The Chinese Secret Society from early Chinese days to the current situation in Canada.

Ernest Wing Leung. Lam
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THE CHINESE SECRET SOCIETY

From Early Chinese Days to the Current Situation in Canada

by

ERNEST WING LEUNG LAM

A thesis presented to the University of Windsor in partial fulfillment of the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts in Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Windsor, Ontario, Canada, 1987

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CHINESE ORGANIZED CRIME
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ABSTRACT

Max Weber said sociology is a science which:

aims at the interpretative understanding of social behavior in order to gain an explanation of its causes, its course, its effects (Weber: 1964, 29).

It was the purpose of this research to investigate the social conditions which gave birth to the Chinese Secret Society, the historical events that caused the degeneration of the Society, and the environmental effects that contributed to the different adaptation of the secret societies in two localities: Canada and Hongkong. When the historical causality was identified, an understanding was created to determine what motives led the Society to come into being, and how the secret societies continued to exist. Once the two localities had been compared, the findings indicated that there were differences between the Gongletang in the city of Toronto and the societies in Hongkong. This research did not attempt to hypothesize or make any claim to general validity regarding the situation of the secret societies in Canada or in the world’s criminal scene. Rather, it basically analyzed and described Chinese organized crime by presenting the historical facts. Nor did it attempt to theorize about such social phenomenon. Since using a special sociological analysis might result in generalization or
particularization, a model of organized crime should be created before making any theoretical analysis. And Weber's ideal type might be a good investigative tool for further research.

September 2, 1987

E.W.L.L.

Windsor, Ontario
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September 2, 1987

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Windsor, Ontario
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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION: BASIC CONCEPTS AND FRAMEWORK

1.1 Definition of the Problem

The earthquake and fire of 1906, did not only wipe out the Chinatown ghetto in San Francisco; it also dispersed the Chinese youth gangs to other sizable Chinese communities all over the continent. In recent years, these gangs have re-emerged and have become more sophisticated in urban rackets. Today's secret societies, unlike their predecessors who were politically and patriotically oriented, are inspired by monetary gains and personal interest. With the recent increase of youth gang problems and bloody slaughters among rival gangs (Austen: 1980; Baldrey: 1985; Banks: 1985; Benetou: 1993; Bohn: 1981 & 1982; Dutton & Millar: 1986; FBI Report: 1985; Harvey: 1986; Joe & Robinson: 1980; Lavigne: 1986; Millar: 1995; Millar & Dutton: 1996; Mulgrew: 1985; Pynn: 1980; Reid: 1985; Rice: 1977; Toronto Star: 1984; Toronto Sun: 1986; and Windsor Star: 1986), law enforcement agencies have begun to focus attention on the emergence of Chinese criminal groups in organized crime.

Organized crime has fascinated the general public, as is evidenced by the innumerable books, movies, and newspaper articles exploring the nature of the racketeer. Customari-
ly, people tend to define organized crime as synonymous with the Italian-American criminal organization - the so-called Mafia. However, organized crime is one of the social phenomena which has always existed in any historical period and civilization. The "Black Hand", the "Black Panther", the Neapolitan "Camorra", the "Georgian Jews" of Israel, the "Savak" of Iran, the "Secret Society" of China, the Sicilian "Mafia", the notorious "Tangs" (or "Tongs" in Wade and Giles spelling) of New York and San Francisco, and the "Yakuza" of Japan - organized crime is not an unique occurrence of a given culture or of a particular span of time.

The migration of people brings forth cultural exchange among ethnic groups. New immigrants bring along their traditions of criminality as well as their respectable social institutions to their host countries. Consequently, ethnic organized crime becomes an international phenomenon instead of being confined to a particular geographical locality. The Mafia of Sicily and the Mafia of America, the Tangs of North America and the secret societies in Asia - each organized crime wears a variety of guises throughout the world. Moreover, in each locality can be found further variations. Because of different social conditions, each criminal organization may more or less differ from its traditional source. As a result, for instance, the Chinese secret societies in Hongkong may operate somewhat differently from their counterparts in Canada, America, Europe, or the South-east Asian
countries. Besides, each version can be broken down more finely if local, state, or regional differences are considered.

Being a "Promised Land," Canada has provided conditions - such as bureaucratic mazes, corruption, and denial of advancement opportunities for ethnic groups - to support the growth of any ethnic organized crime. Since the mid-nineteenth century, the Chinese have come to Canada looking for a new life. Chinatowns all over the continent have attracted huge investment and the Chinese are recognized as one of the contributors in building up the nation. However, the growth of the Chinese population also accommodates the spread of its criminal sub-group, the secret societies. Currently, the power base of these societies is located in Hongkong; however, the return of this island from England to Communist China in 1997 will create an exodus of these criminal groups, who will look elsewhere to reestablish their business. With sufficient resources, and a large Chinese population, Canada might conceivably become one of their prime targets.

The aim of this research, therefore, is to trace the development of the Chinese Secret Society from its emergence to the current establishment in Hongkong, and to evaluate its contemporary role in a Canadian criminal setting. In other words, it is a comparative study of the two existing local versions of the Secret Society. The purpose of this
paper is to construct an historical account which will provide a comprehensive picture of the nature of the society. And by means of a comparative analysis, it is expected that this research would establish differences and/or similarities between the two localities and subsequently would develop a guideline for future research.

1.2 Review of the Literature

The Chinese social and cultural structure has fascinated the North American public, as is evidenced by the writings of Jean Burnet (1981), Anthony Chan (1982), Harry Con, et al. (1992), FBI Report (1995), D. Ho (1975), Immanuel Hsu (1983), Julia Kwong (1984), and Peter Li & B. Bolaria (1993). However, the criminal sub-group of the Chinese community, the secret societies or the so-called tongs, has only barely been examined.

In Asian areas such as Hongkong and the southeast nations, where the secret societies have strong bases and influence, Chinese or ethnic Chinese authors have done a series of studies of the origins of the societies (Brother Magazine: 1984; Discovery Magazine: 1985; Li: 1984; People's Daily: 1986; Qin: 1986; Shuai: 1956; Su: 1940; Tai: 1977; Xu: 1983; Yu: 1986; and Zhang: 1979). European scholars also provide a volume of studies (Bresler: 1990; Buruma & McBeth: 1984; Chesneaux: 1971; Comber: 1957 and 1959; Davis: 1971; Elliott: 1955; Metzgen: 1974; Morgan: 1960; O'Calla-

Among those who have studied the Chinese secret societies, FONG is the only author who utilized sociological, rather than descriptive, methodology to examine the conditions and circumstances which have given rise to the emergence of the Chinese secret societies in Singapore and Malaysia (Alitto: 1984, 241; Kaiser: 1984, 784; Light: 1983, 402; and Lockard: 1982, 1147). Merton's anomie theory, which analyzes the typologies of adaptation, was the sole theoretical interpretation of this study. His theory identifies the host countries' cultural values and the denial of opportunities to ethnic and racial minorities. Not all Chinese emigrants went abroad to look for a new life; some of them were thinking of setting up new power bases for their illegal businesses. These people, who were criminals before, are not alienated by the host countries' institutionalized discriminatory policies since they have no intention of adjusting their lives according to the new system. Secret societies provide not merely a means to adapt to the unfamiliar environments, but an organizational structure for these criminals to establish power.
Given the relatively small size of the population and the low educational background of the Chinese immigrants, the secret societies' leaders assumed the responsibilities of various village associations, clanish organizations, and guilds within the Chinese communities (Yu: 1986, 3). This allowed the criminals not only to cover up their illegal activities, but also to frustrate the governments and various scholars from discovering their true identities.

In talking about Chinese secret associations, this paper is referring to those organizations which originated in the lower social strata and were not recognized by the authorities. Since there were two types of underground associations which differed in terms of environment, religion, organizational framework, and social functions, it is necessary to categorize them separately, as secret cults and secret organizations.

Secret cults, such as the Red Eyebrows, the Yellow Turbans, or the White Lotus (Morgan: 1960, 3), drew their ideas from folklore intermixed with Confucianism and Daoism (or Taoism in Wade and Giles spelling). Although a few of these cults sought changes through political activities, they were mainly religiously-oriented, and concerned with achieving harmonic relationships with others as well as with the universe. Although they may be of interest, this aspect of secret associations will not be included in this

---

1 Confucianism is concerned with people's morality, while Daoism is concerned with obtaining a long life and good fortune. For more detailed analysis, see Chapter II.
research.

In the first stage of development, secret organizations, similar to the cults, were active in rural districts of China. Geographically, most organizations were established in the southern province of Fujian and spread over into Taiwan, Guangdong, Guangxi, Yunnan, Guizhou, Jiangxi, Zhejiang, Hunan, and Sichuan. Besides rural areas, their power extended to the underdeveloped regions of China as well as to urban ghetto areas.

The secret organizations were formed to provide mutual aid to their members who were struggling to make a living. To maintain identity and boundary lines, each organization had its members sworn in as brothers, and had them bow to heaven and earth to gain symbolic approval from their parents. Since recruitment was aimed at those who came from the same village or who held similar occupations, and were without family ties, the secret organizations utilized the beliefs in righteousness, martyrdom, and the willingness to face any difficulty to increase group cohesion and to restrain members.

Initially, these organizations were formed to protect group interests such as maintaining influence over a specific profession, and provide protection to members against suppression by the local gentry, hooligans, corrupt government officials, and any enemies from outside the group. Usually, when the government and economy were stable, the
organizations were not politically active. However, in straitened circumstances, or when the general public was being denied social rewards, the secret organizations sought political remedies. These internal disturbances, combined with foreign invasions, made for the formation of Chinese dynasties and thus Chinese history.

When the Manchus established their empire, they made great efforts to build a strong nation, just as the Chinese Emperors had done. At the beginning, the Chinese took the Manchu conquest for granted, since they had long hoped for the war to be finished so they could restore normal life. However, the honeymoon with the Manchus ended when the government launched numerous persecutions against writers who intentionally or unintentionally offended the rulers. This led to many executions and stirred up hostility toward the Manchus.

The Manchus concentrated on reforming the economy, adjusting administration, and centralizing government policies, but did not make sufficient effort toward improving the lower class standard of living. Economic changes, an overcrowded population, and corrupt government officials combined to make the life of the lower class tougher. The

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² Ethnic minorities fought their way through the Great Wall, trying to settle in the better cultivated hinterland. For a more recent statistics on the Chinese ethnic minorities, see Appendix C.

³ This was not the first time China was ruled by a foreign tribe. During the Yuan Dynasty (1260-1368), the Mongolians took control over the country for more than one hundred years.
secret organizations thus grew and flourished. However, they each had their own interests and were not responsible to one another. But the numerous killings, the economic hardship, and the discriminatory policies of the Manchu government against the Chinese drew the intelligentsia and the underground organizations together. It unified these diverse groups into one organization. This marks the second phase of the history of the Secret Society. During this period, the Chinese secret organizations were unified under a primary common concern and organized by a unique headquarters.

The Society was formed by various secret organizations for which "fangqing fuming" became first priority. With the intelligentsia serving as the backbone, the Society was constructed in a hierarchy with an integrated chain of command and a set of regulations to protect its secrecy. After its first confrontation with the Manchus, and its subsequent defeat, the Society was divided into five lodges. Because of harsh penalties imposed by the authorities, a more sophisticated organizational framework was introduced in order to maintain secrecy as well as to provide a strong base for survival. To maintain communication among the lodges, a set of hand signals, tea-cup arrangements, and

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4 However, the secrecy which protected the Society generated a ripple of uncertainties about its origins among scholars.

5 The literal translation of "Overthrow the Qing and restore the Ming". For details of the Chinese Dynasties, see Appendix A.
poems were introduced so that members would be able to recognize each other.

It was not until the early twentieth century that different societies were united to overthrow the Manchus and restore Chinese rule. The assistance given by these societies to the Republican government resulted in official recognition of them by the government. Without restriction, the societies became more powerful. W.P. Morgan writes:

its power as a lobbying force became such that ambitious civic and military officials were bound to join the Society in order to further their ends, and merchants and traders found that membership and subscriptions to the Society greatly eased their commercial ventures (1960: 27).

The historical situation, in which China was divided among various warlords, and the incompetence of the Republican government, led to the third, contemporary stage of development. With the achievement of their political ends, the collective purpose that bound the unrelated groups together no longer existed. With this collapse, the secret societies, which were still structured by the traditional organizational framework, became increasingly corrupt, eventually degenerating into a criminal entity which exists to this day.

The instability of the political and economic situations during this period made it difficult for ordinary people to make a living, and subsequently forced many of these people to seek opportunities in other countries. They travelled to almost every continent, expecting to save their earnings
with the hope of someday returning home and living in comfort the remainder of their lives. Due to political, economic, and personal reasons, not every one could make it back. Those who had to stay in their host countries had to integrate or adapt to the host environment.

Along with law-abiding people who travelled to other countries for a better life, criminals also made their way into the new settlements. For the Chinese communities, the criminal societies offered a service not filled by other organizations. Chan observes that:

gambling parlors were opened night and day to the bachelor workers who had time to kill; [besides], having recognized that a crew's hours of relaxation in work without women or families had to be filled, the dealers provided a necessary service for the Chinese workers (1982: 63-4).

Because of discriminatory policies directed against the Chinese, Chinatowns and the criminal societies became interdependent. Criminals needed victims to prey upon, and the people needed the services which were not otherwise obtainable. Therefore, as the Chinatowns grew, so did the criminal organizations.

These criminal elements were not only involved with their own people but had to adjust, as did the law-abiding citizens, to the new environments. They needed to cope with the society at large as well as with criminal organizations such as the Mafia.
1.3 Methodology

The intention of this research is to understand the emergence of the Chinese Secret Society and its consequences. Weber suggests that real empirical sociological investigation begins with the question:

What motives determine and lead the individual members in this socialistic community to behave in such a way that the community came into being in the first place and that it continues to exist? (Kott 6 Wittich: 1968, Vol. 1 of 3, 19)

In order to understand the emergence of the Society, an interpretation of the Chinese social and cultural structure will be useful since it demonstrates the Chinese state of mind in general with regard to secret association, and the social conditions that contributed to its emergence.

