畢即閉目，全身無氣力，不能自主。在場各人均以其不久即去世，兩兄乃安放彼于床上。秀全一時間竟失去知覺，不知身外各人言動如何，五官失去作用，其身宛如死人。但其靈魂似爲一種特別能力所附麗，以故彼不特能有一種奇異的經驗，而且事後尙可記憶清楚。

其始，當秀全閉目時，忽見一龍一虎一雄雞走入室內。未幾又見有多人奏樂近前，共昇一美麗肩輿至，並請其乘坐，乃共昇之而去。秀全驟受此榮寵不勝驚異，不知如何是好。

彼等未幾即到一華麗而光明之地。兩旁聚集有無數高貴的男女敬禮而歡迎秀全。下轎後，有一老婦導其至一河邊，謂之曰：「污穢的人啊！何以自暴自棄與那些人親近，以至惹得滿身骯髒呢？如今我必得要把你洗淨了。」洗畢。秀全進一大宮殿，同行者有一班年高德劭之人，

其中有許多古先聖賢。在宮中，彼等以刀剖開秀全之身，取出心肝五臟，而另以鮮紅簇新者放入，傷口即時復合，全無癩痕可見。

宮內四壁均有木牌，上刻勸善教德之言，秀全一一讀之。彼等旋復進一大殿，其多層多華貴，不可言喻。上有一老人，披金髮，衣皂袍，巍然坐于最高之寶坐上。一觀秀全，老人即雙目流淚云：「世界人類皆我所生，我所養。人食我糧，服我衣，但無一人具有心肝來記念我和尊敬我，其尤惡者則竟以我之所賜品物去拜事鬼魔。人有意忤我而令我惱怒。你勿要效法他們。」言畢，老人即授秀全寶劍一柄，用以鏟除鬼魔，但令其慎勿妄殺兄弟姊妹；又給以印綬一個，用以治服邪神；再賜以金黃色的美果一枚，秀全食之，其味甜美。秀全既受此帝皇的徽誌，即時開始勸告同在各人敬拜高坐寶座之老人。有人聽罷即回答云：「我們對老人確未盡本份了。」另有人說：「爲什麼要尊敬他呢？我們且與朋友們飲酒尋樂罷。」秀全見各人心腸如此冷硬，乃繼續勸導，以至下淚。老人復對彼言：「奮勇放胆去幹這工作啊！如遇有種種困難，我必扶助你。」言竟未久，老人即轉向座中年長有德之輩言：「秀全真堪任此職。」隨即帶引秀全出殿，命其自上俯視云：「看看世上的人啊！都是心邪行乖的。」秀全俯覽全世，芸芸

衆生，一切苦痛與罪孽，皆現目前，其情狀之惡劣，眼不忍觀，口不忍言。秀全神遊既醒，仍受奇夢之影響，自覺頭髮直豎。忽然間，怒從心起，自忘身體軟弱，穿衣起床，走出臥室，詣其父處，鞠躬長揖云：「天上至尊的老人，已令全世之人歸向我了，世間萬寶皆歸我有的了。」其父見其自臥室出來，又聞其言如此，以喜以懼，不知如何是好。

秀全連續臥病四十日。在異象中又常見一中年人，秀全呼之曰：「長兄」。此人教其如何動作，並帶其遨遊遐邇以追尋邪神，并扶助其殺死及滅除之。秀全又聞衣皂袍之老人斥責孔子，謂其于經書中不曾清楚發揮真理。孔子似自愧而自認其罪。

秀全病時，神遊四方，常在其室內走動跳躍，或如兵士戰鬪狀，常大聲疾呼：「鏗妖，鏗妖，鏗呀！鏗呀！（按原文以粵音譯字）這里有一隻，那里有一隻，沒有一隻可以擋我的寶劍一斫的。」其父甚以其病狀爲可慮，以爲其咎乃在堪輿師誤擇不吉利的墳地以葬其先人所致也。于是延請巫道法師回家作法逐鬼。但秀全言：「這些妖魔怎能反對我呢？我必要殺死他們！多多妖魔都不能反抗我。」在幻想中彼追趕鬼妖。鬼妖形似是變化無窮，有時如飛鳥，有時如猛獅。爲操必勝之權計，彼每操老人所賜之印綬以抵擋之。一見此印，妖魔即盡行飛遁，彼之幻

想又覺追奔逐北直至天涯海角。所到之處必與群妖戰而無不毀滅之。每有成功，即便歡笑曰：「他們擋不住我。」彼又常常自唱舊歌一段，其辭云：「有德青年浪遊河海，救其朋友殺其仇人。」（原文未詳）勸告人之時，彼輒涕淚而言，「你們沒有心肝敬拜老父，你們同妖魔交相好；真的，真的，你們沒有心肝，沒有良心。」秀全之兩兄更常緊閉其室門而嚴密防守免其逸出屋外。及其戰鬪跳動，唱歌，教人至憊困之時，則復臥床上。俟彼入睡時，多人乃來看視之，未幾全邑人皆知其爲瘋子。彼常自言已被敕封爲中國之皇帝。人有稱之爲皇帝者則色然喜。但如有人呼其爲瘋子者，彼則笑而答云：「你才是真的瘋子了，還叫我做瘋子嗎？」凡品行不端之人來看彼者，彼均申斥之，並呼之爲鬼魔。彼鎮日惟唱歌，教人，斥責，均誠懇之至。在臥病中彼做一首詩。原文曰：

手握乾坤殺伐權 斬邪留正解民懸 眼過西北江山外 聲震東南日月邊 展爪似嫌雲路小
騰身何怕漢程偏 風雷鼓舞三千浪 易象飛龍定在天

有一日早晨，當秀全離床時，忽聞春天的鳥高鳴于村邊的樹上，彼即朗誦一詩云：

鳥向飛兮必如我 我今爲王事事可 身照金烏災盡消 龍虎將軍都輔佐

秀全之親屬以其病狀請教于幾位醫生，醫生開方投藥以治之，但均無效。一日其父發見有一小紙塞在門柱之縫隙中，紙上有朱色字云「天王大道君王全」。彼持此紙遍示家人，均不解此七字之意義。自此之後，秀全身體即日漸康健。許多友人及親戚等均來探視之，欲親聆其自述臥病時之經驗。秀全將所記得之特殊夢境一一爲之詳述，毫不隱匿。親友等只能答全事真是奇異，但其時人皆以爲並非實際經驗也。

四 洪秀全之改變——讀小書——受洗禮

秀全之健康，既已恢復，其人格與外貌均日漸改變。彼之品行謹慎，行爲和藹而坦白。身體增高增大，步履端莊嚴肅，其見解則寬大而自由，彼之友人後來述其狀貌謂秀全身材高大，面部橢圓，容顏甚美，鼻高，耳圓而小，聲音清晰而洪亮，每發笑則響震全屋，髮黑，鬚長而作砂紅色，體力特偉健，知識力亦絕倫，惡人畏而避之，而忠誠者趨與交遊也。此時彼仍再赴廣州應試，又在距本鄉卅餘里之隣村任教師數年。彼爲塾師時甚爲端肅，訓治學徒至嚴。但對于品行端莊爲己所喜悅之人則至友善，且在私人談話時，有時盡吐其心腹之思想，由此可見其病時奇夢之印象常不能忘却于其心中也。

一八四三年秀全教館于離本鄉約三十里之蓮花村 (Water-Lily) 之李姓 (Li) 家。時在五月，其中表李某一曰觀見其書櫃，偶于其藏書中抽出勸世良言，隨問秀全其書之內容。秀全答以不大知得，此書為楊時到廣州赴考時人所贈送者。李乃向其借取回家以便暇時瀏覽，秀全許之。

勸世良言一書，對於秀全之思想及行動影響至大。吾人試研究其內容。著者自署名為「學善」，而其本名實為梁發（常稱梁阿發）其人則米憐博士 (Dr. Milne) 所指引入基督教之中國教徒也。彼曩在南洋馬六甲任教會排字工人時，每日有機會聽米博士講解聖經，因而皈依耶穌基督決心為上帝服務。梁發敘述其信教受洗之經過，嘗引出與米博士談話之幾段，其中讚美基督之功德與論及洗禮兩段尤堪特別注意；其言曰：「每逢安息日，工作停止，我則常讀聖經。如有不明之處，我即往問米博士，彼固甚願為我解釋其意義也。于是我乃叩問米博士以基督受苦贖罪之教義，且問其如何教人。米博士言，世人已不拜獨一真神而崇事偶像；而且違犯上帝之公義之道，應受永刑。然而創造全人類之上帝，不欲毀滅全人類，遂本慈悲之心，令其聖子耶穌離開光榮之天堂，降臨世間而成爲凡人一個，由聖靈所成而由童女所生。耶穌教人認識及崇事宇宙之獨一主宰及創造者而拒絕偶像。彼復教人以靈魂有不滅不死之價值，及凡人應預備最

後審判之主要；彼來世間受苦及受死以贖衆人之罪；而人人凡有信耶穌之受苦贖罪而受洗禮者，諸般罪孽俱得赦免而得救，但凡罪人信者，將受入地獄永刑之苦。」

梁阿發再問米博士以洗禮之意義。米博士答云：「洗禮乃是灑些少清水于人之頭上或身上。其中意義，或其精神上的意義乃是洗淨其人，使由罪孽沾汗中而得清潔，藉聖靈之神力而改變其心，遂令其于受洗禮之後，即愛善而疾惡且改變其舊生命而成爲一個新人……」

梁阿發回其小室之後，即自思自想，「我是一個罪人；如不靠耶穌受苦贖罪之功德，將如何祈求上帝白白赦免我之罪孽乎？……」梁阿發于是決心信教爲基督徒，且請求受洗禮。米博士言：「如你確全心懺悔諸般罪過，信仰主耶穌基督，而遵行其教道；如你確決心不拜偶像而獨崇聖宇宙之大主宰及創造者；並拒絕一切——奸心，欺詐，謊言……如是你可接受洗禮，否則不能。」

于是梁阿發宣言甚願遵守米博士之教訓，旋即受洗禮。據其所自述受洗之儀禮若後：——米博士再發數問，讀聖經幾節，並解釋其意義。彼即與梁阿發一同下跪而祈禱，仰求上帝之恩寵及慈悲。祈禱既畢，彼以手取些少清水而施諸梁阿發頭上。既畢，復行祈禱。此皈依者即問米

博士信耶穌有何特殊標誌(或記號)，米博士即答：「真信者有一特殊標誌——即是盡心爲善。」阿發乃回到自己之小室；獨坐回思一切之經過，不禁喜透心中。彼于是自取名爲「學善」，嗣後繼續祈禱及讀經，漸覺身心兩者俱有改變。彼不特拒絕惡行，其後惡念之來亦日自減少。彼不特自身廢除拜偶像，而且深憫他人拜偶像之愚蠢，遂立願勸告同人屏棄偶像，懺悔罪孽，而崇事獨一真神。閱二年——即在一八一九年，彼回中國(廣東)施教于其妻，見其立願接受耶穌之教，乃依該時情形爲其施洗禮。其後，彼夫妻二人攜其嬰兒到馬禮遜博士(Dr. Morrison)處，請其爲此小兒施洗禮。

在數年間，馬禮遜博士見其熱誠傳教，乃立其爲牧師。據一八三二年九月四日馬禮遜之報告，梁阿發於是年印刷小冊子九本，每冊約五十頁，皆爲其自己編著而加插聖經章句于其中者。稿本經馬禮遜修改而在馬六甲印刷，書名則爲勸世良言。(原註，此書亦常裝訂爲四本)此書內載聖經多章皆爲出於馬禮遜譯本，另研究聖經題目及其他發揮教理之論文多篇。(譯者按原本此下附有勸善良言九卷目錄之英譯，一八六三年之翻印本節去。茲從之，以省篇幅。)

秀全之中表李氏讀全書之後還諸秀全，即謂此書內容奇極，大異于尋常中國經書，秀全乃

潛心細讀之。遂大覺大悟，于此書中尋得解釋其六年前病中夢兆之關鍵，覺書中所言與其夢中所見所聞相符之處甚多。此時彼乃明白高坐寶座之至尊的老人而爲人人所當敬拜者非他，即天父上帝是也；而彼中年人曾教彼助彼誅滅妖魔者，即教主耶穌是也。妖魔即偶像，而兄弟姊妹即世間人類也。有此覺悟，秀全如夢才醒，彼覺已獲得上天堂之真路，與及永生快樂之希望，甚爲歡喜。洪李二人由是書而知受洗禮之必要，於是依照書中所言，及按是時自己所明白此典禮者，自行施洗。彼等復對上帝祈禱，許願不拜事邪神，不行惡事，而恪守天條。彼等于是自己灌水于頂上，自言：「洗除罪惡，去舊從新。」既畢，彼等覺滿心充滿快樂。秀全乃自製悔改詩云：

吾儕罪惡實滔天 幸賴耶穌代贖全 勿信邪魔遵聖誠 惟從上帝力心田 天堂榮顯人宜慕
地獄幽沉我亦憐 及早回頭歸正果 免將方寸俗情牽

二人于是將偶像掃除，並將塾中孔子牌位棄去，蓋凡書塾均設孔子牌位；老師與學生均依時禮拜也。

五 繼續研究小冊——宣教——遇難

六月初十日秀全自蓮花村回鄉，先到一彭姓（P. Peng）友人家探視，蓋其從前曾授徒于彼處歷數年也。是時秀全之心充滿新發現，關於舊時之夢象，及天書內容，侃侃而談，滔滔不絕。其友以爲其舊病復發也，即遣一可靠之人護送其回家使得安全。在二十餘里路程中，秀全與此人宜講拜偶像之愚蠢及罪惡，與及信拜真神上帝之要。其人傾閉之下，即謂：「你之所言盡是真理。彭先生遍告訴我你的腦又亂了，乃請我護送你回家，免使你在中途或者失足落水致遭溺斃哩。」回鄉之後，秀全最先感服兩密友，即均皈依其新教，此兩人即馮雲山與洪仁玕是也。彼最先在馮所授徒之書塾中爲二人施洗禮，但未幾彼等三人復同到一隣近之小河，洗淨全身。秀全于是將二人書塾中之偶像盡行除去，而自製一詩以喚醒人心，原文如下：

神天之外更無神 何故愚頑假作真 只爲本心渾失却 焉能超出在凡塵

仁玕亦步原韻和一首，原文曰：

全能天父是爲神 木剝泥團枉認真 幸賴耶穌來救世 吾情及早脫凡塵

在家時，秀全與兩友細心研究此書，蓋書中所言秀全均以爲適符其夢中所歷也。有此相符之故，遂令其確信夢象與全書均爲真理，而彼自己確爲上帝所特派以拯救天下——即是中國

——使回到敬拜真神上帝之路者。

秀全嘗言：「這幾本書實爲上天特賜與我，所以証實我往時經歷之真確。如我徒得此書而無前時之病狀，則斷不敢信書中所言而反對世上之陋俗。然而若徒有前時之病而無此書，則又不能再次証實吾病中所歷之爲真確，亦不過視爲病狂時幻想的結果而已。」

于是彼乃高聲大叫云：「我曾在上帝之前親自接受其命令，天命歸予。縱使將來遇災劫，有困難，我也決心去幹。倘違悖天命，我只膺上帝之怒耳。這幾本書豈非是其他一切書所載的「真道」之基礎嗎？」

具有此確信，秀全每對人宣教時，常利用自己的夢象及此書，互相印證而真理愈顯。彼甚尊崇此書；如有人欲借讀，彼必嚴戒其切勿竊自改竄或妄加符號；「因爲耶和華的言語真實」。

（原註：舊約詩篇三十三篇四節）

一日，秀全往訪一温姓秀才（Wen），乃與其談及此書及其所載之真道。温秀才不信其言，並謂：「請把原書給我看，我將爲你改正其言，庶可糾正你的錯謬。」此言大觸秀全之怒，故其人雖曾爲秀全特宰了一隻雞預備設饌招待，秀全竟不顧而去。

此書內容，選錄聖經多段，雖其譯文甚爲忠實，然因多譯自外國方言。又無序言及註解，而秀全與其友等均須自行研究揣摩，因此不免錯解其中文義。例如，彼等在各章中見有「我，我等，汝，他」等代名詞，均不知其所指者是誰，彼等偶問此等代名詞究是何人？秀全惟默然不答。但其友人輩心自明白，每有文義符合其個人見解者，彼必將「汝」「他」等代名詞解作指其自己本人，蓋其以爲此幾本書乃特爲其個人而作而由天所賜者也。每見書中有「全」字則輒以爲是指其本名秀全。彼最愛舊約詩篇十九篇及三十三篇，常與仁珩共同朗聲背誦之。十九篇第三節（譯者按應作第四節）云「聲聞全世」，彼則解爲「秀全的世界」；又九節十節云「全然公義」，則解爲「秀全是公義比黃金更可羨慕」，又第十二節則解爲「孰能如秀全知道。」如此類推。

讀至洪水汎濫，所多馬城之毀滅，及末日審判諸段，彼等皆生恐怖，不知此等災劫果再臨否。秀全行爲尤爲嚴謹，每與人講話均顯出真誠懇摯。彼由此書而得知總有道行之西人因服從上帝及愛上帝乃不憚遠涉萬里重洋之危險而來到廣東，皆爲傳福音于中國之故，而且研究中文，所費金錢甚多，後來乃能翻譯聖經爲漢文；彼等之唯一目的乃在拯救中國人于拜偶像之罪

惡，使得赦罪而獲永生……彼再讀書中有言云：「甚欲偉大及光榮的中國之人民之讀此書者不徒誇街中國爲禮義文物之邦，而能剷除去成見，一乘虛心，而思上帝創造吾人，人人當知聖經之救道。」

其後又有一段：（原註：哥林多前書一章廿六—廿八節。）

「可見你蒙召的，按着肉體有智慧的不多，有能力的不多，有尊貴的也不多，上帝却選了世上愚拙的，叫有智慧的羞愧，又揀選世上軟弱的，叫那強壯的羞愧，上帝又揀選了世上卑賤的，被人厭惡的，以及那無有的，爲要廢掉那有的。」（此係照現行國語譯本，與初譯本不同）

中國文字單數與複數往往不能分辨，因此吾人即可容易明白，秀全可以將本來意指普通各人或全體基督徒的字眼，而施用于其自己個人身上。

六月十五日秀全回蓮花村之書塾。在未離本村之前，叮囑仁玕細心研究新教道，並宣傳于其家人及族人。秀全之父母兄嫂及姪輩未幾果悉心皈服，不事偶像，旋均受洗禮。其他族人，有真心相信者；又有心中感服惟恐被人訕笑者。亦有人云：「此等瘋狂愚蠢之事萬不宜置信」。更有人因誠心皈命而受父母責罵者。仁玕因信此道而被其兄棍毆，撕破衣服，復被逐出家門，

蓋以其將書塾中之孔子牌位除去，致令學童均離塾也。仁玕只答云：「我是不是老師呢？孔夫子死了許久又怎能再教人呢？你爲甚麼迫我拜他呢？」

其時秀全在蓮花村與李某繼續研究勸世良言。書中詞義均自行付度，但不能分解「天上的」與「地下的」及「精神的」與「物質的」之辨。彼等以爲「天國降臨」即是指中國，而上帝選民乃指中國人及洪秀全。彼等又定製寶劍二柄，各重數斤，長三尺，秀全與李各佩其一。劍上鐫有三字曰「斬妖劍」。於是祈禱上帝祝福彼等，並求賜成功，繼又同聲朗誦一詩，詩云：

手持三尺定山河 四海爲家共飲和 擒盡妖邪投地網 收殘奸宄落天羅 東南西北敦皇極 日月星辰奏凱歌 虎嘯龍吟光世界 太平一統樂如何

（譯者按音韻與老牧師編有此詩抄本，譯者則曾抄錄發表之於所著太平天國文學之發展上篇中。據本字句與此大同小異，而第七句作「直搗黃龍頭盡醉」，其爲得抄者所改耶？又此處「網」字，原本作「網」，「如何」作「何如」，殆手民之誤耳，因爲改正。）

六 洪馮離鄉赴苗區——在廣西傳教之成功

一八四四年正月燈節時，人人喜樂，秀全本村父老舉行大巡遊（出會）以資慶祝。父老輩知秀全及仁玕文才出衆，乃召而囑其製寫詩文或對聯等以歌頌偶像。兩人均却焉，因此激起父老們之氣惱。彼等即做詩一首以教誡此兩後生，以其太倔強不從彼等之願，又以爲兩人之行爲係受其他後生之惡意煽動所致，其詩原文云：

老拙無能望後生 誰知今日不相聞 經綸滿腹由人用 聽信讒言執一般
秀全得見，又作詩報之以自解，原文云：

非聽讒言違叔命 只遵上帝誠條行 天堂地獄嚴分路 何敢糊塗過此生

隨後彼此更以數詩互相辯駁，卒得和解，了結糾紛。父老輩迫得要承認秀全仁玕等爲合理；但畏衆人議論，自己却不敢公開承認此新信仰。然而自是之後，再不敢請此二人助其禮拜偶像之事矣。

秀全與其幾個新信徒既不事偶像，又將書塾中之孔子牌位除去，故本年皆失了教席。彼等家計貧困，無以爲生，於是潛意離鄉，其所受之影響，即聖經之句「從未有先知受人尊敬于本鄉及家中的」。彼等決心遠適異省，到各村鎮，宣傳真道，乃沿途販賣筆硯，藉獲微利以充旅

費。秀全知仁玕曾受其兄之毆打，且亦因不拜偶像而受人譏笑，至是遂欲攜其同行。時仁玕年僅廿二，幼于秀全九歲，其家人乃不許其作遠行。秀全于是借雲山並其他兩友卒離鄉出門，立意赴苗人區域。

秀全等一行四衆未幾即到隣邑清遠縣。于是彼等感化李姓（Li）數人皈依新道而施以洗禮。仁玕留在本村，後應聘到清遠教書數年，並在此宣教，數年內受其洗禮者約五六十人。秀全與其友等繼續西行，到處宣傳新道，教人以敬拜獨一真神上帝耶和華，上帝遣其聖子下凡救贖世間罪孽教道。

三月，秀全等到達苗人境界，同行之二友已厭倦行程自行回花縣。只餘秀全雲山兩人繼續在苗區內之荒山野嶺路上跋涉。過了四日，幸得到一江姓（Yang）塾師館中，彼乃在苗區內授徒者。江老師慷慨接待，而且暢談之下，即皈依其新教。但因與苗人言語不通，二人只留下幾本手寫的小冊子與江老師使分散于人，即行離去。江老師贈以些少旅費，二人復趨程前往探視秀全居住廣西之親戚，但兩人均不熟悉路途也。沿途但見人煙稀少，村鄉疏落，偶有一茶寮可買幾塊糖餅充饑而已。卒之，經了二十日之疲困的行程，推過崎嶇高峻的山路，然後到達一村

(Valley-horn) 此爲秀全戚屬黃姓 (Wang) 之村鄉，于是二人乃感謝上帝使其經過危險長途屢盡艱辛乃得平安到此。

彼等到黃家時，已是五月；于此處得遇洪姓族人二人。此二人乃上年自花縣而來亦曾受秀全之洗禮者。黃告秀全云，其子黃毅 (Wang He) 爲人誣告被逮入獄，乃請教于秀全求其助力。但秀全與雲山先將拜上帝信耶穌之教道爲衆宣講，口才佳妙，極有威力，聽者不特即行接納其道，而且信洪馮二人乃上天特派到此傳真理與彼等者，即皈依受洗禮者逾百人。秀全乃施用其威力以營救其中表黃姓之子，特具一稟帖呈入官衙。不到半月，黃子果出獄還家。結果；飯信秀全新教者逾多，其中黃毅成爲熱烈的信徒。留在黃家至十月，秀全乃想及若任其中表長久供養如許賓客，實爲不易。彼乃令雲山及其同族二人回粵，而其自己則擬再留在彼處。兩族人遵命回花縣，惟雲山專心致意于傳教事業決不回粵，而留在廣西。在潯州附近，彼偶遇見素所相識之工人數名，乃隨同到紫荊山 (Thistle Mount) 地方。于此雲山助其任擔泥工作。同時彼則諄諄爲工人等宣傳新教，誠其勿事偶像獨拜眞神上帝，信仰耶穌藉得天堂永久快樂。聽而傾心皈依者約有工人十名。彼等則報告于主人曾某以馮氏之到此及其爲人誠實才具優異等語。曾某

果與雲山相見，晤談之下詢及其身世職業，即延聘其爲家塾老師，未幾親受其洗禮。由是雲山留在紫荆山一帶，逾數年，熱心傳教，成績極大，至多人信教，甚至有全家全族來領受洗禮者。此等新教徒即自立一會結集禮拜，未幾遠近馳名而成爲「拜上帝會」。

七 秀全回家——與仁玕到廣州——再到廣西——會衆增多——禮拜儀式——洗禮等——毀偶像——雲山入獄——復到廣西

自雲山與兩族人去後，秀全以爲彼等均已回粵。自己再留在黃家一月，即自行回花縣，冀可再見雲山。迨回抵原藉始知雲山仍未歸，乃大爲失望，而且又極難安慰雲山之母及妻，因彼等滿以爲可從秀全處得知雲山消息，但秀全借其同出共履險途，而不與同歸，又不知其概況，乃大爲不悅。

一八四五，一八四六兩年秀全留在家中，仍執教鞭爲業。在此期間，彼曾做數篇文章，問答，及詩歌，均發揮宗教真理者。如：百正歌，原道救世論，原道醒世論，原道覺世論，改邪歸正等篇，其後均增加內容，大都編入後來在南京印行之太平詔書。

秀全繼續在本鄉及隣鄉宣傳新教，凡飯信上帝耶穌真道者皆施以洗禮。其時洪仁玕仍在清

違授徒，常與秀全相見。究竟仁珩小心軟弱，竟聽友人之勸，許其學徒拜事孔子，惟其自己則不拜而已。此時秀全乃告以中心之秘密思想，及其對於滿洲人之仇恨云：

「上帝劃分世上各國，以洋海爲界，猶如父親分家產於兒輩；各人當尊重父親之遺囑而各自保管其所得之產業。奈何滿洲人以暴力侵入中國而強奪其兄弟之產耶？」

其後復言：

「如果上帝助吾恢復祖國，我當教各國各自保管其自有之產業，而不侵害別人所有；我們將要彼此有交誼，互通真理及知識，而各以禮相接；我們將共拜同一之天父，而共崇敬同一天兄世界救主之真道；這是自從我的靈魂被接上天後之心中大願也。」

約在此時秀全又得一奇夢，夢見在紅日放在其手中。及醒乃吟成一詩，原文曰：

五百年臨真日出 那般燭火敢爭光 高懸碧落烟雲捲 遠照塵寰鬼域藏 東北西南羣獻曝 蠻夷戎狄盡傾陽 重輪赫赫遮星月 獨擅貞明耀萬方

（原本加注解釋此詩首句云：「紀元前三世紀有孟子者，曾說：五百年必有王者興。由明代創業之朱洪武至今，正約五百年。」）

在一八四六年之後半，有人（原云姓羅）自廣州回花縣告洪氏云：有外國傳教士名羅孝者（譯者按：Rev. I. J. Roberts 漢名羅季全，然所撰真理之教，問答俗話各書，僅以季字署名）在廣州宣傳真道。但因秀全與仁玕二人其時正在鄉教館，故未能即往廣州訪問之。至翌年，兩人即決意到省城一次。其時羅牧師之助手朱道興（Choo-thau-hing）已從上言之人得聞秀全種種奇異經驗，因寫一信與秀全略謂：

「曾由某兄（Moo-li-pan）處聞得尊兄約在十年前得接一本書，其內容與此處教堂所宜講者相符。如足下惠然肯來，助弟等在此處宣教，（原註：此乃謙讓之辭而已），則傳教士及各兄弟極爲歡迎，至所盼禱。」

接得此信後，秀全與仁玕即赴廣州，在羅牧師處研究真道，兩人均得善意的招待。未幾，又晤見其他傳教士亦均善遇之。在此研究約有一月，羅牧師派其助手朱曾（Tsun）二人偕同洪氏兩人回鄉。在鄉宣傳數日即回廣州。惟仁玕深知羅牧師另有助手黃姓二人設計阻止新兄弟在堂任職，蓋恐自己席位將不保也。因此仁玕獨不肯再去，而留在鄉間研究醫道。獨秀全與同來之二人再到廣州繼續學道。黃姓助手二人——一名黃愛（Wang-ai）一名黃乾（Wang-kan）大概

見秀全才能出衆，恐其受洗禮後，即行受聘於羅牧師而自己必致失業，因此設計陷害秀全使其迫而離堂自去，免受洗禮，奸計果然成功，緣彼等貌爲親愛，對於秀全事極爲關懷，因勸其在受洗禮之前，親對羅牧師要求應許其每月得津貼若干以維持其生活，如是始能于受洗禮之後留在廣東繼續學道。時秀全貧甚，遂以其言爲合理可信，即詣羅處要求。先是秀全初到廣州時，即開誠布公爲書與羅牧師盡將其已往之經過如奇夢，病狀，宣教，宗教論文等等，一一詳說，至是彼仍復袒懷對羅要求受洗禮後之生活費，藉得與其他助手繼續學道，吾人未悉羅牧師得秀全之文件後，曾深加注意，其於洪氏所言，亦似不大置信，且並未了然於洪氏之爲人究竟如何，但一聞其要求之言，一如其他許多中國人之預備受洗禮者，先要求維持費，乃大不悅，于是決意將爲其施洗禮一事展期於漫無一定之將來。

（原註：有人或以爲以上關於別一傳教士之助手一段，大可刪去不錄。但此不特並無礙于羅牧師之意，而且爲對于彼及洪秀全公道起見，我應當將洪氏學道已久而被拒絕受洗禮之大概原因敘述出來。據羅牧師本人之報告（見一八五二年十月份之 *The Chinese and General Missionary Cleaver* 有云）

「約在一八四六年或翌年之間，有兩位中國士人來到我廣州寓所，宣稱意欲學習基督教道，其中之一人未久即回家，

但其他一人則繼續留在我處約有二月餘。在此期間，彼研究聖經受訓導，品行甚端。此人似是洪秀全，即現今之革命領袖也。而敘述其事誠于上文之人，或即是與其同來而先回家者。當洪秀全初來我處時，曾寫就一文詳述其得獲勳世良言一書之經過（此即與其同來之友所敘述者），及其得病情形與病中所見之異象，一一詳述，又謂夢中所見者與書中所言兩相証實。在述其異夢時，彼之所言實令我莫明其妙，迄今仍未明其究從何處而得此種意見，以彼對於聖經之知識無多也。彼請求受洗禮，但在未得吾人滿意于其合格之先，彼已往廣西去矣。直至今日我方得知其以後之行動也。」

此篇之記述者與洪秀全同赴廣州，明白解釋，羅牧師確知洪秀全品行端正，熟悉聖經而仍不以其為合格受洗禮之原因，此亦與羅牧師自己之報告，完全相符。）

秀全對於其請求之結果如此，頗為失望，此時覺得自己中了黃姓二人之奸計，但知之太晚矣。因自己在廣州不能維持生活，而又不知何時方可得受洗禮，于是決意離粵而往廣西，不再候外國教士施洗禮矣。朱道與勸其如不居于廣州即當回鄉，但見其赴桂之決志甚堅，乃贈以銅錢百枚為旅費，另寄一信與花縣洪仁玕，告仁玕及其同族，以秀全已離粵赴桂尋其友馮雲山云。

一八四七年六月，秀全動程第二次入桂，但因其囊中只有銅錢百枚，故不能坐渡船，只有自携行李徒步西上。行至 MO-SEN-GEH 地方，不幸又遇盜賊，將其一肩行李劫去，身中分文無存，更無以繼續路程。設如其仍有幾件衣服留下，則如中國人方法亦可把衣服當去或賣去以作路費，但既無現錢又無衣服，秀全此時陷于極困難之境。彼于是寫一稟帖呈入肇慶府。府官批云，遇盜地點不屬其府治，而歸德慶州所管，但深憫其境遇不幸特給予銅錢四百枚。秀全此時困窮交迫，既無親友，又無路費，進退兩難。彼一無所存，惟有已往之經驗與將來之希望而已，但境遇如此前途亦異常黑暗，希望似無實現之可能矣。

當秀全徘徊路上嗟嘆困窮之際，忽為一人所瞥見，其人當即鼓勵之云：「絃斷自然可再續；船一到岸又可見路了。」秀全聞言而獨自沈思，「此言真對，甚合真道。」于是不顧將來如何，即乘坐渡船繼續向廣西進發。中國人平常人每日吃飯三頓，但秀全恐欠旅費過多無以償還，每日限食一餐，只費銅錢數枚而已。同船搭客中，有三人具有文才者，相與攀談。彼等問秀全曰：「先生，一見尊容，即知先生為有才學之士，但先生又無病無痛而強自制食，我們以為必是遭遇困難了。」

秀全于是告以途間被盜，盡喪所有，幾無以進行之事，彼等又問以入桂之目的爲何。則答以入桂是爲宣傳上帝真理。彼等再問其個人狀況及所傳之真理性質如何，秀全詳爲講解。由是同舟七日，彼得機會令三人得識基督教真理。既到廣西境，此三人謂秀全曰：「你不應灰心喪志。出門走路，人當準備各種厄運，即被盜劫亦是難免。我們已告知船主不收你的船費，現在這裏——（即拿出六百錢給洪）我們籌集得些少路費相贈，使你可繼續路程。」

如此，秀全卒得回到貴縣其黃姓親戚之家。秀全首先便問馮雲山有消息否？此時彼乃得聞馮兩年來在紫荆山教館，而令許多人皈信上帝。秀全急赴該處探視諸教友。到紫荆山時不特歡喜與雲山重會，而且歡喜得新信徒如此之多，尤樂于在其中宣講聖道。

紫荆山拜上帝之教徒未久即有逾二千之多，其數且日增。其中有盧某 (Loo Shing-see) 盧六 (Loo-Luh) 曾亞順，石達開，楊秀清，蕭朝貴等等。蕭妻名楊雲嬌 (Yang Yun-Kiau) 自言在丁酉年間，彼曾患大病，臥床如死去，其靈魂昇天，即聞一老人對其言曰：「十年以後將有一人來自東方，教汝如何拜上帝；汝當真心順從。」彼在女教徒中至爲著名。當時各教友有成語云：「男學馮雲山，女學楊雲嬌。」此時真理由紫荆山傳出，傳播甚速，及于廣西數縣地方，

如象州，潯州（即桂平縣），鬱州，及平南，武宣，貴縣，博白等等縣屬。有勢力及有秀才舉人功名之人及其家族多人均入會。有勢力者如章正（即章昌福）及其多數族人，舉人如胡某帶其徒一體加入。

凡入會者皆毀除偶像而拜上帝。此時彼等會集禮拜之儀式究竟如何，難以敘述。每遇智識及經驗加增，則儀式改革，隨時變更。其始則沿用中國古老拜神方法，後來逐漸改正。現在南京禮拜之儀式，大約不同于彝時紫荊山拜上帝會徒之儀式了。

其始，秀全關於宗教儀式一事，本無確定主意，當彼毀去家裏偶像之時，祇以紙書上帝之名以代之，甚至用香燭紙帛以拜上帝。但過數月後，彼知此是錯誤，即除去之。但其繼母則謂撕去壁上上帝之名真是可惜，因自拜上帝之後，彼等家計稍裕，多買田地數畝，乃以為上帝特別施恩所致。廣西教徒聚集禮拜時，男女分座。先唱一首讚美上帝之詩。畢，則由主任人宣講上帝之仁慈，或耶穌之救贖大恩，及勸誡人悔改罪惡，勿拜偶像，真心崇事上帝。凡有人皈依教道而願意入會為教徒者，即施以洗禮，不問其預備或學道日期之長短也。洗禮儀式如下：在神臺上置明燈二盞，清茶三杯，大概所以適于中國人之觀感也。有一張懺悔狀，上寫各求洗禮

者之姓名，至行禮時，由各人朗聲誦讀，乃以火焚化使達上帝神鑒。乃問求洗禮者「願不拜邪神否？願不行惡事否？願恪守天條否？」各人悔罪立願畢，即下跪。主任人于是由一大盆清水中取水一杯灌于每個受洗者頂上，且灌且喃：「洗淨從前罪惡，除舊生新」。行禮畢，新教徒起立，將清茶飲了，並以盆中水自洗心胸，所以表示洗淨內心也。彼等又常到河中自行沐浴，同時認罪祈禱求上帝赦宥。已受洗禮之教徒即領受各種祈禱文，于早晚及進膳時念之。此種祈禱文雖稍有增減大半載于今南京刊印之天條書中。遇有喜慶日期，如婚姻，新年，或喪葬之時，則以獸類作牲品獻祭；祭畢，與祭者同食之。（原註：諸如此類及其他儀式，殊不合於基督對上帝之純潔禮拜，或為洪秀全所創，或為彼所認許，無論其出於誤會真理，或出於沿用中國人長久之習俗，洪氏以為難於一時驟廢，吾人則深望其能漸次改正也。）

祈禱時，教友共向一方下跪，均面朝陽光入室之處。衆閉目，一人代衆禱禱。

其時，在廣西象州地方有一著名偶像名甘王爺者（Kan Wang-ye），其權力爲人所共仰。拜上帝會教徒查探此偶像之歷史，乃由民間報告云：

「甘王爺本是象州居民，生時極信風水堪輿之說。曾有一風水先生爲其擇得一好穴：但同

時謂如用血葬，全家必得大福。此人於是回家殺死其母而葬之于此穴中，藉謀自身及子孫之後福。彼又嘗逼其姊與一下賤浪子通姦。彼又最愛聽淫蕩歌曲，此等淫曲在廣西至為流行，男女互相對答，由此男女相交，雖素不相識者亦可通情。甘王爺有一次附靈於一少年身上令其走至州官轎前，停止與夫進行，以偶像之名要求州官給與龍袍一襲，州官亦不敢拒其請。廟中司祝者亦怕在廟住宿；晨夕入廟點燈進香時必打鑼鳴鈸以防甘王出現。如有人敢以惡語加諸此偶像，必得肚痛之症。因此人人皆畏甘王爺之威也。」

秀全聆此報告之後，怒火上昇；即言：「此等邪神，當我的靈魂遨遊天堂時，悉要誅滅」。於是偕馮雲山，黃毅。及田、呂三人同赴甘王廟。越二日，達其地，果見甘王神像狀貌威嚴，形容兇惡。秀全持棍在手，痛毆木偶像，同時口中力數其十大罪云：

「第一罪，殺母；第二罪，藐視上帝；第三罪，恐嚇上帝子女；第四罪，貪圖上帝子女的
食物；第五罪，逼其姊與浪子通姦；第六罪，愛聽男女淫詞蕩曲；第七罪，妄自尊大；第八
罪，詐取民財；第九罪，向州官強求龍袍；第十罪，身如邪鬼常行惡事。有此十罪，應即毀滅
無赦。」

于是即毀壞其偶像，撕爛其袍服，打破其香爐及祭器，并親書檄文詩一首；原文如下：

題詩草檄斥甘妖 該滅該誅罪不饒 打死母親干國法 欺瞞上帝犯天條 迷戀婦女雷當劈

害累人民火定燒 作速潛藏歸地獄 腥身豈得掛龍袍

此事傳播後，邑人懸賞一百大元以緝拿犯事者。邪鬼又附在一童子身上言：「此等人皆誠心的；你們不能傷害他們；你們只有重修我的神像便算了事罷。」事後，邑人即取銷賞格。此事發生後，秀全聲譽大起，信徒之數加增更速。過後，彼又得報告，另有一著名的神廟，名六洞廟(Temple of Six Caverns)。此廟之原始係由一男一女，兩相會見，各以淫歌對答唱和，並姦戀數日，隨即死去。人謂此二人已尋得真道；即建一廟以紀念之，崇奉為神。秀全見廣西人之道德感覺更低于禽獸，即作一詩以責備人民之蔑視道德，並言此二邪神應即毀滅；且全體人民已成禽獸；山上各處都可聞淫蕩歌曲，男唱女和；彼等以為已尋得真道而其實則是毀滅真道。淫蕩婦女在家稱為外婦。上帝斷不能容忍此等行爲，將必由天突然審判之云。此詩發表後，人民大憤，各願偶像顯靈殺死秀全。但未幾白蟻生于六洞廟，將神廟及神像蝕壞。

廣西拜上帝會之弟兄隨後毀壞許多偶像；故激起各處人民之反對。時有一富紳王秀才上稟

平南縣官控告伊等，謂彼等以拜上帝爲名到處毀壞廟宇神壇，其實皆反叛之徒也。縣官乃逮捕馮雲山及盧六二人審問時以王紳爲證。王紳已向縣官行賄，遂下二人于獄。洪秀全此時自思：「如果我們因真理而受迫如此，上帝之旨意云何？」其時秀全又作詩一首以表示希望：

安得真兄真弟兮，共布大道于海濱？安得同心同德兮，時同笑傲乎天真？安得義胆忠肝兮，同安宇宙于太平？東北西南兮，同子者何人？雲龍風虎兮，聚會者何辰？天道不滔兮，上帝豈無親！始終一德兮，何日得騰身？

當此困難之時，秀全憶及兩廣總督着英已奏准清朝皇帝許可中國人，外國人，信仰及宣傳基督教。既與紫荊山各兄弟熟商之後，即自回廣東，意欲入稟總督請求釋放因信教而入獄之兩友。到廣州後乃由朱道興處得聞着英剛于十日前晉京去矣。

在此期中，廣西各兄弟自願籌集巨金數百串錢——以救馮盧兩友，並入稟爲其所傳之真理辯辯，附呈所信之十誠以求縣官秉公審查。此時縣官漸信拜上帝會教徒原非叛逆，有意釋放兩人，但王紳又向府官呈控。府官却不管此案，仍批交縣官辦理。中間，縣官已收得馮雲山在獄中呈求伸雪之詩共三首：其一，述出王紳之兇惡謀害之意；其二，伸辯自己之冤枉；其三，証

明人人當拜上帝。此時盧六已狹斃獄中。縣官于是派差役二人將雲山押解回廣東原籍，俟到家後始行釋放。馮在路上常與兩差役侃侃談道，詞意感動二人。行不到幾里，兩人即皈依其教。二人不特願意即時釋放雲山，而且願拋棄差事跟隨雲山到紫荊山入會。未幾二人即受洗禮爲教徒。各兄弟再見雲山，十分歡喜，即殺牛宰馬獻祭上帝以謝天恩。

迨雲山聞知秀全爲營救自己而返粵，自己亦即首途回粵。抵花縣後，又悉秀全已回桂矣。當秀全復到紫荊山之時，即知雲山已被釋出而回粵，彼又即行東下回花縣。一八四八年十月（陰曆）洪秀全與雲山二人卒在花縣會面。在秀全未回家之先，其老父洪養已去世，享壽七十有三歲。易簣之際，告誡其子女云：「我如今上昇天堂；我死去勿請僧人，勿行俗禮，但只拜上帝與祈禱上帝便得了。」此時秀全年三十五歲。彼早已蓄髮留鬚，人間其故，則答因預早知其父死期之故，蓋中國人守孝時例不蓬鬚髮也。

八 洪秀全之品格——談話——及言論

洪秀全自幼即得人親愛，以其品格坦白而正直故。彼性情活潑而友善，但不流于放恣。因其才能優越于同輩學友，每以談諧之言向人調侃，每令人深覺其諷，但其友人仍甚喜聽其所

言，以其言每含真確而高尚之思想，不得不承認其聰明特出也。自一八三七年得病後，彼之人格完全改變，其態度高尚而莊嚴。坐時體直容莊，雙手置膝，兩腳分列而從不交股，軀正襟危坐不俯不仰亦不斜倚左右，如是歷數小時無倦容。彼目不斜視，亦不反顧，行時步履不疾不徐，常現莊嚴態度；自後寡言鮮笑。多人覺其性情迥異前時則每譏笑之，以其行為奇怪異常也。自拜上帝之後對於一己之品行極為嚴格。其言嚴厲，每易傷人。彼甚喜與忠直誠懇之人坐談，其人雖貧賤，所不計也。惟對於惡人，無論其如何富貴，則不能容忍。在其本村中有二人犯淫，因畏秀全之嚴厲處分，竟逃往于外方數年。有一人(Moo)品行不端，竟為十鄉公舉為管理地產者。此人漸諂媚富人而壓迫貧民，且毆打村人。秀全自廣西回鄉，有數人控告之于秀全之前，皆有同樣證據，深願其人受罰。次日，秀全命人鳴鑼召集八九十家人叙集。此人亦到會，深自悔罪，並求赦宥。村人信其真心悔改，僉允恕之。但秀全云：「昨日我從人願，惟今日我則恪守天條」。于是彼將其職被去，而另立江亞四 (Ying Ah Shih) 繼任為管理地產者。被罰者不敢抗議，亦不敢蓄意復仇，而且仍然沿例送禮與洪秀全。在本族中，秀全立木簽九條以治惡人。在每一簽上寫明嚴治五罪：

(一) 通姦犯淫者打

(二) 誘姦婦女者打

(三) 忤逆父母者打

(四) 偷竊賭博者打

(五) 遊蕩爲惡者打

此木簽分給各家家長，但秀全一往廣西，有一族叔即收集各簽投諸河中，並謂：「我們何故受其宰治？」當秀全留居花縣時，閩村男女均敬而畏之，但深感其嚴厲過甚，人心難安耳。

秀全每與親族或隣人相遇，輒暴露且責備其不正之行爲，而勸告其信從真理。彼雖與舊日之朋友親戚往來未斷，但人對之不能如從前之親密，每當訪友回家時，若遇其人不聽勸告，不信真理，即發言云：

「凡不信上帝及耶穌之真理者，雖爲吾之舊交，但非吾友，而却是魔鬼也。反之，凡信上帝及耶穌之真理者，乃天堂真兄弟真朋友也。如有不信吾言者，可各走各路；我不能帶他們上

天堂去，他們亦不能拉我下地獄。即使我之父母妻子不相信，我亦不能與其聯合，何況其他親友乎？只有在天堂的友誼是真的，其他一切都是假的。暫時的快樂不是真的；永久的快樂才是真的。他人所得者不能分與我；而我所得者，亦不能分給別人。我只有願望多人得上天堂，而嘆惜人之下地獄。因是之故，我不得不向彼等宣講真理。」

在談論中，秀全好從經籍指出中國哲學中孰為真理，孰為謬說，而勸人去謬崇真。彼常提到永久的快樂之必然的希望，用以興起人昏聩的精神與對宗教的冷淡。彼有口所常道之詩歌或對聯詞句，用以令聽者深留印象，例如：

- (一) 信實上帝終有福，不信上帝終有哭。
- (二) 爾心切莫慌，上帝有主張，真心多憑據，方可上天堂。
- (三) 遵聖誡，拜真神，撒手時，天堂易上。泥世俗，信魔鬼，盡頭處，地獄難逃。
- (四) 信實上帝便是上帝子女，來何處，從天而降，去何處，向天而昇。
敬拜妖魔即為妖魔卒奴，生之日，為鬼所迷，死之日，被鬼所捉。

秀全常誇讚基督教之教理，且曰：

「過於忍耐或謙卑，殊不適用於今時，蓋將無以管鎖邪惡之世也」。

如有人與其辯駁，彼則氣憤而言：

「此言良心已喪，忘却上帝之慈悲，違犯聖誡，而蔑視耶穌基督之功德。我本來用心費力以教訓你，但你視同兒戲。你是下流賤種；你真是為魔鬼誘惑。我之教訓本令你得快樂，但你不會享受。」

他又言：

「今日之讀書人不能分辨真與是非。算命，看相，風水，及其他秘術則信是真的，此不過行此術者藉以糊口之各種方法而已。其較有智慧之士人雖識真理又不敢承認；其不知者更無由分辨真假。彼輩自身既是盲目顛倒，於是轉教人以腐敗的道理，由是全世界皆陷于魔鬼之羅網中。彼等不能除去，求名，求利之心。彼追求暫時的快樂，而却以為是永久的。彼等爭求世界的物質而忘却天堂的東西。然而在追求快樂之時，却把魔鬼招進屋內。他們不進天堂而入地獄。他們欲得平安但必不得平安，他們想得福祉但必不得邀福。這就是自滿自足驕傲之世，只知求名求利。他們以為偶像可以幫助其得到此等福祉，或則以為天錫鴻福；而不知上天常常賜

富貴榮華與惡人，但善人則每因憂苦與災難而得完成其人格也。」

巍巍上帝萬國所同，養育世人功德無窮。六日造成天地山海，備物賜人享用相通。

天父至親顯斥邪神，設立天條誥誡愚民。既遣耶穌捐命贖罪，又差全証此道確實。

九 入桂之最後一次——上帝會情形——楊秀清與蕭朝貴

馮雲山之本鄉在秀全本村之北約五六里。全境多山，甚利於牧牛，各村人均放牛於野外。

秀全在家時輒牽牛到山野外，用助其長兄。彼即在山野間常與雲山及密友會見，每次係于先一

日預約在某山頭相會。在此秀全常與其衆信徒及友人談論廣西拜上帝會事。彼已于前赴廣州時

得獲新舊遺詔聖書（即新約），此時輒對衆人選讀經文，且諄諄勸告人真心信仰真理，許多在

野外牧牛之小孩均圍繞洪馮二人而傾耳聽其教訓。

秀全與雲山二人留於原籍至一八四九年五月（陰曆）。其住清遠之友人（即洪仁玕等）籌得路

費令兩人可以再入廣西。于是兩人作最後一次離家入桂，初未預料此行遠與家鄉成永別也。是

年十月初九日，太陽上昇時，秀全長子出世。同時有鳥千百，成羣出現，或大如烏鴉或小如喜

鵲。衆鳥翔翔天際既久，即集於秀全屋後諸樹上，逾一月之久。村人驚異不已，以爲此乃新王

降世之朕兆也。仁玕既知秀全妻生一男兒，即揮函派一專人送與秀全告知此大喜事。

秀全與雲山既回到紫荊山，會衆兄弟熱烈歡迎。此時二人聞悉當其回粵時，拜上帝會中屢有奇事發生，因而在兄弟中生出糾紛及有分裂之象。緣當衆人下跪祈禱時，忽有人跌在地上不省人事，全身出汗。在此昏迷情狀之下，其人似乎有神附體，口出勸誡，或責罵，或預說未來之事。其言常是糲糊，聽不清楚，或則爲韻語。兄弟等有記錄其較爲重要之辭句者，至是盡以呈秀全鑒察。秀全乃按真理以審察各條而判辨各人之言孰真孰假。如此，乃證明楊秀清之言謂：「此等辭句一部份是由上帝而來。一部份是從魔鬼而來的。」

在此等神言中，其最重要而經秀全審判爲真者，乃楊秀清與蕭朝貴二人之言。楊本爲極貧窮之人，但其入會則非常熱心及誠懇。在會中，彼忽生啞病，兩月內不能言語，會衆均覺奇異，以爲是不祥之兆，但後來復能言語，嗣後有神附體傳言比別人爲多。每次代天父上帝傳言時，嚴厲肅責人之罪惡，常指個人而宣傳其醜行。彼又勸人爲善，及預言未來，或號令人應如何做。其言辭大概留極深刻之印象于會衆。蕭朝貴則以耶穌之名傳言，而其言則比秀清之言較爲和藹。黃氏有族人出言反對耶穌教訓，且引人離道，此人即被逐出拜上帝會；其言即被

定爲假的，爲魔鬼附身而說的。

又有許多患病者藉祈禱之力而得痊愈。傳言楊秀清有代人求神力治病之奇能。由記錄上觀之，則秀清似是自願且祈禱將病者之病傳諸其身，贖去其病藉使其人得愈，其後自己乃求除病。（原註：楊秀清又名爲「禾乃勝」，「禾乃」即「秀」字拆開，并無他意義也。）

相傳有楊金秀 (Yang Kih-shu) 者，去世時，天上奏樂，室內無風，但當其魂離身時，其床輒自動至二小時之久。洪秀全對衆信徒施以嚴格的規矩。馮雲山雖是拜上帝會之開創者，但人承認洪爲會中至高首領，威權無能與京，其權力足以施諸會衆各人。洪禁吸鴉片，即平常煙草及飲酒均在被禁之列。關於鴉片彼有一詩；原文曰：

烟槍即銃槍 自打自受傷 多少英雄漢 困死在高床

關於飲酒，秀全謂以米蒸酒是奪去人所必需之食糧，其後復予人以無用而有害之飲料。從前秀全之酒量甚大，其後則爲應酬友人只飲三小杯。在家亦以此爲限，但自入廣西後大概完全禁絕，如果有人言爲可信，則彼禁絕其信徒飲酒也。

秀全似乎並不充分明白安息日之要義，只以其爲上帝六日創造天地，七日休息，乃奉爲禮

拜及感謝上帝之日而已。廣西拜上帝會教徒之守聖餐典禮亦未見有何傳說。

豐年（二八五〇）五月（陰曆），秀全遣江隆昌（Kiang-Liang-chang）及另有黃姓及侯姓（Hou）兩位兄弟帶信回花縣召其全家到桂。據其所言之理由是因上帝予彼以下言之默示：

「在道光三十年（二八五〇）我將遣大災降世，凡信仰堅定不移者將得救，其不信者將有瘟疫。過了八月之後，有田不能耕，有屋沒人住，因此之故，當召汝之家人及親戚至此。」

此時秀全之母，妻，兒女，兄長及妻室至親之族人均聚眷到桂與秀全同居一處。道光帝崩後，（二八五〇）廣西果有數縣發生瘟疫，于是秀全之信徒加增愈多，因人盛傳入拜上帝會者，可免疫癘傳染也。

十 廣西之擾亂——本地與客人之爭——拜上帝會牽入政爭——革命之原因——起義及成功——洪秀全與三合會

廣西山嶺崎嶇，盜賊藏伏，出沒無常，行客及鄉村時遭搶劫。當是時。盜賊日益增多，且結隊成羣，勢甚猖獗，四出劫掠村鎮城市。官兵奉令勦捕，甚為棘手，然而賊匪雖聚散無常，漂流靡定，官兵亦常奏功。賊匪多由廣東或鄰省而來，即廣西人所稱為客家者。廣西有客家村

落甚多，但不若本地村落之強大。本地人與客家人之感情甚壞，互相仇視，一有事端發生，仇怨更深。其時有客家富人溫姓者納一女子爲妾，此女已與一本地人訂婚，遂起爭執。溫姓與女子父母協商予以重金，因此不允退讓與本地人。縣官每日接收本地人控告此客家人之狀詞無數，不能審判曲直，縣官似乎是畏難故意推宕不理此糾紛；據說縣官暗中卻贊成本地人自行以武力對待客家人。無論此事確否，客家人與本地人未幾發生械鬪于貴縣境內，復有許多村鄉加入戰團。戰事起于八月二十八日（原註：即一八五零年九月。譯者按，應云：陽曆十月三號。）其始客家佔勝利，因其人好勇鬪，成爲習慣，而且大概兼有賊匪加入作戰。但本地人愈戰愈強，經驗愈富，又以其人數較多數倍，卒將客家人擊敗，焚其屋宇，以故許多客人無家可歸。在此患難中彼等央求拜上帝會教徒之庇護。此時拜上帝會教徒人數約有三千，散居于各縣。客家人甘願遵守教規典禮因而避去仇人之攻擊，且得物質之接濟。

直至此時，拜上帝會教徒從未與廣西各匪黨發生關係。官兵搜捕匪徒亦向不干涉教徒，亦無有懷疑教徒之宗教聚集者。但如今不特有患難之村民，而且被官兵擊散之賊匪，均視拜上帝會爲遁逃藪，老幼男女携眷挾財產大隊加入，情景大不同前時。與官吏發生突衝，勢所難免。

秀全明慧的眼光早見及此，其預言至此均驗。彼早已預定計劃，準備應付方略，只候適當時機方果義耳。約在此時，秀全又製一詩，國勢情形及本人志願均明白表示，原文曰：

近世烟氛大不同 知天有意啓英雄 神州被陷從難陷 上帝當崇舉竟崇 明主敵詩曾詠菊

漢皇置酒尚歌風 古來事業由人做 黑霧收殘一鑑中

在此詩中，秀全指出匪黨橫行于各縣山區，聚散無常，起伏無定有如烏雲。彼又表示任其自相鬪殺至兩敗，俱傷，再無力量之時彼乃崛起田間，獨霸爲主，自是易事。此乃明太祖之計劃，于其詠菊花詩中露出，秀全引此以自比。（按，傳說宋洪武原詩云：「百花發時不我發，我一發時都嚇煞，要與西風戰一場，滿身披掛黃金甲。」）漢高祖曾置酒高歌大風，以慶風起雲飛大業成功之盛。（按其辭曰：「大風起兮雲飛揚，威加海內兮歸故鄉，安得猛士兮守四方。」）

王秀才——即前所言攻擊秀全新教，陷害教徒最力者——此時又以財勢陷害一位拜上帝會之弟兄。緣年少氣盛之黃毅，恣意毀壞別人偶像，因之激怒人民，此時又被控告于縣衙。縣官却不收理此案，將兩造遣出衙署。黃毅出至街上，即與兩原告人發生齟齬，要求其補回巨費，非得手將不能休。適王秀才路經其地，詢問情由。兩原告即詳告原委，謂縣官不理。王秀才答

謂：「我將親自出手把此人送入監牢。」即喝令再將黃毅捉入衙署。彼即呈一狀詞，兼賄賂巨金。結果，黃毅果被收入獄，未幾即瘦斃獄中。

拜上帝會教徒與人民第一次衝突似乎是在金田發生。緣本地人所居某大村有人將拜上帝會教徒之牛搶去。會中弟兄甚為憤怒，要求放回。本地人遲遲未允，教徒即搶去本地人牛一頭或數頭。卒之彼此商議交換所搶之牲口，代表人乃會面商定此事。不料教徒之代表回歸時，有本地人恃人多勢強竟向客家人開鎗。客家人不甘即還攻擊，追逐本地人回其本村。本地人以此意外之敗為神不悅所致，乃擺會演戲，藉邀神寵，將偶像高置戲棚上。但在演戲之中恐慌屢起，因謠傳拜上帝會教徒來攻，看戲者驚駭狂奔者數次。拜上帝會教徒多數為客家人，兇勇耐勞，因此以少數人敢向多逾數倍之本地人進攻，雖後者有官兵為助而仍常佔勝利。客家人入會者愈多，遂被捲入旋渦。此時彼等不特被本地人指責為干涉他人之宗教禮拜及毀壞偶像，而且包庇賊匪，密謀造反矣。

秀全與雲山二人此時已離去紫荊山而私匿于大易山 (Vat-Changé hills) 一友人家內。此地四圍皆山，只有一小路通出外方，官吏對拜上帝會既生疑心，偵知洪馮二人所在，乃派兵扼守山

路。秀全與雲山在彼處雖有少數信徒，而官兵仍不敢冒進，只在路上遍插短尖木椿嚴守路上而防其逸出。由是洪馮二人被困山中，不能逃脫。至是彼等求解放中國于異族而使其成爲拜上帝者之大事業，在開始時即幾遭厄死矣。在此危機當中，傳說楊秀清在昏迷中得上帝顯示于紫荊山衆兄弟，謂其領袖等有難，而令彼等速往救援。此時會中衆兄弟齊集多人，兼程往救，與緊守山路之官兵衝突。彼等擊敗官兵自是易事，即拔開山路上木椿，秀全與雲山乃得恢復自由。

是時秀全立即通告各縣之拜上帝會教徒集中于一處。前此各教徒已感覺有聯合一體共禦公敵之必要；彼等已將田產屋宇變賣，易爲現金，而將一切所有繳納於公庫，全體衣食俱由公款開支，一律平均。因有此均產制度，人數愈爲加增，而人人亦準備隨時可棄家集合。時機如今到了。人人爲本身及家眷之安全而焦慮，至是乃奔集洪秀全之旗下，蓋人人均信洪爲上帝特選以爲其領袖者也。無論老幼貧富，有勢有才，秀才舉人，一體挈眷而來。韋正獨自帶其族人約有一千。秀全即佔領一豐富的圩（新墟）。此是上言王姓宮神所居地。所設糧食店及當舖適足供給此聖客家難民豐足的衣食。此圩有關河圍繞，藉得天然防禦，不虞突然的攻襲。秀全於此安紮隊伍，更建造防禦工事。在官兵未至之先，防守工作已備，早佔優勢矣。官兵紮營于離圩稍遠

之地，雙方隔河開火互擊，但無人敢過江接仗。秀全在此處復派江隆昌回粵。江即携藥箱扮作醫生走路回粵，召洪馮二姓其餘族人來桂；但族人未到之前，秀全因供給斷絕，已迫而棄營他往。開拔時極爲秘密，全軍偷渡河他往，官軍尙不知得，以爲仍在原地也。蓋秀全捕去圩中婦女，將離圩時，關閉婦女于江邊房屋而令其頻頻擊鼓，因此令敵人以爲全軍仍在圩內也。官軍一知其行動即派輕兵追之，但追兵趕及洪軍過近，一經反攻，即大敗，多人被殺。官軍此時遷怒于該圩，即攻佔之，焚燒一二千舖戶而搶掠財物，且又捕殺居民多人，誣以逆黨或助逆之罪。此等不幸的人民甚爲鎮定，只有逆來順受。有一曾姓者對官兵呼云：「爲何遲遲不動手？要殺便殺罷，我是不怕死的。」彼與其他多人，不肯下跪，屹立受刑。此等殘酷行爲令人民憤激不勝。許多人留在家中本欲拜上帝而不願加入革命運動者，至是迫得離家而投入洪軍。洪秀全是時已佔領及駐紮于一個大村鄉名大村者，此處糧食之供給亦多。秀全佔領此村之原因如下：有賊首名陳亞潰者到處滋擾地方，卒表示願率其黨徒與洪軍聯合。但在未成事實之先，即在洪氏佔據新圩之時，陳亞潰有事西行，乃爲大村人民所捉拿交諸清吏，旋得賞金頂。秀全至是佔據該村，所以爲陳亞潰復仇也。

在大村駐紮時，有二女匪首邱二 (Kew-ith) 及 Sack-San 性極兇悍，各率黨徒二千人加入洪軍。秀全納之，但必要其聽從命令及遵守會規。秀全令兩女首領各率本部分駐兩翼，稍離本軍。同時有匪首八人為三合會匪黨亦表示願率部加入。秀全許之，但必以同拜上帝為條件。八人表示願意，乃獻牛豬米糧等物來洪軍，秀全即派拜上帝會兄弟十六人分往各部——每部二人——教訓各人部屬以教理，然後接受加入。施教畢，各匪首送各人回洪處而贈以巨金以為酬勞，準備不久即率衆加入洪軍。十六人中有十五人格守會規，各將所贈之金悉數納還公庫，獨有一人私藏贈金而不舉報。此人以前曾以品行不端屢犯會規，本應受罰，只因其傳道有口才且有能幹故被宥恕。彼仍吸食鴉片，曾私賣軍隊藤盾以買煙，又曾醉酒打傷會中弟兄。至是復被證明私匿贈金，秀全與其同族之人共同決定應按律嚴辦，即將其斬首以警將來。當三合會八匪首聞悉有一適被派為教師之人因犯小事即被殺，甚為不安，即言：「你們的軍律似乎太嚴；我們不容易遵守，恐怕將來或犯了小事又殺我們了。」

因是之故，大頭羊 (‘‘*Red Sheep Head*’’)，大鯉魚及其他五匪首率衆離開，後來投降官軍，轉而攻洪軍了。(譯者按：張劍即大頭羊，田芳即大鯉魚，侯志即潘貴興，關祖即大慶具，等，投降清軍見前不專述)

方略卷四，除廣師奏。獨有羅大綱留在洪軍不去，因彼正愛其軍律之嚴及其治軍之教理。傳聞上言三合會七匪首中之六人卒被洪軍殺死于交戰中。前此秀全對於三合會曾發表議論云：

「我雖未嘗加入三合會，但常聞其宗旨在「反清復明」。此種主張，在康熙年間該會初創時，果然不錯的；但如今已過去二百年，我們可以仍說反清，但不可再說復明了。無論如何，如我們可以恢復漢族山河，當開創新朝。如現在仍以恢復明室為號召，又如何能號召人心呢？況且三合會又有數種惡習，為我所憎惡者。例如：新入會者必須拜魔鬼邪神及發三十六誓，又以刀加其頸而迫其獻財為會用。彼等原有之真宗旨今已變為下流卑污無價值的了。如果我們講真道理，而倚靠上帝強有力之助佑，我們幾個人便可比他們多數。甚至孫臏，吳起，孔明等及其他古代歷史中之嫻于輜略戰術者亦不值得我之一讚，三合會更卑卑不足道矣。」

此後，秀全命令其黨徒，凡三合會人們，如不捨棄舊習而皈依真教，則不容收納。

是年（一八五）秋秀全又率軍出發，直趨廣西東部之永安州，即佔據之，收沒其官庫及穀倉。據報告，此城之佔領如下：洪軍急進直薄城下，城牆不高，彼等手擲無數炮竹進城內，鞭炮繼續轟響，遂令守軍大起混亂，自行退去，洪軍於是扒城而入，自是易事。

洪秀全在永安即帝位，改國號爲「太平天國」。「天國」二字從字義看來似是指中國而言，但由其地位看來則或即是帝皇之稱號，此名稱蓋洪氏本由聖經所選得者。據說，秀全先讓最高之稱號于其他四首領——馮雲山，楊秀清，蕭朝貴，及韋正——及彼等謙讓不肯，而且發願完全服從洪之威權，彼乃自登尊位，而分封四人爲四方之王。（原註：吾人應將洪仁玕——本書之紀錄者——及其友人關於「天德」名號之意見補述。時人傳說天德爲此次舉義之首領，但彼等相信天德非他，即洪秀全是也。彼等解釋此稱號之來由如下：洪秀全自稱爲太平王——即由太平天國新國號之首二字而來，或爲天國王。客家語中「國」字「德」爲疊韻。客人稱洪氏爲天國王時，遠方外籍人聞之，因方言土音不同，又因不明原字意義乃誤以「天國王」爲「天德王」也。「天德」二字易於出口，亦爲平常習聞之辭。因是之故，中國各處及外國人士遂誤以天國王爲天德王，而且許多人一誤再誤以天德王爲太平王洪秀全外之另一人也。此說與去年四月（陽曆）南京太平軍中人物所言相符，蓋謂天德王只是外人對彼等首領之稱號云。）

秀全復遣凌十八率一軍由永安進攻廣東，但未幾即在羅定（Lodding）爲官軍所敗，軍隊潰散，大半逃回永安。

綜上觀之，吾人已將洪秀全起事之原始一一紀述——由其在廣州赴考，患病，被擄回鄉，

直至其成爲一忠心而熱誠的大軍之首領，佔據永安，被信徒擁爲中國之皇帝。此革命軍繼續進展至廣西，湖南，湖北，江西，安徽，及江蘇，而于一八五三年三月十九號佔領南京，此皆人所共知者。由南京太平軍所發表之書籍而知現在洪秀全之稱號爲太平王；馮雲山爲南王；楊秀清爲東王；蕭朝貴爲西王；韋正爲北王；而石達開則爲翼王；又羅大綱（原本作剛）統軍於鎮江。同年，太平軍復分大軍進攻河南，山西，及直隸，而屯紮于距北京只有七十英里之獨流地方過冬。彼等居然可佔據此地至長久時期，足證明清廷之十分懦弱無力，大約明年春間，北京之命運即可決定矣。太平軍似懷有兩大目的；一則顛覆清朝，廢除偶像；次則建立太平天國及禮拜上帝是也。南京之佔領及固守，已樹立此新國之基礎，但太平天國之存在必待清朝滅亡後始可得人承認。清室存亡當視北京之能守與否爲斷，蓋如其不守則清軍將被擊破而清廷與漢族人民之最後的小小關係一概斬絕矣。