With other cultural institutions such as family and religion, the Chinese immigrants brought along with them the criminal sub-group to their host countries. On the one hand, functionalists will argue that anomie is the independent variable; on the other hand, conflict theorists will argue that alienation is the proper variable in analyzing deviance. Aside from these conceptual interpretations of deviant behaviour, an analysis of the institutional structure of Canadian society will provide a sociological understanding of the causal factors responsible for these deviant groups.

The Chinese Secret Society has been established for more than two hundred years. Considering the differences in
terms of the social conditions such as economic, demographic, and societal, it is interesting to compare the secret societies in Hongkong with the secret societies in Canada. Therefore, the Chinese criminal secret societies will be compared with the contemporary Chinese criminal organizations in Canada, with the focus on Toronto's Chinatown. In this way, we will be able to look at the extent to which the two groups are different and at the ways in which they are similar. With such a conceptual construct, an understanding of the Chinese Secret Society will be made possible in terms of its causes, courses, and effects. With regard to the findings, it would help generate further research and also make it possible for sociological theories to explain such phenomenon.

Based on the above methodology, this research will take a qualitative approach, using both content analysis and unstructured interviews. This strategy is favourable due to the nature of this study. As F. Ianni comments:

research in the field, out among organized criminal bands, is both more difficult and more hazardous than research in the file rooms of the Justice Department [for] informants are not readily available and observing the interaction of criminals with each other is no easy task (1974: 336-337).

Using the method of content analysis, data will be obtained from both English and Chinese literature. Because a wide variety of interpretations may exist, romanization of the Chinese pronunciation for the characters is a problem for scholars and other concerned individuals. As a result,
a person's name or a geographical name may appear in several versions in the literature. For accurate identification, the format of Chinese names will be standardized by using the "Hanyu Pinyin" or the Chinese phonetic alphabet—which was developed and is now in use by the People's Republic of China as well as the Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice. In translating the Chinese data, all terminologies used will be individually researched and properly footnoted.

Interviews will follow an unstructured form so that respondents can express their views freely. Subjects will be obtained solely from Canadian Law Enforcement Agencies and from among informants who know or understand the operations of the secret societies.

As mentioned, there are three stages of development in the history of the Chinese Secret Society. Basically, each secret organization had a name which identified the function of the group or the weapon the members carried—such as the Justice and Righteousness Society or Iron Prong Society. However, no matter what the ceremony, all practised bowing to heaven and earth; therefore, they were inclusively named "Heaven and Earth Societies". This name will be used in this research to denote the first stage of development.

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* According to the "Hanyu Pinyin", the Wade and Giles spelling of, for example, "Lam, Wing-leung" becomes "LIN YOLING".
When they developed into the second stage, they were named the Hong League⁷ - Heaven and Earth Society, to indicate that those various alliances were organized under the name of Hong, which was the first title - Hong Wu - of the first Ming Emperor. In order to facilitate a universal identity, this research will utilize the traditional Chinese term "Chinese Secret Society" or "Society".⁸ When the organization crumbled and mutated to become several criminal factions, they no longer preserved the original principles of their forerunners. In the following analysis, the word "secret societies" or "societies" will be used to indicate the present day organizations.

1.4 Criticism and Limitations

Having claimed to be the first scholar to examine the secret societies by using sociological methodology, the author Fong Mak Lam admitted that "the documentary evidence is fragmentary, and the historical development of Chinese secret societies is unclear" (Kaiser: 1994, 785). This shortcoming also serves as one of the limitations of this research. The data gathered will be drawn from sensational and often superficial newspaper reports as one of the major sources of concrete information and documentation which, in other

⁷ According to the Wade and Giles spelling, "Hong" is spelled "Hung".

⁸ In general, British authors prefer to use "Triad" or "Triad Society"; and their American counterparts prefer the term "Tang".
words, would under other circumstances be considered secondary sources of information.

The interviews with informants create an uncertainty about the validity of the results. Due to the fear of breaking the code of silence, or the unwillingness to reveal their present activities, it is doubtful that these informants will be able to give in-depth information.

With regard to the theoretical interpretation, this paper is a historical analysis which serves to understand a specific historical phenomenon. From this historical reality, an analytical construct will be derived to measure the differences and/or similarities of the secret societies according to different conditions. It is expected that Weber's ideal-typical analysis could enable this research to construct a theoretical framework and hypothesis to explain the emergence of such reality and its consequences.
Chapter II

CHINESE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL STRUCTURE

2.1 Historical Background

One of the oldest nations on earth, in existence since the twenty-seventh century B.C., for over four thousand years, China has claimed to be the "Middle Kingdom", the centre of the universe. The rich resources of the Yellow River Valley provided a fertile environment for the Chinese, calling themselves the "posterity of dragon", to inhabit and grow to be a state with a creative and colourful tradition.

In Chinese history, the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring Period played important roles in modelling the nation. Not only were these the eras in which the Great Wall was built, but they were also times during which a collection of philosophies were generated. The original intention of such philosophies or strategies, if used precisely, was to help the warlords to stay alive and ultimately to control the continent. Among these philosophies, Confucianism became the most favoured ideology of succeeding

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9 During the Warring Period, each state located in the northern part of China constructed its own wall against the intrusion of the minorities from the north. When Qin Shihuang (literally meant the first Emperor of Qin) defeated all warlords and unified the country, he employed huge manpower to connect the walls, which became a famous structure.
rulers and gradually shaped the mentality of the people.

China had a homogeneous social system guided by the Confucian principles, which were unquestioned as the solutions for most of China's political, economic, and social evils. Although Confucianism was the orthodox ideology, other heterodoxies such as Daoism and Buddhism also played a significant role in the Chinese social system. The following section will discuss the background of each ideology, and how under their influence Chinese society was formed. A brief discussion of the Manchu conquest and of regional militarism during the fall of the Manchu Dynasty will follow. These two historical events are important because the Manchu conquest gave birth to the Chinese Secret Society and because regional militarism fostered the criminality of this organization.

2.2 Ideological Background

2.2.1 Confucianism

Confucianism originated during the Spring and Autumn Period (779-490 B.C.). Alongside with Mocius - which is concerned with universal love, Daoism, the Logicians, the Legalists - who favoured harsh penalties for punishment, the Eclectics, the Agronomists, the Astrologists, and the School of Political Alliances and Strategies, Confucianism is one of the so-called Nine Schools of Thought. It was not until the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) that Confucianism became the orthodox view among the people.
Essentially, Confucianism is a philosophy. It was founded by Confucius and was brought to a greater height of development by Menius. It is concerned with morality as well as with cultivating oneself, ruling a country, and unifying the world in peace. It emphasizes the virtues of loyalty, justice, benevolence, wisdom, and propriety. Because of its emphasis on loyalty, Confucianism was the most favored ideology of the Emperors. In essence, it is the ideology of the ruler.

Confucians taught that government should be run according to the examples of the past. Confucianism implies that rulers themselves must be prepared to set examples to descendants. In return for the Emperor's benevolence, the people must behave in a filial manner to their superiors. Therefore, for individuals in the traditional Chinese society, filial piety became the main focus of Confucianism.

Besides official recognition, the reason for the unusual durability of Confucianism as a political ideology lay in the self-sufficiency of the Chinese economy. Because of vast natural resources, China did not have to look elsewhere to develop her trade, nor for raw materials for her industries. This hindered the aggressiveness and adventurous nature of capitalism, and slowed the pace of social change. Consequently, social and political controls stayed in the hands of the mandarins and the influential local gentry.
The interests and power of this bureaucratic elite were further secured by the Civil Service Examination System. These examinations selected the best students all over the country for the Imperial Administration; however, it was not their administrative capability which was examined, but their familiarity with the Confucian texts. Although it was not the sole channel for social and political upward mobility, this system was the most important social ladder.

They are the "Four Books and Five Classics". The four books are the Record of Rites, the Great Learning and Doctrine of the Mean, the Analects of Confucius, and the Mencius. The five classics are the Classic of Songs or Poetry, the Classic of Documents or History, the Classic of Changes, the Spring and Autumn Annals, and the Record of Rites. Since the Classic of Music is missing, scholars usually refer to the collection as the Five Classics instead of Six Classics.

Different dynasties employed different alternatives to curtail this literati monopoly. Individuals who possessed remarkable talent could attend the special examinations appointed by the Emperors; those who behaved in an extraordinarily filial manner could be recommended by local government officials to the bureaucratic machinery; and others advanced through military ranks. These were among the most frequently employed alternatives. However, these alternatives consisted of subjective justification and subsequently became corrupted means.

The system was divided into four levels: those students who successfully passed the Preliminary District, or County, Examination were eligible to attend the Provincial Examination; those who passed the provincial level would then advance to the Metropolitan Examination which was held in the capital city. Usually, only ten students who passed the third level could be accepted to the Palace Examination, and each student would be ranked according to his result in this final level. Passing the Palace Examination was a guarantee to the students that they would be hired by the Administration; however, where they would be appointed was to be decided by an internal examination chaired by high-ranking officials. In this stage, connections and reputation of the students became the crucial factors.
order for individuals who wanted to get ahead.

The continuous supply of this Confucian literati, their monopoly of the political structure, and the slow-changing society combined to maintain the doctrines of Confucianism and to enable the bureaucrats to maintain their domination over the Chinese.

2.2.2 Daoism

If Confucianism is the orthodoxy of the ruler, Daoism and Buddhism are the heterodox ideologies of the ruled. Daoism was founded by LI Fr, better known as LAO Zi, in the Spring and Autumn Period and was elaborated upon by ZHANG Tianshi in the Eastern Han period (25-220 A.D.). Zhang organized the followers and named the organization as Taijing Qingling Dao which was later divided into the Tiansi Dao and the Taining Dao.

Daoism is concerned with obtaining a long life and good fortune. Its principles emphasize the state of mutual reinforcement or neutralization of the five elements: gold, wood, water, fire, and soil, which were probably derived from a far older system of thought constructed by Puxi (27 B.C.) who attributed all movement in the universe to the opposed "Xian-Yang" or the positive and negative forces. Its followers:

pleaded for the return to a Rousseausque way of life: 'back to the roots', to the Way of Nature, which is in essence effortless and spontaneous, like the erosive power of water, to the pure and uncorrupted existence which is expressed in an uncarved block of wood (Davis: 1977, 11).
As time went by, Daoism degenerated into an institutionalized religion with temples and priesthoods. Its theories came heavily to rely on the nature of "Xian-Yang" and were mainly concerned with the practices of alchemy, prophecy, and witchcraft. Although in general Daoism did not teach people to revolt against their governments, its organizational structure was capable of recruiting members and setting up rebellions.

2.2.3 Buddhism

Buddhism was another heterodoxy to counter Confucianism. Founded in India, it was introduced into China during the late Western Han period (19 B.C.-7 A.D.). It is concerned with leaving the secular world by attaining enlightenment, and thereby salvation, through the merit of the Buddhissattvas (Elliott: 1955, 26).

Buddhists emphasize the five "truths" of life - existence, oldness, illness, extinction, and misery. Salvation may be attained only by the right path, which is through the self-restraint of all pleasures of living, and hopes, in order to break the painful cycle of existence.

One of the major contributions of Buddhism was the introduction of the idea of monasticism, an example of organizational structure later adopted by other non-orthodox religions. Philosophically different from Confucianism, and capable to organize, Buddhists were able to support illegal associations and rebellious activities.
2.3 Institutional Background

2.3.1 Administrative Machinery

The political structure was divided into three levels. At the top was the Emperor, escorted by eunuchs, his personal palace staff, and ceremonial officials. Under the Emperor were two chief councils: the cabinet (which was a policy-making body), and the Grand Council (which was a consultative body). In practice, the Emperor held ultimate power; however, where the Emperor was too young or impotent, the power would rest in the hands of his relatives, or those near him.

The Administration was governed by two branches. The Civil Administration consisted of six ministries which oversaw the matters of rites, interior, punishments, public works, official personnel affairs, and wars, respectively. Independent departments such as the Imperial Censorate were also established to examine various government affairs. In general, the size of the Administration varied from time to time according to different administrative needs. Since there were no constitution nor concrete guidelines, an official of a department could hold power over other departments providing he was the Emperor's acquaintance or had connections in the political inner circle.

The Military Administration usually consisted of the Palace Guard and the Armed Forces, which were located in several strategic sites and along the borders. However, during
the Manchu Qing Dynasty (1644-1912 A.D.), the Manchu’s Eight Banners Force\textsuperscript{13} became the central army and superintended military affairs. Under its control was the Green Battalion of Chinese, Mongolians, and other volunteers and local corps for the purpose of keeping internal order.

When at war, the Bannermen showed their fighting ability; when peace came, they became privileged parasites. Demoralization also caused the Green Battalion men to become countryside bandits, or worse. This phenomenon contributed to the rise of the Secret Society activities, which provided an alternative for unemployed and ambitious men.

2.3.2 Provincial and Local Governments
Under the Central government, the second level of the political structure was the provincial government. China was divided into provinces, the number varying depending upon administrative needs. In general, a centralized government would be a three-level administrative body: provincial, prefect, and county. In contrast, a decentralized government would consist of provincial and county levels only.

Below the county level, there was no formal village or town administration. Government of these units was taken over by the local non-official gentry. However, if a Prefect or County Magistrate happened to be resident of such

\textsuperscript{13} The Eight Banners represented the eight tribes within the Manchu ethnicity. They are: the Solid Red, the Solid Yellow, the Solid Blue, the Solid White, the Bordered Red, the Bordered Yellow, the Bordered Blue, and the Bordered White.
units, he would take the administrative responsibility.

In theory, there was a basic unit of local self-government which was called the "Baojia" System. It was a registration of persons within a given area (village or town) through a systematic grouping of households into large units. This was a household's record for the purpose of taxation.