十一 廣東之逼害——馮雲山家族之入獄——起事響應之失敗——洪仁玕之逃亡

上文曾言洪秀全于一八五一年在新圩駐紮時曾派人回粵召集洪馮兩族人及在粵之信徒往桂加入太平軍。前此一年，當秀全搬取自己親族之時，洪仁玕仍在清遠授徒爲業，因爲友人所強

留，迄未成行。此次（一八五二）彼乃偕五十人，或爲洪馮族人或爲友人，一同西上。迨抵漳州時，乃聞悉太平軍已棄營他去，而官軍此時正搜捕及屠殺凡與拜上帝會教徒有關係者。仁玕即令同伴中四十餘人回粵，而彼自己則與三人繼續前進，欲趕上太平軍。清吏此時搜捕極嚴，凡一般游民及有嫌疑者均被捉去，仁玕恐遭毒手乃易姓名爲侯某（How）。前進之路竟難通行，不得已乃中途折回。在歸途中，遇有數人確爲侯姓者。有侯姓富人竟招待仁玕于其家中至一月之久。仁玕別時，侯某又贈以銅錢八串，米四十磅，及豬肉五磅，蓋仍以爲賙恤同族之貧寒士子也。仁玕回抵花縣時，秀全與雲山在桂起義之消息已傳至粵省清吏。有軍隊被派至本鄉捕捉村人，掘毀祖墳，及勒索民財。仁玕見在家不穩，遂移居于清遠友人處。馮雲山之叔伯某，其母，其弟，及一幼子均被捕入獄，而其妻及兩子幸能逃出，匿于他縣友人家。彼等旋亦逃至清遠，與衆友商議，結果，衆友樂爲籌集旅費，使仁玕挈雲山長子及一姪再赴廣西。此次清吏之防守及盤查比上次尤爲嚴密，彼等不得已又折回粵東。

中間，雲山之妻匿居于穀嶺（Paddy-hill）竟爲一黃姓者告密。雲山妻再事逃亡，吏胥追捕甚急，投入一路邊小屋中求屋中人勿予揭發。屋中人允爲收藏，幾脫險矣，但不幸有一丐婦警

見其投入屋內，即舉報邏者而得賞金數元。雲山婦卒被捕，解往廣州，與雲山其他族人並下獄中。時雲山之叔伯已死于獄內。雲山之長子與姪隨仁珏再次謀入桂，亦不得成功。彼等之親友多人在粵因受清吏之壓迫及勒索過甚，準備抵抗官軍，營救雲山族人，但有些領袖們反對此舉，故不成議。

至一八五二年，秀全之使者江隆昌再次回粵，携有兩件召集各族信徒入桂約會于永安。清吏似暗知太平軍勢力日盛，深懷恐懼。因此對於洪馮二族不再事嚴厲壓迫。且將秀全同族一老叔伯年七十二歲者釋放出獄。秀全之徒明知清廷對於彼等並無開恩之可言，乃決議召集各人起事而以穀嶺為集中地。江隆昌曾參與起義于廣西，親見塢塢勝利，乃兇猛急進而不謹慎。彼期望在粵可得與在桂同樣之勝利，但預備不全，供給缺乏，又不小心，因此令自己及親友多人同罹大難。預定集合之日尙未屆，彼即與天鶴，右高帽等（"Heaven Cock"，"Cap Right High"）及其同族共約二百人皆不習于戰鬪者即舉旗起事，而以順天為口號。舉事後，當地人民即報告于縣官，即有大隊官兵派來攻捕。彼等勇敢應戰，但人數既少，又無經驗，交綏未久，即被擊散。江隆昌與六人登時陣亡，其餘被擒者甚衆，其餘星散。右高帽大叫云：「都失敗了！」彼乃與

天鷄作殊死戰，旋趁濃霧由山而下，遂冒出重圍逃入林中。于此與雲山姪馮亞樹（FENG A-SHUI）及其他相遇。彼等迫得離去本邑而逃匿于友人家中或各謀生路。穀嶺全村被官兵焚毀，禾田收沒入官。

穀嶺事敗後，洪仁玕與十餘人始趕到，並不知失敗之事，全體被該處居民擒捉，從背後綑綁雙臂，圍閉一室，準備押解與官吏而受死刑。衆囚犯均怨仁玕之勸其加入叛事，致受此災劫，欲得大福反遭大禍。仁玕本是生氣勃勃，熱誠過人，原欲帶引其親友共享榮華富貴，至是坐于衆囚中心懷深憂，大爲失望，倘能以脫衆人于死刑當樂以身代。彼之手暗自撫摩其繫背之繩，漸覺鬆動，未久果能掙脫細綁，遂一一爲衆囚解去繩索，因而竟能令六人逃脫。夜後，彼等暗開屋門，冒雨奔逃入山，仁玕一生之大希望忽然沮喪，竟令如許親友身罹大禍，至是自己亦無地可逃，于是深覺自己罪孽深重，頓懷絕望。乃私解腰帶，意圖自殺。同逃中之一人，上前勸阻，仁玕對之云：「你自己逃生去罷，我就在此處了結殘生了。」其人即捉其手，牽其上前，勸其繼續借其逃亡，仁玕從焉。翌日，仁玕在叢林中休息睡醒時，不見此人。此時乃祈禱天父上帝謝其救命大恩，及佑其出險，使得安然經過如許難關。日間，彼藏身于林中，夜間則行路。有一

次，有人搜尋亡命者逼近其藏匿之處但卒不見之。卒之經過四日四夜在山中捱飢抵餓，然後到一親戚家，身體已困甚。在此廬山洞中仁玕潛匿六日，其親戚予以路費，使得搭船到別縣洪氏遠親之家。但此時又有難關，因是處亦有洪氏族人曾赴穀嶺起事而生死未卜者。于是該處族人立意爲其受死之兄弟復仇，竟欲將仁玕押送清吏。幸得一父老接納仁玕而庇護之，謂此時尙未知各兄弟之生死而先害仁玕之命，甚爲不合；但若果有不測亦由各人自願前去，非受人誘惑欺騙者。于是遣其一孫導引仁玕出亡。此青年人是一個基督徒，于一八五二年四月（陽曆）直帶仁玕至香港，而介紹至我處。我聞中國內地竟有人對於基督教如此熱心，及如此熟識，深以爲異焉。我甚喜聽其敘述其饒有精神之種種經歷，關於洪秀全，馮雲山及其信徒等，但其時我對於全局亦未有清楚的概念，蓋此事人多所未悉亦多所不信也。仁玕寫出數張紙，內載洪秀全及其自身之歷史，我將此紀述放在書桌留備後日之考証。仁玕現欲學基督教道兼求受洗禮，我以爲彼將留在香港居住；但我離香港入內地數禮拜，回時彼已離去，以其在此處無以營生也。

自穀嶺事敗之後，雲山之長子馮亞芳（Franka-fong）逃至廣州，爲鐵匠學徒。此鐵匠本爲一極壞之人，曾與人同夥行劫及犯案，與其他罪犯爲清吏捕去。彼願交出雲山長子于清吏以贖自

己之罪。亞芳由是被偵出而被捕入官，但其堅不承認爲馮雲山之子。清吏乃提其至其生母之前，兩人相見均下淚，由是證明母子關係。亞芳至今仍與其母及其族人繫于廣州。此鐵匠與其他罪犯均斬首。雲山之次子隨其堂兄弟亞樹出亡。經過多少困難卒得機會于一八五二年七月（陽曆）隨羅孝全牧師至上海。綜計洪氏族人在事前事後遇難者共約四十名，其餘充軍至遠處者共約七十名。赴難之確數甚爲難知，而每人所遭之運命更難盡悉矣。

洪仁玕離開我處之後隱居于內地爲塾師，直迄一八五三年十一月（陽曆）復來看我。彼仍堅欲受洗禮，似乎十分熱心爲上帝服務。彼聲言願將各事交託上帝，上帝自有旨意，而仁玕則願先求上帝國與道義。仁玕與同來自清遠之三友均已受洗禮，至今仍研究聖經，希望將來在神意之中可以宣傳救道于其國人。仁玕，其友人及各人之眷屬之困難情形，令我決意發行此冊小書；讀者幫助此書之推銷，即有功於書中多人之贖濟，此可以爲慰者也。

THE

VISIONS OF HUNG-SIU-TSHUEN,

AND

ORIGIN OF THE KWANG-SI INSURRECTION.

1. GENEALOGY OF THE HUNG FAMILY.

THE Hung family trace the pedigree of their ancestors back to the time of the Sung dynasty, and the reign of the two Emperors Hwui-tsung and Kin-tsung, about the beginning of the twelfth century. These two Emperors were taken captive by the northern barbarians, the people of Kin, and carried away to their country. At this period one Hung-hau was Minister of State, and actuated by feelings of duty and compassion, with but one companion to share his dangers, he resolved to visit the Kin country, in order to offer his services to his unfortunate master. Exposed to the severe cold in those northern regions, and being driven out without relief into the uninhabited forests, they soon found that their provisions and clothing were insufficient to keep them both alive, upon which Hung's companion magnanimously proposed to sacrifice his own life in order to save Hung, and gave him his own food and raiment, to enable him to continue his wandering, while he himself was left to perish in the forest. Hung was nevertheless soon reduced to extreme distress, and had only the roots of wild herbs wherewith to support his life. The Kin people were astonished to find him after some time still alive, and permitted him to return to his native country.

Hung-hau had three sons, Hung-tsun, Hung-mai, and Hung-kwah. The first of these was appointed Minister of State, as his father had been; the two others were members of the Han-lin college. Hung-tsun's son Hung-Phuh, also attained to this dis-

inction, the highest literary rank in China, and at that time there were more than eighty individuals of the Hung family at the Imperial court. From Hung-Phuh to Hung-Nien-kiu-lang were fifteen generations. The latter lived in the department of Chau-chau in the eastern part of Kwang-tung province, but having to suffer insult and persecution from some of his relatives, he removed farther north, to Kin-jing-chau. His descendants afterwards gradually spread in the province of Kwang-tung, and number at the present time about twenty thousand individuals. Among them there always have been found men of literary attainments and renown. From the above Hung-Nien-kiu-lang to Hung-Kung were eleven generations. The latter had four sons, Hung-Jin-king, Hung-Jin-lun, Hun-Jin-shing, and Hung-Jin-wui. Of these, Jin-lun and Jin-wui first removed to the district of Hwa-hien, to the northward of the city of Canton, where they settled as farmers, and afterwards brought their parents and brothers to the same place. The descendants of Hung-Kung now amount to about five hundred persons. From one of the above named four brothers, Jin-lun, descends Hung-Siu-tshuen in the fourth generation, and from another brother Jin-wui, his friend Hung-Jin, also in the fourth generation, from whom the statements composing this narrative have been obtained.

In China, where the security of a family depends on the influence and number of its members, all descendants from one ancestral head consider themselves nearly related, and as belonging to one family, mutually bound to protect and assist each other. All of the same generation are called brothers and sisters, those of the former generation are called uncles and aunts, and intermarrying between parties of the same surname or clan is strictly forbidden. Thus Hung-Siu-tshuen, the subject of the following pages, and Hung-Jin, the informant respecting him, are in China considered as much more nearly related than persons under similar circumstances in a western country would be. Hung-Siu-tshuen's father, Hung-Jang, had three sons and two daughters by his first wife of the Choo family; by his second wife of the Li family, who is still alive, he had no issue. Siu-tshuen was the fourth of the children, and only a sister was younger than himself. Siu-tshuen by his wife of the Lai family has three children, the elder girl about fifteen, the younger about ten, and a son five years of age. Several of Siu-tshuen's nearest

ancestors were generally known and renowned for their integrity of character, and attained a venerable old age. Hung-Jin-lun, his great-grandfather's father, was a man of remarkable benevolence, who extended his care to all the members of the clan, and died at ninety-six years of age. The son of Jin-lun attained an age of more than ninety years, and his grandson, the grandfather of Siu-tshuen, was above eighty when he died. Siu-tshuen's father was a venerable old man with a long beard, honest and straightforward, and was appointed by the clan to take charge of the ancestral fields, the produce of which is the property of the whole clan, and the spending of the revenue derived from which is reserved for extraordinary occurrences, when the interest of all is concerned. He was also appointed headman or elder of his native village, in which capacity he had not only to settle disputes among the inhabitants of his own village, but also to arrange the terms of any agreement with the surrounding villages. In China, where the distance to the district town, or nearest mandarin office, is often very great, perhaps twenty or thirty miles, and where a lawsuit generally results in a mere spending of large sums of money to the benefit of the mandarins and their servants, the method of settling any disputes between themselves by means of appointed, or generally acknowledged, headmen, is in most instances resorted to, and very often war between the different villages is resolved upon, carried on for months, and peace finally concluded, without any interference on the side of the mandarins, who at the present time have lost a great part of their influence among the native population.

2. HUNG'S BIRTHPLACE AND CHILDHOOD.

THE native place of Hung-Siu-tshuen is a small village in the Hwa-hien district. Its distance from the city of Canton is about thirty English miles, and the country in this direction forms an extensive plain; it is covered with paddy fields, and interspersed with numerous villages. The White-cloud Mountains near Canton may upon a clear day be seen from thence. Siu-tshuen's ancestors having moved hither from Kia-jing-chau, and speaking the Kia-jing-chau dialect, their descendants, and all other Chinese, who have moved down to settle in the southern part of the Kwang-

tung province, are by the aborigines, or Punti people, known under the name of Hakkas (Kheh-kia), or settlers. The Chinese adhere strictly to the customs of their forefathers; they spend their whole lives in an unceasing toil for procuring a bare support, and seem by habit almost unable to appreciate those comforts of life which are deemed indispensable by western nations. In such a Hakka village, we only find what is useful and necessary, without any thought of comfort or luxury. A description of the native village of Siu-tshuen may serve as a pattern for numerous others. The front part of the houses faces the south to admit the light, and to receive the refreshing south-west breeze during the summer months, and also to avoid the cold north wind during the winter season. Upon entering through the front door, there is an open space about ten or twelve feet square, on the sides of which are the cooking and bathing rooms, and right opposite the door is the large room or hall of the house, which is quite open in front, to admit the light and air. On both sides are private apartments of the several branches of the family, who possess one common room for assembling in. The houses consist of only one story; the ground is made hard by a mixture of moistened sand and lime. being beaten quite smooth on the surface; the walls are made of the same materials, but with a greater proportion of clay. The roof is simply formed by spars and laths, upon which the tiles are thickly laid, first in rows with the concave side upwards, and above them a second row with the concave side downwards, by which means the water is kept from penetrating into the house below.

The whole population of Hung's native village only amounts to about four hundred people, the most part of whom belong to the Hung family. There are only half-a-dozen houses in the front, but behind are two other rows of houses with narrow lanes leading to them, and in the third row on the west side we find the humble dwelling of Hung's parents. Before the village in front of the houses is a large pool of muddy water, where all the dirt and refuse of the village is carried down by the rain, and which forms a rich supply of water for manuring purposes, though the smell thereof is offensive to persons unaccustomed to Chinese agricultural economy. Upon the left hand from the village, and on the side of this pool, is situated the schoolhouse, where every boy may study the same Chinese classics as are studied

everywhere and by every student in the whole country, with the hope ultimately of rising from his present humble station to the highest dignities in the Empire.

In this village, in the year 1813, Hung-Siu-tshuen was born, and received upon his birth the name, "Brilliant fire;" afterwards upon attaining the age of manhood, another name was given him, marking his relation to the Hung family; and subsequently he himself adopted Siu-tshuen, "Elegant and Perfect," as his literary name. The two elder brothers of Siu-tshuen assisted their father in cultivating their paddy-fields, and a few simple vegetables, which supplied their principal nourishment. The family was in a humble position, possessing only one or two buffaloes, besides some pigs, dogs, and poultry, which are generally included in a Chinese farming establishment. The young Siu-tshuen soon developed an extraordinary capacity for study, and was sent to school when seven years of age. In the course of five or six years, he had already committed to memory and studied the Four Books, the Five Classics, the Koo-wun and the Hau-king; afterwards he read for himself the History of China, and the more extraordinary books of Chinese literature, all of which he very easily understood at the first perusal. He soon gained the favour of his teachers as well as of his own family relations, who felt proud of his talents, and surely hoped that he would in course of time attain the degree of a Tsin-tzu, or even become a member of the Han-lin college, from which the highest officers are selected by the Emperor, and thus by his high station reflect a lustre upon his whole family. Several of his teachers would not receive any pay for instructing him, and though some of the schools he visited were at a great distance, and the circumstances of his family not very good, yet, in order that he might continue his studies, they rejoiced to bring him provisions, and several of his relatives shared their clothing with him, for the same purpose. His old father, in talking with his friends, was particularly fond of dwelling upon the subject of the talents of his youngest son. His face brightened whenever he heard any one speak in his son's praise, and this was inducement enough for him to invite the speaker to the family hall, to partake of a cup of tea or a bowl of rice, and quietly continue this his favourite topic of discourse.

When Siu-tshuen was about sixteen years of age, the poverty of his family did not permit him to continue his studies, but like

the other youths of the village, who were no students, he assisted in the field labour, or led the oxen to graze upon the mountains, a common occupation in China for those who, either by their age or by their youth, are unable to perform heavy manual labour. Still it was regretted by all, that Siu-tshuen's studies should thus be discontinued; and in the following year a friend of the same age as himself invited him to become associated with him as a fellow-student for one year, hoping to derive benefit from a companion of so much talent. After the expiration of this period, his relatives and friends regretted that his talents should be wasted upon mere manual labour in the fields, and they therefore engaged him as teacher in their own village, whereby an opportunity was given him quietly to continue his literary pursuits, and develop his character. The yearly income of a Chinese schoolmaster depends upon the number of boys who attend his school. The usual number is between ten and twenty; a smaller number than ten would be insufficient for his support, and to more than twenty he could not give proper attention, as he has to teach every boy separately, and hear him repeat his lessons by heart, after he has committed them to memory. Every boy is bound to supply his teacher with the following articles annually:—Rice 50*ts*, for extra provisions 300 cash, lamp-oil 1 catty (1½*ts*), lard 1 catty, salt 1 catty, tea 1 catty, and, besides, a sum of from 1½ to 4 dollars, according to the age and ability of the boy. In the district of Hwa-hien, the school studies are continued throughout the whole year, with only about one month's intermission at the New Year. At this time the teacher's engagement terminates, a new engagement must be made, and a change of teachers often follows.

3. HUNG'S LITERARY CAREER, SICKNESS, AND VISIONS.

At an early period, when he was only about sixteen years of age, Hung commenced to visit the public examinations at Canton, with the hope to realize the high expectations entertained in his family respecting his literary abilities. There are in China four literary degrees, which can be attained by every one who at the examination distinguishes himself by superior talent, elegance of composition, and fine handwriting. The first or lowest

degree is called *Siu-tshai*, the second *Keu-jin*, the third *Tsin-szu*, and the fourth or highest *Han-lin*. In order to attain to the first of these degrees, every student must pass three different examinations, namely, first, the examination of the District, called *Hien-khau*; then the examination of the Department called the *Fu-khau*; and finally, the decisive examination before the Imperial Examiner, called the *Thau-khau*. At the examination of the district, by the Magistrate of *Hwa-hien*, there are collected about 500 students every time, being all candidates aspiring to gain the first literary degree of *Siu-tshai*. Every candidate must state his own name, and the names of his ancestors during three previous generations, and besides procure the evidence of a graduate in the district, that he really does belong to its jurisdiction, and is entitled to the right of attending the examination. When the names have been duly registered, every candidate receives a roll of white paper, marked with his number, upon which he has to write his essays. Upon the first day two passages from the Four Books are selected as themes for the essays, and one arbitrary theme for a piece of poetry. Afterwards all these essays are examined, and arranged according to their merits. All the names of candidates are arranged accordingly in ten circles, every circle containing fifty names. After an interval of three or four days, the same process is repeated, until the candidates have been collected, and have written their essays and pieces of poetry seven different times—the three first times two essays and one verse, but the last four times only one essay and one verse every day. Finally, he whose name during the course of the seven trials stood highest upon the circle board, is selected as the head of the District examinations. It is however often the case, that upon the first and following trials, essays are thrown out as too bad in composition and handwriting, and the names left out, so that the number decreases after every new trial, and at the last trial only fifteen to twenty names remain upon the board. The second examination in the city of the department is very much like the first in the district town. At the third examination, when the names of the graduates are selected by the Imperial Examiner, all the candidates from all the District towns of the Department assemble together, and this time the examination lasts only one day. A certain number of graduates

is appointed, according to the population of the several districts, from eight to twenty-four individuals from every district, making in the fourteen Districts of Canton above two hundred graduates. Those appointed to the degree of Siu-tshai, must upon the following day stand a new trial, to ascertain if their talent be of a real nature, and that no deception was practised upon the day of the examination. The Siu-tshais of the different departments afterwards repair to the provincial city, and in this province, seventy-two of them are promoted to the second degree of Keu-jin. The Keu-jins of the eighteen provinces in their turn, repair to the capital of the Empire, and about one hundred and twenty or thirty are promoted to the third degree of Tsin-szu. All the Tsin-szus repair for further promotion to the Imperial Palace, when, upon examination in the presence of the Emperor, forty or fifty of their number are appointed Members of the Han-lin College. All graduates are obliged regularly to attend at future examinations, until they are sixty years of age, on pain of losing their degree.

Siu-tshuen's name was always among the first upon the board at the District Examinations, yet he never succeeded in attaining the degree of Siu-tshai. In the year 1836,* when he was twenty-three years of age, he again visited Canton, to be present at the public examination. Just before the office of the Superintendent of Finances, he found a man dressed according to the custom of the Ming dynasty, in a coat with wide sleeves, and his hair tied in a knot upon his head. The man was unacquainted with the Chinese vernacular tongue, and employed a native as interpreter. A number of people kept gathering round the stranger, who used to tell them the fulfilment of their wishes, even without waiting for a question from their side. Siu-tshuen approached the man, intending to ask if he should attain a literary degree, but the man prevented him by saying,—“You will attain the highest rank, but do not be grieved, for grief will make you sick. I congratulate your virtuous father.” On the following day he again met with two men in the Liung-tsang street.† One of these men had in his

* It may also have been some time before that period.

† Siu-tshuen supposed these two men to have been the same whom he saw the previous day, and who had told him the future; but in all probability his memory was here mistaken, which however was very excusable, as seven years had passed between his first getting the books and his studying their contents carefully.

possession a parcel of books consisting of nine small volumes, being a complete set of a work entitled "*Keuen shi leang yen*," 勸世良言 or "Good words for exhorting the age;" the whole of which he gave Hung-Siu-tshuen, who, on his return from the examination, brought them home, and after a superficial glance at their contents, placed them in his book-case, without at the time considering them to be of any particular importance. The following year, 1837, he again attended the public examination at the provincial city of Kwang-tung. In the commencement his name was placed high upon the board, but afterwards it was again put lower. Deeply grieved and discontented, he was obliged once more to return home without his hopes being realized, and at the same time feeling very ill, he engaged a sedan-chair with two stout men, who carried him to his native village, where he arrived on the first day of the third Chinese month in a very feeble state, and was for some time confined to his bed. During this period he had a succession of dreams or visions. He first saw a great number of people, bidding him welcome to their number, and thought this dream was to signify that he should soon die, and go into the presence of Yen-lo-wang, the Chinese King of Hades. He therefore called his parents and other relatives to assemble at his bedside, and addressed them in the following terms:—"My days are counted, and my life will soon be closed. O my parents! how badly have I returned the favour of your love to me! I shall never attain a name that may reflect its lustre upon you." After he had uttered these words, during which time his two elder brothers had supported him in a sitting posture upon his bed, he shut his eyes and lost all strength and command over his body. All present thought he was going to die, and his two brothers placed him quietly down upon the bed. Siu-tshuen became for some time unconscious of what was going on around him; his outward senses were inactive, and his body appeared as dead, lying upon the bed; but his soul was acted upon by a peculiar energy, so that he not only experienced things of a very extraordinary nature, but afterwards also retained in memory what had occurred to him. At first when his eyes were closed, he saw a dragon, a tiger, and a cock entering his room, and soon after he observed a great number of men, playing upon musical instruments, approaching with a beautiful sedan chair, in which they invited him to be seated, and then carried him

away. Siu-tshuen felt greatly astonished at the honour and distinction bestowed upon him, and knew not what to think thereof. They soon arrived at a beautiful and luminous place, where on both sides were assembled a multitude of fine men and women, who saluted him with expressions of great joy. As he left the sedan, an old woman took him down to a river and said,—“Thou dirty man, why hast thou kept company with yonder people, and defiled thyself? I must now wash thee clean.” After the washing was performed, Siu-tshuen, in company with a great number of old virtuous and venerable men, among whom he remarked many of the ancient sages, entered a large building where they opened his body with a knife, took out his heart and other parts, and put in their place others new and of a red colour. Instantly when this was done, the wound closed, and he could see no trace of the incision which had been made. Upon the walls surrounding this place, Siu-tshuen remarked a number of Tablets with inscriptions exhorting to virtue, which he one by one examined. Afterwards they entered another large hall the beauty and splendour of which were beyond description. A man, venerable in years, with golden beard and dressed in a black robe, was sitting in an imposing attitude upon the highest place. As soon as he observed Siu-tshuen, he began to shed tears, and said,—“All human beings in the whole world are produced and sustained by me; they eat my food and wear my clothing, but not a single one among them has a heart to remember and venerate me; what is however still worse than that, they take of my gifts, and therewith worship demons; they purposely rebel against me, and arouse my anger. Do thou not imitate them.” Thereupon he gave Siu-tshuen a sword, commanding him to exterminate the demons, but to spare his brothers and sisters; a seal by which he would overcome the evil spirits; and also yellow fruit to eat, which Siu-tshuen found sweet to the taste. When he had received the ensigns of royalty from the hand of the old man, he instantly commenced to exhort those collected in the hall to return to their duties toward the venerable old man upon the high seat. Some replied to his exhortations, saying, “We have indeed forgotten our duties toward the venerable.” Others said, “Why should we venerate him? let us only be merry, and drink together with our friends.” Siu-tshuen then, because of the hardness of their hearts, continued his admonitions with tears. The old man said to him, “Take cour-

age and do the work; I will assist thee in every difficulty." Shortly after this he turned to the assemblage of the old and virtuous saying, "Siu tshuen is competent to this charge;" and thereupon he led Siu-tshuen out, told him to look down from above, and said, "Behold the people upon this earth! hundredfold is the perverseness of their hearts." Siu-tshuen looked and saw such a degree of depravity and vice, that his eyes could not endure the sight, nor his mouth express their deeds. He then awoke from his trance, but still being under its influence, he felt the very hairs of his head raise themselves, and suddenly, seized by a violent anger, forgetting his feeble state, put on his clothes, left his bedroom, went into the presence of his father, and making a low bow said, "The venerable old man above has commanded that all men shall turn to me, and all treasures shall flow to me." When his father saw him come out, and heard him speak in this manner, he did not know what to think, feeling at the same time both joy and fear. The sickness and visions of Siu-tshuen continued about forty days, and in these visions he often met with a man of middle age, whom he called his elder brother, who instructed him how to act, accompanied him upon his wanderings to the uttermost regions in search of evil spirits, and assisted him in slaying and exterminating them. Siu-tshuen also heard the venerable old man with the black robe reprove Confucius for having omitted in his books clearly to expound the true doctrine. Confucius seemed much ashamed, and confessed his guilt. Siu-tshuen, during his sickness, often, as his mind was wandering, used to run about his room, leaping and fighting like a soldier engaged in battle. His constant cry was, "Tsan jau, tsan jau, tsan ah, tsan ah,"—"Slay the demons! slay the demons! slay, slay; there is one and there is another; many many cannot withstand one single blow of my sword." His father felt very anxious about the state of his mind, and ascribed their present misfortune to the fault of the Geomancer in selecting an unlucky spot of ground for the burial of their forefathers. He invited therefore magicians, who by their secret art should drive away evil spirits; but Siu-tshuen said, "How could theseimps dare to oppose me? I must slay them, I must slay them! Many many cannot resist me." As in his imagination he pursued the Demons, they seemed to undergo various changes and transformations—one time flying as birds, and another time appearing as lions. In case he was not able to overcome them, he held out

his seal against them, at the sight of which they immediately fled away. He imagined himself pursuing them to the most remote places under heaven, and every where he made war with and destroyed them. Whenever he succeeded, he laughed joyfully and said, "They can't withstand me." He also constantly used to sing one passage of an old song,—“The virtuous swain he travels over rivers and seas; he saves many friends and he kills his enemies.” During his exhortations he often burst into tears, saying,—“You have no hearts to venerate the old father, but you are on good terms with the impish fiends; indeed, indeed, you have no hearts, no conscience more.” Siu-tshuen's two brothers constantly kept his door shut, and watched him, to prevent him from running out of the house. After he had fatigued himself by fighting, jumping about, singing, and exhorting, he lay down again upon his bed. When he was asleep, many persons used to come and look at him, and he was soon known in the whole district as the madman. He often said, that he was duly appointed Emperor of China, and was highly gratified when any one called him by that name; but if any one called him mad, he used to laugh at him and to reply, “You are indeed mad yourself, and do you call me mad?” When men of bad character came to see him, he often rebuked them and called them demons. All the day long he used to sing, weep, exhort, reprove by turns, and in full earnest. During his sickness he composed the following piece of poetry:—

My hand now holds both in heaven and earth the power to punish and kill—

To slay the depraved, and spare the upright; to relieve the people's distress.

My eyes survey from the North to the South beyond the rivers and mountains;

My voice is heard from the East to the West to the tracts of the sun and the moon.

The Dragon expands his claws, as if the road in the clouds were too narrow;

And when he ascends, why should he fear the bent of the milky way!

Thou tempest and thunder as music attend, and the foaming waves are excited,

The flying Dragon the Yik-king describes, dwells surely in Heaven above.

易	風	騰	展	聲	眼	斬	手
象	雷	身	爪	震	通	邪	握
飛	鼓	何	似	東	西	留	乾
龍	舞	怕	嫌	南	北	正	坤
定	三	漢	雲	日	江	解	殺
在	千	程	路	月	山	民	伐
天	浪	偏	小	邊	外	懸	權

One morning very early when Siu-tshuen was about to leave his bed, he heard the birds of the spring singing in the trees which surrounded the village, and instantly he recited the following Ode:—

The Birds in their flight all turn to the light,
 In this resembling me ;
 For I'm now a King, and every thing
 At will to do I'm free.
 As the sun to the sight, my body shines bright—
 Calamities are gone ;
 The high Dragon and the Tiger band
 Are helping me each one.

龍	身	我	鳥
虎	照	今	向
將	金	爲	曉
軍	烏	王	兮
都	災	事	必
輔	盡	事	如
佐	消	可	我

Siu-tshuen's relatives asked the advice of several physicians, who tried to cure his disease by the aid of medicines, but without success. One day his father noticed a slip of paper put into a crack of the doorpost, upon which were written the following characters in red,—天王大道君王全 "The noble principles of the heavenly King, the Sovereign King Tshuen." He took the paper and shewed it to the other members of the family, who however could not understand the meaning of the seven characters. From this time Siu-tshuen gradually regained his health. Many of his friends and relatives now visited him, desirous to hear from his own mouth what he had experienced during his disease, and Siu-tshuen related to them without reserve all that he could remember of his extraordinary visions. His friends and relatives only replied, that the whole was very strange indeed, without thinking at the time that there was any reality in the matter.

4. SIU-TSHUEN'S CHANGE—READING OF THE TRACTS—BAPTISM.

WITH the return of health, Siu-tshuen's whole person became gradually changed both in character and appearance. He was careful in his conduct, friendly and open in his demeanour, his body increased in height and size, his pace became firm and imposing, his views enlarged and liberal. His friend describes him as being, at a later period, a rather tall man, with oval face and fair complexion, high nose, small round ears, his eyes large and bright, his look piercing and difficult to endure, his voice clear and sonorous—when laughing, the whole house resounded; his hair black, his beard long and sandy, his strength of body extraordinary, his power of understanding rare. Persons of vicious habits fled from his presence, but the honest sought his company. He now again attended the public examination at Canton, and was also, as before, several years engaged as teacher of a school about eight miles from his native place. As a schoolmaster he was rather severe, and kept his pupils in strict order; he was however very friendly to those whose character he approved of, and in confidential conversation he occasionally disclosed the thoughts of his heart, whereby it was evident, that the impression which his former sickness and visions had made upon his mind had not been effaced.

In the year 1843, he had a school in a village called "Water-lily," about ten miles from his native place, being engaged as teacher by the Li family. In the 5th month, his cousin Li, whilst looking into his bookcase, happened to take out from among his books the work entitled "Good Words for exhorting the Age," and asked Siu-tshuen what these books contained. Siu-tshuen answered, that he did not know their contents; that the books had been presented to him when he once attended the examination at Canton. Li asked his permission to take the books home and read them at his leisure, which Siu-tshuen readily granted.