2.3.3 Gentry Government

The class of gentry, defined by its title, which literally meant scholar, was not a hereditary, but an academic class, attained through examinations. Students who passed the preliminary level would become members of the gentry but of lower status, and students who passed the provincial level or the subsequent levels would obtain higher status. Once a man acquired gentry status, he could enter a world of privilege and influence. The gentry were protected against insults from commoners and against interference from local officials. Moreover, only they could attend official ceremonies in the Confucian temples. They wore black gowns with blue borders, and decorated their saddles and reins with splendid articles (Hsu: 1983, 72). To be prosecuted for a

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14 Under this system, ten households would be grouped into a row headed by a Row Leader; ten rows would be grouped into a "Jia" headed by a Neighbourhood Chief; and ten "Jia" would be grouped into a "Bao" headed by a Local Constable (English Department of the Beijing Foreign Languages Institute: 1992, 21). The main duty of the group leaders was to oversee domestic affairs. Being a respectable and knowledgeable class, the gentry usually took this responsibility.
crime, they first had to be stripped of their title by the Education Commissioner. If a local magistrate, who held equal social status as gentry, had prosecuted or punished a member of gentry without consulting the Commissioner, he would be punished or impeached.

Although they were privileged, the gentry were not part of the ruling bureaucracy. They were the intermediary agency between the magistrates and the local communities. They settled domestic or personal disputes through persuasion, promoted the welfare and interest of their localities, and protected their areas in times of disturbance. Their personal acquaintances and close association with the area gave the gentry a powerful position between the government and the commoners.

2.3.4 Class Structure and Social Stratification

Chinese society has never been simply a structure of the ruling and the ruled. Being rulers, the Emperor and his relatives were the uppermost of the noble class, while the bureaucratic scholars were the lowest. Under this central system, the society was stratified into four occupations which reflected its priorities: scholars, farmers, workers or craftsmen or artisans, and merchants. Below them were the dishonoured occupations such as musicians, actors, prostitutes, domestic servants, slaves, government office runners, beggars, physicians, dancers, and other types of entertainers.
Though stratified, the society was egalitarian since there was no caste system. The social ladder for upward mobility was open to everyone, except those classified as dishonoured, whose descendants for three generations were prohibited to attend any civil examinations (Hsu: 1983, 71). Since scholars were highly respected, people valued literary excellence above everything, and the successful passing of the civil examinations formed, and still forms, the basis for recognition. Although merchants were at the bottom of the social scale, they were the wealthiest class. This was reflected in the literati's fear of the economic power of the merchants.

The onset of westernization during the nineteenth century affected the basic form of the class structure. Industrialization and urbanization brought forth a new class which grew in response to the needs of foreign trade and diplomacy. This class consisted of entrepreneurs who served as intermediaries between foreign and Chinese firms, sons of the reformist literati who were sent abroad to study Western technology and ideology, and Christian converts who were educated by the missionaries. On the one hand, the new class gradually pushed aside the traditional Confucian concepts; on the other hand, it strengthened the secret society's power to overthrow the Manchu Court.  

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15 The Father of China, Dr. SUN Min (M.-D.), better known as SUN Yixian (or SUN Yatsen) for Western scholars, or SUN Zhongshan for the Chinese, who led the Revolution of 1911 to overthrow the Manchu Dynasty and terminated the Chinese monarchy, was reportedly a member of the San
Traditionally, the Chinese economy relied heavily on agriculture. The need for manpower put men into a superior position and women into an inferior position. In general, the Chinese women were classified into two categories: good, decent family girls who followed the Confucian teachings of social order, and prostitutes. They enjoyed no social privileges and were restrained psychologically by the idea of "A woman who possesses no abilities is virtuous", and physically by the practice of foot-binding. It was not until the late nineteenth century that they were gradually released from these feudalistic ideas and were recognized as one of the forces to strengthen the nation.

2.3.5 Kinship and Family

People have a tendency to group together. In general, these groupings can be categorized as those related by blood—such as kinship and family, those related by location—such as neighbourhood, and those related by occupation. Among them, blood relationship is the most natural and primitive. Chinese talked about five ethical relations, which are the king to his ministers, father to son, husband to wife, brother to brother, and friends to one another. Out of the five, three are blood-related; and for the remaining two: the king and his ministers were treated as father and son, and friends as brothers. Therefore, ostensibly, all five were blood-related. Without this system of kinships and

Francisco-based Zhiqong Tang. For details of the Tangs, see Appendix E.
relatives, Chinese society, let alone its ethical and moral systems, could not be formed.

The basic unit of the Chinese society was the family rather than the individual. Within the family, respect was claimed and given with regard to seniority and sex — the older members enjoyed a higher status than the younger, and the male members more than the female. The family head was the father, who had complete authority over other members and was the final decision-maker upon any household issue. Women and youth usually played a more important role in poorer families since they had to share the burden of supporting the families. Women and youth of richer families lived a more luxurious life but enjoyed less freedom since they were more restrained by the Confucian doctrines.

Families of common ancestral lineage who settled in a certain area formed a clan. A clan leader, who was generally an older and respected member, managed clan affairs [such as the maintenance of clan property and of the ancestral hall], settled disputes among clan members, and rewarded and punished clan members. All disputes were handled in the ancestral hall in the presence of all members so that examples could be set publicly. In other words, clannish organizations, like the non-official gentry, served as extensions of official power. Besides, being a respectable class, members of the gentry might serve as the leaders of their own clan, which gave them more power than the local magistrates, who needed them to maintain social order.
2.4 Manchu Conquest

The Ming Dynasty, which came into power in 1368, had long passed its prosperous period and had entered into a state of rapid decline. Tyrannical domination, moral degradation, and high taxes brought an end to the Ming Court. Taking advantage of this dynastic cycle, the Manchus, a minority in the northeast, rose to challenge the Ming government, and in 1644 established a new dynasty which was to last until 1911.

Historically, the Manchus were a nomadic tribe, living in what is today's Manchuria, where they existed by hunting and fishing. They had their own language and way of life which was perceived as primitive by the Chinese standard. They shaved the forehead and wore a queue, later an official style for all citizens. Those who did not do so would be punished or executed. Given this harsh penalty, the Chinese who did not want to be assimilated fled to the Buddhist temples, where they could proclaim themselves as monks, and shaved the whole head. Being the most famous and influential monastery, the Shaolin Temple became a safe haven for dissidents and Secret Society members.

2.5 Regional Militarism

After the downfall of the Manchu Court, regional militarism was dominant during the early twentieth century. Regional armies were created in the 1850's and 1860's to combat the Taiping Rebellion\(^\text{16}\) and other rebel forces attempting to

\(^{16}\) The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom (1851-1864), established by
overthrow the government or disturbing the borders. Internally, these armies were unified by personal loyalty and subsequently became private militia of the commanders-in-chief.

During the late Manchu Dynasty, the Administration created the North Sea Naval Force under the pressure of the reformists who had urged the government to build a modern army to protect the nation. When YUAN Shikai was in charge, the Naval Force was the Manchu Court's, or even China's, strongest army. The republican force, with the assistance of Secret Society members, successfully overthrew the Qing government; however, the Naval Force, controlled by Yuan, played a crucial role in eliminating the Manchu Court.

The republican force established the Republic of China in Nanjing (or Nanking in Wade and Giles spelling) in 1912 with SUN Yat-sen as the temporary president. However, its own force could not overpower Yuan's Naval Force and the regional armies. To avoid civil war, Sun compromised with Yuan and made possible Yuan's supremacy as China's first republican president. After Yuan's death, the Naval Force broke apart into several factions which fought against the republican force and the regional armies.

HONG Xiuquan during the Taiping Revolution, was the largest of the peasant uprisings in China's history. The Qing government could barely suppress it except with the assistance of foreign troops, which were also concerned with protecting the lives of their own people.
In sum, China had a homogeneous social system guided by the Confucian principles as well as other heterodoxies such as Daoism and Buddhism. Under the influence of these ideologies, Chinese society was formed. Not only did these ideologies provide a means for the people to cultivate their minds, they also provided a structural formation for the people to organize themselves against repression. The institutional structure, which gave the gentry a powerful position between the government and the commoners, also enabled ambitious individuals to pursue their personal interests. In a society characterized by internal struggle for advancement and security, and a lack of institutions to protect the individuals, the control of power and monetary gain became important for the underprivileged. This set in motion the creation of the Chinese Secret Society. As regional warlords fighting one another for the control of the country, and foreign powers competing for supremacy over parts of China's land and wealth, a turmoil was created which disrupted the existing social order and nourished the growth of secret organizations. The next chapter will discuss the creation of the Chinese Secret Society and how it functioned in regard to social changes.
Chapter III

GENESIS OF THE CHINESE SECRET SOCIETY

3.1 Legends of the Chinese Secret Society

The origins of the Chinese Secret Society have been studied by Chinese and Western scholars. The conclusions can be categorized into eight interpretations: 1. "the Society was engineered by Ming government officials and patriots [Zhu Shunshui, Gu Tinglin, Huang Lizhou, Wang Chuanshan, Pu Qingzhu, and Shi Kefa] during the late Ming Dynasty"; 2. "the Society was established by Zheng Zhilong"; 3. "the Society was set up at the beginning of the Emperor Kangxi reign"; 4. "the Society was established by Zheng Chenggong"; 5. "the Emperor Kangxi Jiayin Year (1674 A.D.)"

17 In this version, Gu, because of his scholastic reputation, was believed to be the creator of the Society.

18 According to Shuai (1956: 100), Zheng Zhilong was a merchant who was married to a Japanese woman. Zheng later became an army commander during the late Ming Dynasty. When the Manchus came, he betrayed his government to the Manchus. However, because of his inability to persuade his son Zheng Chenggong to give himself up to the Manchus, Zheng Zhilong was executed by his new superiors.

19 For details of the Manchu Emperors, see Appendix B.

20 Zheng Chenggong, son of Zheng Zhilong, who fought against the Manchu troops from his home - Taiwan - until his death. However, Zheng's ambition to recover the mainland was destroyed by his grandson Zheng Keshuang who surrendered to the Kangxi Emperor.
version: 6. the "Emperor Yongzheng Jiayin Year (1734 A.D.)" version; 7. the "thirty-second-year of the Emperor Qianlong reign (1763 A.D.)" version; and, 8. the "twenty-sixth-year of the Emperor Qianlong reign (1762 A.D.)" version (Qin: 1996, 92).

The study of the origins of the Chinese Secret Society involves the questions of by whom, when, where, and why the Society was established. The current interpretations are handed down by mouth or in codified form, or are basically embodied in government documents and informal documents. Based on these accounts, it is difficult to draw a definitive conclusion. In the following section, the discussion will be summarized into two versions - the "Kangxi" version and the "Qianlong" version - which have been the centre of debate for historians.

3.1.1 The "Kangxi" Version

This version of the Society's traditional accounts has been the most publicly accepted. A group of patriotic officials formed a secret organization aimed at recruiting followers to clean up the corrupt Ming government and to prevent the

\[21\] The Chinese calendar consists of permutations of the ten Heavenly Stems (or the Decimal Cycle) - Jia, Yi, Bing, Ding, Wu, Ji, Geng, Xin, Ren, and Gui; and the twelve Earthly Branches (or the Duodecimal Cycle) - Zi, Chou, Yin, Mao, Chen, Si, Wu, Wei, Shen, You, Xu, and Hai. This "Jiazi" System, otherwise known as "Ganzhi", makes a complete cycle of sixty years.

\[22\] For details of the Manchu Emperors, see Appendix B.

\[23\] For details of the Manchu Emperors, see Appendix B.
downfall of the Ming Court. But this move was too late. The peasant LI Zicheng had launched a rebellion, as a consequence of which the last Ming Emperor committed suicide.

A Ming General, WU Sanguai, who did not want a peasant to seize the throne, invited the Manchus to drive out the peasant rebels. The Manchu's troops suppressed the rebellion, but refused to retreat and established their Qing Dynasty instead. Notwithstanding the powerful Manchus, the secret organization continued to recruit members and raise rebellions.

During a rebellion, the rebel commander, WANG Yunlong, was killed and his followers sought refuge in the Shaolin Monastery. One of WANG's officials, CHEN Jinnan, or CHEN Yonghua, fled to the Baihedong or "White Stork Grotto" (Morgan: 1960, 31), where he began to engineer a secret society.

In the 1600's, Emperor Kangxi appealed for volunteers to counter the intrusion of a minority, known as the Kalmuks, on the western borders. The abbot of the Shaolin Monastery gathered one hundred and twenty-eight monks to enlist for government service. Several months later, the volunteers drove the Kalmuks out and were rewarded by the Emperor. However, two government officials were envious of the

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24 Some scholars argue that the invaders were Inner Mongolians, some say Tibetans. Another version says they should be Russians, whose Chinese pronunciation of Lusi was misinterpreted with the pronunciation of the Kalmuks, which was Silu.

25 The number of volunteers has been questioned by various scholars.
rewards given to the monks, so they persuaded Emperor Kangxi that the monastery was a safe haven for the rebels. Fearing the fighting ability of the monks, Emperor Kangxi decided to burn down the Shaolin Monastery. Only five monks - CAI Dezhong, PANG Dahong, HU Dedi, MA Chaoxing and LI Shikai - were able to escape the destruction.²⁶

When the monks were on the way to Guangdong (or Canton) Province, they were attacked by a Manchu troop. With the assistance of five Ming supporters - WU Tiancheng, PANG Wei-cheng, ZHANG Jingzhi, YANG Zhangyou and LIN Dajiang -²⁷ the monks escaped again and continued the journey. In Guangdong Province, five monks - WU Tianyou, HONG Dasui, YAO Bida, LI Shidi and LIN Yongchao -²⁸ from other monasteries joined them. The group decided to flee to Fujian (or Fukien in Wade and Giles spelling) Province where the Ming supporters still held a stronghold.

When the group reached Fujian, they were taken to CHEN Jinnan. After several meetings between Chen and the monks, Chen decided to establish a secret society, since the destruction of the Shaolin Monastery could attract more members. On the 25th day of the seven-month in the Jiajin Year (Su: 1940, 10), Chen conducted a mass ceremony at which

²⁶ The five monks were later worshipped as the First Five Ancestors.