Whilst the cousin of Siu-tshuen is looking over the nine little volumes of "Good Words for exhorting the Age," which were destined to exercise a great influence upon Siu-tshuen's mind and actions, it may not be out of the way for us also to have a glance at their contents. The author of the "Keuen she leang

yen," or "Good Words exhorting the Age," calls himself "Hiob-shen," or "Student of Virtue." The name however by which he is commonly called is Liang Afah, known as one of Dr Milne's Chinese converts. Whilst he was engaged at Malacca as a type-cutter, he had daily opportunities to hear Dr Milne expound the Scriptures, by means of which his heart was gained to the service of the true God by faith in Jesus Christ. In describing his own conversion, Liang introduces also several conversations between himself and Dr Milne, whose explanation of the merits of Christ and the rite of baptism deserve particular notice. Liang says,—

"Upon every Sabbath day, when no work was performed, I used to read the Holy Scriptures. If I did not understand a passage, I went to ask Dr Milne, who was very willing to explain the meaning to me. I therefore asked Dr Milne about the atonement of Christ, and how He could save men. Dr Milne said that all the men of the world had left the worship of the only true God, and fallen into idolatry; had transgressed the righteous law of God, and deserved eternal damnation. But God, the Creator of all men, not willing to destroy the whole race, according to his great mercy, caused his holy son Jesus to leave his glorious place in heaven, descend into the world and become a man, conceived by the power of the Holy Spirit, and born of the Virgin. Jesus taught men to know and worship the one Lord and Creator of the universe, and to desist from idolatry. He taught men the value of their never-dying souls, and the importance of preparing for a future judgment; that he came into the world to suffer and die in order to atone for the sins of men; that every one who now believes in the atonement of Jesus and is baptized, may receive the forgiveness of all sins and be saved; but that every sinner who does not believe, will suffer the eternal punishment of hell."

Liang thereupon asked Dr Milne the meaning of Baptism. Dr Milne said,—

"The rite of Baptism consists in sprinkling a little pure water upon the head or the body of a person. The inner or spiritual meaning of it is to wash a person clean from the pollution of his sins, that by the Holy Spirit his heart may be changed, and cause him from the time of his having been baptized to love the good and hate the evil, to change his former life, and become a new man."

Liang, upon retiring to his little room, thought in himself, "I am a sinner; if I do not rely upon the atoning merits of Jesus, how can I pray to God freely to forgive my sins?" . . . Liang then made up his mind to become a Christian, and applied for baptism. Dr Milne said,—

"If you with all your heart repent of your sins, believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and act according to his doctrine; if you have resolved not to worship any idols, but only to adore the great Lord and Creator of the Universe; and

to desist from all depravity, wickedness, deceit, and lying,—then you may be admitted to baptism, but not otherwise.”

Liang-Afah then declared himself quite willing to act according to the instruction of Dr Milne, and was baptized by him. He describes the ceremony of his own baptism in the following way :—Dr Milne having again asked him several questions, read some verses of the Scriptures, and explained their meaning. He then kneeled with Liang in prayer, imploring the grace and mercy of God. The prayer being concluded, he took a little pure water with his hand, and applied it to Liang's head. This ceremony was followed by another prayer, and the convert asked Dr Milne what special mark those had who believed in Jesus. Dr Milne said,—“The special mark of true believers is—to do good with all their heart.” Liang then returned to his little room, and as he sat there alone, musing upon what had taken place, he felt a secret joy in his heart, because he had received the pardon of God for all his great sins. He then took the name of “Student of Virtue,” and continuing in prayer and the reading of the Holy Scriptures, gradually experienced a change of mind and heart. He not only desisted from evil practices, but even evil thoughts after some time became less frequent. He not only himself abandoned the worship of idols, but he pitied the stupidity of others who engaged therein, and desired to exhort them to throw away the idols, repent of their sins, and worship the only true God. Two years afterwards, in the year 1819, he returned to China, and having instructed his wife, and finding her willing to receive the religion of Jesus, he acted according to circumstances and baptized her. Subsequently he and his wife took their infant son to Dr Morrison, requesting baptism for him also. In the course of a few years, Dr Morrison, finding Liang sincere in his desire to propagate the gospel among his countrymen, ordained him to the office of Evangelist, and gave him the right hand of fellowship, telling him to make known the religion of Jesus far and wide. According to a report from Dr Morrison, dated September 4th, 1832, Liang-Afah had, during the course of that year, printed nine Tracts of about fifty pages each, composed by himself, and interspersed with passages of Sacred Scripture. They were revised by Dr Morrison in manuscript, and afterwards printed at Malacca. The general title is “Keuen-shi-liang-yen,” or “Good Words exhorting the Age.”*

* The nine volumes have often been bound up as four.

These books contain a good number of whole chapters of the Bible according to the translation of Dr Morrison, many essays upon important subjects from single texts, and sundry miscellaneous statements founded on Scripture. Subjoined is a Table of the Contents of the whole work :—

Volume I. is entitled "A true account of the salvation of mankind."

Section 1, A paraphrastic version of the 1st chapter of Genesis.

" 2, An exposure of the idolatry of China.

" 3, The 1st chapter of Isaiah.

" 4, The 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters of Matthew.

Volume II. is entitled "Follow the true and reject the false."

Section 1, Discourse on John iii. 17.

" 2, " on Matthew xix. 23.

" 3, " on seeking to familiar spirits and wizards
—founded on Isaiah viii. 19.

" 4, On Regeneration—founded on John iii. 1-21.

Volume III. A collection of various tracts.

Section 1, On the holy truths contained in the true Scriptures.

" 2, On redemption by Christ.

" 3, The 19th Psalm, and Psalm xxxiii. 4-22.

" 4, Isaiah xlv. 5-21.

" 5, Genesis chapter i.

" 6, On the Creator of all.

" 7, On original righteousness.

Volume IV. is entitled "Miscellaneous explanations of the Holy Scriptures."

Section 1, A discourse on John vi. 27, "Labour not for the meat that perisheth."

" 2, Do. on Rom. ii. 2, "Wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thyself."

" 3, Do. on Eccles. ii. 11, "All is vanity and vexation of spirit."

" 4, The Flood—founded on Genesis vi. and vii.

Volume V. is entitled "Miscellaneous statements founded on the Scriptures."

Section 1, "What shall it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" Math. xvi. 26.

" 2, "We must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ." 2 Cor. v. 10.

" 3, "God so loved the world," &c. John iii. 16

" 4, "He that confesses and forsakes his sin shall find mercy." 1 John i. 9.

" 5, "Receive with meekness the engrafted word," James i. 21.

" 6, "One day is with the Lord as a thousand years." 2 Peter iii. 8.

" 7, "God dwelleth not in temples made with hands." Acts xvii. 24.

- Section 8, "Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth." Heb. xii. 6, 7.
- " 9, "The kingdom of God is not in word, but in power." 1 Cor. iv. 20.
- " 10, "What advantageth it me, if the dead rise not?" Cor. xv. 32.
- " 11, "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my word shall not pass away." Matth. xxiv. 35.
- " 12, "Every creature of God is good, if it be received with thanksgiving." 1 Tim. iv. 4.
- " 13, "Take no thought saying what shall we eat." Matth. vi. 31.
- " 14, "Whosoever shall call upon the Lord shall be saved." Rom. x. 13.
- " 15, "Not as pleasing man, but God, who trieth our heart." 1 Thess. ii. 3.
- " 16, Paraphrase of Rom. xii.
- " 17, " " " xiii.
- " 18, Destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah.
- " 19, Paraphrase of the 5th Chapter of James.

This whole volume is a collection of short sermons on the above texts.

Volume VI. is entitled "A perfect acquaintance with the true doctrine."

- Section 1, The 58th chapter of Isaiah.
- " 2, The 5th chapter of the Ephesians.
- " 3, Contains Liang-Afah's autobiography—a short extract of which has already been presented to the reader.
- " 4, On suffering reproach for Christ's sake.
- " 5, Acts xxii., with a short preface.
- " 6, 1 Tim. chapters ii. and iii.
- " 7, Revelations xxi.

Volume VII. is entitled "On obtaining happiness whether in peace or in peril."

- Section 1, A discourse on Acts xiv. 22.
- " 2, " on Matth. xviii. 6.
- " 3, " on Heb. xii. 25.
- " 4, 1 Cor. chapters i. and ii.
- " 5, " chapter xiii.
- " 6, 1 John chap. iv.
- " 7, On the exemption from all calamity and possession of all good, obtained by the virtuous in the world to come.
- " 8, On the misery of those who reject the Gospel.

Volume VIII. is entitled "Excellent sayings from the true Scriptures."

- Section 1, Jeremiah xxiii. 19-33.

Section 2, A discourse on 1 Thess. v. 21.

" 3, " on 2 Peter iii. 10.

" 4, " on 1 John iv. 5 and 6. This alone occupies 26 pages.

" 5, Genesis chapter iv.

" 6, A discourse on 1 Peter iv. 17.

Volume IX., is entitled "Important selections from the ancient Scriptures."

Section 1, Acts xix.

" 2, Ephesians vi.

" 3, Thess. v.

" 4, James iv. 13—a sermon.

" 5, Sermon on 1 Tim. vi. 6.

" 6, " on 1 Tim. i. 15.

" 7, Commentary on Colossians chap. iii.

" 8, A refutation of various errors.

" 9, On the Day of Judgment.

Siu-tshuen's cousin Li, after having read the books, returned them to him, and said that their contents were very extraordinary, and differed greatly from Chinese books. Siu-tshuen then took the books and commenced reading them closely and carefully. He was greatly astonished to find in these books the key to his own visions, which he had had during his sickness six years before; he found their contents to correspond in a remarkable manner with what he had seen and heard at that time. He now understood the venerable old one who sat upon the highest place and whom all men ought to worship, to be God the heavenly Father; and the man of middle age, who had instructed him and assisted him in exterminating the demons, to be Jesus the Saviour of the world. The demons were the idols, his brothers and sisters were the men in the world. Siu-tshuen felt as if awaking from a long dream. He rejoiced to have found in reality a way to heaven, and sure hope of everlasting life and happiness. Learning from the book the necessity of being baptized, Siu-tshuen and Li now, according to the manner described in the books, and as far as they understood the rite, administered baptism to themselves. They prayed to God, and promised not to worship evil spirits, not to practise evil things, but to keep the heavenly commands; they then poured water upon their heads, saying, "Purification from all former sins, putting off the old, and regeneration." When this was done, they felt their hearts overflowing with joy, and Siu-tshuen composed the following Ode upon repentance:—

When our transgressions high as heaven rise,
 How well to trust in Jesus' full atonement!
 We follow not the Demons, we obey
 The holy precepts, worshipping alone
 One God, and thus we cultivate our hearts.
 The heavenly glories open to our view,
 And every being ought to seek thereafter.
 I much deplore the miseries of Hell.
 O turn ye to the fruits of true repentance!
 Let not your hearts be led by worldly customs.

免	及	地	天	惟	勿	幸	吾
將	早	獄	堂	崇	信	賴	儕
方	回	幽	榮	上	邪	耶	罪
寸	頭	沉	顯	帝	魔	蘇	惡
俗	歸	我	人	力	遵	代	實
情	正	亦	宜	心	聖	贖	滔
牽	果	憐	慕	田	誠	全	天

They thereupon cast away their idols, and removed the tablet of Confucius, which is generally found in the schools, and worshiped by the teacher as well as by the pupils.

5. FURTHER STUDY OF THE TRACTS—PREACHING— AND ADVERSITIES.

ON the tenth day of the sixth month, Siu-tshuen returned from Water-lily, and first visited a friend named P'hang, in whose village he had several years been engaged as teacher. Siu-tshuen's heart was full of his new discovery; he spoke with such a flow of language about his visions, and the books received from heaven, that his friend P'hang really thought he had got a new attack of his former sickness, and ordered a trustworthy man to see him home in safety. During their walk of about eight miles, Siu-tshuen spoke about the folly and sinfulness of idolatry, and about the duty of worshipping the true God. His companion listened for a while, and then said, "Why—all that you say is only the truth. Mr P'hang told me that your mind was again deranged, and requested me to see you home, lest you might upon your way fall into the water and be drowned." Upon his return home, Siu-tshuen soon converted to his views two intimate

friends, named Fung Yun-san and Hung-Jin. He first baptized them in a school, where Fung Yun-san was teacher; but afterwards they all three went down to a rivulet in the neighbourhood, to have a complete cleansing. Siu-tshuen thereupon removed the idols from the school-rooms of his two converts, and composed the following Ode to awaken the minds of men:—

Besides the God of Heaven there is no other God;
Why do the foolish men take falsehood to be truth!
Since their primeval heart is altogether lost,
How can they now escape defilement from the dust!

在	焉	渾	只	假	何	更	神
凡	能	失	爲	作	故	無	天
塵	超	却	本	真	愚	神	之
	出		心	頑		外	

Hung-Jin wrote a reply according to the Chinese manner, finishing with the same words,—

The mighty heavenly Father, He is the one true God.
Idols are made of wood, or moulded from the clod.
We trust that Jesus came, to save us who were lost,
That we may soon escape defilement from the dust.

脫	吾	來	幸	枉	木	是	全
凡	儕	救	賴	認	刻	爲	能
塵	及	世	耶	真	坭	神	天
	早		蘇		團		父

While at home, Siu-tshuen and his two friends attentively studied the books, which Siu-tshuen found to correspond in a striking manner with his former visions; and this remarkable coincidence convinced him fully as to their truth, and that he was appointed by God to restore the world, that is, China, to the worship of the true God,—

"These books," said he, "are certainly sent purposely by heaven to me, to confirm the truth of my former experiences; if I had received the books without having gone through the sickness, I should not have dared to believe in them, and on my own account to oppose the customs of the whole world; if I had merely been sick but not also received the books, I should have had no further evidence as to the truth of my visions, which might also have been considered as mere productions of a diseased imagination."

Then he raised his voice, and spoke in a bold manner,—

"I have received the immediate command from God in his presence; the will of Heaven rests with me. Although thereby I should meet with calamity, difficulty, and suffering, yet I am resolved to act. By disobeying the heavenly command, I would only rouse the anger of God; and are not these books the foundation of all the true doctrines contained in other books?"

Under this conviction, Siu-tshuen, when preaching the new doctrine to others, made use of his own visions and the books, as reciprocally evidencing the truth of each other. He revered the books highly, and if any one wished to read them, he urgently told them not to alter or mark them in any manner, "because," said he, "it is written therein (Ps. 33-4) Jehovah's word is correct."

One day he visited a Siu-tshai of the name of Wun, with whom he spoke about the books, and the doctrine they contained. Wun would not believe his statements, and said, "Give me the books, and I will correct them for you, and bring you back from your errors." These words greatly offended Siu-tshuen, and though the Siu-tshai had killed a fowl for his entertainment, he left the house without partaking of it.

The books contained many portions of the Holy Scriptures which, though translated certainly in a faithful manner, yet had so much of foreign idiom, and were so often without any introduction and comments, that Siu-tshuen and his friends, left wholly to themselves, of course made many mistakes as to the real meaning. They found for instance in these chapters many pronouns, "I, we, you, he," and so on, introduced. These they were at a loss how to apply, and when they asked Siu-tshuen to whom these pronouns referred, he kept silence, but his friends clearly understood that he often applied the pronoun "you" or "he" to himself when the meaning suited his views, as he considered the whole of these tracts specially written for him and given him from heaven. Often when he observed the word Tshuen 全 (*whole, all, complete*) he thought his own name was referred to. He liked exceedingly the 19th and 33d Psalms, which he and Hung-Jin used to recite in a loud voice. The third verse he would understand, "Their voice is gone out to the whole world (country of Tshuen;)" the ninth and tenth verses he would read, instead of "altogether righteous,"

"*Tshuen* is righteous, more to be desired than gold." The twelfth verse again he would read, "Who can understand, so as *Tshuen*, his errors," and so on.

Reading the description of the flood, the destruction of Sodom, and the judgment, they were filled with awe, not knowing if perhaps these dreadful calamities were still to be expected. Particularly *Siu-tshuen* commenced to be very careful in his conduct, and evinced a great deal of earnestness and sincerity in his addresses to others. From these tracts he learned, that virtuous men from the West, by the command of God and constrained by the love of Him, had travelled to the province of Kwang-tung, not fearing the dangers of a sea-voyage of several myriads of miles, in order to preach the gospel in China; that they had gone to the expense of several myriads of cash in order to study the Chinese language, and afterwards translate the Holy Scriptures into Chinese; that their sole object was to save the Chinese people from the sinful practice of idolatry, that they might obtain forgiveness of sins and life everlasting. . . . He further read,—

"It is therefore highly desirable that the man (or men) of the great and glorious Middle Kingdom who sees these books should not vainly boast of his own country being the land of true principles of propriety and fine literature, but with a humble mind put aside his own prejudices, and the thought of from what country they are derived, and consider that the God of Heaven created us to be men, and every one who is a man ought to know the saving doctrines of the Holy Scriptures."

Soon after the above statement, it is said (from 1 Cor. i.),—

"See to your calling, that among you are not many wise after the flesh, not many mighty or noble; but that God hath chosen the foolish to confound the wise, the weak to confound the mighty, the base and despised by the world, and which are nothing, to bring to naught those that are."

In the Chinese language, it is often impossible to know if a word is to be taken in the singular or plural number; it is therefore easy to conceive how *Siu-tshuen* could apply to himself personally such expressions as really referred to all persons or Christians.

On the 15th of the sixth month, he returned to his school in Waterlily, and upon leaving he directed *Hung-Jin* to study the doctrine attentively and preach the same to *Siu-tshuen's* and his own family and relatives. *Siu-tshuen's* parents and

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手持三尺定山河
四海爲家共飲和
擒盡妖邪歸地網
收殘奸宄落天羅
東南西北教皇極
日月星辰奏凱歌
虎嘯龍吟光世界
大平一統樂何如

6. SIU-TSHUEN AND YUN-SAN LEAVE THEIR HOME
AND VISIT THE MIAU-TSZE TRIBES—SUCCESS OF
THEIR PREACHING IN KWANG-SI.

In the year 1844, during the first month, the elders of Hung's native village made a long procession with lanterns, according to Chinese custom, at "the Feast of Lanterns," which is an occasion of great mirth and pomp. They called Siu-tshuen and Hung-jin, knowing them to possess poetical talent, and requested them to write some songs or odes, praising the merits of the idols. Both of them refused to do so, which rather irritated the old men, who now themselves wrote a stanza in order to reprove the young men for their obstinacy in not complying with their request, thinking their conduct to be the result of evil instigations of other young men; their words were,—

We, stupid, old, are useless now,
We thought the young might help us,
But find to-day, that we and they
Have no relation more.
A man may be of talents great,
Still comes their use from his own will.
By listening to much evil talk
You stick to private views.

老拙無能望後生
離知今日不相關
經綸滿腹由人用
聽信醜言執一般

Siu-tshuen wrote back the following verses in reply:—

Not because of evil saying,
 Did we disobey your orders,
 We but honour God's commandments—
 Act according to his precepts.
 Heaven's and perdition's way
 Must be rigidly distinguished.
 We dare not in thoughtless manner
 Hurry through the present life.

何	天	只	非
敢	堂	遵	聽
糊	地	上	謫
塗	獄	帝	言
過	嚴	賊	違
此	分	條	叔
生	路	行	命

After exchanging a few more verses, the matter terminated in a friendly way. The elders were obliged to acknowledge that Siu-tshuen and Hung-Jin were in the right, but afraid of the public opinion, they dared not to avow their conviction. From that time, however, they never asked the assistance of the younger Hungs in their idolatrous practices.

As Siu-tshuen and his few followers had renounced idolatry, and removed the tablet of Confucius from their school-rooms, they were in the present year left without employment. Being at the same time very poor, they formed the plan to leave their native place, influenced by the words of Scripture, "A prophet is not without honour, save in his own country, and in his own house." They resolved to travel to another province, to visit the villages and towns as ink and pencil-venders, and to preach the true doctrine, while they hoped to support themselves by the small profits of their sales. Siu-tshuen knew that Hung-Jin had been beaten by his elder brother, and had still to suffer much derision for having abandoned idolatry, and wished to take him, though nine years younger than himself, as a companion upon the way. The relatives of Hung-Jin would however not allow his departure, he being then only twenty-two years of age. Siu-tshuen, Yun-san, and two other friends, then left their native villages, intending to visit the independent tribes of Miao-tze.

They soon came to the district of "Clear-far," where they converted several members of the Li family to the new doctrine, and administered baptism to those who believed. Hung-Jin, who had been left behind, was afterwards engaged as teacher in Clear-far for several years, and baptized during that period from fifty to sixty individuals. Siu-tshuen and his friends continued their journey, everywhere preaching the new doctrine, teaching men to worship the one God Jehovah, who sent his Son to atone for the sins of the world, and in every place they found some willing to accept their words. In the third month they reached the borders of the Miao-tsze tribes. The two other friends having already got tired of journeying and returned to Hwa-hien, Siu-tshuen and Yun-san continued their wanderings alone among the wild tracts and desolate mountains of the Miao-tsze. After four days they were fortunate enough to fall in with a Chinese schoolmaster, of the surname Kiang, who kept a Chinese school among the independent tribes. He entertained them in a liberal manner, and believed in the doctrine which they made known to him. But as they were totally unacquainted with the vernacular of the Miao-tsze, they only left with him a few written tracts for distribution among the people. They again left the house of Kiang, who gave them a little money to enable them to continue their journey, and now purposed to visit some of Siu-tshuen's relatives in Kwang-si; but neither of them was acquainted with the way. They found very few villages, only now and then a tea-shed, where they could get a few sugar-cakes and tea to mitigate their hunger. Finally, after twenty days' fatiguing walk over steep and rugged mountains, they arrived at "Valley-home" where Siu-tshuen's cousin Wang lived; and now they returned thanks to God, who had protected them during their perilous journey from all kinds of dangers.

In the 5th month they arrived at the house of Wang. Here they met with two relatives of the Hung clan, who the year before had visited Hwa-hien, and been baptized by Siu-tshuen. Wang informed Siu-tshuen that his son Wang-ngi had been put in prison, upon a false accusation by a third party, and asked his advice and assistance in the matter. But Siu-tshuen and Yun-san in the first place taught them to worship God and believe in Jesus, and spoke with such force of persuasion and eloquence, that the hearers not only accepted the truth, but were inclined

to believe that Siu-tshuen and Yun-san had come down from heaven, to preach the true doctrine to them. Above one hundred individuals received baptism. Siu-tshuen now also tried his influence on behalf of the son of his cousin, and wrote a petition to the officials. In less than a fortnight, the young man was released from prison and restored to his family. The consequence of this was, that many more believed in the truth of the doctrine taught by Siu-tshuen, and the young Wang-ngi became a zealous follower. Having remained in the house of Wang until the tenth month, Siu-tshuen at last thought of the difficulty for his cousin to support so many guests. He therefore ordered Yun-san and two others of the Hung family to return to Kwang-tung, while he himself purposed to remain for some time longer. The two relatives accordingly returned to Hwa-hien, but Fung-Yun-san, whose mind was wholly bent upon preaching, during the way resolved not to return, but to remain in Kwang-si. In the neighbourhood of Tsin-chau he met with some workmen whom he knew, and accompanied them to "Thistle-mount," where he assisted them in their work to carry earth. At the same time he preached to them the truth, and exhorted them to abstain from idolatry, to worship the only true God, and believe in Jesus, whereby they would gain the everlasting happiness of heaven. About ten of the workmen took his words to their hearts, and informed their employer Tsen about the arrival of Yun-san, stating that he was an honest man, of extraordinary talents. Tsen, after speaking with Yun-san, and asking some questions relative to his former life and occupation, engaged him as teacher in his school, and was soon after himself baptized by him. Yun-san remained in the neighbourhood of Thistle-mount several years, and preached with great zeal and success, so that a large number of persons, whole families of various surnames and clans, were baptized. They formed congregations among themselves, gathering together for religious worship, and became soon extensively known under the name of "The congregation of the worshippers of God," (拜上帝會.)

7. SIU-TSHUEN'S RETURN HOME—HE AND HUNG-JIN VISIT CANTON — SECOND TOUR TO KWANG-SI — INCREASE OF THE CONGREGATION — FORM OF WORSHIP, BAPTISM. &c. — DESTRUCTION OF IDOLS — YUN-SAN'S IMPRISONMENT—RETURN TO KWANG-SI.

SIU-TSHUEN in the meantime supposed that Yun-san together with the two friends of the Hung family had returned to Kwang-tung, and after having remained another month with his cousin Wang, he also returned to Hwa-hien, where he hoped to find Yun-san. His disappointment was very great when he learned that he had not returned, and he had great difficulty to appease the minds of his friend's mother and wife, who surely expected to hear from Siu-tshuen some certain news about him, and were highly displeased that he, who had taken Yun-san as a companion upon so perilous a journey, had returned without him, and even without any knowledge of his present circumstances.

The two following years, 1845 and 1846, Siu-tshuen remained at home, and was teacher of a school as formerly. During this time he wrote several essays, discourses, and odes upon religious subjects, viz: "An Ode of the Hundred Correct Things," "An Essay on the Origin of Virtue for the awakening of the Age," "Further Exhortations for awakening of the Age," "Alter the corrupt and turn to the correct;" to all of which he, however, afterwards made considerable additions, and most of which are contained in the "Imperial declaration of Thai-p'hing," afterwards printed at Nanking.

Siu-tshuen continued to preach in his native village and its neighbourhood, and to baptize those who professed to believe in the doctrine of God and Jesus. He often met with Hung-Jin, who was still a teacher in Clear-far, and who out of weakness had been induced to follow the advice of some friends and permit the schoolboys to venerate Confucius, though he did not do it himself. Siu-tshuen disclosed to him the secret thoughts of his heart, and his hatred against the Manchoo people, saying,—

"God has divided the kingdoms of the world, and made the Ocean to be a boundary for them, just as a father divides his estates among his sons; every one of whom ought to reverence the will of his father, and quietly manage his own property. Why should now these Manchoo forcibly enter China, and rob their brothers of their estate?"

At a later period he said,—

"If God will help me to recover our estate, I ought to teach all nations to hold every one its own possessions, without injuring or robbing one another; we will have intercourse in communicating true principles and wisdom to each other, and receive each other with propriety and politeness; we will serve together one common heavenly Father, and honour together the doctrines of one common heavenly brother, the Saviour of the world; this has been the wish of my heart since the time when my soul was taken up to heaven."

About this time he had a dream that a red sun was put into his hand; and when he awoke, he made the following verses:—

Now that five hundred years have passed*
 The true sun moves in sight;
 And how should these poor glow-worms dare
 To rival it in light!
 On its suspense in heaven's arch
 All vapors disappear,
 And as it shines, demons and imps
 Are hidden out of fear.
 The North and South, the East and West,
 To it their homage pay,
 And hosts of the barbarian tribes
 Are yielding to its sway.
 The stars by its great splendor in
 Obscurity are hurled;
 And solely its pure brilliant rays
 Illuminate the world.

獨	重	蠻	東	遠	高	那	五
擅	輪	夷	北	照	懸	般	百
貞	赫	戎	西	塵	碧	燭	年
明	赫	狄	南	寰	落	火	臨
耀	遮	盡	羣	鬼	煙	敢	眞
萬	星	傾	羣	蠅	雲	爭	日
方	月	陽	曝	藏	捲	光	出

In the latter part of the year 1846, a person of the name Moo, upon his return from Canton, informed the Hungs in Hwa-hien, that a foreign Missionary Lo-hau (Roberts) was preaching the true doctrine in that city. As, however, both Siu-tshuen and

* Mencius, who flourished about three hundred years before the Christian era, says,—“In the course of five hundred years a King will arise, a man of universal fame.” From Choo-hung-woo, the founder of the Ming dynasty, until now, it is just about five hundred years.

Hung-Jin were engaged with teaching in their schools, they could not at that time visit Canton, but in the year following, they made up their minds to go there. In the meantime Choo-thau-hing, the first assistant of the Rev. I. J. Roberts had been informed by the above-named Moo about Siu-tshuen's former experiences, and wrote a letter to the latter of about the following contents:—

"Having heard from Moo-li-pan that you, honoured brother, about ten years ago received a book, the contents of which agree with the doctrine preached in our chapel here, we the Missionary and the brethren will rejoice if you would come hither and assist us by preaching in the chapel.* This is our sincere wish."

Upon receipt of the above letter, Siu-tshuen and Hung-Jin went to Canton, to study the doctrine with Mr Roberts. They were received in a friendly manner, and soon after met with other Missionaries, who also were glad to see them. Having continued their studies about a month, Mr Roberts sent two of his Chinese assistants, Choo and Tsen, with the Hungs to their native place. Here they preached a few days and then returned to Canton, but Hung-Jin, who was well aware that two other assistants of the name Wang, also engaged by Mr Roberts, were making intrigues to prevent new brethren from being employed, for fear of losing their own situations, did not again go to Canton, but remained at home and studied medicine. Siu-tshuen again went to Canton in the company of the two assistants of the foreign Missionary, and continued his studies for some time. The two assistants, Wang-ai and Wang-khien, probably fearing that Siu-tshuen, with his superior talent, would also after his baptism be employed by Mr Roberts, and they themselves lose their position, now planned an intrigue to get rid of him, and prevent his being baptized, in which they succeeded. Pretending to be interested in his welfare, they advised him to speak to Mr Roberts before his baptism, and get the promise from him of a certain sum of money per month for his support, whereby he would be enabled to continue his studies, and remain in Canton, after he had received baptism. Siu-tshuen being very poor, considered their advice reasonable, and acted thereupon. Upon his arrival at Canton, he had frankly and openly presented to Mr Roberts an account of his former life, his visions, his sickness,

* The invitation to preach must be considered as a mere Chinese expression of politeness.

his preaching, and religious compositions; he now in the same open manner asked Mr Roberts to support him after his baptism in order to enable him to continue his studies with the other assistants. We are not aware that Mr Roberts at that time paid much attention to the written account or papers presented to him by Hung, nor does it seem that he placed any confidence in his statements, or understood his real character; but hearing him, like so many other Chinese candidates for baptism, enter upon the subject of future support, Mr Roberts was displeased, and postponed his baptism until some future uncertain period.*

Siu-tshuen felt rather disappointed at this result of his request, and discovered, too late, that he had fallen into the snare laid for him by the two Wang. Being unable to support himself in Canton, and not knowing when he might be admitted to baptism, he resolved to leave and go to Kwang-si without waiting for baptism from the hands of the foreign Missionary. Choo-thau-hing advised him to return home if he would not remain in Canton, but finding him decided in his mind, he gave him a hundred cash, and sent a letter to Hung-Jin in Hwa-hien, informing him and other relatives of Hung-Siu-tshuen, that the latter had left Canton and gone to Kwang-si in search of his friend Fung-Yun-san.

In the sixth month of 1847, Siu-tshuen started upon his second tour to Kwang-si. As he had only one hundred cash in his pocket, he could not go by the passage-boat, but went on foot and carried his own baggage. When he came to Moi-tzu-sin he unfortunately fell into the hands of robbers, who deprived him of his bundle

* Some may be of opinion that the above statement respecting the native assistants of another Missionary, could well have been omitted. But far from throwing any blame upon Mr Roberts, it seems to me that common justice to him as well as to Hung-Siu-tshuen requires me to state the probable cause why the latter, after so long a preparation, was refused Christian baptism. Mr Roberts, in his report printed in *The Chinese and General Missionary Gleaner* in October, 1852, says,—

"Some time in 1846, or the year following, two Chinese gentlemen came to my house in Canton, professing a desire to be taught the Christian religion. One of them soon returned home, but the other continued with us two months or more, during which time he studied the Scriptures and received instruction, whilst he maintained a blameless deportment. This one seems to have been Hung-Siu-tshuen, the chief of the insurrection, and the person whose narrative is above given, who perhaps the gentleman who accompanied him, but who subsequently returned home. When the chief (as we suppose him to have been) first came to us, he presented a paper written by himself, giving a misapprehension of having received the book 'Good Words exhorting the Age,' of which his friend speaks in his narrative, of his having been taken sick, during which he imagined that he saw a vision, the details of which he gave, and which he said confirmed him in the belief of what he read in the book. In giving the account of his vision, he related some things, which I confess I was at a loss, and still am, to know where he got them, without a more extensive knowledge of the Scriptures. He requested to be baptized, but he left for Kwang-si before we were fully satisfied of his sincerity; but what had become of him I know not until now."

In full agreement with these words of Mr Roberts, the informant, who visited Canton with Hung-Siu-tshuen, explains the cause why Mr Roberts, after giving such a good testimonial respecting Siu-tshuen's deportment and knowledge of the Scriptures, still was not fully satisfied of his fitness for baptism.

of clothes, and thereby also of the last means to continue his journey. As long as he had a few articles of wearing apparel left, he could, after the Chinese manner, pawn or sell them, and thus be enabled to proceed, but without money and without clothes he was reduced to extreme distress. He wrote a petition to the Prefect of Shau-king. This official replied, that *Moi-tzu-sin* did not belong to his jurisdiction but to that of *Teh-king*; he however gave *Siu-tshuen* a small sum of 400 cash, pitying his misfortune. *Siu-tshuen* was now placed in a very difficult position; he was without friends, and without means either to advance or to return. He had nothing left but his past experience and his future prospects, which however under present circumstances appeared very much darkened and impossible to realize.

As he was thus standing on the way, pondering upon his own sad condition, he was observed by a man, who cheered him up with the words, "A broken cord of course is mended with a line, and when the boat comes to the bank, the way opens again." *Siu-tshuen* thought in himself, "These words are correct, and correspond with the true doctrine; and, leaving future difficulties to the care of the future, he took his place in a passage-boat and continued his journey to *Kwang-si*. The Chinese generally take three meals a day, but *Siu-tshuen*, afraid to incur a heavy debt to the Captain, allowed himself only one meal every day, which cost him about twopence. Among his fellow passengers, he remarked three men of literary attainments, who soon opened a conversation with him saying,—

"Sir, by your noble countenance it is easy to perceive that you are a man of talent; but as you, without being sick, still abstain from eating, we must conclude that you are in distress."

Siu-tshuen then told them how he had been robbed on his way, and had almost no money to continue his journey. They asked him what was the object of his going to *Kwang-si*. He told them, that he went there in order to preach the doctrine of the true God. They also inquired into his circumstances and the nature of the doctrine he was teaching, and *Siu-tshuen* during the seven days which they spent together in the boat made known to them as he found opportunity the truths of Christianity. When they arrived at *Kwang-si*, these men said to him,—

"You ought not to be discouraged; in travelling you must be prepared for everything, even to be robbed. We have told the Captain not to demand

any passage-money from you, and here (presenting him a string with six hundred cash (about 2 shillings,) we have collected a small sum for you, to enable you to proceed on your journey."

In this manner Siu-tshuen finally reached the Kwei district and Valley-home, where his cousin Wang lived. Among his first questions was, if they had any news about Fung-Yun-san, and he was now informed that Yun-san had for the past two years been engaged in teaching at Thistle Mount, and that a great number of people had been converted to the worship of God by his instrumentality. Siu-tshuen lost no time in visiting the new congregation at that place, and rejoiced upon his arrival not only to see Yun-san again, but to meet with many new believers, and to preach the truth of God in the midst of them.

The worshippers of God at Thistle-mount in Kwang-si soon counted above two thousand adherents, and their number daily increased. Among them we find the names Loo-Shing-sze, Loo-Liuh, Tsen-A-sun, Shih-Tah-khai, Yang-Siu-tshin, Siau-Chau-kwui, and others. The wife of this Siau, named Yang-Yun-kiau, stated that in the year "Ting-yew," 1837, during a very severe sickness, when she lay as dead upon her bed, her soul ascended to heaven, and she heard an old man say to her, "After ten years a man will come from the east and teach thee to worship God, obey him willingly." She was eminent among the female God-worshippers, who used to say as a proverb, "Men ought to study Fung-Yun-san, and women the conduct of Yang-Yun-kiau." From Thistle-mount the new doctrine rapidly spread, and was promulgated widely in several departments and districts in the province of Kwang-si, as for instance the departments of Siang-chau, Tsin-chau, and Yuh-chau, with many of their districts, as Ping-nan, Woo-siuen, Kwei, Poh-peh, &c., men of great influence and graduates of the first and second degrees, with great numbers of their clans, joined the congregation. Among the former may be mentioned Wui-Ching with a large number of his clan, and Hoo, a keu-jin, with many of his adherents.

All who joined the congregation, threw away their idols, and worshipped the true God. It is difficult to give a faithful account of their form of worship, when they met together for devotion; for several alterations were introduced from time to time in consequence of growing knowledge and experience. Accommoda-

tions to existing Chinese customs may have been introduced in the beginning, which were afterwards corrected; and it is very probable that the present form of worship at Nanking is not altogether like that which was first established among the worshippers of God at Thistle-mountain in Kwang-si.

At the commencement, Siu tsuen had only vague notions concerning the true manner of religious service. When he had taken away his own idols, he placed the written name of God in their stead, and even used incense-sticks and gold paper as a part of the service. But in a few months he found that this was wrong, and abolished it. His step-mother declared, however, that it was a great pity that he had taken away the name of God from the wall, for during that time they had been able to add a few fields to their estate, which she considered as a special blessing and sign of divine favour. When the congregation in Kwang-si assembled together for religious worship, males and females had their seats separated from each other. It was customary to praise God by the singing of a hymn. An address was delivered either upon the mercy of God, or the merits of Christ, and the people were exhorted to repent of their sins, to abstain from idolatry, and to serve God with sincerity of heart. When any professed to believe in the doctrine, and expressed their desire to be admitted members of the congregation, the rite of baptism was performed in the following manner, without reference to any longer or shorter term of preparation or previous instruction. Two burning lamps and three cups of tea were placed upon a table, probably to suit the sensual apprehension of the Chinese. A written confession of sins, containing the names of the different candidates for baptism, was repeated by them, and afterwards burnt, whereby the presenting of the same to God was to be expressed. The question was then asked, if they promised, "Not to worship evil spirits, not to practise evil things, but to keep the heavenly commandments." After this confession, they knelt down, and from a large basin of clear water, a cupful was poured over the head of every one with the words, "Purification from all former sins, putting off the old, and regeneration," 洗淨從前罪惡除舊生新. Upon rising again, they used to drink of the tea, and generally each one washed his chest and region of the heart with water to signify the inner cleansing of their hearts. It was also customary to perform pri-

vate ablutions in the rivers, accompanied by confession of sins and prayer for forgiveness. Those who had been baptized now received the different forms of prayer to be used morning and evening, or before their meals. Most of these forms of prayer are now printed at Nanking in the Book of Religious Precepts, (天條書), with some alterations or additions. Upon the celebration of festivals, as for instance at a marriage, a burial, or at the New Year, animals were offered in sacrifice, and afterwards consumed by those present.*

When they engaged in prayer, they used to kneel down all in one direction towards the open side of the house from which the light entered, and closing their eyes, one spoke the prayer in the name of the whole assembly.

At that time there was in Kwang-si province, in the department Siang, an idol of great renown named *Kan-wang-ye*, "the King-kan;" whose power was universally acknowledged. The God-worshippers inquired into the history of this famous idol, and received the following information from the people:—

"Kan was formerly an inhabitant of the department of Siang. He had during his life the greatest reliance in the wind and water act or geomancy. A geomancer once selected for him a very auspicious place of interment, but at the same time declared, that by a bloody burial great prosperity would result to his family. Hereupon he went home, killed his own mother, and buried her as the first person upon the indicated spot; thus to insure a permanent felicity to himself and to his descendants. He also forced his elder sister to have intercourse with a profligate wretch; he was particularly fond of listening to obscene songs, which are very prevalent in Kwang-si, and consist in couplets sung alternately by males and females, whereby even among wholly unacquainted persons an illicit familiarity is frequently introduced. The demon of the idol Kan-wang once possessed a young lad, and made him run up to the sedan-chair of the district magistrate, stop its bearers, and in the name of the idol, demand a Dragon robe from the Mandarin, which the latter dared not to refuse. The temple wardens were afraid to sleep in the temple, and morning and evening, when they entered to light the lamps and burn incense, they beat the gong or large copper-plate, to prevent Kan-wang's appearing to them. If any one dared to speak against the idol, he was sure to be seized with bowel complaint, and thus forced to acknowledge the universally admitted power of Kan-wang."

* It is to be hoped that these and other rites inconsistent with the pure Christian worship of God, and which Hung-siu-tshuen introduced or connived at, either from misunderstanding the truth, or to comply with long established customs of the Chinese, which he found it difficult at once to abolish, may gradually be corrected.

When Siu-tshuen heard this report, his anger was aroused, and he said, "This kind of demons I used to exterminate, when my soul was wandering in heaven." He then took Fung-Yun-san, Wang-Ngi, and Hang-E with him, and they started together to visit the temple of Kan-Wang-ye. In two days they came to the place, and really found the aspect of the idol dreadful and imposing. Siu-tshuen however took a stick, and struck the wooden image of the idol whilst enumerating the tenfold transgressions and sins of Kan,—

"First sin, to kill his mother; second sin, contempt of God; third sin, to frighten the hearts of the sons and daughters of God; fourth sin, to covet the food of the children of God; fifth sin, to force his sister to have intercourse with a profligate wretch; sixth sin, to like obscene songs between males and females; seventh sin, arrogantly to exalt himself; eighth sin, to extort money from the people; ninth sin, to demand a Dragon robe from the Mandarin; tenth sin, to continue his mischief as a demon. Because of these tenfold sins he deserves to be destroyed."

Thereupon he dashed the image to pieces, tore its beautiful garments, and broke the censers and sacrificial vessels. He also wrote an Imperial declaration in verse,—

I rebuke the demon Kan-wang by my pencil's quick decree,
He deserves annihilation and must no more spared be.
Mother-slayer, law-transgressor, wilt thou also God deceive?
As thou didst with many people, make them in thy power believe,
Curs'd to hell and struck by lightning, burn and vanish into smoke.
With thy horrid stinking body, dost thou want a Dragon cloak?

腥	作	害	迷	欺	打	該	題
身	速	累	纏	瞞	死	滅	詩
豈	潛	人	男	上	母	該	草
得	藏	民	婦	帝	親	誅	檄
掛	歸	火	雷	犯	干	罪	斥
龍	地	定	當	天	國	不	甘
袍	獄	燒	劈	條	法	饒	妖

As soon as this deed was known in the neighbourhood, the people of the district offered a reward of one hundred dollars for the apprehension of the perpetrators. The demon, however, again possessed a young boy, and said, "These men are sincere, you are not able to hurt them, you must only repair my image again, and then it will be all right." After this the people with-

drew their proclamation. This event served to advance the reputation of Siu-tshuen, and the number of his followers rapidly increased. Soon after he was informed about another temple of great celebrity, called "The temple of six caverns." This temple derived its origin from a male and a female, who had met together, and by the one commencing to sing a licentious couplet, to which the other responded, had indulged in illicit intercourse for several days, after which they were found dead. The people said that these two had found the true principles, and erected a temple in their memory, where divine honours were paid to their images. Siu-tshuen, finding that the moral feeling of the Kwang-si population was far below that of the brutes, wrote a verse, reproving their utter contempt of all morality, saying that these two demons ought to be exterminated; that the whole population had turned brutes, and upon all mountains were heard profligate songs, responded to by males and females; that they professed to have found the true principles, when in fact they had destroyed them. Licentious females were called mistresses of the house. God would not suffer such conduct, but bring upon them sudden judgment from on high. Because of these verses the people were irritated against Siu-tshuen, and wished that the idols might display their power in killing him, but after some time the white ants came into the temple of six caverns and destroyed the building as well as the wooden images.

The brethren of the new congregation in Kwang-si afterwards demolished a great number of images, whereby the population was incensed against them. A very rich graduate Wang, lodged an accusation at the office of the Magistrate of the Ping-nan-hien against them, to the effect, that they, under the pretext of worshipping God, destroyed the temples and altars, but in fact they were rebels. The District Magistrate then seized Fung Yun-san and Lu-liuh, to be examined in the presence of Wang, and because the latter had offered bribes to the mandarin, the two former were committed to jail. Hung-Siu-tshuen now thought with himself, "If we, because of the true doctrine, suffer such persecution, what may be the design of God in this?" At that time he expressed his feelings in the following Ode upon Hope:—

When shall I meet again with faithful brethren,
And preach the word along the Ocean's strand!

When find again true sympathy and virtue,
 And joyful tones mingle without restraint !
 Alas ! for noble courage and for honest hearts,
 With whom I would restore to peace the Universe !
 Alas ! from all the quarters of the earth
 What men shall stand by me !
 The Dragon clouds and Tiger winds assemble ;
 When shall the hour of congregation come !
 The heavenly law is not to blame.
 Has God no more compassion !
 Oh for one mind from first to last !
 What day shall we triumphantly ascend !

何	始	上	天	聚	雲	同	東	同	安	時	安	共	安
日	終	帝	道	會	龍	子	北	安	得	同	得	布	得
得	一	豈	不	者	風	者	西	宇	義	笑	同	大	真
騰	德	無	滔	何	虎	何	南	宙	胆	傲	心	道	兄
身	兮	親	兮	辰	兮	人	兮	于	忠	乎	同	于	真
								太	肝	天	德	海	弟
								平	兮	真	兮	濱	兮

Upon consideration of the present difficulties, Siu-tshuen remembered, that the Governor of the Two Kwang Provinces, Kiyng, had gained permission from the Emperor for Chinese as well as foreigners to profess Christianity, and after further consultation with the brethren at Thistle Mount, he took his departure to Kwang-tung with the intention to present a petition to the governor on behalf of his friends, who suffered imprisonment because of their religious persuasion. Upon his arrival at Canton, he learned from Choo-thau-hing, that the Governor Kiyng, only ten days before, had left for the capital Peking.

In the meantime, the brethren in Kwang-si willingly collected some hundred strings of cash for the liberation of their friends, and delivered a written apology for their doctrine, together with the Ten Commandments, for the inspection of the mandarin. This official was now persuaded that the worshippers of God were no criminals, and wished to release the prisoners, but the graduate Wang made a new accusation before the Prefect of the Department. The Prefect however refused to take up the matter, and referred the cause to the District Magistrate again. The latter had during the interval received three petitions in poetry from Fung-Yun-san; the first stating the malignancy of his accuser

Wang, the second explaining his own innocence, and the third proving the duty of all to worship God. Loo-liuh had already died from the effects of the confinement in jail, and the Magistrate now sent two policemen to convey Fung-Yun-san to his native place in Kwang-tung, there to be placed at liberty upon proper security. During the way, Fung-Yun-san in his usual manner spoke with great eloquence and in persuasive language about the true doctrine, and they had not walked many miles before the two policemen were won as converts. They not only agreed instantly to set him at liberty, but declared themselves willing to abandon their own station, and follow Fung to the congregation at Thistle Mount, where he soon after introduced them as candidates for baptism. The brethren rejoiced to see him again, sacrificed horses and oxen, and gave thanks to God for his liberation.

When Yun-san heard that Siu-tshuen had gone to Kwang-tung on his behalf, he also repaired thither, but on his arrival he found that Siu-tshuen had already left on his return to Kwang-si. When Siu-tshuen came to Thistle Mount, he was informed that Yun-san had been released from prison and gone to Kwang-tung, wherefore he again went back to Hwa-hien. Here in the tenth month of the year 1848, Siu-tshuen and Yun-san met with each other. Previous to the arrival of Siu-tshuen, his old father Hung-yang had departed this life, aged seventy-three. He had for a long time abstained from idolatry, and received baptism. Upon his death-bed he admonished his children saying, "I am now ascending to heaven; after my decease you must not call any Buddhist priests, or perform any heathen ceremonies, but merely worship God, and pray to him." Siu-tshuen was now thirty-five years of age. He had for some time let his hair and beard grow long. When people asked him the reason why he had done so, he replied, that he knew beforehand the death of his father. It is a Chinese custom not to shave during the period of mourning for one's parents and nearer relatives.

8. HUNG'S CHARACTER, CONVERSATION, AND DISCOURSES.

FROM his youth, Hung-Siu-tshuen was generally liked by all, because of his open and straightforward character. He was gay

and friendly, but not dissolute. Being superior in talent to most of his fellow-students, he often used to make sport of them, and caused them to feel his sharp wit; but still his friends were fond of listening to his remarks, as they generally contained true and noble ideas, and acknowledged his superior intellect. After his sickness in the year 1837, his whole person became changed, his manners noble and dignified. He sat erect upon the chair, his hands placed upon his knees, and both his feet resting a little apart, but never crossed upon the ground, without leaning backwards or to either side; and though sitting for hours, he never appeared fatigued. He did not look aslant or backwards; his pace in walking was dignified, neither quick nor slow; he now spoke less and laughed seldom. Many who observed him, ridiculed his manners, finding his deportment strange and curious. After he had begun to worship God, he was very strict in regard to his own conduct. In his words he was often severe, and easily offended others. He liked to sit down and talk with honest and sincere men, though they were ever so poor and of low estate, but he could not bear with the profligate, even if they were ever so rich and high in station. In his native village, two men who were discovered to have committed adultery, so much dreaded the severe censure of Siu-tshuen, that they absented themselves for several years. A man of bad character, named Moo, had been appointed inspector of the ground by ten different villages. This man gradually commenced to flatter the rich, oppress the poor, and beat the villagers. Upon Siu-tshuen's return from Kwang-si, several accusations were made against this man, to which all gave unanimous evidence, desiring to have him punished for his misconduct. The next day Siu-tshuen ordered the gong to be struck, and assembled from eighty to ninety families. Moo also appeared, made a humble confession of his guilt, and asked forgiveness, which the assembled villagers were willing to grant, believing his repentance to be sincere. But Siu-tshuen said, "Yesterday I yielded to the wishes of men, but to-day I follow the rule of heaven." Hereupon he deposed Moo from his office, and appointed Kiang-a-si to be inspector of the ground. Moo dared not to oppose this decision, or think of revenging himself, but he even sent the usual presents of honour and respect to Hung. Among his own clansmen, Siu-tshuen introduced the use of nine wooden rods for chastizing evil

doers, and upon each rod the five punishable offences were written,—

1. Beat the adulterers.
2. Beat the female seducers.
3. Beat the disobedient to parents.
4. Beat thieves, robbers, and gamblers.
5. Beat all vagabonds plotting evil.

These rods were given to the headmen of the families, but afterwards when Siu-tshuen had left for Kwang-si, an uncle of his collected the rods and threw them into the river, saying, "Why should we be subject to his rule?" During his stay at Hw-hien, he was generally respected and feared by all males as well as females, who however felt often rather uneasy at his severe admonitions.

When he met with relatives or neighbours, he often exposed and blamed their sinful conduct, and exhorted them to believe in the true doctrine. Though he did not separate himself from his former friends and relatives, yet they could not feel so intimate with him as before. Often when he came home from a visit to such friends, who would not yield to his exhortations and believe in his doctrines, he used to say,—

"Those who believe not in the true doctrine of God and Jesus, though they be old acquaintances, are still no friends of mine, but they are demons. On the other hand, all who believe in the doctrine of God and Jesus, are true brethren of Heaven and true friends. If they do not believe my words, every one must go his own way; I cannot bring them into heaven, and they shall not draw me to hell. If my own parents, my wife and children, do not believe, I cannot feel united with them, how much less with other friends! Only the heavenly friendship is true, all other is false. A short happiness is not a real one; only eternal happiness can be called real. What others gain, they cannot impart to me; and what I gain, I cannot share with them. I only desire that very many may enter into heaven, and grieve that they should go to hell. Therefore I cannot withhold preaching to them the true doctrine."

In his discourses, Siu-tshuen shewed from the classical books what was true and wrong in the Chinese philosophy, and exhorted every one to receive the true. He endeavoured to rouse people from their lethargy and religious indifference, by holding forth to them the sure hope of everlasting happiness. He had favourite stanzas or expressions, which he often repeated in order to impress them upon the memory of the hearers; for instance,—

"Believe, in God, and in the end be blessed.
Trust not in God, and be at last distressed."

信實上帝有終福
不信上帝有終哭

"Brethren be of good cheer, God has the rule of all,
With faithful hearts and deeds in proof you rise to heaven's hall."

爾們切莫慌,上帝有主張
眞心多憑據,方可上天堂

"Keep the holy commandments, worship the true God, and then at the
hour of departing, heaven will be easily ascended."

"Cleave to worldly customs, believe in devils,
And ultimately hell cannot be avoided."

遵聖誠,拜眞神,撒手時,天堂易上
泥世俗,信魔鬼,盡頭處,地獄難逃

"Those who believe in God, are the sons and daughters of God; where-
soever they come, they come from heaven, wheresoever they go, they go to
heaven."

"Those who worship demons, are the slaves of the demons; at the time of
their birth by the devil led astray, at the time of their death by him carried
away."

信實上帝是上帝,上帝是上帝,上帝是上帝
信實上帝是上帝,上帝是上帝,上帝是上帝
信實上帝是上帝,上帝是上帝,上帝是上帝
信實上帝是上帝,上帝是上帝,上帝是上帝

Siu-tshuen often used to praise the doctrines of Christianity,
but, added he,—

"Too much patience and humility do not suit our present times, for
therewith it would be impossible to manage this perverted generation."

If any one disputed with him, he often became excited, and
said,—

"This man has lost his conscience, he forgets the great mercies of God,
transgresses the holy commandments, and despises the merits of Christ. I
really exert myself to teach and instruct you carefully, and you treat the
matter frivolously. You are indeed of mean descent, you are really seduced
by the devil; this is in fact to have happiness, but not be willing to enjoy
the same."

He also said,—

"The scholars of these days do not distinguish between the true and the
false, between the correct and the corrupt. Fortune-telling, physiognomy,

geomancy, and other secret arts, are considered as true, though they are indeed only so many different means of support to those who practise them. The more intelligent scholars dare not confess the truth, although they know it, the less informed are unable to discern the same. Themselves blind and perverted, they teach a corrupt doctrine; the whole world lies entangled in the net of the devil. They cannot rid themselves from vain desire after riches and honours. They seek a short happiness, as if it were everlasting. They strive for the things of the world and forget the heavenly objects. But in seeking after happiness, they take the devil into their house. They think of heaven, and go down to hell. They wish for peace, but they get no peace. They desire bliss but attain no bliss. Such is this self-sufficient, self-conceited, and haughty generation, which only covets riches and honours. They think that the idols assist them in attaining such happiness, or that heaven is favouring them; and they do not know that heaven often bestows riches and prosperity even upon the wicked, but that the holy ones are perfected by much sorrow and tribulation."

"Heavenly Father, high and supreme, the God of all nations,
 Who sustains the whole human race with infinite bounty:
 In six days thou createdst the world with mountains and waters.
 Spendest thy gifts upon men to enjoy in brotherly union.
 Father thou art near related to us; thou expellst the demons,
 Gavest thy holy commands to instruct an ignorant people.
 After thou Jesus hadst sent to give his life as a ransom,
 Thou didst command Siu-tshuen to proclaim the truth of this doctrine."

又	既	設	天	備	六	養	巍
差	遣	立	父	物	日	育	巍
全	耶	天	至	賜	造	世	天
証	蘇	條	親	人	成	人	父
此	捐	諒	顯	享	天	功	萬
道	命	誠	斥	用	地	德	國
確	贖	愚	邪	相	山	無	所
真	罪	民	神	通	海	窮	同

9. LAST TOUR TO KWANG-SI—STATE OF THE CON-
 GREGATION—YANG-SIU-TSHIN AND SIAU-CHAU-
 KWUI.

THE native village of Fung Yun-san is only a mile and a-half northward from that of Hung-Siu-tshuen. As the country there is hilly, and affords pasture to the cattle, the villagers of many surrounding hamlets use to lead their cattle thither. Siu-tshuen

while at home, often assisted his elder brothers by leading their buffaloes to the mountains. Here he met with Fung Yun-san and others of his intimate friends, when they made an appointment, upon what hill they would assemble the following day. Siu-tshuen here used to converse with his followers and friends about the congregation at Kwang-si. He also occasionally read some portion of the Old or New Testament, which he had received during his stay at Canton. He exhorted to faith in the true religion, and many of the young boys, who led their oxen to the common pasture, gathered around him and Yun-san, and listened with interest to their instruction.

Siu-tshuen and Yun-san remained at home until the fifth month of the year 1849, when their friends at Clearfar made a collection of money, to enable them to make another tour to Kwang-si. They then started on their last tour to Kwang-si, and left their native district, little thinking that they were going to leave it for several years, yea perhaps for ever. In the tenth month of the same year, on the ninth day, at the rising of the sun, the first son of Hung-Siu-tshuen was born. Just at the same time, thousands of birds, as large as ravens and as small as magpies, made their appearance. They continued long hovering about in the air, and finally settled in the trees behind the dwelling of Siu-tshuen. These birds remained in the neighbourhood of the village about one month, to the astonishment of the people, who said that the crowd of birds came to do homage to the new born King. When Hung-jin knew that the wife of Siu-tshuen had been delivered of a male child, he despatched a messenger with a letter to Kwang-si, informing Siu-tshuen of this happy event.

Siu-tshuen and Yun-san upon their arrival at Thistle Mount were received with exultation by the brethren. They now learned, that, during their absence in Kwang tung, some very remarkable occurrences had taken place in the congregation of the God-worshippers, which had brought disorder and dissension among the brethren. It sometimes happened that while they were kneeling down engaged in prayer, the one or the other of those present was seized by a sudden fit, so that he fell down to the ground, and his whole body was covered with perspiration. In such a state of ecstasy, moved by the spirit, he uttered words of exhortation, reproof, prophecy, &c. Often the words were unintelligible, and generally delivered in rhythm. The brethren

had noted down in a book the more remarkable of these sayings, and delivered them to the inspection of Hung Siu-tshuen. The latter now judged the spirits according to the truth of the doctrine, and declared that the words of those moved were partly true and partly false. Thus confirming the already expressed opinion of Yang-Siu-tshin, that they were "partly from God and partly from the devil."

The most remarkable of those whom Hung-Siu-tshuen acknowledged as true, were the words of Yang-Siu-tshin, and Siau Chau-kwui. Yang was originally a very poor man, but he joined the congregation with much earnestness and sincerity. Whilst there, he suddenly for a period of two months lost his power of speech to the astonishment of the brethren, who considered this to be an evil omen; but afterwards he again recovered the use of his tongue, and more frequently than any other was subject to fits of ecstasy, when he spoke in the name of God the Father, and in a solemn and awe-inspiring manner reproved the sins of the others, often pointing out individuals, and exposing their evil actions. He also exhorted to virtue, and foretold future events, or commanded what they ought to do. His words generally made a deep impression upon the assembly. Siau-chau-kwui spoke in the name of Jesus, and his words were milder than those of Yang. One of the Wang clan had spoken against the doctrine of Jesus, and led many astray, but he was excluded from the congregation, and his words declared false, being spoken under the influence of a corrupt spirit.

It appears also, that many sick persons had been cured in a wonderful manner by prayer to God, and Yang was said to possess the gift to cure sicknesses by intercession for the sick. From the description it would almost seem as if Yang had willingly submitted and prayed to have the sickness of the other conferred upon himself, and that he for a short while had borne his sufferings, whereby he redeemed the disease of the other, and was afterwards himself released from the consequences of his own intercession.* Upon the decease of Yang-Kin-siu, it is reported that they heard a heavenly music from above, and that the cur-

* Yang-Siu-tshin is also known under the name of Ho-nae teacher, which is derived from dividing the character of his name 秀 into two 禾乃 Ho-nae, and does not seem to have any particular meaning.

tains of his bed kept moving for two hours after his spirit had departed, though there was no current of air entering the room. Siu-tshuen introduced a strict order among his followers, and though Fung-Yan-san was originally the founder of this congregation, yet every one acknowledged the superiority of Hung, and no one was so able as he to exercise authority, and carry into effect a rigid discipline among so many different sorts of people. He interdicted the use of opium, and also it is said of common tobacco and ardent spirits. Respecting the opium, he made a stanza, saying,—

The Opium pipe is like a gun, wherewith you wound yourself.
How many heroes are stretched dying upon their pillows!

傷受自打自鎗銃卽鎗烟
床高在死困漢雄英少多

As to wine prepared from rice, he said, that converting rice into intoxicating drink, was to rob the people of their wholesome and necessary food, and afterwards give it to them in a form not only useless, but injurious. Siu-tshuen, who formerly was able to stand a good quantity of rice wine, afterwards for a long time limited his own use to three small cups, out of consideration for the company. He still used this restriction while at home, but it is probable that he wholly desisted from its use, when he afterwards came to Kwang-si, if the report be true, that he demanded total abstinence from his followers.

It does not appear that Siu-tshuen knew the full import of the Sabbath, though he considered it as a day of special devotion and thanksgiving to God, who in six days had created the world, and upon that day rested from his work. There is no mention made of the Lord's Supper having been celebrated in the congregation of God-worshippers in Kwang-si.

In the fifth month of the following year (1850), Siu-tshuen sent Kiang-Liung-chong with two other brethren, one of the Wang and one of the Heu clan, with letters to Hwa-hien, and called his whole family to join him in Kwang-si. The reason for this was, as he stated, that God had given him the following revelation :—

"In the 30th year of Tzu-kwang (1850), will I send down calamities; those of you who remain steadfast in faith, shall be saved, but the unbelievers shall be visited by pestilence. After the eighth month, fields will be left

uncultivated, and houses without inhabitants; therefore call them thy own family and relatives hither."

At this time, Siu-tshuen's mother, wife and children, brothers and their families, all his nearest relatives with their children, went to Kwang-si and joined him there. After the death of the Emperor Taukwang in 1850, several districts in Kwang-si were really visited by a pestilential disease, whereby Siu-tshuen's adherents greatly increased in number, as many thought that they evaded contagion merely by joining the congregation of the God-worshippers.

10. DISTURBANCES IN KWANG-SI — WAR BETWEEN THE PUNTI AND HAKKAS — THE GOD-WORSHIP-PERS INVOLVED IN THE POLITICAL TROUBLES — CAUSE, COMMENCEMENT, AND SUCCESS, OF THE INSURRECTION — SIU-TSHUEN AND THE TRIAD SOCIETY.

THE inaccessible mountains of the Kwang-si province have long served as a place of resort for outlaws and banditti, who from these hiding-places went forth to plunder the unsuspecting travellers, and commit depredations on the neighbouring villages. The number of these outlaws has during the course of the last few years been increasing. They formed regular bands of robbers, and their boldness went so far, that they commenced openly to attack hamlets, larger villages, and market towns. The soldiers sent by the government officials to seize and disperse the banditti, had often hard work to perform. Yet in most instances they were successful, though the bands of robbers dispersed in one place gathered again in another. The most of these robbers were men from Kwang-tung and bordering provinces, who are by the aborigines of Kwang-si called Khih-kias, (strangers or settlers,) because they had immigrated and settled in Kwang-si among the Punti or original inhabitants. The Khih-kia or Hakka villages are very numerous in Kwang-si, though in general not so large and opulent as those of the Punti. A feeling of enmity had long existed between the two classes, and every new incident only served to augment the hatred. At that time a very rich Hakka of the surname Wun had taken a girl as his concubine, who had been promised in marriage to a Punti man.

and having agreed to settle the matter with her parents by paying a large sum of money, he peremptorily refused to give her up to the Punti claimant. At the office of the District Magistrate, numerous petitions and accusations were daily lodged against the Hakká population, so that the Mandarins were unable to settle all their disputes. It seems even probable that the Mandarins would evade the trouble, and if the report be true, they gave the advice to the Punti population to enforce their own right against the Hakkas. However this be, the result was, that soon after, a civil war commenced between the Puntis and Hakkas of the Kwei District, in which gradually a number of villages were involved. The fighting began on the 28th of the eighth month (September 1850,) and during the first days the Hakkas had the advantage, no doubt because they were more accustomed to such a manner of life, and probably counted robbers by profession among their number. Gradually, however, the Puntis grew bolder and more experienced, and as their number was considerably larger, they defeated the Hakkas, and burnt their houses, so that these had no resting-place to which they could resort. In this distress they sought refuge among the worshippers of God, who at that time lived dispersed in several districts, in congregations counting from one to three hundred individuals. They willingly submitted to any form of worship in order to escape from their enemies, and received the necessary supplies, which they were now destitute of.

Up to this period the worshippers of God had not stood in any connection whatever with the robbers or outlaws of the province. The Mandarin soldiers, upon their excursions in search of the robbers, never interfered with the members of the congregations, or suspected the brethren to have any other but religious motives for their assembling together. But now, when not only from the distressed villages, but also from the bands of robbers dispersed by the Mandarin soldiers, large flocks of people, old and young, men and women, with their children and their property, joined the congregations, matters could no longer go on as before. A rupture and collision with the Mandarins became inevitable. Siu-tahuen's discerning eye had foreseen all this; his prediction had now been fulfilled; he had formed his plans, he was prepared to take the consequences, and only awaited the proper moment to take a decided step. About this time, he composed an Ode

alluding to the state of the country, wherein his own intentions are clearly expressed:—

"When in the present time (disturbances abound,
And bands of robbers are) like gathering vapors four
We know that heaven means to raise a valiant hand
(To rescue the oppressed and save our native land.)
China was once subdued, but it shall no more fall.
God ought to be adored, and ultimately shall
The founder of the Ming in song disclosed his mind.
The Emperor of Han drank to the furious wind.
From olden times all deeds by energy were done,
Dark vapours disappear on rising of the sun."

黑	古	漢	明	上	神	知	近
霧	來	皇	主	帝	州	天	世
收	事	置	敵	富	被	有	烟
殘	業	酒	詩	崇	陷	意	氛
一	由	尙	曾	舉	從	啟	大
鑑	人	歌	詠	竟	難	英	不
中	做	風	菊	崇	陷	雄	同

In this Ode, Siu-tshuen alludes to the frequent bands of robbers rising suddenly and gathering like vapours round the mountains in the different districts. He expresses his intention to permit them to fight and tear up each other, until finally, when they were fatigued and weakened, he would rise in the field and easily become the sole master. Such was the plan expressed by the founder of the Ming dynasty, Choo-hung-woo, in his song about the aster to which he compared himself. The aster begins to blossom in the 9th month, when the season of most other flowers has passed away, thus, as it were, waiting quietly until all other flowers had exhausted their strength, contending to excel each other; then the aster unfolds its beauty, and displaying its armour of golden yellow, remains alone master of the field. The first Emperor of the Han dynasty, Lew-pang, compared the furious wind and flying clouds to valiant warriors, rushing on in victorious progress, carrying all before them; and displaying a table with wine, he saluted them as they passed quickly over his head.

The Siu-tshai (graduate) Wang, who already has been mentioned in these pages as an enemy of the new doctrine, and as

the accuser of its adherents, again used his influence and money to injure one of the brethren. Wang-ngi had by his rash and imprudent conduct in destroying the idols belonging to other people, brought down upon himself the resentment of the populace, and was again accused before the Magistrate. This official however refused to take up the matter, and dismissed the parties. When the young Wang-ngi came out to the street, he commenced a quarrel with the two plaintiffs, and in an insolent manner demanded a large sum of money from them, without which the matter would not be settled. Just at this moment the graduate Wang happened to pass, and inquired what was the matter. The two plaintiffs explained to him, that the Magistrate would not take up their cause, and commit Wang-ngi. Then the graduate Wang replied, "I will take care that this fellow is put in prison," and ordered Wang-ngi again to be brought to the office of the Magistrate. He then wrote an accusation accompanied with considerable bribes, which had the effect, that Wang-ngi was put into prison, and gradually killed by want and ill-treatment.