²⁷ These supporters were later worshipped as the Second Five Ancestors.

²⁸ These five monks were later worshipped as the Late Five Ancestors.
officials were selected and all participants swore an oath to overthrow the Manchu Qing Dynasty and to restore the Chinese Ming Dynasty. Since the first regnal year of the first Ming Emperor was "Hongwu", the members decided to refer to themselves as members of the Hong Family or Hong League (Su: 1940, 11).

3.1.2 The "Qianlong" Version

The supporters of the "Kangxi" version draw their argument from the standpoint of ethnic contradiction between the Chinese and the Manchus. Therefore, "Overthrow the Qing and restore the Ming" was the political motivation and purpose of the establishment of the Secret Society. Besides, these supporters argue that since the Society was a politically oriented organization, the date of establishment ought to be during the Emperor Kangxi reign during which the Manchus had taken total control of China and public rebellions were ineffective.

However, contemporary historians say the facts in the "Kangxi" version are fragmented and the accounts of the Society's establishment appear to be more legend than truth (Qin: 1986, 93-94). These scholars rely heavily on the Manchu government documents. They analyze the emergence of the Society as a historical incident from a perspective other than ethnic conflict.

According to the "Qianlong" version, the Society caught the attention of the Manchu government in 1769 because of a
rebellion in Zhangpu, Fujian Province (Qin: 1986, 30). During the suppression, the authorities seized various documents and banners. Fearing the rebels might be connected to a secret organization, Emperor Qianlong ordered local officials to conduct a massive investigation. Based on the testimony of numerous captives, the Governor and the Provincial Military Governor of the Fujian Province reported to the Emperor that a secret society was established by ZHENG Kai [better known as Monk Tixi, TU Xi, or Monk Hong Er] in the twenty-six-year of the Qianlong reign (Qin: 1986, 37) which is the year 1762.

With the findings from the official documents, scholars maintain that before 1762, Monk Tixi was believed to have gone with his friends to Sichuan Province where they swore as blood-brothers. Later, a monk named MA Jiulong joined them with ideas of setting up an underground organization. Monk Tixi took the example of other secret organizations and established the Secret Society in 1762, with its own regulations and secret signs. In 1763, Monk Tixi went back to Zhangpu, Fujian Province, and started recruitment (Qin: 1986, 93).

The "Qianlong" version supporters maintain that most members were from the peasant or lower classes (Qin: 1986, 95). In order to understand these members' motives to revolt against the government, scholars utilized theories of economic development and class struggle to interpret this phe-
nomenon. The scholars contend that, after the Manchus took complete control, the Chinese and Manchu landowners joined forces. This consequently widened the gap between the haves and have-nots. In order to make a living, the underprivileged joined together and established various organizations by means of the traditional sworn brotherhood. As a result, secret associations sprang up all over. The Secret Society, though comparatively prominent, was not the only secret association (Qin: 1986, 95, 98-100).

To conclude, the "Kangxi" and "Qianlong" versions provide new avenues in the study of the Society. However, the evidence presented requires further research. The following discussion will focus on the formal structure of the Society in relation to different social conditions.

3.2 Organization of the Chinese Secret Society

The Chinese of older generations may remember the phrase "Sick Men of East Asia" given to them by the Japanese militarists during the 1920's. However, the decline of the Chinese empire went way back to the reign of Emperor Jiaqing (1796-1820) after which the formerly slow-changing society started to experience numerous changes - foreign imperialism, regional militarism, Republican-Communist confrontation, the First and Second World Wars, and the Communist supremacy. As one of the social institutions, the Secret Society changed ideologically and structurally in relation

29 For details of the Manchu Emperors, see Appendix B.
to the social conditions. For convenient analysis, the course of the Society will be divided into four stages: the formations under the Manchu Conquest, the transitional period during the Republican-Communist confrontation, the situation in Hong Kong before World War II, and the situation after the war.

3.2.1 Chinese Secret Society During the Manchu Conquest

3.2.1.1 Purposes and Activities

The powerful Manchu troops ended the military rebellions of the Chinese against the central government. The Society, being defeated by the authorities, was forced to go underground. The Society was then divided into five lodges in different provinces - Fujian, Guangdong, Yunnan, Henan, and Zhejiang (Davis: 1977, 64), where the members continued to spread the Society's ideology and to recruit new members. As years passed by, numerous societies splintered from the original society. Ambitious individuals formed their own organizations in various localities and became a local force.

In general, the political aim of these secret societies was to obtain Chinese independence from barbarian control; but their main political activity was by no means armed rebellion. These societies also served as fraternities for individuals who could not obtain protection from the tradi-

30 Being ethnocentric, the Chinese used to address other racial and ethnical groups as barbarians.
tional social institutions such as family or clan. Poverty [which forced people to go elsewhere looking for jobs] and natural disasters disturbed the customary kinship system. Secret societies, which supplied assistance and protection, provided an avenue for individuals to whom making a living became a priority.

3.2.1.2 Recruitment

Age and Sex: Any individuals who determined to join the secret societies in fighting the Manchus could be eligible for membership. However, there are no available data showing the degree of participation of women and children. Given a male-dominated social system, female and younger members would probably serve as an outer wall of protection or scouts for the male members.

Educational Background: Confucius taught that people must behave in a filial manner to their superiors and be loyal to the Emperor and the nation. Literati, except those who had served or sympathized with the Ming Court, would not likely join the ranks of the secret societies. Being a privileged class, scholars enjoyed more advantages from the political and social systems. However, it was probable that some members of the gentry might have connections with secret societies' members, who acted as musclemen for the gentry to maintain personal interests.

Occupational Background: In principle, membership was open to all regardless of class and status. However, it was
mainly those alienated from social rewards, those hoping to accomplish unmet needs, or ambitious individuals who were enticed to the advantages of joining the secret societies. In other words, people holding dishonoured occupations composed the core of membership. On the other hand, secret societies needed people from the lower classes whose professions were suitable to carry out the particular functions of espionage or liaison.

Methods of Recruitment: Although membership was voluntary, once a man joined a society, he joined for life. Any change of mind on the part of a recruit during or after the initiation ceremony could mean death.

To be a member, a person needed an Introducer to propose him to the society, upon which his credentials would be checked. After the person signed a written application, a date would be set for the initiation ceremony in which he would be assigned to a position. Once he became a member, the recruit would be given a membership certificate (Sun, 1940: 103).

31 For further discussion, see Chapter II under Class Structure and Social Stratification.

32 For detailed discussion, see Oath Thirteen under Oath Taking in Appendix G.

33 Upon entering the society, the recruit needed four sworn brothers: a Benefactor who would provide him with shelter; an Instructor who would teach him the secret hand signals and the society's regulations; a Guarantor who would make sure his record was clean; and an Introducer.
Membership fees would be collected at the initiation ceremony. The fees, in present day currency value, would be equivalent to thirty-six dollars [which symbolized the numbers of heavenly spirits], seventy-two dollars [which symbolized the numbers of earthly spirits], fifty-four dollars [which symbolized five lakes and four seas], and one hundred and eight dollars [which symbolized the numbers of the Water Margin Rebels during the Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1279)]. (Su; 1940, 104).

3.2.1.3 Structure

The organizational structure of the Secret Society [and the subsequent societies] was copied from the Water Margin Rebels, among whom all decisions were made in the Hall of Loyalty and Righteousness. A typical formation was shown in Table 1 (Zhang; 1979, 26-27).

In essence, a new recruit could be appointed to any position in the Eight Outer Departments only depending upon his character, reputation, social status and knowledge. Once he became a member, promotion would be based on the member's merits and contributions to the society. Besides, the legends told of several male traitors whose names were in the forms of number four or seven; therefore, the fourth and seventh positions in the Outer Departments were reserved to female members. In case of conflict with other societies, a Special Character Master would be assigned by the Inner Departments to handle the disputes (Shuai; 1956, 233).
**Table 1: Organizational Structure**

**Chief of Brigands**
- Deputy Chief of Brigands

**Eight Inner Departments:**
- Incense Master or Inspector-General
- Senior Prime Minister
- Alliance Master
- Junior Prime Minister
- Cabinet Minister
- Executive Master
- Ritual Master
- Penal Master

**Seal Protector**
- Sword Protector

**Eight Outer Departments:**
- Deputy Inspector-General (responsible for the Capital) or Elder Brother
- Deputy Inspector-General (responsible for areas outside the Capital) or 2nd Elder Brother
- Guidance or 3rd Elder Brother
- Administrator or 5th Elder Brother
- Patrol (responsible for the headquarters) or 6th Elder Brother
- Sentinel (responsible for the territory) or 8th Elder Brother
- Gate-keeper (responsible for all entrances to the territory) or 9th Elder Brother
- Youngest Brother or 10th Elder Brother

**Ordinary member**

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3.2.1.4 **Rituals and Sanctions**

Without strong loyalty and strict disciplines among its members, a secret society could hardly survive. In order to achieve cohesion, a society relied heavily on ritualistic ceremonies which stressed the importance of internal solidarity and the maintenance of secrecy. These psychological means were more effective among the
largely illiterate, frequently superstitious and oppressed people who formed the majority of secret society membership (Davis: 1977, 125).

In contrast to rituals, sanctions were the physical means to maintain cohesion. These sanctions were introduced primarily to reduce internal conflict. Secret societies could not afford to have members who took their personal interests (whether be it political, economic or sexual) at the expense of the collective aimed at overthrowing the government.

3.2.2 Chinese Secret Societies During the Republican-Communist Confrontation

Secret Societies, being honoured for their participation in the Republic Revolution of 1911, were able to operate without interference from the authorities after that time. Following the collapse of the Manchu Empire, the primary political goal no longer existed. Instead, the societies became local brigands who provided organizational power and reputation for regional militarists, politicians, landowners, and literati gentry to pursue personal gains. With the exception of some, who were fighting the regional warlords, most secret societies had become criminal organizations.

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34 For details of the rules and sanctions of the Chinese Secret Society, see Appendix G.
3.2.2.1 Purposes and Activities

On the one hand, certain societies were still politically oriented. Their aims were to obtain national unity by means of fighting the regional warlords. Several societies retained their alliances with the Republican government, but some turned to other political organizations such as the Communists.\(^35\) On the other hand, secret societies which were criminally oriented attached themselves to various illicit businesses for which the main concern was power and monetary gains.

3.2.2.2 Recruitment

**Age and Sex:** Membership was still open to all. However, women and younger members gradually held less responsibilities.

**Educational Background:** Having participated in the revolution, secret societies were recognized by the Republic government. The societies became legitimate associations and membership to these societies was considered one of the social ladders by the populace.

**Occupational Background:** Besides the underprivileged, joining the ranks of secret societies were those from rural districts who were later alienated by the urban life, discredited soldiers who were tired of fighting, and treaty-

\(^35\) According to Schram (1966: 769), MAO Zedong (the Father of New, or Communist, China) and ZHU De (the founder of Red Army) had a close relationship with the Red Spear Society and the Elder Brothers Society prior the Communist supremacy.
port entrepreneurs who joined with a view to turn the secret societies to their own advantage. As Unger points out:

even major bandits sought membership in the secret societies so as to secure alliances, mediate disputes, and procure 'fences' for stolen property. Through the societies, they cemented their links not only with the world beyond their own base-territories, but also with dissenting elements within the local villages (1975: 95).

Methods of Recruitment: Besides voluntary enlistment, some secret societies utilized illegal alternatives to obtain members. Since membership fees were required, certain secret societies considered this as one source of revenue. Among the frequently used alternatives were blackmail, physical threat, or kidnapping.

3.2.2.3 Structure

As the societies became more business oriented, the traditional format was too complicated. Therefore, a somewhat simplified structure was employed as shown in Table 2 (Zhang: 1979, 27).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2: Organizational Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Incense Master</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Elder Brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Elder Brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th Elder Sister (or Golden Phoenix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th Elder Brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th Elder Brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th Elder Sister (or Silver Phoenix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th Elder Brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th Elder Brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Youngest Brother or 10th Elder Brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordinary member</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Rituals and Sanctions

As personal interests became more important than the collective concern, sanctions were the only deterrent to more independent members. Rituals still played a significant role in maintaining loyalty and the importance of keeping the code of silence. However, it was probable that the criminal-oriented societies would have their own interpretation of the regulations so as to constrain members to their advantages.

In the first decade of the twentieth century, secret societies were still able to enter the political arena with SUN Min's republicans, who needed the Society's historical reputation to recruit members. As the years passed, secret societies were no longer attractive to literati or politicians. With increasing corruption in the Republic government, people were forced to seek remedies to reform the nation. Communism, which was one of the imports of westernization, became particularly popular. The Communist ideologies, which aimed at the underprivileged classes, gradually attracted the poverty-stricken peasants and the still-militant secret societies. However, when Mao and his comrades established the People's Republic of China in 1949, the secret societies disintegrated. Those once time alliances were considered feudal and reactionary (Schram: 1966, 10). As a result, the secret societies survive today in Hongkong and other sizable Chinese communities overseas as
criminal organizations similar to the notorious Italian Mafia.

3.2.3 Chinese Secret Society in Hongkong Before World War II

According to old-time members, the first secret society in Hongkong was established in the early nineteenth century by a fish seller named A Xiang, who was a member of one of the Guangdong Province's secret societies. Due to increasing conflict among colleagues, A Xiang utilized his knowledge of secret societies to establish one in Hongkong so that the disputes could be settled by negotiation rather than bloodshed. However, this set an example for other businesses and numerous societies sprang up all over the island. Consequently, what was a personal dispute could become a gang war. Since the problem was enlarged, a society's leader then initiated the unification of all conflicting societies. As a result, those who agreed to join came together and formed the "He" Group, in which each added the word "He" to its own name.

36 After the Opium War (1840-1842), the Manchu government signed the Treaty of Nan'jian (or Nanking) in which Hongkong, which literally means Incense Port, became a British territory.

37 "He" literally means union.

38 For further discussion of the secret societies in Hongkong, see Appendix F.
3.2.3.1 Purposes and Activities
Secret societies in Hongkong before the Second World War were mostly voluntary fraternal associations. Their chief purpose was to provide members with mutual aid or protection. The societies acted as intermediate agencies among members as well as between other societies in settling disputes. However, when violence was necessary, the societies would not hesitate, since loosing "face" was considered more dishonourable than losing a fight.

3.2.3.2 Recruitment

Age and Sex: Young single male adults, who had no family ties, composed the core of membership.

Educational Background: Since the population consisted of newly-arrived immigrants who originated from the lower classes of mainland China, illiterates would be the majority among members.

Occupational Background: As a treaty-port, the main occupation in Hongkong was "coolies" or transportation workers. Together with these coolies and others such as hawkers, who were trying to make a living, the criminal elements became the primary supply to the societies' membership.

Methods of Recruitment: Since the societies provided members with mutual aid and protection, voluntary enlistment and persuasion were commonly practiced. However, if these failed, the criminally oriented societies would employ ille-

39 A Chinese expression of honour, dignity, and respect from others.
gal alternatives such as physical threat to maintain revenues.

3.2.3.3 Structure

Although the Secret Society had a consensus framework, most societies would operate differently with regard to the local customs. As the majority of the Hongkong population was Cantonese, the secret societies' structure was somewhat similar to their mainland counterparts. The structure was more bureaucratic and was formulated as in Table 3 (Morgan: 1960, 96-101).

Similar to the Italian Mafia, each sub-branch was considered as a family. Branches, or families, which agreed to join together would elect several respected figures to chair the headquarters branch, which was similar to a Mafia Commission. The main role of the headquarters was to settle disputes among families and among other groups.

Once a recruit joined a society, he could be an ordinary member or be immediately appointed to the ranks of Enforcer, Counsellor, or Liaison Officer. Since the three official ranks were equivalent, a member once being promoted as, say, Enforcer, could not become a Counsellor or Liaison Officer. The only promotion beyond these ranks was Deputy Leader or Leader, or to be elected to the headquarters. In general, members used to identify themselves by code number rather than rank. And membership fees had become a means of

* Each number symbolized a different meaning. For 489: 4+8+9=21, which was said to be the upper part of the Chi-
### Table 3: Organizational Structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Official Ranks</th>
<th>Code Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leader</td>
<td>499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deputy Leader</td>
<td>438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incense Master</td>
<td>439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanguard</td>
<td>438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double-Flowered Enforcer</td>
<td>438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enforcer (or Red Pole)</td>
<td>426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counsellor (or Paper Fan)</td>
<td>415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liaison Officer (or Grass Sandal)</td>
<td>432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordinary member</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candidate</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Double-Flowered Enforcers were bodyguards to the Leaders. However, the Chaozhou Group preferred the Buddhist-term "Four Buddha's Warriors". Candidates were usually referred to as Blue Lantern, which was a symbol of being born-again.

### ORGANIZATIONAL PLAN

HEADQUARTERS BRANCH

- Leader or Elder Brother
- Deputy Leader (optional)
- Incense Master and Vanguard

SUB-BRANCHES

- Leader
- Deputy Leader
- Ordinary Member
- Candidate

The Chinese character "Hong". For 439: the "4" represented "We Are Brothers of the Four Seas"; the "3" represented the left part of the character "Hong"; and the "8" represented the bottom part of the character. For 426: $4 \times 26 + 4 = 108$ which was the strength of the Water Margin Rebels. For 415: $4 \times 15 + 4 = 64$ which was the number of divinatory symbols in the Classic of Changes. For 432: $4 \times 32 + 4 = 132$ which was said to be the actual number of volunteers from the Shaolin Monastery to fight the Kalmuks. For 49: $4 \times 9 = 36$ which was the number of oaths in the Chinese Secret Society (Morgan: 1960, 102-103).
extortion.

3.2.3.4 Rituals and Sanctions

Ritualistic ceremonies and the maintenance of sanctions were still regarded as important to group cohesion. Although the procedures might be less complicated, traditions such as burning yellow papers, sharing wine mixed with blood, and swearing oaths were maintained (Zhang: 1979, 88).

3.2.4 Chinese Secret Society in Hongkong After World War II

3.2.4.1 Purposes and Activities

As time went by, most older members gradually retired. Individuals who moved in to fill the vacuum were younger or reckless members who did not know much about the traditional Secret Society. Power and profit were all that concerned them.

During the Second World War, secret societies' members reportedly served as the guides for the Japanese invaders. As well, they were blamed for the damages during the Riots of 1956 and 1967.*

* During the 50's and the 60's, Hongkong was a political arena between Communist China and Republican China. On the 10th of October of each year, republican-supporters would celebrate the establishment of the Republic of China; while the communist-supporters would celebrate their own at the 1st of October. In 1956, following an incident in which several Republican flags were torn down from a government building, the Republican government from Taiwan reportedly sent several intelligence agents to Hongkong and engineered a riot to attack any communist-owned business. With the assistance of secret societies' members, the riot was the first to happen in
Since Hong Kong is geographically close to the Golden Triangle, and has played a significant role in the international economy, it becomes one of the major transportation points for the drug lords. Besides gambling and prostitution, drug trafficking is another profitable business. Secret societies nowadays also control certain legitimate businesses, such as building construction and public transportation, which are used as fronts for their criminal activities.

3.2.4.2 Recruitment

Age and Sex: Members are mostly in their teens or early twenties. They are either fascinated by the legends of the traditional society, motivated by the psychological needs of being a member, or need protection or alliances with the societies. Several female organizations had been reported (Morgan: 1960, 306; Robertson: 1977, 124; and Zhang: 1979, 285-289), but they were only affiliated to the major criminal societies and did not show significant participation.

Educational Background: Since the Hong Kong government has a compulsory high school system, most youngsters are able to have some schooling. However, members are mainly high school dropouts. With the increase of immigrants from mainland China, secret societies become an alternative for

Hong Kong history. The Riot of 1967 was basically a response from the communist-supporters to the Cultural Revolution (1967-1977) staged by Chairman Mao. The chaotic environment provided conditions for the secret societies' members to prey on the citizens.
the ambitious and newly-arrived settlers.

Occupational Background: Since the majority of membership are younger persons, most of them are still in school. Certain members may act as "professional students" who enroll in several schools in order to recruit young women as prostitutes.

Methods of Recruitment: Although voluntary enlistment still exists, forced recruitment by means of physical threats is more frequent. In general, schools, poolrooms, and discos are the primary locations for recruitment. Usually, membership fees would be collected in the amount of HK$36.42 which symbolizes the numbers of heavenly spirits. However, for members joining the society with a purpose such as to obtain protection, the amount would be tenfold or higher (Zhang: 1979, 86).

3.2.4.3 Structure

Recent structure of the secret societies is basically as a business firm. In order to maintain the mysterious image, a customary formation, as shown in Table 4, is still utilized, but with certain variations (Zhang: 1979, 83 & 108).

Broken down, each society becomes like a personal business organization. In case of conflict with other groups, the solution is usually violence. Headquarters or commissions of the groups gradually wither away and the role of

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42 This symbolic sum is derived from the societies' saying of "If we need you, you pay HK$36; if you need us, you pay HK$360 (HK$3,600 or higher)." However, other sources maintain that the figure should be HK$36.60.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Official Ranks</th>
<th>Code Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Incense Master</td>
<td>439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 2 Commander</td>
<td>438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double-Flowered Enforcer</td>
<td>426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enforcer (or Red Pole)</td>
<td>426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counsellor (or Paper Fan)</td>
<td>415</td>
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<td>Liaison Officer (or Grass Sandal)</td>
<td>432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordinary member</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candidate (or Blue Lantern)</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Organizational Plan**
- Chairman (or Zhuguan)
- Treasurer
- Staff
- Ordinary member
- Candidate

Arbitration falls on the shoulders of several respected older members.

In general, each society is on its own, with the Chairman making all decisions. Since societies' activities involve violence, the Chairman is usually selected from among the Enforcers, who have some kind of martial arts training. As the role of Enforcers became important, the other two ranks [Counsellors and Liaison Officer] became comparatively less significant. As Counsellors, they kept the membership records and were in charge of the society's funds. However, recent societies seldom have such a reserve fund and due to increasing pressure from the police, keeping membership records would be troublesome. Despite this, the role of the Liaison Officer gradually falls into the hands of the ordi-
ary members. Although these two ranks, Counsellor and Liaison Officer, are not totally diminished, they only act as a consultative body or even become subordinates to the leader who has the same rank as them.

3.2.4.4 Rituals and Sanctions

After the Riot of 1956, the criminal activities of the members greatly alarmed authorities. Besides launching massive crackdowns, the police also formed special divisions to reveal the nature of the secret societies (Morgan: 1960, xvii-xviii). On the one hand, this intensive action defused the popular view of the secret societies and made the older members understand that the societies were not acting in the traditional way. On the other hand, increasing police surveillance forced the secret societies to go underground. Therefore, to operate a weighty ceremony would be an invitation to the police. Consequently, ritualistic ceremonies had to be abandoned, performed on a remote island, or done in a most efficient way (Zhang: 1979,91-91).

Sanctions are not a deterrent any more. The control of members relies heavily upon the ability of the Chairman. Besides, nowadays members have more freedom in quitting or choosing new societies.\(^3\) However, the code of silence is

\(^3\) A source suggests that to change society, a member must have permission from both new and old societies' Leaders; without such mutual agreement, the two societies will engage in gang violence. Members who want to quit have to beat several fighters, who are assigned by the Leader, if they are in the rank of Enforcers; or pay certain amount of money to the society if they are in the ranks of Counsellors and Liaison Officer, or lower.
still strictly imposed and those who reveal the secrets of the societies are punished severely.

To conclude, the chaos of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries nourished a reformist movement. However, what had been a crusade against a corrupt government created organizations which preyed upon the people and the society at large. Poverty and the uncertainty of the nation's future drove people to seek a more habitable environment. These emigrants settled on all continents in search for a suitable place to restart their lives. The advantage of grouping together enabled the secret societies to live along with the law-abiding citizens.

Since the Chinese are the majority in Hongkong, the secret societies enjoy much greater power there. The cultural differences and higher positions in the government of the British officials made it much harder for them to maintain contact with the lower classes. The populace's fear of secret societies, and the eagerness of the members to use violence in order to maintain secrecy nurtured the secret societies. However, the fear of the Communist take-over of Hongkong in 1997 encouraged the secret societies to establish another powerbase. With a relatively large Chinese population, Canada could become one of the prime targets of these criminals. In the following part, the focus will be on the Canadian institutional policies which discriminate against the Chinese immigrants and nourish the growth of the secret societies.
Chapter IV

VISIBLE MINORITY: ADAPTATION OF THE CHINESE IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA

4.1 The Sociology of Ethnic and Racial Relations

The make-up of the Canadian population has from the beginning been characterized as multicultural and multiracial. When Europeans first came to this vast region of North America, Inuit and Amerindian cultures already existed. As subsequent migrations of large numbers of people of diverse origins settled in this area, Canada has evolved as a multi-ethnic society. This diversification of social groups creates a situation in which each ethnicity:

which possesses real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus upon one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of [its] peoplehood (Schermerhorn: 1970, 12)

competes with the others in a larger society.

Industrialization did not only bring new technology and capital into Canada, but large numbers of labourers as well. Over time, when conflict-of-interest over economic goods, power, or prestige intensified, antagonism arose between the dominant and subordinate groups in their encounters with each other. This intergroup relationship became polarized when Canada utilized selective immigration policies to
determine "the conditions under which other groups might enter" (Porter: 1979, 33). Therefore, under this differentiation at the period of entry, ethnic groups:

which are those groups that possess any trait, cultural or physical, that serves as a symbol of the groups' distinctiveness (Schermherhorn: 1970, 12).

other than British and French, are brought into Canada on an "Entrance Status". These new immigrants, who are brought in to serve the society's economic needs, become minority groups:

which form less than one-half the population of their society and are subordinate with regard to the distribution of power in the society (Schermherhorn: 1970, 12).

Consequently, a tension exists between the European settlers who dominate the society's institutions, and the other people who wish that their participation could be recognized or protected by the Canadian society.

The government's unilateral decision making was first challenged by French Canadians who, as one of the Charter Groups besides the British, had been denied equality. In response to the French residents, the government in 1963 established the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, and in 1969 passed the Official Languages Act (Porter: 1979, 105 & 119). The French ideology of nationalism and the determination to survive in an Anglophone society ignited concerns from other ethnic organizations who also made their demands. As a result, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, in October 1971, presented to the House of Commons:
a policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework which was meant to encourage the retention of characteristic cultural features by those ethnic groups which desired to do so, and to encourage the sharing of these features with others in the larger Canadian society (Gardner & Kalin: 1981, 132).

This federal policy, through the official recognition of ethnic linguistic and cultural components, is expected to create mutual respect for all groups, and to help Canadians understand that the strength of the country lies in its diversity.

Ethnic pluralism may enrich Canadian culture, but mixing up the peoples from around the globe in one political framework generates an ideology of racism by which:

some groups attempt to demonstrate that they are inherently superior to others and that it is more than a coincidence that those who are ranked highest controlled the economic process of the society (Porter: 1979, 123).

While the government has made attempts to stop the problem of intergroup conflict from getting worse, the fact remains that prejudice is part of human psychology, and appears whenever human beings interact. As the term implies, prejudice is the pre-judgement of people over one another. When this ideology is transformed into action, discrimination occurs. In the process of discrimination, the racial groups, whose physical traits are easily distinguishable and highly visible, are conceivably to be the prime victims.

Race classification has generally fallen into three categories: the Mongoloid which consists of those people whose
skin colour is yellow or brown, the Negroid which consists of those people whose skin colour is black, and the Caucasoid which consists of those people whose skin colour is white. No matter how one may consider the accuracy of this classification, the distinction of skin colour has denoted a racial differentiation that divides a society up and creates different sets of rights and privileges in regard to a person's ascribed trait. As one of the racial minorities, the Chinese Canadians have been subjected to discrimination, either individually by certain races, or institutionally by the Canadian society. The following section will highlight the discriminatory practices imposed upon the Chinese immigrants during their settlement in Canada.