The first instance when members belonging to the congregation of God-worshippers were involved in conflict with the populace, seems to have occurred at a place called Goldfield. Some persons belonging to a large Punti village had seized and led away a buffalo, being the property of a God-worshipper. The brethren were highly incensed at such an outrage, and demanded back the buffalo. As this was not instantly complied with, they also seized one or more cows belonging to the other and stronger party. At last an exchange of the animals was agreed to, and the emissaries met and arranged the affairs; but just as they were returning, some of the Puntis, relying on their larger number, fired upon the Hakkas. These, in their turn, attacked the Puntis, and chased them back to their own village. The Punti people considered this unexpected defeat as an expression of the displeasure of their gods, and therefore arranged a feast with theatrical performances in honour of their idols, who occupied the first seat among the spectators. But even during the very performance a sudden dread of the God-worshippers came upon the whole assembly, and frightened by a false alarm, they several times rushed out from the place as if their enemies had been advancing. The God-worshippers, the most of whom

were Hakkas, were bold and brave, used to labour and fatigue, wherefore with a small number they dared to attack the much larger Punti force, and were often victorious, though their opponents had the assistance of the soldiers. It appears that because of the many Hakkas joining the congregations, these were gradually involved in the disturbances, and they were not only accused of interfering with the religious worship of others, and destroying the idols, but also of favouring the outlaws, and secretly fostering rebellious intentions against the Government. Siu-tshuen and Yun-san at this period had left Thistle-mountain, and lived concealed at a place called "Vast-change-hills," in the house of a friend. This place was surrounded by high mountains, leaving only a narrow passage to the country outside. The Mandarins, whose suspicions were aroused, got notice of the residence of Hung and Fung, and sent a body of soldiers to watch the entrance to the hills. Though Siu-tshuen and Yun-san had only a small number of adherents at that place, the soldiers were afraid to enter; but to prevent those inside from sallying out and escaping, they, according to Chinese custom, covered the pass with short sharp wooden stakes stuck into the ground. Siu-tshuen and Yun-san were thus shut up among the mountains and unable to escape from the soldiers, who watched the entrance of the pass. Their great enterprise, to liberate China from the yoke of a foreign power and convert it to the worship of the true God, was nearly going to be stifled in the very beginning. At this critical moment, it is reported, that Yang-Siu-tshin, in a state of ecstasy, revealed to the brethren of Thistle-mountain the impending danger of their beloved chiefs, and exhorted them to hasten to their rescue. A considerable body of men belonging to the congregations now drew together, and marched against the soldiers, who watched the pass of the Vast-change-hills. The soldiers were easily beaten, the entrance cleared from the wooden stakes, and Siu-tshuen and Yun-san carried in triumph from their place of seclusion.

Siu-tshuen now sent messages to all the congregations in the different districts to assemble in one place. Already for some time previous to his, the worshippers of God had felt the necessity of uniting together for common defence against their enemies; they had commenced to convert their property of fields and houses into money; and to deliver the proceeds thereof into

the general treasury, from which all shared alike, every one receiving his food and clothing from this fund. The circumstance that they shared all in common greatly added to their numbers, and thus they were prepared to abandon their homes at a moment's warning. That moment had now arrived. Anxious about their own safety and that of their families, they flocked to the banner of Hung-Siu-tshuen, whom they believed appointed by heaven to be their chief. Old and young, rich and poor, men of influence and education, graduates of the first and second degrees, with their families and adherents, all gathered round the chiefs. Wei-ching alone brought with him about one thousand individuals of his clan. Siu-tshuen took possession of the opulent market town where the above-mentioned graduate Wang resided, whose rich stores of provisions and pawnshops filled with clothes quite suited the wants of the distressed Hakkas. This town was surrounded by a broad river, protecting them from sudden attacks. Here Siu-tshuen encamped and fortified the place, and before the Mandarin soldiers had arrived, his position was already too strong for them. The Imperial soldiers pitched their camp at a respectable distance from the market town, and both parties carried on hostilities by firing at each other over the river, which however no one ventured to cross. From this place Siu-tshuen again sent Kiang-Liang-chong, who used to travel as a physician carrying his box of medicines with him, and called the remaining relatives of the two clans, Hung and Fung, to join him in Kwang-si; but before they could reach the spot, Siu-tshuen found it necessary from want of provisions to move his camp to another place. This he did secretly, crossed the river, and marched away in good order without the knowledge of the Imperialists, who still supposed him to be in the town. He had taken some women belonging to the town, and upon leaving, he shut them up in a house near the river side, and ordered them to beat the drums the whole day long, thus to make the enemy believe that he was still keeping the place. The Imperialists, as soon as they discovered his movements, sent light troops in pursuit, but they, venturing too near the rear of Siu-tshuen's army, were in their turn pursued by his men, and a great number of them slaughtered. The Imperialists now commenced to vent their rage on the deserted market town, took possession of it by storm, burnt between one and two thousand shops, and

plundered what they could get at. They also seized and killed numbers of the inhabitants on the slightest supposition that they were God-worshippers, or friendly disposed towards that body. Many of these unhappy victims evinced great self-possession, and resignation to their fate. One named Tsen said to the soldiers, "Why do you delay? If you are to kill me, then do so,—I fear not to die." He with many others refused to kneel down, and received the death-blow in an upright posture. These cruelties greatly incensed the populace, and many, who otherwise would have remained quietly at home, desirous to worship God without taking part in the insurrection, were thus forced to leave their homes, and join the army of Hung-Siu-tshuen. The latter had now taken possession of and pitched his camp at a large village called Thai-tsun, where he found abundant provisions for his numerous followers. The reason why Siu-tshuen took this large village was as follows: A rebel chief named Chin-a-kwei, who for a long time previous had disturbed the country, finally expressed himself willing to unite his forces with those of Hung-Siu-tshuen. However, before this was effected, during the time that the latter had possession of the large market town mentioned above, the former made an excursion to the West, when he was taken captive by the people of Thai-tsun and delivered to the Mandarins, who rewarded the deed with a golden button. Siu-tshuen took the village to revenge the death of Chin-a-kwei.

During the time that Siu-tshuen was encamped at the above village, two female rebel chiefs of great valor, named Kew-urh and Szu-san, each one bringing about two thousand followers, joined the army of the God-worshippers, and were received upon submitting to the authority of Hung and the rules of the congregation. Siu-tshuen placed these two female chiefs with their followers at a distance from the main body of his army, serving as outposts one on each side. About the same period eight different rebel chiefs belonging to the San-höih-hwui or Triad Society, intimated to Siu-tshuen their wish to join his army with their respective bands. Siu-tshuen granted their request, but under condition that they would conform to the worship of the true God. The eight chiefs declared themselves willing to do so, and sent their tribute of oxen, pigs, and rice, &c. Siu-tshuen now despatched sixteen of the brethren belonging to the congregation, two to each chief, in order to impart to them and their

followers some knowledge of the true religion, before they had taken the definite step of joining him. When this preparatory instruction had been received, the chiefs dismissed their tutors with a liberal sum of money, as a reward for their trouble, and soon after they with all their followers joined the army of Hung-Siu-tshuen. It now occurred that fifteen of the teachers who had been sent out to the chiefs, in accordance with the laws of the congregation, gave their money which they had received into the common treasury, but one of them kept the money for himself, without saying a word. This same individual had several times before by his misconduct made himself amenable to punishment, and had only been spared in consideration of his eloquence and talent for preaching. He had in the first instance not fully abstained from the use of opium, but to procure the drug, he had sold some rattan-bucklers belonging to the army; another time he got excited with wine, and had injured some of the brethren. As soon as his concealment of the money was proved, Siu-tshuen and the man's own relatives, who were present in the army, decided to have him punished according to the full rigour of the law, and ordered him to be decapitated as a warning to all. When the chiefs of the Triad Society saw that one of those who had just before been despatched as a teacher to them was now killed for a comparatively small offence, they felt very uncomfortable, and said,—

"Your laws seem to be rather too strict; we shall perhaps find it difficult to keep them, and upon any small transgression you would perhaps kill us also."

Thereupon "Full large head," "Great carp fish," and five other chiefs, with their men, departed, and afterwards surrendered to the Imperialists, turning their arms against the insurgents. Lo-thai-kang alone remained with Siu-tshuen, because he liked the discipline of his army, and the doctrine which they had adopted as a rule of their conduct. It is said that six of the above chiefs of the Triad Society ultimately fell into the hands of the insurgents while fighting against them, and were killed. Siu-tshuen had formerly expressed his opinion of the Triad Society in about the following language:—

"Though I never entered the Triad Society, I have often heard it said that their object is to subvert the Tsing and restore the Ming dynasty. Such an expression was very proper in the time of Khang-hi, when this

society was at first formed, but now after the lapse of two hundred years, we may still speak of subverting the Tsing, but we cannot properly speak of restoring the Ming. At all events, when our native mountains and rivers are recovered, a new dynasty must be established. How could we at present arouse the energies of men by speaking of restoring the Ming dynasty? There are several evil practices connected with the Triad Society, which I detest; if any new member enter the society, he must worship the devil, and utter thirty-six oaths; a sword is placed upon his neck, and he is forced to contribute money for the use of the society. Their real object has now turned very mean and unworthy. If we preach the true doctrine, and rely upon the powerful help of God, a few of us will equal a multitude of others. I do not even think that Sun-pin, Woo-khi, Kung-ming, and others famous in history for their military skill and tactics, are deserving much estimation, how much less these bands of the Triad Society."

Siu-tshuen afterwards ordered his followers not to receive any Triad men among their number, but such as were willing to abandon their former practices, and to receive instruction in the true doctrine.

In the autumn of the same year (1851,) he again raised his camp, and marched upon the city of Yung-ngan in the eastern part of Kwang-si, which he entered, taking possession of the treasury and public granaries. It is reported that this city was taken in the following manner: The insurgents advanced quickly to the walls, which are not very high, and by throwing an immense quantity of lighted fire-crackers into the town, the continued explosion of which brought confusion among the soldiers within and caused them to retreat, they easily succeeded in scaling the walls and entering the city.

Hung-Siu-tshuen was here unanimously declared Emperor of the new dynasty called T'hai-ping T'heen-kwoh 太平天國 "Great tranquillity, Heaven's Kingdom." The latter two characters 天國 "Kingdom of Heaven," seem according to their meaning to refer to China, but judging from their position they may also be the designation of the new Emperor, who selected this term from the Holy Scriptures. Siu-tshuen is said to have offered the highest dignity to each one of the other four chiefs, Fung Yun-san, Yang-Siu-tshin, Siau-Chau-kwui, and Wai-ching, and only after they had declined the acceptance, and declared their full submission to his authority, he accepted the reign, and appointed them Kings of the four Quarters.* From this place

* It may be proper here to state the opinion of the informant and his friends regarding T'heen-tsh, the supposed chief of the Chinese insurrection. They fully believe that T'heen-tsh

he sent Ling-Sih-pah with a force into Kwang-tung, who however soon after was defeated by the Mandarin troops at Lo-king, and his forces dispersed, most of them returning to Yung-ngan.

We have now followed Hung-Siu-tshuen in his remarkable career from the time that he, desponding and sick, was carried home from the examination at Canton, until the period when, at the head of a numerous army of faithful and enthusiastic adherents, he had possessed himself of the city of Yung-ngan, and was by his followers declared Emperor of China. The farther course of the insurgent army through the different provinces of Kwang-si, Hu-nan, Hu-peh, Kiang-si, Ngan-hwui, and Kiang-su, where the old capital of the Empire, Nanking, was taken by them on the 19th of March, 1853, is already known to the public. From the books published at Nanking by the insurgents, we find that Hung-Siu-tshuen 洪秀全 is now called Thai-ping-wang 太平王, or King of Great Peace; Fung-Yun-san 馮雲山 is called the Southern King 南王; Yang-Siu-tshia 楊秀清 the Eastern King 東王; Siau-Chau kwui 蕭朝貴 the Western King 西王; Wai-ching 韋正 the Northern King 北王; and Shih-ta-khai 石達開 the Assistant King 翼王; we also find Lo-thai-kang 羅大剛 to be Commander of the Forces at Chin-kiang. A strong division of the insurgent army during the same year made further progress through the provinces of Ho-nan, Shan-si, and Chih-li, where they encamped and took winter quarters at Tuh-liu, only seventy English miles from Peking, the capital of the Empire. That they have been able to hold this their position for so long a time, proves the great weakness of the Imperial Government. In the opening of the spring the fate of Peking will probably be decided. The insurgents seem to have two principal objects in view; namely, to

is no other person than Hung-Siu-tshuen, and explain the origin of this term in the following way:—Hung-Siu-tshuen was either called Thai-ping-wang from the new Dynasty commencing with him, or Tshen-kwoh-wang from his other designation. Most of the Hakkas pronounce the word Kwoh as Kwah or Kwat, and consequently Hung-Siu-tshuen was among them called Tshen-kwah-wang. People at some distance on hearing the name Tshen-kwat, being unacquainted with the dialect and the proper characters, changed the sound Tshen-kwah into Tshen-teh, "Heavenly virtue," a term more fluent and familiar to them. In such manner Tshen-kwah-wang became extensively known in China and abroad under the name of Tshen-teh-wang, and many were led to suppose that he was a person different from Thai-ping-wang or Hung-Siu-tshuen. This would agree with the statement made by some of the Insurgents in Nanking in April last year, that Tshen-teh was a name applied to their chief only by "outside people."

subvert the Tsing dynasty, abolish idolatry, and to establish the T'hai-ping dynasty with the worship of the true God. By taking Nanking and fortifying their position there, they have commenced the foundation of a new dynasty, but the existence of the T'hai-ping can only be acknowledged upon the ceasing of the Tsing dynasty. This will in a great measure be effected by the fall of the Manchoo capital, by which the power of the Imperial Government will be crushed, and the last feeble tie between this government and the Chinese people severed.

11. PERSECUTION IN KWANG-TUNG—IMPRISONMENT OF FUNG-YUN-SAN'S FAMILY—DEFEAT AT PAD-DY-HILL—HUNG-JIN'S ESCAPE.

It has been stated above, that Hung-Siu-tshuen, while he was encamped at the market town in Kwang-si in 1851, sent messages to the relatives and adherents of himself and Fung-Yun-san to join his army in Kwang-si. The year before, when Siu-tshuen had called his own nearer relatives, Hung-Jin had been detained from going with them by his friends at Clear-far; he was still engaged as a teacher. This time, 1851, he started on the journey with about fifty friends and relatives of the two chiefs. Upon their arrival at Tsin-chau, they heard that the worshippers of God had raised their camp and marched away, and that the Mandarins were seizing and cruelly murdering all connected with the God-worshippers. Hung-Jin now ordered forty and odd of his friends to return to Kwang-tung, while he with three of the party endeavoured to penetrate deeper into the country, and if possible reach the army of the God-worshippers. Fearing to fall into the hands of the Mandarins, who had ordered a severe seizure of all vagrants and suspected persons, Hung-Jin changed his family name to that of Heu, and found himself under necessity to desist from the attempt to reach his friends in Kwang-si. Upon his journey home, he met with several persons, who were really of the Heu clan. One rich man of this name entertained him for a whole month at his house, and when Hung left, gave him eight strings of cash, forty pounds of rice, and five pounds of pork, under the impression that he was assisting a poor distressed scholar of his own clan. When Hung reached Hwa-hien, the fact of Siu-tshuen and Yun-san having

raised an insurrection in Kwang-si was already known to the Mandarins of this province. A police force had arrived at the place, seized people, demolished the ancestral tombs, and were extorting money from the inhabitants. Hung-Jin not being safe at home, went to live with his friends at Clear-far. Fung-Yun-san's uncle, mother, younger brother, and youngest son, were taken and put in prison. His wife and two other sons succeeded in escaping, and found refuge with their friends in other districts. They thus also came to Clear-far, and after consulting their friends, who willingly made a collection for their travelling expenses, the eldest son with the nephew of Yun-san, again in company with Hung-Jin, set out for Kwang-si. Here they found the vigilance and rigid inquiries of the Mandarins still more severe than the time before, and once more they were obliged to return to Kwang-tung. In the meantime Yun-san's wife lived concealed at Paddy-hill until her hiding-place was made known to the policemen by a man of the name Wang, who told them where he had seen her. She tried again to flee, but the Mandarin servants being close upon her, she was obliged to hide herself in a small house on the wayside, entreating the inmates not to reveal her presence to her pursuers. This they promised, and she had nearly escaped from the hands of the Mandarins, but unfortunately a beggar woman had seen her enter the house, and upon receiving a few dollars from the policemen, she pointed it out to them. The fugitive was then taken and brought to Canton, where she with other members of Yun-san's family still remain in prison. The uncle is however reported to have died there. The eldest son, with his cousin and Hung-Jin, again attempted to enter Kwang-si, but could not succeed. Many of their friends in Kwang-tung, incensed at the extortion and severe oppression of the Mandarins, were ready to oppose the policemen, and liberate Fung-Yun-san's family, but some of the principal leaders being of a different opinion, the matter was dropped for that time. In the beginning of 1852, Kiang-Liung-chong, the usual messenger of Hung-Siu-tshuen to his relatives in Kwang-tung, again arrived with letters calling all the faithful adherents of the several clans to join his army in Kwang-si at the city of Yung-ngan. The Mandarins seemed to be aware of and dread the growing power of the insurgents. They in a great measure relaxed their severity in

persecuting the kindred of the two chiefs, and they even released from prison an old uncle of Siu-tshuen, about seventy-two years of age. The adherents of Siu-tshuen well knew that they had no mercy to expect from the side of the Government, and thinking the present moment favourable to act, upon the advice of Kiang in accordance with the letter received from Hung-Siu-tshuen, they resolved to gather all their friends together, and fixed upon Paddy-hill as the place of assemblage. It appears that Kiang-Liung-chong who had been witness to the continued success of the insurgents in Kwang-si, had grown too bold and careless. He expected the same result here in Kwang-tung, without similar means and resources, and acted without precaution, thus involving himself and friends in grievous disasters. Before the day appointed for general meeting had arrived, along with "Heaven Cock," "Cap Right High," and others of their kindred clans, in all about two hundred men, wholly unaccustomed to fighting, he raised the standard of insurrection, with the motto, "In obedience of Heaven." As soon as this was done, their act was reported to the district magistrate by people on the spot, and a considerable force of soldiers was sent against them. The insurgents went boldly to the fight, but being few and inexperienced, they were soon thrown into disorder. Kiang-Liung-chong with about six others, fell during the action, a considerable number were taken captive by the troops, and the rest dispersed. "All is lost!" cried Cap, who still fought bravely at the side of Heaven Cock, and taking advantage of a thick fog descending from the mountains, they made their escape into the woods. Here they met with Fung-A-shu, the nephew of Yun-san, and a few others of their friends. They were now obliged to leave their native district, and seek refuge among their friends, or try to get their support in some manner far away from the place of their nativity. The village of Paddy-hill was burnt to the ground, the fields confiscated, and made the property of the Mandarins.

Hung-Jin with about a dozen men arrived at Paddy-hill just after the defeat, without knowing anything about this accident. He and all his companions were taken by the people of the neighbourhood, and with their arms tied behind, they were shut up in a house to be afterwards delivered over to the Mandarins and beheaded. The prisoners murmured against Hung-Jin,

who had brought upon them this calamity by exhorting them to join him in an undertaking, the result of which was quite the contrary to their expectation. Hung-Jin, lively and enthusiastic, desirous to lead his friends to honour and to glory, now sat down in the midst of them in deep sorrow and despair, and would gladly have given his own life to save those whom he had brought with him into distress. Feeling the cord wherewith his hands were tied together give way a little, after some effort he got them free, and proceeded to unloose those of his friends who were accessible, and succeeded in liberating six of his companions from their bonds. After it had become dark, they opened the door, and in the rainy night hastened away to the mountains. Hung-Jin, whose liveliest hopes so suddenly had been frustrated, who had drawn upon himself the hatred and revenge of the relatives of so many involved in the present disaster, who had no place of refuge left to himself, now felt his own guilt and despair too hard to bear. He therefore unloosed his girdle and was going to strangle himself, when one of the fugitives came up to him. Hung said, "Try to escape and save your life, I will put an end to my existence in this place." The other then seized his hand, and drew him forward, exhorting him to continue his flight in company with him, which he did. The next day, when Hung awoke from a short rest in the bush, he missed his companion. He now prayed to God the heavenly Father to spare his life and protect him amidst so many dangers. During the day time he lay concealed in the bush, and during the night he went on. Once the people in search of fugitives passed very close by him, without observing him. Finally, after having passed four days and four nights without any food in the mountains, he in a very exhausted state arrived at the house of some near relatives. Here he was concealed six days in a mountain cavern, and afterwards his relatives gave him some money, with which he went on board a passage-boat to go to another district, and seek refuge with more distant relatives of the Hung clan. But even among these, new trials awaited him; for also from their place a few of the Hung clan had gone to Paddy-hill, whose further fate was unknown. Some of the relatives of those missing were now inclined to revenge the supposed death of their brethren, and deliver Hung-Jin to the Mandarins, but an old venerable headman took him under his

protection, saying that it would be very wrong to injure Hung, when they knew nothing certain about their relatives, who, even if they had met with misfortune, had gone willingly of their own accord, without being deceived or enticed by any one. Hereupon he gave one of his grandsons to Hung-Jin as a guide, and this young man, being a Christian convert, conducted him to Hongkong in the end of April, 1852, and introduced him to me. I was astonished to hear a person from the interior of China speak with such interest of, and display so much acquaintance with, the Christian religion. I liked to listen to his animated narratives, about Hung-Siu-tshuen, Fung-Yun-san, and their followers, though at the time I could form no clear conception of the whole matter, which then was little known and still less believed. He wrote a few sheets of paper, containing a short account of Hung-Siu-tshuen and himself, which I put into my desk, until I should have further evidence as to their contents. I expected that Hung-Jin, who wished to study the Christian doctrine and he baptized, would remain for some time at Hongkong; but upon my return from a tour of a few weeks to the mainland, he had departed, as he had no means of support in this place.

After the defeat at Paddy-hill, A-fong, the eldest son of Fung-Yun-san, went to Canton and took service with a blacksmith. The latter was, however, a very bad character, and having had share in a robbery and open assault, he was with several other miscreants seized by the Mandarins. Here he endeavoured to effect his own release by promising to deliver into the hands of the Mandarins the eldest son of Fung-Yun-san. A-fong was thus discovered, and brought before the officials, where he however denied being the son of the rebel chief. The Mandarin then ordered him to be brought into the presence of his mother, when the tears of both sufficiently proved the truth of their near relationship. A-fong still shares the captivity of his mother and other relatives at Canton. The blacksmith was beheaded with the other criminals. The second son of Fung-Yun-san followed his cousin Fung-A-shu. They had to go through many difficulties, until finally they both found an opportunity to embark with the Rev. I. J. Roberts for Shanghae in the month of July, 1853. It is supposed that about forty of Hung's clan were put to death on or after the above occurrence; and that about seventy others

have been transported to other distant provinces. It is, however, difficult to know their exact number, and still more so to know the exact fate of every one separately.

In November, 1853, Hung-Jin, who up to that time had been engaged as schoolmaster at some place in the interior, again visited me. He was still very desirous to be baptized, and seemed to be sincere in his wish to serve God. He declared himself willing to leave all matters in the hands of Him, who worketh all things after the council of His own will, and to seek above all the kingdom of God and His righteousness. Hung-Jin, with three of his friends from Clear-far, have since been baptized, and are still studying the Holy Scriptures, with the hope in the Providence of God, hereafter to be enabled to instruct their countrymen in the way of salvation. The utter distress of the informant, his friends and their families, decided me for the publication of this little volume; and it may add to the satisfaction of the readers to know, that while they are promoting the sale of the book, they are also relieving the distress of many who form the subjects of its pages.

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合朝內外官員書士人等

附江蘇巡撫李鴻章蘇州殺降文告

天王詔旨五通。均辛酉十一年刊布。最早者爲二月十七日。晚者爲五月十六日。即清咸豐十一年。而西曆一八六一年也。原物版式一律。高二十二吋。又四分之一。寬四十五吋。邊刻龍鳳及海波紋。黃紙墨印。頗爲美觀。現藏英國不列顛博物院。有該院雙獅圖記。及收存年月章。編號爲 237 A B C。列道哥拉斯中國書籍及寫本補充目錄中。皆爲吾國絕未經見之物。可以徵太平一朝政令所出之實蹟。彌足珍也。按賊情案編卷七偽詔旨云：「既陷江寧。侈然自肆。遂用數尺黃綢。畫硃格。首行列天王詔旨四字。餘係洪逆親書。天王詔曰云云。雖飲此二字。亦係自寫。其黃綢長三尺。橫幅朱絲。天王二字。出格雙抬。字尙端正。方圓徑寸。行楷相同。任意揮灑。」又云：「天王詔曰四字。係刻成刷印者。尙年月日上蓋大偽印。」野史所述亦同。今以此詔証之。似略有出入。詔曰上無天王二字。飲此則作飲哉。及印墨亦不在年月上。而蓋於右方上角。是其異也。內一件解歸榮天國之義。又一件逃胡妖入竊中華。奉命誅討。乃主塵寰。爲天主人王。又一件言天皇上天。上帝顯蹟。同世一家。公忠成勳。何愁殘妖不易殲。又一件叙天父天兄下凡。及「龍降東王。哥降西王」。避天逐妖。堅耐磨礱。齊頂剛常。以上四件。均含宗教意味。洪秀全之迷信思想。及團結人心之具。可以概見。最末一件。言五月十一日。天王親親天父。殺妖滅鬼。有東西王相當。一旦南天門開。合聚大觀。天下水平。萬邪來朝。其樂融融。此可與王長次兄親目親耳共証。福音帶參看。兵交妹夫。聞天有聲。真神話矣。又言上帝聖諭。火華。凡是文輩。不許稱老。應將中華等字作事。避火而

稱奕亮夥伏字。天兄諱耶蘇。耶避稱也。蘇稱蘇。用姓字代替亦嘉。幼主名洪天貴福。福字應加一點作福。故桂福省作桂福省。按賊情案編卷八述諸改諱字。謂詔火華改字夥花。秀全改結蘇。耶蘇及幼主未逃及。沈熾良江南春夢華筆記云：「賊中諱字甚多。如火爲亮。華爲花。諱僞天父名也。誓爲率。基爲居。諱僞天兄名也。……秀爲蘇。全爲泉。天爲添。貴爲桂。福爲復。諱天逆幼逆之名也。」太平天國九年壬王洪仁軒親資政新篇（原刻本藏英國牛津大學圖書館 P. 115）云：「無知我中花之人。忘其身之爲花。甘居韃妖之下。」又云：「上帝之名。水不必諱。天父之名。至大至尊。至貴。何礙一名字。若說正話。雖千百萬語。亦是讚美。但不得妄稱。及發誓發願而已。若諱至數百年之久。則又無人識天父之名矣。况諸火華三字。乃猶太土音。譯即自有者三字之意。包涵無所不知。無所不能。無所不在。自然而然。至公義至慈悲之意也。……若諱此名。則此理不能彰矣。」據此。則火華基督諸字。始皆改寫。而仁軒主張不諱。似未得行。此詔諸字未嘗諱。惟火字避稱奕亮夥伏字。華字則改爲華。秀全之諱。又未逃。及考太平詔諭書履兵冊文字。全字俱作華。清人傳寫論檄作泉。豈或以此致誤。歟。而幼主之名洪天貴福。爲秀全所造三字之名。殊無疑義。其原名曰天貴。已見平定粵匪記略賊名記。求開齋弟子記及太平天國轅圖。太平天國野史誤作天富貴。清官書以印墨上有真王兩字並列。誤作福瑛。有此一詔。則不待辨矣。凡此均足補證前史。因不備存真蹟。備觀摩。以見天王教告萬方之辭而已。民國廿三年十月蕭一山識。

洪秀全手批艾約瑟撰上帝有形爲喻無形乃實論一通。現藏英國不列顛博物院東方部，編號爲 *Or. 1013*。在 *Or. 1006* 冊中，見東方寫本目錄。原件共兩葉，一橫長十六吋又四分之一，縱長十二吋又四分之三；一橫長十四吋，縱長二十二吋，因後葉蓋有天王玉璽，故篇幅較大也。按艾約瑟原名 *Robert*，爲英國之耶穌教士，與楊篤信 *Rev. Charles Johnson* 等同在上海傳教。太平天國庚申十年，即西歷一八六〇年，忠王李秀成之軍克蘇杭，勢且及於上海。艾約瑟楊篤信以一介通好於秀成，致書講明真理。秀成覆書謂：「錦翰先頒，講明真道，盟誦六款，層層透闢，奧義精深，曷勝欣忭！開朝精忠軍師于王，本天王之介弟，爲朝綱之首領，前曾於香港廈門尙海等處，交遊貴國教士，遍歷各國，共証真理，想閣下均必熟識現。聞閣下有書貽余，故特降駕來蘇，欲與閣下會晤，講論壹是，度閣下既不憚七萬里之遙，來傳真道，必不以二百里之遠，不降光儀也。」原信現亦藏於英倫博物院，余已收入太平天國書翰中，可參攷。艾楊得復，即於七月三十日離滬赴蘇，八月二日到達。白倫中國太平叛黨志一書，*Communist's Handbook, China, the Tientsin, Peking, and other* 有教士蘇州訪問記一段，述艾楊沿途所見情形頗詳，惟諱言曾致書秀成事。于王來蘇，陪同參觀城內各處，譚論宗教事業，並及天王性格與其信仰之虔篤。艾楊以五日返上海。此文當係艾氏以後所作，介于王以求正於天王者也。秀全批改甚多，原題亦改爲上帝金顏體神不得見論。文後所批七言十句詩，並文中塗丹，均秀全親筆，硃跡縱橫，筆力遒勁，殊可珍貴。現在國內發見者，僅故宮博物院所藏命薛之元鎮守浦口詔一通，（載文獻叢編第十五期）係秀全手寫，與此批字體完全相同，可稱雙璧云。一山記。

朝主圖一通。未刻年月，版式邊紋均與天王詔旨同，惟幅直爲異耳。上有幼主金璽，而詔旨則爲天王所頒。現藏倫敦不列顛博物院東方部，有該院印記，編號爲 5358 (二) 列中國書籍及寫本補充目錄中。圖示在「榮光大殿」禮觀及會議班次。東西几爲東王、西王所坐，位次最高。几下爲長次兄信王、仁發、勇王、仁達（原封安王、福王）所坐。殿前排列四行，巨崇至駙馬、西父爲中排，左右兩行，南干以下至安福爲外排，左右兩行。燕以下之職官，則列於皇天門外。按東王係以秀清第五子襲封，西王係以朝貴養子有和襲封，南王係以子馮某、豫王係以子胡萬勝襲封，均爲幼子。惟北王以罪誅無緣嗣，翼王遠舉，亦尙列位次。干王、洪、仁、玕、英、王、陳、玉、成、忠、王、李、秀、成、贊、王、蒙、得、恩、侍、王、李、世、賢、輔、王、楊、輔、清、璋、王、林、紹、璋，均見太平天國野史、王侯分表。蒙得恩早卒，其子時雍襲爵爲幼贊王。巨、王係殿前京內又副總監，頂、天、扶、朝、綱、洪、和、元、仁、發、長、子、崇、王係殿前京外正總監，頂、天、扶、朝、綱、洪、利、元、仁、發、次、子、元、王係殿前京外又正總監，頂、天、扶、朝、綱、洪、科、元、仁、發、三、子、長、王係殿前京外副總監，頂、天、扶、朝、綱、洪、瑞、元、仁、發、四、子、見、王係殿前京外又副總監，頂、天、扶、朝、綱、洪、現、元、仁、發、五、子、唐、王係殿前正總鑄寶，頂、天、扶、朝、綱、洪、賡、元、仁、發、六、子、次、王係殿前副總鑄寶，頂、天、扶、朝、綱、洪、錦、元、仁、發、八、子、定、王係殿前又副總鑄寶，頂、天、扶、朝、綱、洪、鈺、元、仁、達、長、子、漢、王係殿前正開鑄，頂、天、扶、朝、綱、洪、針、元、仁、達、次、子、天、四、駙、馬、係、黃、棟、梁，封殿前副總開鑄，頂、天、扶、朝、綱、凱、王、天、西、駙、馬、係、黃、文、勝，封殿前又副總開鑄，頂、天、扶、朝、綱、捷、王，均見求闕齋弟子記附偽會名號譜。惟天、東、天、八、兩、駙、馬及西、父、三、位，未知誰屬。若以詔、文、攷、之，中有「萬、興、親」者，或卽所謂西、父、賊、詔中又有天、佑、子、侄，幼主詔中亦有佑、弟，當是秀、全、衆、子，何以又稱爲子侄。福、甥是否卽幼東、王，均待攷證。至圖、旁、詩、句、下、有、共、泚、泄、八、云、泚、日、泚、二、云等偏旁，皆表示文中數目，而爲洪、字、拆、成、者、千、八、八、乃，似係秀、字、拆、成、者、君、王、全、在、此、下、凡，則隱用全字。此種隱語，仍係天、地、會、秘、密、結、社、之、遺、義，詔、旨、用、之、殊、爲、不、典、秀、全、習、而、不、察、太、平、天、國、野、史、謂、其、有、愚、敵、示、異、之、意，殆、或、然、歟？一、山、記。