4.2 From China to Canada: The Chinese Immigrants in Canada

Individual discrimination can range from verbal attack to violent assault. While name calling, telling of jokes centred on one's physical appearance, or inflicting bodily harm may not easily shake a person's determination in settling in a racially divided society, a collective or institutionalized action will. The Chinese immigrants, who are culturally cohesive, emigrated from their poverty-stricken and politically unstable homeland to settle in a totally unfamiliar environment. As a receiving society, the first official sign of welcome by the Canadian government was a set of restrictive regulations and custom taxes. Ultimately, these
policies disillusioned the immigrants' dream of seeking reconstruction of their lives.

Because of domestic turmoils in the homeland, the Chinese had started to emigrate during the early nineteenth century. Most of them were from the provinces of Guangdong and Fujian. These coastal provinces, because of their access to the outside world, were the major suppliers of emigrants. Most of the adventurers chose Southeast Asian countries where the similar climate, the geographic proximity to China, and opportunities for business under European colonial governments proved attractive.

During the mid-nineteenth century, there were sizable Chinese communities throughout Southeast Asia. However, the development of these communities could not accommodate the increasing number of immigrants. Newcomers began seeking other nations with better opportunities. By the 1850s, large numbers of Chinese started to migrate to the Western Hemisphere. In 1858, Canada first recorded the Chinese immigration (Con, et al.: 1992, 5).

The first incident that attracted the Chinese to Canada was the news of gold in the Fraser Valley, British Columbia. However, the first wave of adventurers came mainly from California where the mining industry was declining, and anti-Orientalism began to spread among the white communities. In the early 1860s, as the British Columbia Gold Rush prospered, more Chinese emigrated from China and Hong Kong.44

44 Besides voluntary migration, several Chinese admitted
The willingness of the Chinese settlers to take whatever jobs at whatever wages in order to make a living agitated local politicians who attempted to regulate the influx of Chinese immigrants. In 1860, two years after the Chinese arrival, the House of Assembly of the Colony of Vancouver Island imposed a head tax of CAN$10 on each Chinese in the Colony (Con, et al: 1982, 42). The amount of head tax was later increased to CAN$50 in 1885, CAN$100 in 1900, and CAN$500 in 1903 (Con, et al: 1982, 55-56 & 79).

While their countrymen were goldmining the Fraser Valley, there were numbers of Chinese who were engaged in occupations such as domestic servants, restaurant help, and other menial jobs which the white workers were unwilling to take. This influx of Chinese into the economic market was perceived to pose a threat to the general public and consequently made the provincial government carry out several measures to confine Chinese to certain low status occupations.

Canada was united geographically by the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) in 1885. With the east and west being connected, the anti-Orientalism, which had been confined to British Columbia, began spreading eastward. In 1885, in response to pressure from the provincial government, the Dominion government issued the Act to Restrict and Regulate Chinese Immigrants (Li & Bolaria: 1983, 39). To further the
limitation, the federal government authorized the Chinese Act in 1900, which was enacted in 1902, and a new Chinese Act in 1903 (Con, et al.: 1982, 79). What had been a provincial matter was turned into a federal issue. The Chinese immigrants, either native-born or foreign-born, were being singled out and regulated by a separate immigration policy.

The most devastating effect of institutional discrimination upon the Chinese was the establishment of the Immigration Act of 1923, or better known as the Exclusion Act (Chan: 1982, 53). Although it was repealed in 1947, twenty-five years of frustration and tension had forced many Chinese to consider either to stay in disgrace or to leave Canada for good.

In general, the Chinese in Canada experienced discrimination in the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries, and the easing of discrimination after World World Two. Being members of the Allied Forces, Canadians and Chinese began to know each other better. This not only reduced the stereotype, tension, and misunderstanding between the people, but also created a social environment in which members of diverse origins could work towards a collective good.

One may say the Canadian immigration policy took a long time to change; however, changing people's attitude is not an act but a process. From the Exclusion Act to its repeal, and from the quota system in the 1962 Immigration Act to the
point system in the 1967 Immigration Act, Canada has shown efforts in changing her policies to be more humanitarian. Being a country with a stable economy and a continuously tolerant attitude toward other ethnic minorities, Canada would still make herself attractive to the Chinese emigrants.

4.3 Adaptation of the Chinese Canadians

4.3.1 Settlement Pattern

As the westernmost city of Canada, the Port of Victoria was an important entry for the Chinese settlers. Within several years, a quiet little British town was turned into a busy business district. Of the thousands of Chinese who arrived in British Columbia, the majority travelled to the interior where the goldmining opportunities prevailed. As Hongkong and China became the primary suppliers of emigrants, many of these people, who had no prior mining experience, engaged particularly in trade and service occupations in Victoria. When the city of Vancouver was chosen as the western end of the CPR, it replaced Victoria as a Chinese destination and housed a sizable Chinese community.

The completion of the CPR left many Chinese unemployed. With anti-Orientalism already running high in British Columbia, many Chinese went eastward. During the early twentieth

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45 The point system is virtually an evaluation of an applicant's economic and educational background. The higher the attainment in these areas, the more points an applicant will earn.
century, there were Chinese living in every part of Canada, with the exception of the Yukon and North-West Territories (Con. et al.: 1982, 91), where the harsh weather was intolerable for these warm climate habitants.

Cut off from white society by language, discrimination, and their reluctance to integrate, the Chinese on the frontier in Canada considered themselves sojourners. This lack of a sense of belonging made the Chinese perceive Canada as a second home - a place where they would not settle permanently or even have their bodies buried. However, not all Chinese shared this sojourner attitude. While their countrymen were saving up all their money and hoping to return to China, numbers of Chinese, although in minority, were operating their businesses in white communities and adjusting their lives within the larger society.

The sojourner mentality diminished when the Canadian discriminatory policies eased off and allowed more Chinese to immigrate. Until recently, British Columbia, particularly Vancouver, was the point of destiny for many Chinese because of the warmer climate and an already sizable Chinese community. However, Ontario has become more attractive to the emigrants, especially those from Hongkong. The industrialized and commercialized character of Toronto, which offsets the harsh living under cold winters, is more suitable for the industrious people from Hongkong.\footnote{The 1981 Census showed that Ontario had the largest numbers (118,640 out of the total of 299,245) of Chinese residents. In descending order, it was followed by Brit-}
growing tolerance and with the eagerness of the newcomers to get involved, the Chinese are becoming more capable to adapt to the Canadian society.

4.3.2 Kinship and Family Patterns

The Chinese communities before World War Two were characterized as a society of predominately single males. Very few of the Chinese who came to Canada brought their families with them. Culturally, the hostility and discrimination during the older days discouraged the Chinese from settling permanently, let alone to bring in their wives and children. Economically, the imposed head-tax, which was raised from CAN$10 in 1860 to CAN$500 in 1903, made it difficult for the Chinese to enter Canada. If it was difficult to make their own entry, it would be harder for them to sponsor family members. Besides, as most of the Chinese residents were engaged in low-paying jobs, the economic hardship prevented them from bringing in families. Finally, the enactment of the 1923 Immigration Act, which excluded further entry of Chinese, hindered the development of the Chinese family system. Table 5 shows the population of Chinese Canadians with regard to sex ratio. These data indicate the effects of the immigration policies upon the Chinese demographic distribution.

ish Columbia, 96,915; Alberta, 36,770; Quebec, 19,260; Manitoba, 7,065; Saskatchewan, 6,965; Nova Scotia, 1,540; New Brunswick, 875; Newfoundland, 630; Yukon, 220; North-western Territories, 200; and Prince Edward Island, 165.
Table 5: Population and Sex Ratio of Chinese in Canada, 1881-1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total # of Chinese in Canada</th>
<th>Males per 100 Females</th>
<th>% Native Born</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>4,383</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Mil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>9,129</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Mil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>17,312</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>27,831</td>
<td>2,790</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>39,587</td>
<td>1,533</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>46,519</td>
<td>1,241</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>34,627</td>
<td>785</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>32,529</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>58,197</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>119,815</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>289,245</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Censuses of Canada, 1911-1981. The 1981 data shown that of the total number of Chinese in Canada, 146,330 were males and 142,915 were females. Total number of native-born Chinese was 203,205.

Chinese emigration to Canada before 1947 followed the same pattern; it was common for single males to come to Canada as teenagers, then after a few years to return home to marry. After the usually pre-arranged marriage, they would return to Canada until the next time they could afford another trip home to father children. During this long separation, family contacts were maintained by means of letters and remittances (Con, et al.: 1982, 26 & 154; Li & Bolaria: 1983, 90-91). With the repeal of the Exclusion Act, the government finally allowed the uniting of husbands with their wives and children, most of whom were no better than strangers.
The increase of post-war immigration and the subsequent growth of the second-generation has changed the demographic composition of the Chinese communities. In contrast to the rural background of the early immigrants, the newcomers were more urbanized, might have spent some time in Hongkong or Taiwan, and had one way or another been westernized (Li & Bolaria: 1963, 94; Ramcharan: 1982, 42-43). Their interpretation of family system reflected the features of families under industrialization and contradicted the traditional patriarchal Chinese family.

With both parents working to earn a living, parental influence upon the children was reduced. Since Canada is an open and free country, it was easy for the youngsters to adapt to the independent spirit of the Canadian society and to oppose the rigidities and strict disciplines of the Confucian traditions. In many instances, afraid their children might run away, parents usually compromised with their children rather than risk open conflict.

As more teenagers who were born outside Canada emerged in Chinatowns, the Chinese communities and the Canadian society began facing a new social phenomenon: the Chinese youth problem. These youngsters, having lacked family protection and having been alienated from the white majority as well as from their native-born countrymen, loitered on the streets of Chinatowns. In order to protect themselves, they organized their own protective associations which eventually
became the tools of the secret societies and turned themselves into leeches on the communities.

Interruption of the races was a taboo (Chan: 1932, 67). While the majority Canadians have shown a growing tolerant attitude toward the non-whites, Chinese parents still oppose their children marrying non-Chinese. In some cases, the parents would send the children to Hongkong so that they could learn some traditions and hopefully be married to their own race. Although facing strong pressure for in-group marriage, the younger generations, having lived in a heterogeneous social environment, are increasingly taking inter-racial marriages.

4.3.3 Occupational and Educational Patterns

Given that the vast majority of Chinese who migrated to Canada were of rural origin, and the social environment of the host country was one of hostility and mistrust, the Chinese immigrants were unable to find occupations of any higher social status. While their hard-luck countrymen were performing the menial jobs of miners, railway hands, domestic servants, and labourers, the well-to-do Chinese were able to establish businesses such as restaurants, laundries, and grocery stores. In general, whether they were self-employed or employed, the Chinese took up jobs or businesses which had no direct competition with their white counterparts. In performing such low status occupations, the Chinese could expect to receive more tolerance from the white majority,
and reduce the chance of being the scapegoat during economic recessions.

The quota system of the 1962 Immigration Act and the point system of the 1967 Act, which are used to screen out undesirable applicants, have brought in more Chinese who are better educated and skilled. These newcomers, who are equipped with a higher language ability and a more or less westernized mind, are able to compete with other ethnic groups to obtain a higher socio-economic status. They not only give a face-lift to the old Chinese communities, but also bring this visible minority up the social ladder.

The traditional notion of "education pays off" still plays an important role in the Chinese communities. A survey in 1961, which dealt with ethnic distribution in school, found that Asians had the second highest school attendance (73.6%) following the Jews (84.8%) (Porter: 1979, 58-59). A decade later, John Frott pointed out that in 1971 that "Asian post-war immigrants have very high educational levels" (Porter: 1979, 59).

The Canadian mass education policy not only makes Canada become an education centre, it also prepares the Chinese for the highly professional occupations. However, what is more important is that these younger generations have served as bridges between the older generations, whose language ability and reluctance to integrate prohibit them from par-

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Immigration Statistics showed that during the period from 1967 to 1977, twelve per cent of the Chinese immigrants entered as students (Censuses of Canada: 1911-1981).
ticipating in the majority's social institutions, and the larger Canadian society.

4.3.4 The Chinese Canadian Culture

Being discriminated against, the Chinese of older days used to cling together in a confined locality—namely Chinatown. There they could speak their own languages, and could operate their own clubs, schools, and organizations. The success of this cultural preservation can be seen today in Chinatowns which have become a tourist attraction.

On the one hand, the influx of new immigrants further assists in preserving the old social and cultural institutions. Daily newspapers and magazines are pouring into Chinatowns everyday; Chinese television networks are establishing their branches; and ethnic Chinese foods such as Mongolian and Sichuan style along with the Cantonese foods and the westernized Chinese foods—the chopsuey—can be found in numerous restaurants. On the other hand, along with enriching the traditional culture, the newcomers also appreciate the cultural variety of Canada. They are no longer isolating themselves in Chinatowns which may provide a comfortable environment for those just arrived. They are more eager to accept other cultural values—and adapt themselves to the heterogeneous character of Canada.

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*Chopsuey is a Chinese dish of small pieces of meat fried with rice and vegetables.*
4.4 Chinatown: A Cultural Center or a Chinese Ghetto?

One might be infatuated with the cultural specialities of Chinatowns, the fine cuisine and the justifiably famous dim-sum. However, this cultural distinctiveness also includes the run-down old buildings, smelly streets, overcrowdedness, and cramped sidewalks which are occupied on one side by the stores so they could display more merchandise, and on the other side by unattended garbage. On top of these are the Chinatown vices such as gambling, extortion, and prostitution, which have made Chinatowns a Chinese ghetto.

Chinatowns were established in response to the lack of a social setting where the Chinese could socialize, interact, and satisfy their needs. For the sojourners, the cultural and language barriers created by political discrimination encouraged them to take refuge in the security of their ethnic territory. Chinatowns provided a shelter or barricade to the peoples faced with the threat of the larger society.

Being alienated by the public and trapped in low-paying jobs, most sojourning Chinese had to retreat to their havens where they could share the grievance with their compatriots, and look for entertainments which might make life easier. Gambling,\(^49\) which was perceived as a national sport by the Chinese standard, provided a means for the sojourners to kill time. Opium, until it was outlawed by the American

\(^49\) According to Chan (1992: 65), Paijii (Dominoes), Tianjii (another form of Dominoes), Sparrow, Policy (Numbers Game), Mahjong (Tiles), and Fantan (Buttons) were the most favourite among the Chinese.
government in 1880 and the Canadian in 1908 (Chan: 1982, 59 & 61), was a social intoxicant by which "the bachelor workers could drown their sorrows" (Chan: 1982, 62). Prostitution provided an alternative for the young and single males who were legally and economically denied the chance to have families.

Combined with the easing of discriminatory policies, the law-abiding and industrious nature of many new immigrants has modified the character of Chinatowns. Opium dens and brothels have given way to recreational centers, theatres, Martial Arts schools, and variety stores. These new facilities provide alternatives for the immigrants who can spend their leisure time constructively.

With more Chinese of younger generations adapting to the Canadian social system, Chinatowns have become more like a shopping center than a protective shelter. For those Chinese who have attained a higher socio-economic status, leaving the overcrowded and comparatively unclean Chinatowns and moving to the suburbs is inevitable. Visiting Chinatowns has become a weekend outing where people can do shopping or enjoy their favourite cuisine. As an interviewee said:

what is a foreign country? We talk Chinese at home. We eat Chinese foods. We have "dim-sum" in the weekend's mornings, do shopping in Chinatown for the afternoons, and play "majiang" or listen to music for the rest of weekends. There is no need to understand or participate in the outside world. Would not it be the same as in Hongkong?!

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50 A beloved snack or pastry by the Cantonese.
Due to the self-policing nature of the Chinese ethnic organizations, Chinatowns in the older days were relatively safe places, where:

the most shocking crimes of passion [like murders] were the outcomes of politics or gambling rivalry (Con, et al.: 1982, 152-153).

However, what was a safe haven also accommodated the criminal elements. As the immigrants came to Canada with their cultural institutions, they brought along their notorious secret societies. Chinatowns have become a shelter for these criminals; one in which they can stay alive by preying upon the large Chinese communities and get away from prosecution by the Canadian authorities by hiding in these ethnic territories. The Canadian Police Forces, which have limited Chinese manpower, could hardly infiltrate these organizations because of visible difference in skin colour. Because of the distrust of the Police Forces, and the fear of retaliation from the secret societies' members, the Chinese are reluctant to assist in any police investigation. This Chinatown problem, which had been confined to its own people, is becoming a national problem in which the police have to deal with an increasing amount of extortion and drug trafficking caused by this ethnic organized crime.

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51 A Chinese saying states that "a good and decent fellow will not be a policeman".
4.5 *Theoretical Interpretation of Intergroup Relations*

In analyzing the relationships between majority and minority, social theorists use such terms as assimilation, amalgamation, cultural pluralism, modified pluralism, and cultural and social assimilation to explain the outcomes that result when two or more ethnic groups come into contact with each other. In general, these theorists believe that through these processes, groups of diverse origins will integrate and the pluralistic society will restore peace, order, and stability. In the case of the Chinese, they have refused to integrate in the larger society and have withdrawn into their own ethnic community. Besides, "unity through diversity" or "peaceful coexistence" are difficult to obtain when discriminatory policies, be they public or private, have not yet completely diminished. Although the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms guarantees the rights and freedoms of every citizen, it only protects individuals and not ethnic groups.

The Chinese experience in Canada suggests that intergroup relations are in the form of social conflict, which:

- is defined as a form of social interaction involving a struggle over the rewards or resources of a society or over social values, in which the conflicting [groups] attempt to neutralize or injure each other (Coser: 1956, 9).

This social conflict is a form of a relationship because the conflicting groups have "reciprocal, though not common, expectations about each others' goals and actions" (Newman:
1973, 110). The Chinese who came to Canada were looking for a Promised Land, but their presence and their hard-working manner posed threats to the white labour market. Secondly, social conflict "is a struggle between parties over social reward...such as class, status, and power" (Newman: 1973, 110). As a matter of fact, the Chinese had been assigned to a lower social strata upon their entry. This relatively low position enabled the white employers to discriminate against the Chinese labourers and denied the contribution made by these people. Finally, social conflict "entails the neutralization and injury of social groups" (Newman: 1973, 111). The imposition of head taxes and the enactment of the Exclusion Act of 1923 could be viewed as an outcomes of social conflict.

The willingness of the Chinese to accept low-paying jobs, rather than their eagerness to work, was perceived by their white counterpart as competitive threats. Hence, this competition became an important condition under which conflict between the Chinese and Whites occurred. In order to minimize conflict, the Chinese shifted to other businesses which had no direct competition with the white majority. However, when social factors - such as economic recession - increase the awareness of competitive threats, they also increase the probability of social conflict occurring (Newman: 1973, 112). Given the pluralistic nature of the Canadian society and its unequal distribution of opportunity, the conflict
between ethnic groups will occur more frequently. William Newman proposes that:

the degree to which different social groups view each other as competitive threats, and therefore the frequency of social conflict between them, is directly proportional to the degree to which competition and achievement are prescribed norms in society (1973: 115).

Being discriminated against, the Chinese clung together in order to attain mutual protection. Lewis Coser argues that "conflict serves to establish and maintain the identity and boundary lines of societies and groups" (1956: 38). In the case of the Chinese settlers, they formed their Chinatowns. As a matter of fact, China was not and is not a discrimination-free zone. Clan against clan, village against village, region against region, and ethnic group against the others: ethnic tensions are not uncommon in Chinese history. It is because they have to rely on their own countrymen to compete with the other ethnicities in the Canadian society that these otherwise unrelated persons have to group together. This confirms Coser's argument that:

conflict may serve to remove dissociating elements in a relationship and to re-establish unity...[and] conflict with another groups leads to the mobilization of the energies of group members and hence to increased cohesion of the group (1956: 80 & 95).

Group conflict is not always dysfunctional to the social system. In Coser's words, conflict with other groups:

contributes to the establishment and reaffirmation of the identity of the group and maintains its boundaries against the surrounding social world (1956: 38).
The establishment of Chinatowns and their growing prosperity may be perceived as the results of this social interaction. Although the composition of Chinatowns has changed, the role of diplomacy is still maintained and Chinatowns continue to serve as spokespersons for the Chinese communities and as introducers of the Chinese culture to the Canadians.

Besides, as a subordinate group alongside other ethnic and racial minorities, the Chinese have to reevaluate their social and cultural components so as to adapt to the changed environment. Traditional Confucian doctrines are no longer applicable in the pluralistic Canadian social structure in which the Chinese have to participate in order to maintain their cultural significance and struggle for their existence in terms of material resources. Therefore, social conflict acts as a stimulus for the creation and modification of rules, norms, and institutions...[and] makes the readjustment of relationships to changed conditions possible (Coser: 1956, 128).

Moreover, as more Chinese begin relying upon the Canadian social institutions - such as the welfare system - rather than their own, they have to understand how these institutions work and thereby intensify their participation in the Canadian social life. Thus, this increase of participation enables the Chinese to find more alternatives or institutional means to fight for their existence in a society which is perceived by conflict theorists as "a continually contested political [arena] between groups with opposing goals and world views" (Horton: 1966, 704).
In order to reach a new and changed social consensus, conflicts, which disrupt the existing social order, require a solution in order to redefine such social order (Newman: 1973, 119). John Berry has identified three kinds of adaptive mode: adjustment — which are changes that aim at reducing conflict by making cultural and social features more similar; reaction — which are changes that attempt to reduce conflict by retaliating against the source of the conflict; and withdrawal — which are changes that are made to remove one element from the contact arena (1981: 215). In the Chinese experience, they reacted to racial discrimination by engaging in less competitive occupations, and withdrew themselves to the confined territory when the tension got higher. With the easing of discrimination and an increase of participation, most recent Chinese immigrants are aiming at adjusting themselves in the heterogenous Canadian social structure.

In sum, this interpretation of the Canadian racial and ethnic relationships utilizes the social conflict perspective. However, social conflicts are not always dysfunctional and socially undesirable. They can be viewed as "mechanisms for achieving both social order and social change" (Newman: 1973, 109). Therefore, Coser's analytical conflict model which stresses the functional aspects of social conflicts in promoting consensus and cohesion within the conflicting groups are more applicable. Being alienated by the
public, the Chinese modify their social and cultural features to respond to the social system which is defined by the dominant groups. On the other hand, the Canadian government has to compromise with the minority groups for the sake of smooth functioning in the social system. These changes, rather than disrupting the existing social order, may better be viewed as reinforcements to reorder society. The next chapter will discuss the criminal aspect of Chinatown and the adaptation of these criminals in a white majority society.
Chapter V

CHINATOWNS' UNDERWORLD IN THE CITY OF TORONTO

The lack of serious crimes of violence in Chinatowns during the early days gave the impression to the public that the Chinese could manage their own business. The effect of this attitude was to soothe the police into inactivity and allow the Chinatown to administer itself within the city of Toronto and substitute for the normal social institutions of law and order. This gradually paved the way for the rise of the "Tangs" (or Tongs).

Chinatowns were run, not by mayors of respective cities, but by the "Tangs". Literally "Tang" means hall, variety club, or communal gathering place; but characteristically the "Tang" in Canada, as well as in North America, referred to the fraternal-political associations, freemasonries, district associations, clan associations, or business firms. Externally, these tangs allied themselves to fight against discrimination; but internally, each group was perceived as a potential rival in the political and economic power struggle of Chinatowns. Instead of the traditional village against village or clan against clan rivalries, the relationship in Canada was of tangs of diverse origins against one another. Due to the self-policing nature of the early
Chinese organizations, tong disputes were arbitrated not by legal procedures, but by negotiation among rival tongs. However, violence occurred when negotiation failed.

Usually, one who could become the leader of the most powerful tong controlled the Chinatown, and this position made him the quasi-mayor of this ethnic territory, over which he served as protector. The tongs did not only control the daily life of each individual, but also the Chinatown as a whole. Due to the large numbers of immigrants who came to Canada by means of chain-immigration, the clan or kinship organizations were the most powerful tongs in terms of membership. However, their significance was gradually replaced by the business enterprise whose economic power allowed them to gain control over other associations.

As most, if not all, Chinese associations added the term "Tang" into their names, the Chinese secret societies did the same. The core memberships consisted of those who had been members back in their homeland and had to flee from being prosecuted. Other people also joined the secret societies simply because there was no other association which was willing to accept them. In general, members of the

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52 Due to the misunderstanding and the suspicion between Chinese and Canadians, some Chinatowns might have an appointed individual to deal with the authorities. In general, he served as go-between, and did not have any real power.

53 Most Chinese came from the Siyi (or Four-County) District [ie. Enping, Kaiping, Taishan, and Xinhui] and the Sanyi (or Three-County) District [ie. Nanhai, Panyu, and Shunde] of the Guangdong Province. People from these regions could join the correspondence district associa-
secret societies were drawn from all walks of Chinatown life. However, when the hard characters began joining in and took over offices, the secret societies became the notorious fighting tangs, which lived on violence and preyed upon their own people to stay alive. If Chinatowns were the safe haven for the people, the criminal secret societies would be the safe haven for the opium smokers, petty thieves, gamblers, and prostitutes.

In order to obtain power and prestige, it was more likely that the smaller and weaker associations would ally with the secret societies to compete with the larger and more powerful associations (Dillon: 1962, 170). This allowed the criminal elements to take part in the Chinatowns' political arena and eventually to establish their power base. As violence seemed to be the only solution for disputes among rival secret societies, the frequency of such occurrences gradually attracted public awareness. Instead of identifying the source of the problem, the authorities simply blamed all associations which bore the name "Tang".

The first reported secret society was the Zhigongtang (or the Society of Achieved Righteousness) founded by LUO Ya

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54 Yu (1996: 9) stated that Dr. SUN Zhongshan, who was introduced by ZHONG Zhaoyang to the society, helped draft the society's regulations and attempted to organize all
in San Francisco, California (Dillon: 1962, 177). As the first president of the Zhigongtang, he was responsible for spreading the seed of the Secret Society and for fethering the overseas secret societies. Perhaps he should also be blamed for the bloody tong wars which erupted in the city of San Francisco's Chinatown during the late nineteenth century. The secret societies were at the height of their power in the 1890s and were finally quieted down, not by the Chinese communities or the authorities, but by Mother Nature. On April 18, 1906, the great earthquake and fire made necessary the reconstruction of the city of San Francisco as well as its Chinatown (Dillon: 1962, 356). While some of their countrymen stayed, the secret societies' members moved eastward to New York City, or northward to Canada, where they could find colleagues.

5.1 The Chinese Criminal Sub-group in Canada

The first secret society in Canada was the Hongshuntang (or the Society of Hong's Followers) which was founded in Barkerville, British Columbia, on March 24, 1863 by HUANG Shen-gui (Yu: 1996, 9). Huang came from California and was a member of the Guangdong-based Hongshuntang before he left

secret societies under the name of Zhigongtang. For more discussion, see Appendix E.

According to Dillon, there was no special name for the members until around 1980 when they were begun to be known as hhighbinders. "Hatchet Men" appeared later when they took up hatchets for the purpose of assassination (1962: 52).
China (Con, et al.: 1992, 30). As the Chinese miners were attracted by the British Columbia Gold Rush, the Hongshuntang, which was an offshoot of the same society already operating in California (Con, et al.: 1992, 30), moved along with the people.

Another reported secret society established in Canada was the Zhigongtang. A set of regulations was discovered by the authorities, which indicated that the society was founded in Quesnel Mouth, British Columbia, in 1876 (Con, et al.: 1992, 30). In general, secret societies [Hongshuntang and Zhigongtang] at the early period in Canada were more politically and fraternally oriented than criminally engaged in illegal activities. They existed largely for the purposes of helping fellow countrymen by providing necessities [from shelter and food to gambling devices to prostitutes] to these estranged individuals. Because of the rowdiness of these people, the secret societies should be credited for sanctioning the members and avoiding the Canadian version of the bloody tang wars.