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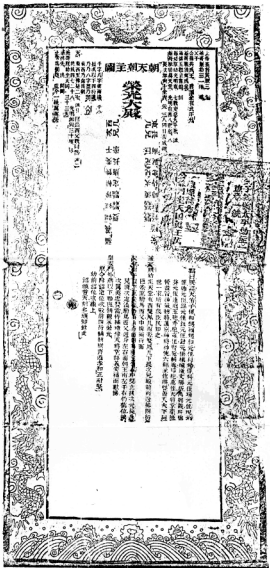
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教世真聖幼主紹旨一通。太平天國辛酉十一年六月二十八日頒，即清咸豐十一年七月初四日，而西歷一八六一年八月九日也。原件寫高樣式，均與天王紹旨同。現藏倫敦不列顛博物院東方部。列中國書籍及寫本補充目錄中，編號爲 1507. 1030。上蓋有該院圖記。按幼主初名洪福，後改天貴福，秀全長子，皇后顧氏所出也。沈應良江南春夢筆記云：「僞幼主洪天貴，僞國舅顧漢英子，道光二十九年十月初一日生。咸豐二年，從繼母被掠於武昌。」又云：「僞后顧氏，黃瑞興女，年十六，顧顧漢英爲繼室，其姑服役余家，亦比鄰。氏與漢英父子及子皆爲曾逆所掠，時嫁未逾月也。洪逆於舟次見之，屢挑以目，曾逆遂令易男鞋以進。」斯言甚異，然絕不可信。漢柏格洪秀全傳 (Rev. Theodore Handerik: The Various & Interesting Tales of the Chinese & Chinese Literature) 據洪仁玕所述，秀全妻顧氏，生二女一子，(第一頁)白瑞太平叛黨志 (Chinese Annals for 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864) 亦謂仁玕言：「天王幼子生於一八四九年(道光二十九年)十月九日出時，有百鳥翔集之瑞。」(見第二三七頁)仁玕於咸豐二年，因道路阻隔，不得赴廣西加入太平軍，遂至香港入教，爲漢拜格達秀全早年事蹟其詳，時秀全尙未入武昌也。洪大全口供及洪秀全等職名單，均有顧漢英封爵衛將軍，爲秀全妻舅之言，口供係永安潰圍大全被俘時所述，時咸豐二年二月間也。職名單前有「天德」二字正月字樣，均較太平軍入武昌時(咸豐二年十二月初九日)爲早，而顧氏之爲元后，漢英之爲國舅，幼主之生於己酉，已成鐵案，即以情

理度之，秀全在永安時，已有后妃三十六人。(據洪大全口供)豈能更目挑一被俘之婦而遽立爲后？天王位尊，亦未必竟與俘同舟。且幼主既非秀全子，亦非顧氏出，何能立以爲嗣，而愛護者此？此豈人情乎？然沈氏所記，固若確鑿有據者，某人之女，某人之妻，某人之子，又係比鄰而已被掠，不知其意何居，意者男女列館，界制森嚴，郭清果有一女被掠入宮，而沈氏遂爲此影，暨附會之譏歟？然筆記所記太平事實，史家謂頗多重要之點，而爲他書所無，若此，則未免爲信史之累矣。幼主生日，據吳雲龍真云：爲十月初一日，與沈氏書同，蓋是日已定爲萬壽節，當不至於傳謬。外人白瑞所記，亦僅八日之差耳。秀全據金陵後，晚年常令幼主頒詔勅封，其制殊異於一般有國者。天王紹旨中，時有爺哥朕幼坐朝廷，又爺哥朕幼父子公孫，同坐天國等語。玉璽上亦有皇上帝基督帶真主幼主作主之文。而幼主紹旨則曰：「朕奉天蓋天爹及爹命。」又曰：「爺爹老朕開國君。」是以朕幼與爺爹並舉，勢極兩位一體之主宰焉。若以職官釋之，則洪氏國祚，合當二世，蓋以此例推論，如幼主有子，將作何稱謂？倘傳至十代百代，又將作何稱謂？而滿篇爺爹，豈能盡納於七言之詔中？秀全殆不願如秦始皇所謂千萬世傳之無窮，不然而不深慮之耶？或者秀全晚年已有遜位之意，特以此令幼主練習爲君之術，而他方則因結羣下之信念歟？詔中「父兄君子是聖門」諸句，頗不可解，既言爺爹，又曰父兄，真不知其所云也。至幼主紹旨，在抄本中尙多，若原刻真品，當以此爲僅見之物，備一朝之文獻，徵二世之遺蹟，蓋有足珍者焉。一山識。

太平天國禾乃師贖病主左輔正軍師東王楊秀清、右弼又正軍師西王蕭朝貴會銜誥諭一通。太平天國癸好三年五月初一日頒，卽咸豐三年四月三十日，而西曆一八五三年六月六日也。時洪氏入據金陵，尙不及三月，此爲開國後首次宣諭四民各安常業之告示。文辭兼用僞語，頗具典則，若與頒行詔書之檄文參看，則可知太平初建國時，文字亦有可觀，非盡俚語盲辭矣。此諭不見於吾國載記之書，卽倫敦不列顛博物院亦未列入書目，余以主者翟理斯博士 Dr. J. Giles 之助，搜得於庫藏中，亟爲攝出，俾研究太平史蹟者，知楊蕭遺文中，尙有此可貴之遺物在也。原件高三英呎，寬五英呎，黃紙精印，裝裱代軸，似爲張掛之用。按蕭朝貴已戰死於壬子長沙之役，諭中尙列有西王銜名者，據賊情彙纂云：「楊秀清等諱其死，一切示諭，仍列其銜。」斯言甚信，此卽其確證矣。一山識。

太平天國開朝精忠軍師殿右軍干王洪仁玕首論克敵誘惑論一通，又與幼贊王蒙時雍殿前忠誠二天將李春發會銜論合朝內外官員書士人等一通。現藏倫敦不列顛博物院東方部，上蓋有該院圖記，編號爲 12022a 及 c。前者未署年月，亦未列入書目，原件縱四十三吋，橫四十三吋又四分之三。後者係辛酉拾壹年頒，無月日，見中國書籍及寫本補充目錄中，原件縱二十二吋又四分之三，橫四十五吋，均雲龍海水邊。按洪仁玕爲天王同族弟，漢柏格洪秀全傳述其世系頗詳，春夢筆記謂爲洪德元之子姪，實誤。早年亦爲塾師，思想新穎，與馮雲山俱最初受洗於秀全者也。原名洪仁，*Heh Jen*，不知何故改爲仁玕。己未九年，始由香港經湖北至南京，受封于王。時楊韋亂後，主政無人，秀全卽命以總理朝綱。仁玕綜其政治大略，編成資政新篇一書，上之。首言用人、察失、禁朋黨誹謗之弊，次分風風、法法、刑刑三類，述風俗改革、列國大勢，及建設事業極詳。秀全頗嘉納之。蒙時雍係襲其父得恩得，故仍用得恩印，稱幼贊王。武天將成係李春發初職。後封殿前禮部又正春僚頂天扶朝綱「順王」。因洪蒙李等均常在殿前司文衡者也。兩論皆爲太平天國晚年重要之文物，前者可以代表其宗教哲學思想。如云：「欲爲物誘，天良日剝而日虧，惡念一萌，私欲愈熾而愈熾，良心絕滅於內，內爲魔鬼之營，物欲纏結於心，心非上帝之殿。」又「防意如防城，勝惑卽勝敵……諸凡惑心亂耳之談，屏於九霄之外，一切炫目迷魂之弊，絕於方寸之中。」可見太平宣傳之方，已由神怪而進於說理，敬天愛民之事，忠主孝親之忱，皆由祛私克欲誘惑而來，頗似理學家之講道。比物欲爲魔鬼，期天堂之後福，旨在「克敵誘惑，先爲自固，轉攻妖鬼，立見太平。」此與後人所謂革命先革心之說相似，殆已融宗教哲理於一片矣。後者可以代表其文學革命主張。吾人前讀太平天國詔諭文字，頗多俚俗之文，或不免疑文學無術之徒所爲，未必有何種意義也。今觀此論，則知其見解有超人之處。「文以紀實，言貴從心」八字，實太平天國對於文學革命之理論的根據。「現當開國之際，一切奏章文論，更當朴實明曉……不得一詞嬌艷，不須古典之言。」此與近人之提倡白話文者何異乎？舞文弄墨之弊，論中闡述尤詳，抑揚參差，貽誤非淺。吾國歷來文字之積弊實如此。則浮文而用質言，去古典而貴心聲，洪氏真可謂新文學運動之前驅矣。至御筆改定六經，願力尤宏，惟該書未發見，不知內容如何。若改字典爲字義，則其對於文字觀念，已可概見。惜天父天兄之名目太多，一切新猷，不免爲所蔽耳。此兩件皆屬有數之珍貴史料，蓋不僅文辭可誦，以見太平天國晚年之文事程度而已。一山記。

殿前誠對天日頂天扶朝綱揚王李明成諱諭一通。太平天國發開十三年九月初六日發，即清同治二年九月初七日，而西曆一八六三年十月十九日也。原件凡二頁，高俱十二吋又四分之三，寬六吋又四分之一，現藏倫敦不列顛博物院東方部，貼存於戈登文書（Gordon Papers 見東方寫本目錄編號爲 Oriental 2389）內第三十四號。係李明成致清營官兵，勸以投誠或退讓者。按明成係李秀成之弟，求闕齋弟子記附賊曾名號譜，作名成。同治二年六月，李鴻章將圍蘇州，令程學啟會戈登李恆嵩常勝軍取花湮港，逼吳江震澤下之，遂進逼蘇州城而軍。卽此諭所云：「爾邦自乃無能，借仗洋夷假計，侵我吳江，一時因乏軍需，爲爾暫擾，不意爾等卽乘機竊發，覬覦省地」者也。當時李秀成與清軍相持於無錫蘇州間，攻費帶橋不克，乃集無錫溧陽宜興等軍八九萬，船千餘隻，出運河口，而自率精銳數千，踞后宅，連營並連。論中所謂「我嘉浙大兵，水陸齊進，會合我蘇省雄師，兩路夾攻兜勦」，蓋卽指此。惟明成是否與秀成爲一路，抑或係浙嘉援師，史無明言，窺此論語氣，似爲由嘉興進規吳江者，故書爲常勝軍所得，此足補史之闕文矣。又此諭印文李明成之明字作朔。按沈懋良江南春夢庵筆記云：「秀全父鄭國明，母王氏，賊中諱字甚多，國爲郭，明爲民，王姓爲汪，姓諱洪逆父母名氏也。」然以余所見幼主詔旨，干王誼諭，忠王書信及梁鳳超懸賞告示等真蹟，所用國明諸字均未避諱，此論徵明彰明亦未改寫。惟印文明字作朔，而倫敦博物院所藏太平兵冊，凡明字均作朔。平定粵匪紀略邪說記云：「有國者無以國爲忌，孰不願業之光，孰不樂德之明，加水於其旁……國之改爲國，一作郭。」是加水旁者不僅一明字，然編者固不知其命意所在。余意國明二字僅於姓名中避諱改寫，凡通用之字則不諱。故黃曉上達天義稟（見故宮博物院印行之太平天國文書）曾國藩作曾郭藩，而明白明告崇明明祖等字，仍作明。是沈氏所謂改明爲民者，恐亦未必然矣。明成於野史無傳，求闕齋弟子記謂同治四年死於浙江，其事業蓋不甚可致云。一山記。

殷前誠對天日須臾扶朝綱揚王季

諄諭

清官官一待知若照日將敗之軍必不勝望諸殘燄燄燄必只微以此理
之定勢之可必也現亦清神氣也盡令仇我 朝景運宏開之光久已彰
明較著弄不復置言惟今夕月同年邦自乃幸能借伏洋英假計侵我
吳江一時因受軍事潘尔勢振於七軍家軍事不足為奇我軍前因有事
上游是以稍免帶伐不意尔苗即委机密親親省地殊不知天已去人其
為今我其河大兵必陸路進合我若者雄師 兩路夾攻地勢孫尔孤望
危地地必蕭子解類想思卿苗必死吳人必知機不可失 天不可逆運官自圖

某行早献城骨餉款 幸高最受将士若不稍加致宜为官者仍舊權州

頭用者為者不久從優是貴如有不願回者亦便還者有前權州之意

言此等事多不失信備其後自謂各事亦不難不使校識官見札而早

已撤去遠退應與做堂免標條及不夫為事况此可與事也

銀年元勿贈後物等物可保限七日內呈款未幾事應隨破校存將不

降則退仿物執疑執建都子數書并 不為石海等物與事及是信主

宜見覆

大父元天表平天國同三年九月

初六

護王寶批一通。太平天國癸開十三年拾月初六日批，即清同治二年十月初九日，西歷一八六三年十一月十九日也。原件高十九吋又四分之一，寬十一吋又二分之一，現藏倫敦不列顛博物院東方部，編號爲 *Or. 6123*。貼存於戈登文書第二冊內第二百三十五頁。按護王爲陳坤書，賊情彙纂中僅有其職名，曰偽殿前功曹副侍衛。太平天國野史有傳，初爲李秀成部將，勇敢善戰，惟性兇殘，秀成以蘇民攬與控告，欲按治之，坤書率隊逃常州，鞏金賄安福二王，因得封號。同治三年，常州破，被擒殺。此批係示理天義陳士桂者，士桂之事蹟不詳。所請撥發長隆紅粉等，據抄本粵記略（在蠻氛匯編內藏北平圖書館）云：拾鎗曰長龍，火藥曰紅粉。江南春夢菴筆記謂「賊中以考爲老，鏡爲鑑，清爲菁，龍爲隆，不知其命意所在。」太平天國野史謂紅粉即旱烟隱語。賊情彙纂云：「長龍（即烟筒）紅粉（即旱煙）潮水（即酒）乃賊中偷吃者創爲隱語，非賊教也。」蓋太平禁律，凡吃黃烟者，初犯責打一百，枷一個禮拜，再犯責打一千，枷三個禮拜，三犯斬首不留。黃烟即水旱烟總稱。國宗韋石會銜海諭官兵良民人等謂：「黃烟有傷脣體，無補飢渴，且屬妖魔惡習，倘有販賣吃食者，斬。」是黃烟與洋烟（即鴉片煙）並禁，又無間於軍民也。故偷吸者藉長隆紅粉之名，創爲隱語，野史不記原委，殊爲缺漏。至批示樣式，賊情彙纂僅有一則，大略相同。其附說云：「偽批式長闊無定，偽王皆黃紙，偽侯以次皆紅紙。凡其下具稟奏，楊逆閱後，發出交僞丞相擬批，僞尙書臚批，僞侯以次則由所屬六部書六部掌書擬批臚批。然所批字不勝於原稟之後，故另有此式。既臚之後，則張貼僞署門首，間有用封筒遞回者。」又僞官稟侯相式云：「奉某侯相批云云，俱墨字，年月日蓋掌書印，餘仿此。」按掌書係侯相之臚批者，則王之臚批者當爲尙書，年月亦當蓋尙書印。故此批僅護王寶批四字硃書，而印文則「天安護殿兵部尙書」□□松也。卽此可見彙纂所述太平制度，俱詳確可信，而此批實爲遺蹟中之僅見者云。一山記。

理天義去桂任于月初四日跪稟報

護

王為請祈恩賜事

寶

批

據稟已悉所請據世旨長隆紅粉仰任

開造跑冊呈候鋪派王徐市一帶堵禦安民

事宜姓仍量息并諭實力把守妥撫甘

所為也此批

天父天兄天王太平天國癸酉拾陸年拾月初八日批

王宗脈天安洪發給洋人路憑一通。太平天國辛酉十一年三月初四日發，即清咸豐十一年三月初六日，而西歷一八六一年四月十五日也。原件高十一吋，寬十一吋又四分之一，現藏倫敦不列顛博物院東方部，編號 Oriental 4071. 5。按脈天安印文爲洪仁茂，當係秀全同宗兄弟，其後升任何職，並事蹟均不詳。此路憑係發給洋人前往天海關者，天海關大約係上海一帶關卡，太平天國初年所設之武昌九江龍江江寧四關，無此名也。當時外人與太平軍往來頻繁，而路憑之遺存，僅英人唎喇 (Ling, 原名 Lindley) 所著太平天國革命史 (The History of the T'ing Revolution 譯本作太平天國外紀) 中影印一件，係忠王李秀成發給唎喇者。自清朝全史等書展轉摹印，遂爲吾人所習見之物。此憑係王宗脈所發，頗可與唎喇之件參考云。一山記。

天朝九門御林真忠報國斂天安任天海關正佐將梁鳳超懸賞告示一通。太平天國辛酉十一年七月發，即清咸豐十一年七月，而西曆一八六一年八月也。原件高二十一吋又二分之一，寬十八吋又二分之一，現藏倫敦不列顛博物院東方部，編號爲 *O. 305 (5)*。按求闕齋弟子記載梁鳳超官職，後任至殿前送往迎來頂天扶朝綱貢王長千歲。太平天國野史無傳，其事蹟不詳。此示係懸賞捉拿牧馬之人及打傷馬脚者。中有一「偷馬食爾生苗物，理應稟聞愿償明」二句，足見太平軍紀律之嚴明。馬嚙田苗，尚須賠償，况士卒乎？中國太平叛黨志記艾約瑟楊篤信二教士赴蘇沿途所見，謂太平軍公平交易，人民毫無畏懼之心，且在崑山之小商販，常利市三倍焉。此可知太平軍之風紀甚佳，並不如一般傳說之慘酷。而李秀成之能愛民不擾，官書野史，早有定論，故其部下亦較有秩序，可不待言矣。一山識。

佐將大人賞鈞令。

求望軍民替查葺

天父天兄降

主宰天理諄諄誠世人

昨因馬匹放喂養

牧馬之人逃無形

被人亂棍打馬脚

未知何人此狠心

倘馬食爾生苗物

理應稟聞愿償明

何苦傷馬有罪否

可恨此人大妖精

為此傳令軍民曉

代查報信自拏擒

拿獲打馬賞拾兩

拿逃牧馬一樣銀

求爾識字人指點

適傳各處共知因

是求厚望人來報

拿到就賞報信人

天父天兄天王
太平天國辛酉拾壹年七月

日

漢大洪安民告示抄件一通，附真號及洪秀全等職名單，現藏倫敦不列顛博物院東方部，編存於 *China* 冊中第十四葉。按此告示首三行殘闕，然全文已見太平天國職史、太平天國統綱、太平天國詩文鈔，及抄本專匯雜錄（原藏常熟縣圖書館，國立北平圖書館覆抄本增標此名）等書，惟文字小有異同耳，茲先補錄原文如下：

「奉天承運太平天（雜錄本無此字）國總理軍機都督（雜錄本無此二字，文鈔作天下）大元帥萬大（文鈔作萬）洪，爲剴切曉諭，伐暴救民事：照得天下貪官，甚於強盜，衙門內吏，無異虎狼，皆由於虜廷之懦弱（雜錄本作無道昏君，文鈔本作人君之不德）遠君子而近（文鈔作親）小人，賣官鬻爵，壓抑賢才，以致利風日熾（文鈔作世風日下）上下交征，富貴者縱（文鈔作益）惡不究，貧窮者有冤莫伸，言之痛心，珠填髮指，即錢漕一事，近來增益數倍」云云。以下略同。惟「刻下大兵雲集，廣西以（雜錄作已）定，長沙已（雜錄作又）平三旬，似較賊史及統綱兩本，大兵雲集廣西，已定長州太平」二句，爲詞理俱順，可以校正情排之誤。順吾者以下，他本均作「付印回籍，其餘豺狼塗炭，概行懸首示衆，恐有流賊藉端滋事，准爾等指明具控」等語，亦可與此件參看。賊情彙編云：「賊目每夸言軍行先數百里，即遣人前往，編緝告示，令富者貢獻資糧，窮者効力，其實乃自欺妄語」。今以此示証之，則先張文告，似確有其事，觀示中將至江西，先行曉諭之語自明。人民助纒，與以借券，亦非強勒貢獻可比。此均足補彙編所未備。賊史

謂此示發於由岳州東下時，文鈔謂洪秀全初建國時之檄文，故將萬大洪易爲萬歲洪，但以諸書比較，此說似不可信。不知原本邊史何種雜錄本於示未署天德二年正月，今以所附真號五種證之，則萬大洪必爲天地會黨人，因彪彪應魁本天地會之記號，所以代表五祖，而天德又爲天地會所假託之大明皇帝年號也。附單所開名職，頗爲重要，洪秀泉對太平王，王面曰封，則必有封之者，當亦指「大明天德皇帝」無疑。雖秀全並不以臣下自居，然天地會黨人終不以帝號歸之者，以理想中尙有一「朱明」之裔也。洪秀全後日之排斥天地會，亦由於此。天德事另詳漢大明統兵大元帥黃告示跋語中，茲不贅。粵匪雜錄記洪秀全等名目，謂係「長白清供出：長」係湖南鄉勇，被賊擄去，見有臂力，賞銀念兩，派作奸細而來。但未言爲何地何人所俘獲。據長供：「秀全四十一歲，身長，面赤，微麻，黃髮，自稱太平王」。此出於太平軍所掠鄉勇之供辭，當較可靠。惟本件所列名職，似出於天地會黨人之手，在史料上有特殊之價值，雖一字亦極關重要。至籍貫頗多與普通之記載不符，如楊秀清湖南朝貴軍（即昌輝）此件作昌輝，皆桂平人，此件則作花縣歸善（廣東惠州，雜錄作歸安縣）南平（當爲平南之誤，雜錄作太平，賊情彙編及長毛人王記均作博白縣人）人，秦昌（即日綱，雜錄作日昌）石達開皆貴縣人，此件則作花縣增城（屬廣州府，雜錄作順德縣）人，萬大洪籍貫據中國秘密社會史爲漢陽人，此件作東莞縣人，羅大綱據賊情彙編及長毛丞相記爲揭陽人，此件則作順德人，若年齡狀貌，諸書所記不同。

其是非特表舉如下：

姓名 本 作 專用雜抄本 變改雜抄本 疑情 疑書

洪秀全 年四十二歲 四十一歲 四十二歲 四十三歲
耳大口大眼大 耳大口大眼大 耳大口大眼大 耳大口大眼大
體大身大 體大身大 體大身大 體大身大

馮雲山 年三十二歲 年歲同上 年歲同上 年歲同上
面白體瘦 面白體瘦 面白體瘦 面白體瘦

楊秀清 年三十二歲 年三十四歲 年三十四歲 年三十四歲
面廣有鬚 面廣有鬚 面廣有鬚 面廣有鬚

蕭朝貴 年二十四歲 年三十一歲 年三十一歲 年三十一歲
面白無鬚 面白無鬚 面白無鬚 面白無鬚

韋正 年二十四歲 年二十五歲 年二十五歲 年二十五歲
身高面黑微鬚 身高面黑微鬚 身高面黑微鬚 身高面黑微鬚

秦昌 年二十七歲 年三十七歲 年三十七歲 年三十七歲
面白體瘦 面白體瘦 面白體瘦 面白體瘦

石達開 年二十九歲 年三十九歲 年三十九歲 年三十九歲
面黑微鬚 面黑微鬚 面黑微鬚 面黑微鬚

萬大洪 年三十二歲 年三十二歲 年三十二歲 年三十二歲
身高大眼大 身高大眼大 身高大眼大 身高大眼大

羅大綱 年二十六歲 年二十六歲 年二十六歲 年二十六歲
大口大眼大耳 大口大口大耳 大口大口大耳 大口大口大耳

四十餘 四十餘 四十餘 四十餘
壯觀同上 壯觀同上 壯觀同上 壯觀同上

又按萬大洪羅大綱二人之封職與太平天國之制度不合頗與另件平

滿大元帥統兵大元帥之職銜相類或當另有系統洪大金口供述起事諸人位號無萬大洪之名僅言羅大綱即亞旺為前部副先鋒而持抄本又均無大洪事蹟豈果為萬歲洪之偽寫乎余所抄天地會文件中前五房始顯分省起義於廣東曰方大洪（見拙輯近代秘密社會史料）方與萬之簡字（方）相同則無寧謂為方大洪之偽較萬歲洪為尤近也中國秘密社會史云（金田起義後貴縣林鳳祥漢陽萬大洪衡山洪大全等來歸勢大振）又云「是時三合會各頭目有武器者一歸秀全軍然以其教義相異不久輒散去惟廣東人羅大綱從之」意者大洪本為天地會黨人自當別樹一幟與秀全等若合若離後即以教義不合而散去者故其事不詳耳曾玉秀封金印先鋒（雜錄作前部正先鋒與洪大金口供合）胡以晃（本件及雜錄均作以曉當為傳抄之誤）曾四（本件作頭領）封待衛將軍錢江封三法大司馬朱耀光封統領監軍皆記太平史事之書所未載而曾胡等之封又與洪大全之口供聯合錢江本寄居廣州鴉片之戰曾主持三元里抗英事何以武昌上書能動秀全東下是必與太平軍先有關係則此件所稱當較可信惟朱耀光事蹟不明若與洪大全口供對照似即監軍朱錫嘏之傳訛錫嘏在賊情黨幕及長毛九侯配（在抄本費氣腫編內）均有傳額漢英在雜錄本謂年三十七歲封待衛將軍此處謂未受封職者本係對額漢光而言漢光亦秀全妻舅也鈔件錯簡雖多而有裨於史料者亦不少要不失為可貴之參考品云民國二十四年二月蕭一山識

洪秀全在花縣水口廟題壁詩一首。原件現藏倫敦不列顛博物院東方部。貼存於寫本 *Originals in the Museum Papers* 中第二十二號。按秀全之詩。見於太平天國詩文鈔者僅兩首。詩格風致。均與此什略相似。可以攷見秀全教民伐罪之宗旨及其雄心。大英博物院所藏抄本洪秀全來歷中有秀全所作悔罪詩兩首。全為宗教之作。與此詩之旨趣不同。此詩似為起義以前所作。抄者未署年月。僅有此真主四十二歲七字。江南春夢庵雜記謂秀全生於嘉慶十七年九月初九日未時。則四十二歲當為咸豐三年。即太平天國癸好三年。時洪氏已入據金陵矣。又豈能在花縣水口廟題詩？漢拜格洪秀全傳錄有此詩。云係病中所作。即秀全靈魂上天之歲。時道光十七年也。詩第二句惠元元則作解民懸。第七句早知曆數歸吾體。則作風雷鼓舞三千油。秀全假依基督。即多悔罪勸善之言。而縱橫風雲之雄心。除此詩及「手持三尺定山河」一首已見詩文鈔外。尚有所謂云：「五百年臨真日出。那般燈火敢爭光。高懸碧幕烟雲捲。遠照塵寰鬼域藏。東北西南翠獻嘯。豐夷戎狄盡傾陽。重輪赫赫運星月。獨覆貞明耀萬方。」又「近世烟氛大不同。知天有意啟英雄。神州被陷從羅陷。上帝當舉學寬縱。明主殿時曾誅菊。漢皇遺酒可飲風。古來事業由人做。黑霧收殘一盞中。」而洪秀全未歷言。所作之文。雖以豐遠。早有訂好。留

在家中。是秀全早年所作其家。民衆既震於其偉業。始展轉傳抄耳。時地之訛謬。當不免也。本件上有紅顏兩字。極可注意。洪秀全之像貌。據諸情實。謂身材魁碩。赤面高鬚。有鬚。此詩又注有紅顏二字。與像貌合。是秀全必有鬚無疑。太平天國野史謂其身材適中。美秀而文。兩目斜上。嚴重有威。而不言有鬚。實為揣想之辭。其卷首所摹天王畫像。大約取自清朝全史。而清朝全史又取自法人 *M. Collet* 之中國叛黨志。（有英德文譯本）然叛黨志所揭係天德畫像。書中述天德事蹟及口供甚詳。則洪大全也。大全曾稱天德王與秀全並起。實為天地會之首領。因自託於明裔。故服明朝冠服。被俘時年方三十歲。與畫像壯年之貌及顏袍高冠者相合。若是秀全。則應有鬚而戴風帽矣。（俞大綱君論洪大全事蹟。見二十三年九月一日大公報圖書副刊可參看）故世人以為秀全者。皆誤也。又有馮雲山九千歲六字。雲山在初起時。其地位之重要。過於楊秀清。而對王則在楊蕭後。另一抄件撤文。附洪秀全等名號。亦列雲山於秀清前。蓋當時人知有雲山者多。而秀清之名者尙不甚顯。洪大全口供云：「我叫洪秀泉為大哥。其餘所有手下的人。皆稱我同洪秀泉為萬歲。我叫馮雲山等皆呼名字。」亦似以雲山為重也。秀全遺文。在今片紙隻字。均足為寶。遑論此遺與見志之作乎？一山記。

手握乾坤殺伐權

斬邪留正惠元元

眼通西北江山外

聲震東南日月邊

展爪却嫌雲路小

翻身何怕漢程偏

早知曆數歸吾體

易演飛龍只在天

真主洪秀泉 在花縣水口廟題壁律詩八句 此真主甲子歲

九千歲馮雲山

紅顏

安東將軍平滿大元帥撫轄水陸兵馬羅

叅贊軍機大臣撫轄糧餉

王

為照得吾主于二十二日定鼎金陵一切滿賊概行誅戮雖犬不留漢官陸建瀛等盡行歸于漢主本帥不日兵臨城下蕪松常鎮四郡所屬所州縣等處地方你等百姓不必驚惶本大臣深曉天文以置星在太白在松江上海醜夷亦非人類滬邑難保不作戰場爾常鎮百姓各宜遠避遠方百里之外可保太平清之民亦漢之民百姓各祈自諒待吾主大定之日再頒發榜文招安爾等四里安居樂業考試行文各宜知遵毋違此特示

青丁一列省抄

漢大明統兵大元帥黃(威)告示抄件一通。現藏倫敦不列顛博物院東方部。編存於 O. E. 冊中第十三葉。末署天德癸丑年四月二十六日。結即清咸豐三年。西曆一八五三年。而太平天國癸亥三年四月二十七日也。按天德爲天地會黨人所用之年號。天地會創始於康熙年間。明室遺民。抱種族故國之痛。思假秘密會社。以達其「反清復明」之目的。雖會中傳說。託之神話。以五祖復讐爲宗。而始創則奉所謂張順太子朱洪英也。因紀念洪英(或曰紀念明太祖朱洪武)。故凡人會者。皆姓洪。遂自稱曰洪門。傳說中有小主朱洪竹者。謂爲崇禎帝之孫。李仲妃所出太子之子。(見魏輯近代秘密社會史料所錄敘事)然實爲天地會之理想人物。亦猶清初起義者所假托之朱三太子。大義覺迷錄雍正諭旨云：「從前康熙年間各處奸徒竊發。動輒以朱三太子爲名。如一念和尚朱一貴者。指不勝屈。近日尙有山東人張玉。假稱朱姓。託於明之後裔。」咸豐元年粵督撫徐廣縉奏名環奏云：「太凡會匪姓名。隨時更易。本無一定。且多冒稱朱姓。爲前明後裔。並間有假稱洪武字樣者。更可藉此爲煽惑之由。」(原摺存故宮文獻館)可見天地會黨人起事。必假朱明後裔。以資號召。蓋歷數世百餘年而一貫也。故本件所稱「大明天德皇帝」。亦必爲理想中之典型人物。而天地會黨人所共同尊奉者。即道咸間實有其人。亦當爲後來所假託。以影附此理想人物。如天德王洪大全是已。舊說大全封天德王。以永安遺囑時被俘。藏於北京。或言故老所得。實無其人。(見隸孔「中國近世秘史」)或謂與秀全同姓。遂控稱謀主。馳奏邀功。(見咸

同遺事)賊情彙編卷一首逆事實有假天德王洪大全稱一節於大全之才。措辭頗詳。其與太平軍之關係。則曰：「亡命江湖至粵西大黃江。兩楊秀清。傾誠甚。入夥造逆。初封天德。後封天德王。自金田至永安。皆與洪逆俱。大全教行仁義。」據此。則似大全果有其人。而爲太平天國列王之一。同受封於秀全者也。今太平天國所遺文獻。次第發現。從未見有提及大全者。永安封王詔亦無其名。當時清帝諭旨。(咸豐二年三月己卯諭內閣)廷臣奏章。(給事中陳瑄奏陳時事難疏)文人記事。(龍啟瑞洪楊紀事詳注)均謂大全係從賊夥。原非首要渠魁。是太平軍中並無大全其人。即有之。亦決非著名首領矣。雖然。此皆臆說也。致大全被擒後。曾有口供一紙。由妻尙阿遞呈北京。現存故宮文獻館。爲考據大全事蹟最有關係之史料。茲先節錄如下：

我是湖南衡山縣人。年三十歲。屢次應試。考官屈我的才。我心中忿恨。遂飽看兵書。欲圖大事。數年前游方到廣東。遂與花縣人洪秀全馮雲山認識。洪秀全與我不是同宗。他與馮雲山皆知文墨。屢試不售。也有大志。先曾來往廣東廣西。結拜無賴等。設立天地會名目。馮雲山在廣西拜會。也有好幾年。凡拜會的人。總誘他同心合力。誓共生死。後來。意興愈衆。恐怕人心不固。洪秀泉學有妖術。能與鬼說話。遂同馮雲山編出天父天兄及耶穌等項名目。稱爲天兄降凡。事關天父。就知道趨向。生時就爲坐小天堂。就是被人殺死。也是坐大天堂。藉此煽惑會內之人。故此人會者。團結不解。這是數年前的作用。我盡知的。我是道光三十

年十二月間，等他們的勢子已大，纔來廣西會洪秀全的。洪秀泉就叫爲賢弟，尊我爲天德王，一切用兵之法，請教於我。他自稱爲太平王。我叫洪秀泉爲大哥，其餘所有手下的人，皆稱我同洪秀泉爲萬歲。我叫馮雲山等，皆呼名子。去年閏八月初一日，攻破永安州城，我同洪秀泉於初七日坐轎進城的。止有我兩人住在衙門正屋，稱爲朝門。其餘的人，皆不得在裏頭住的。歷次打仗，有時洪秀泉出主意，多有請教我的。我心內不以洪秀泉爲是，常說區區一點地方，不算什麼，那有許多稱王的！且他仗妖術惑人，那能成爲大事？我暗地存心，藉他猖獗勢子，將來地方多了，我就成我大事。他眼前不疑心我，因我不以王位自居，都叫人不必稱我萬歲。我自居先生之位，其實我的志願，安邦定土，比他高多了。他的妖術行爲，古來從無成事的。我要聽其自敗，那時就是我的天下了。

此供詞不見載於勸平粵匪方略。賊情彙編者雖曾見此供詞，但所敘本傳並未取材供詞，詳頗多。咸豐二年三月十一日，曾尙阿奏摺云：「守備全玉貴將賊目擒獲，審係賊中大頭目，自稱天德王洪大泉，與洪秀泉爲兄弟，賊中呼爲萬歲。」（原摺藏故宮文獻館）此摺亦不見載於方略。東華錄雖有曾尙阿克復永安生擒逆首洪大泉一奏，極簡略。上諭僅言洪大泉即逆首洪秀泉之謀主，又曰偽軍帥洪大泉，原非首要之匪。夫曰逆首，曰謀主，已與「賊中呼爲萬歲」之天德王身份不甚相合，乃又謂爲軍帥，謂爲非首要，豈洪秀泉爲當時清廷所未見乎？今以理度之，此

正後來認爲疑案之最大原因也。蓋曾尙阿之克復永安，擒獲大全，彼時輿論均以爲「賊衆竄出，無可如何，不得不張皇點點，藉壯國威，並以稍掩已過。」（陳垣疏語）清廷爲輿論所移，亦以曾尙阿「粉飾因循」墨子薄懲。（東華錄上諭）遂置慶氏之言於不信矣。而軍機大臣刑部會審奏疏，又與原供不符。今刑部審訊供詞，尙未發現。據方略及東華錄所載云：「咸豐元年二月，洪大泉往廣東開蕩，與胡以洗會遇，胡引至賊營，與洪秀泉見面，彼此投契，結拜弟兄。屢與官兵打仗，俱係洪大泉主謀。洪秀泉稱爲太平王，對洪大泉僞稱德王。」豈有咸豐元年而大全尙往廣東開蕩，與胡以洗相會，即引至遠在廣西之「賊營」者乎？大全卽有異供，亦不致荒謬如此。乃廷臣蔽於所聞，掩以成見，遂將事實顛倒，直至修方略時，仍襲此種謬傳，放棄洪秀泉而不載也。然當時外人著述，如法人卡勒與伊凡合著之中國叛黨起源志，*Cher et Van, L'insurrection des Opium Opium, 1853*（一八五三年出版，不英）及德 *Ordnung* 譯本，及英人白瑞之太平叛黨志（原名 *China's Opium War*）及英人白瑞之太平叛黨志（原名 *China's Opium War*）已見天王手批跋語，已將原供由邸抄 *Ordnung* 譯出，文辭與故宮所藏者完全相同。且天德之事，前書所紀獨詳，均爲吾國史籍所未載。若與供詞參攷互証，則太平初年之事蹟，可以知其梗概，而已往不能解決之疑獄，亦可迎刃而解矣。按口供中有極重要之點二：第一，洪大全與洪秀全馮雲山之認識，在數年以前，被等「先曾來往廣東廣西結拜無賴等，設立天地會名目。」洪秀全之「學有妖術」，同馮雲山「編出

天父天兄及耶穌等項名目」係「後來，愈聚愈多」，藉此煽惑會內之人。可見洪馮最初亦假借天地會名目，而與大金爲同盟。平定粵匪紀略謂：「朱九漣倡上帝會邪教，亦名三點會。」按天地會又名三合會或三點會。洪秀全馮雲山師之旋以秀全爲教主。江南春夢庵雜記謂：「廣西舊有添香會，首日洪德元，以三八二十一爲口號，隱寓其姓也。道光二十五年，德元死，秀全代有其業，改姓洪氏。」雖九漣德元二人之事蹟未詳，然秀全之出身於天地會，實不爲無因。觀其建國後之制度即可知。秀全讀勸世良言而皈依基督，據漢拜格洪秀全傳爲一八四三年，秀全與雲山同赴苗疆傳教，爲一八四四年，雲山之留住紫荆山。譯意）創「拜上帝會」在一八四五年以後。時秀全已回花縣原籍固不知也。大金口供言馮雲山（只言雲山，不言秀全也）在廣西拜會，也有好幾年，又言：數年前的作用，我盡知的，却與漢拜格書事實相結合，非他人所盡知，當極可信。足證大金與秀全之交非泛泛，而秀全由天地會之思想，一變爲基督教之信徒，亦不問自明矣。秀全何以忽有此種轉變？豈果如大金所謂「學有妖術」，漢拜格氏所迷魂晚上天，受上帝付託之重者乎？此皆秀全惡人之術也。大概秀全視天地會所假託之神話太膚淺，不能得有識者之同情，又民族革命之色彩太濃，毫無宗教神秘性，「恐人心不固」，遂不得不更借基督以神其技。然基督爲一神教，不能容天地會之一多神，故秀全始漸與天地會啖醜，而大金亦不滿其「仗妖術惑人」，欲聽其自敗，「藉他勢子，成我大事」。蓋自此二

人始同床異夢矣。第二，大金之稱天德王，爲秀全所尊，並非爲秀全所封。二人在永安同稱「萬歲」，居朝內正屋，儼然兩頭政治之規摹。洪秀全之起也，馮雲山早屬心膂之寄，楊秀清等皆開國元勳，劉德之加禮，藉藉莫關，且不服。何物洪大金，反能屈爲之下乎？想大金必有可以被尊之資格在也。此資格當包括兩種：一曰實力之憑藉，二曰名義之尊崇。蓋僅有實力者，則秀全可致高爵之封，或如韓信之真王三齊，若僅有名義者，則秀全可修康公之敬，或如鄒成之優禮。洪秀清不必奉爲敵體也。此種局勢，殊非歷史上所恆有。故當時人不能解而張皇點綴，原非要領之說，可以轉移事實。後來並大金之有無而疑之，亦良非無因矣。然則大金之實力爲何？曰天地會是已。名義爲何？曰大明天德皇帝是已。供詞有云：「在永安州幾個月，不能安居，因想起從前廣東會內的人不少，梧州會內的人也不少，就起心逃竄。」所云會者，當然指「先曾往來廣東廣西設立」之天地會觀。大金之稱秀全爲大哥，而自居先生之位，即可知。蓋大哥爲天地會之總理，而先生則香主也。隨光末年，兩廣亂事蜂起，慶遠則張家福鍾亞春，柳州則陳亞奏陳東鳳山諸首，武宣則劉官方慶亞，九象州則區振祖，潯州則謝江殿高陸則顏品嘯顏品喜蘇三，欽州則李士清。其餘如歐祖潤及湖南之劉代倫等，尙有不得主名者，不下數十股。大半皆天地會黨人，奉其「反清復明」之傳統的宗旨，乘時而動，各不相屬。但天地會中有一共同之理想君主，即所謂小主朱洪竹，如朱三太子之類，爲明朝之後裔；而「天德皇帝」者，即洪大金影射此小主，以自

託於明齋之稱號也。洪大全本爲天地會首領，其人又多才智，觀察大勢，惟有用舊時傳統之觀念，方足以號召人心。此事在供詞中雖無明言，（大全之所以不提舊事，蓋以天德本爲假託，恐人發其覆耳。且有避重就輕之意也。）然証以當時外人之記載，則可推知中國叛黨起源志云：

「張天爵（Tang Tse-tse 譯音）之推爲廣州之殺戮，與夫清軍勝利之消息，雖暗傳其盛，然叛黨並不因此而止也。爲反應此種強暴與浮誇之舉，遂宣布彼等之皇帝曰「天德」者，即 *Heavenly King* 以與滿廷爭天下。未幾，天德之名，即充滿全國。此假託者，*False* 且將畫像廣播於衆，其目的在示人民以恢復明朝之衣冠而已。吾人現能確知叛亂初期之事實，與其首領精密強固及一切深遠之政策。在一年間，天德常居暗幕之中，其黨徒均欣傳明朝後裔之依然存在，然僅宣告如是，從不以其示人也。此新皇帝被封藏於神秘的暗影之中，即其黨徒亦只能在長距離之時間見之」（節譯第六十九至七十頁）

又云：「當天德之軍隊已控制是粵，此假託者由家族兵士侍衛之擁護，建一強固之地位於紫荆山（*Shing-shan* 譯音未知確否）廣西巡撫都（*Tong* 譯音似即都鳴鶴）派一使者韓緒（*Han Hsiu* 譯音）等往招降。天德謂之曰：「吾大明崇禎皇帝之十一世孫也。現正招集士卒，以圖恢復舊朝。昔英三桂借滿兵入關，助平國，獻清逆卷

有中土。吾先人嘉其平寇之功，不即逐之，將以二百年之天下爲酬，不可謂不厚矣。今公義尚存，余正招集士卒，恢復先業。清人應即退出關外，各安故土。此意更當使軍民共曉。君等皆漢人也，明孔孟之教，寧忘其合法之太子，而甘爲外人臣屬哉？」此假託者旋棄山炮而獲平原。清軍屢敗，勢且及於桂林。叛黨退出永安州，不久驚奇之消息，傳播人口，則天德確已被俘解送北京矣。天德賦有明敏之才智，與過人之精力，而堅苦卓異，實由於秘密社會之訓練而來也。（節譯第一百三十六頁至一百四十頁及一百四十二頁及一百五十一頁）

據以上所引，則知洪大全確有相當之勢力，而天德皇帝之稱號，純出於明後之假託。此可與供詞互相發明而徵信者也。大全之實力完全在天地會方面，天地會亦稱三合會，或三點會，會黨起事，初在廣東，而蔓延於粵西，大約皆分散各地，雖有名義上之擁戴，未必有實際上之統屬。其時間確較太平天國爲早，不過爲太平天國作驅除雜耳。起源志述載天德布告數通，中有一通，懸賞誘粵督徐廣縉之首，貼於廣州北門，未署天德二年六月廿五日，注爲西曆一八五〇年七月十三日。（見第七十八頁）按是日即清道光三十年六月五日，大全口供謂「編有曆書是楊秀清造的，不用閏法，我其不以爲然」，此指太平天曆而言，可見天德雖改年號，未必廢棄陰曆。然較舊曆相差有二十日，不知其曆法如何，或二十五日爲五日之說乎？據此，則天德改號，當在道光二十九年，實較洪秀全金田起義早一年。時天德之名，喧騰中外，固不聞有太平王也。道光三十年

秋季以後諸股漸就蕪夷，而太平軍獨盛，故大全始乘機率黨人加入焉。外人紀叙不詳，有時並將秀全與大全事蹟混為一談，然自入紫荆山以後，即為兩洪合作之時。起源亦明言「廣西首領之一曰太平王」者，可見秀全為亂黨中之一股，其初起聲勢，似尚不及託明後稱尊號之大全也。萬大洪告示抄件後所附之職名單，謂洪秀全封太平王，王而曰封，誰為封之者？想萬大洪為天地會會員，天地會系統中之擬議蓋如此。雖據地者各自稱王，不必受封他人，然託於明朝後裔之天德，固未嘗不可以「真主」「皇帝」自視也。大全之授於秀全，當在天地會勢力漸衰之時。中國秘密社會史云：「洪秀全舉兵金田村，移屯武宣東鄉，招集四方豪紳，是時三合會各頭目之有武器者，一歸秀全軍，然以其教義相異，不久輒散去。惟廣東人羅大綱從之。」厥後貴縣林鳳祥、漢陽萬大洪、湖南衡山洪大全等來歸，勢大振。一羅大綱等皆天地會黨人，起事既久，終且為從龍勳臣。（誠情黨黨言大綱為揭陽海盜，洪仁玕言大綱為三合會員。）惟將大全與鳳祥等並列，或因史事湮沒，一般史家固未知有所謂「天德皇帝」之事也。此時天地會與太平軍合作，殊無疑義，在秀全諸事草創，黨派之見，必不甚嚴，故樂予容納，以增厚己力，在大全則散漫之塗，秀全新起勢，同氣相投，亦可藉以振作，故能融兩派於一爐也。秀全即因其舊稱而尊之曰天德王，不然，何能巧合若是？且天德之號，非太平天國教條所能容，因洪楊尊天，不敢與之比德也，何能以對大全，既曰尊之，當非秀全所得擅為命名，其為舊號無疑矣。大全奇人，天下讓讓未遑，故

不願稱萬歲，以為稱帝計，然觀其語氣，一區區一點地方，不算什麼，那有許多稱王的？似頗不以秀全之獲號為然，則軒輊降等之感，不可言而喻矣。倘非擁有實力者，豈能若是之尊也乎？倘非舊有稱號者，又何必奉之曰天德王？大全之改姓名，乃合作後欲得秀全之歡心，故曰供云：「我的本姓實不姓洪，因與洪秀泉認為兄弟，就改為洪大泉的。」大全之本姓為何？口供未逮及，而問官亦未問，殊為怪事。據明心道人髮逆初紀或言無姓，在天地會中既假託明後，必言姓朱，在太平軍中以與洪秀全認為兄弟，始改姓名曰洪大全，蓋洪姓為天地會黨人所共有，亦不悖其教條也。大全自以為不居萬歲之名，能養晦待時矣，然洪楊新別倡所謂天父天兄之說，即已與洪門之舊規隔離，兩種思想，頗不相容，故天地會頭目不久輒散去，見中國秘密社會史，而大全亦不免被貽身死焉。（誠情黨黨謂「楊秀清忌其才，又惡其說，遂囚之。」平定粵匪紀略謂「或曰秀清囚之而逸出被獲也。」雖未可信，但大全之見嫉於楊秀清，當係事實，俞大綱君論洪大全事蹟謂「大全之被擒，因齋朝貴不聽令，當是洪楊有意為之。」頗為有見，此實為兩種勢力（復明之民族思想與宗教改革觀念）消長之必然趨勢，亦猶今日之有清黨運動，洪楊中人之所以迄不認有大全其人（見 *China's Secret Societies* 一書），親訪天京筆錄）蓋即諱其與三合會有一度之携手，以自扞其教義。（上用諭語）洪秀全後日之排斥三合會，亦由於此，若從他方面觀察，則秀全所以不贊成復明者，或以明後之假託，已為大全所佔，秀全固不

甘爲其臣屬乎？不然三合會又何負於太平軍，而必深閉固拒如此。（太平軍不與三合會聯絡，有請援者，亦遭拒絕。如上海劉麗川是已。故三合會起事者，皆不旋踵而失敗。）以上就當時事實攷釋，若就太平本身之刊物証之，則原則頗行詔書中有救世安民論一段云：「况查爾們社下，多是三合會黨，盡思洪門獻血，實爲同心同力以滅清，未聞結拜拜盟，而反北面於仇敵者也。」（見德國圖書館藏本，引見太平天國文鈔頁三十二）後王子二年刻本即改爲「况爾四民人等，原是中國人民，須知天生真主，萬宜同心同力以滅妖，孰料良心盡混，而反北面於仇敵者也。」（見太平天國史料第一集本）太平文件之言及三合會者僅此一條。察其異同之跡，即可知太平最初亦利用三合會，而後則諱言之也。且不僅三合會之名，即「有明」字樣，曾見於最初文告者，後亦改易之，更可見旁全不顧「復明」之意見，乃出於時代環境之不同，亦猶清太祖稱大金，而太宗諱諱之始改爲滿洲也。備明此義，則一切疑案，不難解決過半矣。茲再舉兩證，以證明天德皇帝確爲當時之著名人物：（一）倫敦不列顛博物院所藏太平天國王子二年刻行之天命詔旨書，編錄爲二卷，第一頁中，貼有當時讀者之飛籤云：「前日聞人說，謂天德並非是國中之主，乃一偶像也。太平王有軍旅之事，必問之而後行，與奉鼎壇無異。」又云：「天德乃太平王之弟，死後刻一木主，奉事維謹，頗有靈驗。」（二）英國政府文書於一八五三年（即咸豐三年）出版之 *Register of the Chinese Affairs* 一書內載英國駐華使者之通信，有云：「往

時叛黨之首領天德」於數月前已死去，繼之者曰太平王。」（見第十六頁）即此則可知天德早有爲國主之傳說。（大全被刊後，尙有人謂其未死，仍在廣西指揮軍隊者，見叛黨起源志，亦猶王飾降爲僧之說也。）清廷既毀棄事實，而洪楊亦掩耳盜鈴矣。獨可惜此一代理民族英雄，（大全之才智德行，即官書亦盛稱之，如就情變編及粵匪紀略皆是。又噴聞記及英雄墨寶謂大全善作詩詞，就擒後，於途間曾自題扇云：「寄身虎口運籌工，恨賊徒不識英雄。漫將金鎖籠飛鴻，幾時生羽翼。萬里御長風，一事無成人滿老，壯懷要問天公。六韜三略總成空，哥哥行不得，淚灑杜鵑紅。」）氣概之不凡可見。）奇理之行，竟至溷溷不彰，斯後世史家之責已，故不憚詳攷之如此。然則天德之號，奚自助乎？查康熙十二年楊起隆詐稱朱三太子起義於北京，改元廣德，四十七年張念一奉朱三太子起義於浙江，稱大明天德年號（見東華錄）而天地會中亦有天誥之名，與天運之年號。（見拙輯近代秘密社會史料）凡此皆與後稱天德有相當之連繫，大全特就會中舊傳以假託之者也。其與天地會之關係，以及誤認天德爲太平天國之年號者，可不辨自明矣。至此件係在福建所發，故有「奉旨征厦」之言。曹大觀冠汀記略抄本（在曹氏祖傳內）云：「江西之建撫，廣東之潮嘉，福建之漳泉，俱戴紅色綉緞袴約三尺長，爲包巾，四周用合相同三字戳記印之，亦有忠義堂三字者，上寫趙魁魁魁五字，下注一房、二房、三房、四房、五房某姓名，俱附長髮打先鋒，人目之爲紅頭賊云。」此皆天地會黨人之記號，可見當時起義者，固不僅在

兩粵。惟以兩粵爲最盛耳。香港英人所出之新聞月報，曰遐邇寶珍者，記所謂紅頭賊之攻擊廣州諸事頗詳，當另文詳攷。竊此微語，意似已取得廈門，故有釋甲執兵，原抄誤作冰，抱頭鼠竄之官。攷當時天地會黨人之占據廈門者，只有黃威，據爲大元帥，黃所發布，蓋即黃威也。中國秘密社會史云：「道光二十九年，新嘉坡陳正成設三合會支部於廈門，命名曰七首會，入會者數千人。咸豐元年，陳被捕拷死，由黃威代領其業。時官吏橫暴，屢迫劫奪富財，咸豐三年，以官吏更強奪富黃姓之財，黃威保庇之，率部下二千餘人起兵，其隊長多新嘉坡人，奪佔廈門附近二市鎮，附從者增至八千，遂進而占據廈門。黃威乃頒布示諭，自稱「明軍指揮官」，盛抗清軍支持數月，並不擾及外人，其戰也，各持人道主義，俾視生命費而戰，夕而休，不尙夜襲，甚則登陸，然卒未能持久，糧餉藥彈，清軍則有餘，明軍則不足，於是敗城請款，安然乘輪而去。今以時間情形與本件証之，均無不合。黃威稱漢，大明統兵大元帥，非稱指揮官，亦可正秘曆史之誤。時洪大全已死，而猶曰大明天德皇帝者，更可見天地會傳說中之典型人物，謂爲大全假託，並不過矣。大明天德皇帝之稱，在近代史上爲一重要之發見，故抄件之價值亦鉅。因吾人以前僅見有天德年號之微文，與稱天德王之洪氏，而不知天德之來源，更有其曲折順皇之歷史在也。若文中錯簡，讀者自知，無待詳釋矣。一山記。

又對清復明起義微文抄件一通，附南京陸制台請仙仙書，現藏倫敦不

列顯博物院東方部，貼存於 9. 25. 冊中第十五葉。按此微不知爲何人所發，此書前有癸丑正月吉日等題字，以此推之，大約係太平軍初入金陵之前後，即咸豐三年春間也。微文間有謬誤，如第二行劉文叔下應有一光字，第五行長字下應有一蛇字，句讀亦有錯誤，如第五行應以成功者退爲讀，第六行應以有德者君爲讀，殉國讓賢兩處，均不應點讀。以下雲霄帶霧，華夏腥腥，（應改爲理）胡規稱尊，夜郎自大爲四讀，屈真才而毀爵爲一句，不應斷讀。此文對仗甚工，似爲清初作品，南明之偏安，天地會之起事，均爲應有之辭，似曾見某書中，惟不能確記耳。太平軍初舉義時，天地會黨人亦到處蓬起，天地會以恢復明朝爲口號，此種微文，無論爲傳抄，或新作，均足以代表其主義。所謂明王有佐，故主尙存，在清初則託之崇禎三太子，在康熙以後則擬爲小主朱洪竹（可參看拙輯近代秘密社會史料，會中傳說，謂洪竹爲崇禎帝之孫。）在道賊之際，則所謂大明天德皇帝也。此文必爲天地會起義黨人所發，與太平天國之對胡微文，論調似乎不同，可知洪楊諸領袖，雖受天地會民族主義之影響，而依附基督，自成一派，固與天地會若合若離也。附仙仙書，係兩江總督陸建瀛所請之亂語，太平軍被江寧，建瀛殉難，亂文全不可解，惟見有金戈鐵馬之象，據若問四句語，意平亂者似應爲姓張姓趙之人，蓋長弓有力，小月時走，隱寓姓字，殊不知克江寧者，乃曾氏，非張國樑也。葉名琛以信亂語而失廣州，陸建瀛固亦早信之矣。當時風氣如此，封疆大吏不能守土，而事鬼神，此內憂外患之所以日迫歟？一山記。

增太子少保兵部侍郎江蘇巡撫部院李鴻章蘇州殺降文告一通。現藏倫敦不列顛博物院東方部。編存於 *Chinese Texts* 戈登文書 A 冊中第十三葉。原件高四十一吋，寬六十二吋。同治三年正月初七日發。即太平天國甲子十四年正月初二日，而西歷一八六四年二月十四日也。按蘇州殺降一事，在當時曾引起重大之糾紛，以後如何解決，吾國書籍，未有記載。日人內藤虎次郎云：「李鴻章之告示一件，當其招降太平天國降王時，戈登以不諱戮為條件而担保，乃李氏忽從程學啟之謀，違降降王等誘殺戈登於是大憤，辭去清廷賞金一萬兩，聲言將討殺李氏。該告示即足為李氏對於戈登謝罪之憑據。今其實物尚存在，實為有趣味之事也。」（見史林雜誌第十卷大英博物院所藏太平天國史料）內藤所謂尚存在之實物，即是此件。但此示是否為謝罪之憑據，或即解決此問題之惟一資料，則尚須詳考。中興將帥別傳程忠烈公傳云：「淮軍以公（程學啟）部為最強，震東南蘇州城中賊皆奪氣。然譚紹洸夙凶忍，猶率悍黨死守。而偽王鄒雲官等有忒心，密款於公，部將鄒國魁、公與戈登軍，同見雲官等於城北洋澄湖，備得其要領，令斬秀成，紹洸以獻。公與為誓，戈登證之。雲官益不疑，而不忍殺秀成，許國紹洸。秀成微覺之，先遁去。紹洸以事召雲官，雲官携偽天將汪有為往，即坐刺殺之。開齊門迎降。十月戊戌（二十五日）獻紹洸首請驗。公入城撫視，降酋列名者八人：偽納王鄒雲官、比王伍貴文、康王汪安、寧王周文佳、偽天將范西、發張大洲、汪環武、汪有為、誠賊精壯酋二十萬，羣酋方獻血盟生死，乞公白李公（鴻章）要總兵副將官，署其業為二十營，仍屯閩甯暨齊四門。公密白

李公恐不可制，必誅之以定業。李公不得已許之。于是廷八人謁李公，李公宴八人於帳內，坐從卒帳外，偽出巡軍，公令閉營門，發一砲，伏甲起，悉斬八人。遂定蘇州。鄒國魁歸公負約，涕泣不食，臥三日。李公亦頗覺公輕發，洋將戈登夙聞公，至是以殺降告公，揚言挾其軍且為變。觀雲官首擄之哭，並索得其書子說鳳山，蘇州中且有賊黨暗藏，擊李公之誦。于是李公令國魁為雲官設佛事，親詣誓弔，泣數行下，業乃轉風。一殺降乃出於程學啟之密謀，而責任則應由鴻章負之。設佛事，親弔祭，可以轉風，太平餘黨或鄒國魁之心，於戈登之欲挾其軍為變者，究作何種處置，傳略不詳。湘軍記言：「戈登日持手槍，造營門覓鴻章，欲擊之，鴻章避不見。遂率其軍與學啟絕交而去。」亦無下文。鴻章駢誅八降酋片密奏云：「戈登因臣先調常勝軍回駐鳳山，未與人城之功，忽生異議。先曾謂納逆不應殺，茲又謂不應殺納逆，聲稱即帶常勝軍與官軍開仗。經道員潘曾瑋總兵李恆嵩勸止，乃又招去納逆義子部勝，及久從蘇賊之廣東人千餘名，意殊叵測。又據德英兩國提督伯都鐸譯官梅輝立來蘇辨訪，臣告以自督軍來滬，先收兩降酋，與建旗，准帶千人，次收常勝降酋，歸國忠，准帶二千人，均皆退出城池，請受約束，故以戰功保至副將，信用不疑。臣並非好殺降者，茲鄒雲官等所求太奢，欲圖省城，關係太大，未便姑容。費難成慮。且誅八西而後能解散二十萬衆，辦法似無不是。戈登先期調回鳳山，事在倉猝，未及商量，蓋一商詢則彼必極力阻格，此事遂無了局矣。該提督則以英國不喜殺人是使戈登無詞以對外國，強派臣辦理，錯誤。臣姑勿深辯，惟其悍悍見於詞色，據稱申請公使與總理衙門議定，再

將常勝軍作何區處。其意殆挾該軍與我爲難耳。臣維戈登助勸蘇城。近來頗爲出力。是以督同程學啟自意籠絡。俾爲我用。不料成功之後。既索重賞。仍生端端。值此時事多艱。中外和好。臣斷不敢稍涉由非。致壞大局。惟洋人性情反覆。罔知事體。設英公使與總理衙門過於爭執。惟有請旨將臣嚴議治罪。以折服其心。是時正當英法聯軍之役。以後朝野上下。對於外交事件。均極畏懼。戈登既懸旌上海。英軍司令官伯爾 (General Buller) 與該國使臣 (General Buller) 來蘇抗議。又請英國公使與總理衙門交涉。自且挾長勝軍以與國軍爲難。事之嚴重。有逾此。而結果則煙消火滅於無形之中。不可不謂鴻章之應付得宜也。鴻章上曾國藩書云：「蘇城復後。加以降衆二十萬在內。遣散安置。煞費心力。戈登及伯爾等。弄是非。橫議口舌。鴻章心緒惡劣。不欲告人。伯爾初二日來蘇。怒不可捱。謂其代英國君主與官商乘人與我說理。要鴻章備文認錯。方有辦法。鴻章笑對云：「此中國軍政。與外國無干。不能爲汝認錯。」一怒而去。恐總理衙門無力了此公案。故願受朝廷之罰。不欲開島人之聲。頃聞伯爾回滬。糾各各國領事。尙有附會。都趨滬。洋商則多以殺僞爲是。大約紛紛可漸解矣。惟戈登利心頗大。常勝軍藉住要挾。不知又耗許多財力。其實該軍除炸藥外。攻勦不若我軍。屢稱討伐。迄未動手。鴻章與諸將亦甚不懼也。一則復函稿同治二年十一月十四日。從鴻章奏牘中。可見當時英人所提之條件。以要求「備文認錯」爲先。鴻章則謂此中國軍政。享受朝廷之罰。不能向外人道歉。然顧全大局之心。則甚切。鴻章對於戈登。有解釋而無謝罪。奏牘之意甚明。此文告所謂「戈德兵因未悉其中緣故。頗疑此事辦理與前議不合。茲恐中外人等猶執傳聞之說。

未悉本部院與戈德兵之用心。實有不同而同之處。必須曉諭一番。而使共得明白。」亦即此意。故內藤謂爲謝罪之證據。未必允當。然則此事究竟如何解決。鴻章復函總辦方伯善云：「手教獲以諸帥降逆一事。詳加獎諭。可謂樂道人善之君子矣。其時悍夷挾持於城外。忠逆徘徊於境上。內有降人數十萬。愚險省會。爲肘腋患。爲左右袒。鄙人晝夜焦思。糧食俱廢。少一遷忍。可憂甚長。乃故膽爲之。自謂可謝江漢數百萬被害之生靈矣。彼族猶訟官於總理衙門。幸朝廷能持正論耳。」(函稿同治二年十二月初二日) 據此則英人訟官於總理衙門。並未得直。故鴻章亦未受朝廷贖罪。其解決之方。仍在戈登與鴻章本身也。戈登日記 (General Buller's Diary) 中對於當時所見情狀及尋屍擄孤諸事。記述頗詳。於解決糾紛時。則所言甚略。福伯斯 (F. Forbes) 中國戈登 (General Buller) 一書。謂戈登意職後。叛黨勢復張。省垣衰弊。羅伯特 (Robert) (上海稅務司) 頗不以此舉爲然。李鴻章解釋殺降。殊爲正當。戈登憤憤進謁。李允布告。明述戈登於約降時曾有殺敵之言。戈登因示意公使。事已解決。照舊服務。據此則文告雖非向戈登認罪。而實帶有解決此問題之重要性。蓋戈登心已漸平。不得不借此爲下台之地步耳。故此件所以有特殊價值也。何以戈登始而憤恨如彼之堅。繼而心平又如斯之易。戈登當然不能明言。竊鴻章函牘語意。即可以思過半矣。蓋戈登之所以要挾者。頗有常勝軍。鴻章與諸將對之。一甚不懼。以「各國領事却趨滬。然」洋商多以殺僞爲是。一再以羅伯特的態度証之。戈登似不能得滬上外面之同情。則中心當已漸殺。而鴻章持正不屈。能顧大體。皆茲事解決之關鍵也。不然「洋人性情」雖非「反覆」而得寸進尺之心。

恐不能免。倘鴻章蓄惡絕跡，則殊非一紙空文可以了事已。又鴻章謂一戈登利心頗大，不知又耗許多財力。蘇州克復時，清廷賞戈登銀一萬兩，以殺降事慎辭，而鴻章獨常勝軍至七萬兩，戈登遂就範，助攻宜興，此豈鴻章對戈登之手腕歟？至戈登何以熱心於教護太平諸王，一般均以爲外人重信義，謹殺戮，或就人道主義上爲仗義之舉，殊不盡然。戈登常勝軍之組織，最初爲通逃於滬上之美國流氓如華爾（Wall）輩，受僱於上海道吳煦，雖西勇與吾國士卒而成者也。白齊文（White）繼華爾後，閉松江城索餉，至上海痛殺道員楊坊，搜取餉銀，純係流氓之行爲。李鴻章至滬，始與駐滬英軍司令官士迪佛立（D. S. Stead）立定章程，交戈登管帶，卽爲中國武官，一切受巡撫節制訓遣。（見倫敦所藏戈登文書）李鴻章札戈登文，並原定條約十六款。戈登雖較白齊文爲優，（戈登爲英法聯軍侵略中國時之船長，出身較正，故鴻章云：「戈登接手，似較辦理，其應款亦較奮迅，如能由我操縱，卽月糜四五萬金，猶爲有許。」）見同治二年二月十六日上曾相書。然氣餒之盛，跋扈之狀，均使鴻章難於駕馭，如上曾相書云：「戈登近甚馴謹，與程羅親若弟昆。」其以前之不馴謹可知。又復曾沅帥書云：「常勝軍終無結局，外間不知者，以爲好帶手，其知者以爲磨難星也。」磨難星三字，完全表出鴻章對於常勝軍難處之苦。蓋戈登恃英國戰火之利，而鴻章亦資其購買教習之用，不得不委曲求全。平時與洋人交際，本曾國藩忠信篤敬四字之教，「勝必相讓，敗必相救。」恐其「包藏禍心，片言不合，或事立興。」（見同治朝夷務始末國藩奏疏）此蓋鑒於白齊文之事，鴻章以爲白齊文不用，卽一投入蘇城，帶有炸藥，賊中給金數十萬爲購槍砲，雖飭各營卡查單，頭頭

是道，偷漏仍多。幸英法會長明攻之而不暗助，或有一機轉機。（見同治二年六月十五日復曾沅帥書）殊不知英法會長明攻而亦暗助，供給太平軍槍砲者，非叛走之白齊文，乃號爲清朝忠臣之戈登也。今幸倫敦所藏戈登文書中，尙有與太平軍往來函札，其一爲忠王李秀成慕王譚紹洸復戈登書云：「頃接來信，知欲放出受傷諸人，以便醫治，並欲往來買賣槍砲，兼有回去之人，道及我處待人情誼，故來候函，具見桂（同貴）台義重情擊。各人軍裝炮械，彼此皆知底細，你處圖利，我處置辦，聽從通商，原無禁令。此時你處如有槍炮洋貨，卽即照常來此交易，若或桂台肯到我處，我等亦樂共事。總之我國係與該清爭取疆土，自有天命，故歸與外邦不相干涉。其二爲慕王譚紹洸復戈登書云：「洋商回轉，接到復信，知所答覆，已經權照，賜馬拜收，鑄之甚良，鎗炮等件，亦已領取，種種厚情，感謝不盡，現令小製金銅金環，聊以報禮，一俟製就，卽行寄呈。」觀此二函，則知戈登及西人等與太平軍之關係，舊槍送馬，義重情擊，此豈鴻章所及料乎？鴻章但知戈登之難於駕馭，而尙不知其通敵，（或亦稍知之，惟不便明言耳。）世人亦但知外人之重信義，而尙不知其交通兩方，周無往而不利也。外人之術，亦誠巧哉！慕王爲守蘇將領，與戈登往來頻繁如此，戈登之與納王等亦可知。故納王之刺殺慕王，戈登不謂然。鴻章之背約殺降，戈登卽氣憤填膺矣。此其盡由於公義乎？卽亦因與太平軍諸人有私情故也。戈登日記述其往訪納王及衛護家屬之情形，非私誼不至此。此公案至今猶爲一般史家所誤認，故不憚詳考之，俾是非彰明，不至爲外人所惑。語云：「非我族類，其心必異。」外人之言，固不正，盡信而外交之事，尤非一味濡忍敷衍所可奏功也。蕭一山記。