A new generation of secret societies was created by LIU Ronggu (or Lau Wingkui) who established the Gongletang (or Kung Lok or the Society of Mutual Happiness) in Toronto, Ontario, in 1976 (Harvey: 1986, 48). Over the years, the Gongletang has dominated the city of Toronto's Chinatown, making a livelihood by means of extortion and providing gam-

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56 Yu stated that the Zhigongtang was the successor of the Hongshuntang (Yu: 1986, 8).
bling. As in the American Chinese secret societies, various leaders of the Gongletang have legitimate business fronts - such as restaurants - through which the illegally obtained money can be laundered. But unlike the American counterpart, the superior position of the Gongletang allowed it to eliminate confrontation with other secret societies and helped maintain a relatively quiet and peaceful scenario in the Metro's Chinatown.

Things changed after LiU Runqiu was deported by the Canadian authorities in the early 1990s. This lack of a single, commonly respected leader caused an internal struggle over leadership among the ambitious members. Because of the power struggle, many members sought early retirement, left the area to avoid being victims, or simply broke away to establish their own turf or join other societies - such as the Vietnamese gangs. Another reason for the decline of the Gongletang was an increase in police surveillance. As more members began vying for control of Chinatown, they became obvious to the public and attracted police attention. Last but not least, the increasing numbers of Vietnamese

57 Police sources said Liu's deportation was made in regard to intelligence information which stated he was operating criminal rackets. However, there was no firm conviction against him.

58 While some of them are getting tired of the risky business, others are being pressured by their family to quit.

59 Around 1983 to 1984, police forces in Ontario invited their colleagues from Hongkong to discuss the problems with secret societies. In the meantime, they identified each member and kept them in files.
gangs in the Metro's Chinatown posed threats to the superiority of Gongletang. In the following discussion, the focus will be centered on the Gongletang and its future in the Canadian criminal scene.

5.2 Organization of the Gongletang

5.2.1 Purposes and Activities

Secret societies of the older days served as the protective agent for the sojourning Chinese. But more important is that they provided the only "family" system to those who had been separated from their own. From an economic standpoint, the secret societies were tolerated, if not wholeheartedly accepted, by the Chinese communities since they were the only agencies who could provide them services that were otherwise unobtainable. Perhaps it was the Chinese who were responsible for bringing in the criminal elements, but it was the Canadian social settings which nurtured their growth.

Like their forefathers, the Gongletang also served as a protector, but the membership consisted of large numbers of unwilling members who were forced to accept its protection. These individuals were not being protected against racial discrimination, but against the destruction of property or bodily harm caused by the members. Usually, the members would approach a victim and ask for money for some reason such as helping a fellow member. If this first request
failed, a second request would be followed after a few days. If again they were rejected, they would not hesitate to force the victim to give in. However, paying the protection fees did not guarantee there would be no trouble. It just showed gang members who were the easiest ones to prey upon. Due to the fear of retaliation by the members, most victims treated the extortion as extra expenses. They did not want to go through the legal procedures, which they perceived as so lenient that the accused members would be free in no time. Therefore, as an apparently victimless crime, extortion was the most profitable business for the Gongsle-tang.61

Gambling was another profitable business. Notwithstanding the popular belief that gambling is the most profitable business, operators of gambling houses in Metro Toronto had to face several problems. The biggest one seemed to be the challenge from the legally licensed casinos such as those operating in Atlantic City, New Jersey, Reno, Nevada, and Las Vegas, Nevada, which provided trips or junkets offering discounts to attract customers. Given excellent services and elegant surroundings, most people would prefer the casinos to the crowded and smoky Chinese gambling houses. From the

60 Police sources stated 80% of the reported extortion was not reported by the victims, but by others who knew what was going on. Besides, the exact number of cases was impossible to work out since victims or witnesses were usually unwilling to cooperate.

61 Police sources said almost every business in the Oriental community was being extorted by the society's members.
standpoint of customers, security was another concern that made them hesitate to patronize the gambling houses.Apparently they did not want to be stopped in the middle of the game because of police raids, or to be robbed by hoodlums who were waiting outside for them. Besides, gambling took many forms, and the "Majiang" was one of the favorites for the Cantonese. Several players could stay home and consume a whole day's time. Moreover, Canada is a vast region which offers numerous recreational activities. One does not have to resort to gambling while there are many social and cultural activities in which he/she can participate.

Unlike their American and Hongkong counterparts, there is no evidence linking the Gongletang with drug trafficking. An informant from the Gongletang stated that the lack of involvement in narcotics should be credited to the deported leader, Mr. Liu, who had forbidden members to engage in any type of drugs - be they heroin, cocaine, or marijuana. However, sources from Hongkong and Windsor, Ontario, have stated that many members were involved in the drug trade. Perhaps it is safe to say that the Gongletang as a whole does not engage in drug trafficking, but not to rule out the possibility that individual members may take part in such a lucrative business. Besides, as the internal struggle carries on, ambitious members may see this as a source of revenue.
The foregoing discussions of the Gongletang activities only take into account the most important and profitable businesses that have lured the members. Although there is no direct evidence, the members may participate in or provide protection or assistance for such activities as alien smuggling, prostitution, petty thefts, loan-sharking, break-and-enter, robbery, and grand auto thefts. By becoming involved, directly or indirectly, in these activities, the members could obtain a share or collect fees from those who actually perform the crimes.

5.2.2 Recruitment

5.2.2.1 Age and Sex

The majority of the members appeared to be all males between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five.62 They were all Chinese youths who were recently emigrated from Hong Kong. Contrary to Richard Dillon's accounts that a San Francisco "Call" reporter, R. Church Williams, had successfully joined the Zhigongtang in the late 1897 (1962: 191), the Gongletang did not have any non-Chinese members. Nor had it recruited any Canadian-born Chinese. In a sense, the Gongletang was characteristically an immigrant association; an association with members who could understand each others grievances as

62 A study, conducted by Delbert Joe and Norman Robinson, investigated four Chinese youth gangs (Phantom Riders, Golden Skippers, Blue Angels, and Golden Wheels) in the Chinatown region of Vancouver, British Columbia, and found that the members were all males between the ages of thirteen and nineteen (1980: 338).
immigrants, and could share the solicitude through speaking the same language and originating from the same background.

Being immigrant parents is no easy task. Because of language problems and unequal job opportunities, immigration brings along with it a degradation of job status and salary. For some families, that means both parents have to join the other minority groups in looking for decent jobs with decent pay. For their children, the lack of parental guidance, the language barrier, and the hostility from the Canadians and Canadian-born Chinese force them to rely on their own people—those who bear immigrant status. They are the primary subjects for recruitment.

Yves Lavigne reported that alarming numbers came from well-to-do families (1986: A9). Perhaps the wealth of the parents makes them prime targets for memberships in secret societies seeking funds and their desire for companionship makes them willing to join. In general, most of them have problems with parents. It is understandable that the parents want their children to retain some cultural traits; but the youngsters, who are exposed to a heterogeneous society, are not willing to stay in the confines of the Chinese culture. Several members, although they may not be classified as runaways, admitted that they usually stayed with their "brothers" and paid periodic visits to their parents. Usually, these were the times they had had big troubles and needed their parents' help.
Some people may argue that the youth problems are a Chinese problem. But an anonymous social worker put it in this way: "You cannot just bring in the teenagers and then treat them like nobody. We need financial support to maintain facilities for the youngsters, but the governments always keep saying they have not enough funds for us." For the youngsters, the lack of attention creates a problem. A member admitted that: "At home I have no one to talk to; but with my "brothers", I at least have some friends to fool around with."

5.2.2.2 Educational Background

Members were mainly dropouts, or had attended school irregularly. In case of the Phoenix, which was a branch of the Gongletang operating in Windsor during 1982 and 1983, the members were all ethnic Chinese-Malaysian visa students attending the University of Windsor. Although some members reportedly fled before the police crackdown, most were allowed to finish their degrees before leaving Canada.

For those who had troubles in school back in Hong Kong, the language problem made their new school life more difficult to bear. Being put in special English classes, they felt inferior to others who, in turn, perceived them as outsiders. They might know that more education and better language ability would give them more opportunity to find a decent job, but they also realized the employment barrier which minority groups had to face. As a member said: "What
I got from my "bala" (or elder brother) in one day is more than an average guy earned in a month. And the only diploma I needed is the one from the University of the Secret Society."

Compared with the members of the older days, modern members have more education. Is it possible that the secret societies, be they the Gongletang or its rivals, may support members for higher education so that they could one day penetrate the higher social strata? In the case of the Phoenix, the members had attempted to influence the student organizations.63 And for the secret societies operating in New York City's Chinatown, some societies' leaders had successfully squeezed into the Chinatown's power structure. Perhaps training more educated members may be a means for the secret societies to climb the social ladder.

5.2.2.3 Occupational Background

In a sense, most, if not all, members had jobs either working in menial jobs such as kitchen help, or working for the secret societies as muscle men, bouncers, gambling house watchers, or doing other dirty jobs, which the leaders would not be associated with. Usually, what a member earns

63 An informant stated that a group of ten people had approached him—in—the late 1981 and requested him to be their leader of a newly-formed secret society. He rejected the proposal. A while later, the same group approached an executive member of the Chinese Student Association and persuaded her to cooperate. Some times later, the Phoenix emerged in the university campus. Police sources said the group had attempted to control the Malaysian Student Association. An executive member of the MSA denied such allegations though.
depends on the merit of his performance as well as on the
generosity of the leader. Nowadays it seems more appro-
priate to view loyalty between members in terms of material
gains rather than in terms of the traditional spiritual
blood-brotherhood.

Some members had overstayed in Canada after visiting
visas expired. Their illegal status put them in a vulnera-
ble situation in which only the secret societies would pro-
vide them protection. It also made them easy victims of
extortion.

Police information indicated there were numbers of res-
taurant waiters who have been identified as members. If one
rules out the motives of seeking protection, power, and mon-
etary gains, their intention to join seems to be derived
from the feeling that being a member would give them "face"
or status, which they were unable to obtain from their lowly
respected occupation.

5.2.2.4 Methods of Recruitment

As stated before, the Gongletang only recruited ethnic Chi-
nese immigrants. The recent influx of new immigrants pro-
vides a fresh and large supply of recruits. In general,
most recruitment were done in the schoolyards, bowling
alleys, poolrooms, martial arts schools, local churches.

An informant had complained about his former boss who did
not give him a fair share, and this was why he trans-
ferred to another group.

Due to the frequent fights among rival gangs, members who
possessed martial arts techniques were the most prefera-
workplaces, and local recreational centers such as the Y.M.C.A.

Recruitment can be classified in two categories: forced and voluntary recruitments. According to police sources, the total number of memberships is around three to four hundred; however, only around fifty are considered active members. As recruits have to pay initiation fees, this becomes one form of income. In general, potential recruits will be approached by members, who pose as big brothers and persuade them to join. In some cases, members will accuse the victim of staring at them or doing something they found offensive, and will threaten to beat him up unless he becomes their "brother". Likewise, this technique is also used to extort victims who either have to pay for the "damages" or make an apology by buying them meals. If this fails, stronger approaches, such as inflicting bodily harm, will be employed until the victim gives in. Most new immigrants, who still bear the horror of the secret societies at home and lack confidence in the Canadian authorities, usually yield to the members rather than turn them in to police.

Basically, there are two groups of people who will voluntarily become members. One of them consists of those who view the membership as a stepping stone for individual ambitions. The other consists of those who were members before they migrated to Canada. Although Gongletang is affiliated

ble. However, due to the increasing use of firearms, martial arts became less emphasized.
With the Hongkong-based Liangongle secret society, members originating from the headquarters will automatically be accepted by the Gongletang and they can retain their original ranks and positions. Members from other societies, Hongkong- or Canadian-based, will have to start from the beginning.

Initiation fees are still collected in significant amounts. The most common figures are either CAN$36 or CAN$108. However a member of the police agency that was involved in the Phoenix case emphasized that the fees were in the amount of CAN$36.60. This is confirmed with other sources of information that indicated the same amount was used in some extortion cases. For extortion, since most victims were businessmen, the amount asked is usually CAN$1080.00 for the first request, and CAN$3600.00 for the second.

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66 For details of the Chinese secret societies in Hongkong, see Appendix P.

67 An informant stated that, say, a 14K member could join the Gongletang and retain his original rank providing he has a respected reputation. However, most would prefer to establish their own society or retire if they are not powerful enough to confront the local societies.

68 An informant cited an example by using the code numbers of 489, 426, and 49: for 489 = (4+8)x9 = 108; for 426 = (4+2)x6 = 36; and for 49 = 4x9 = 36. For the traditional version, see fn. 40.
5.2.3 Structure

Like the Italian mafia, setting up one's own group needs the blessing of the godfather—ie. the boss. A member who wants to be his own boss requires the nod from his superior. Traditionally, if one failed to do so, he would be perceived as a traitor and subject to be severely punished. However, modern secret societies, particularly those operating in North America, do not follow such a regulation. Dissident groups splintered away from their originals are not uncommon. Besides territorial and monetary disputes, disloyalty is one of the factors causing gang fights. By the same token, transfer of membership without the boss's consent will still be considered as disloyal, since this will cause the boss to lose face and will set a poor example for others. Since Gongletang is affiliated with the Liangongle, whether LIU Rongqu had received such an agreement is unknown. However, his deportation to Hongkong implies that, as an informant stated, he would not be able to stay alive if he had been proven a traitor.

Recent information does not indicate that any group has broken away from the Gongletang. However, there is at least one group which is operating without the consent of the Gongletang.69 In the near future, an informant has predicted, this self-proclaimed group will establish its own headquarters.

69 A member of the Gongletang stated the Phoenix was betrayed by a group which had claimed to be a branch of the Gongletang but was not officially recognized.
Police sources maintained that the Gongletang is only a city-wide secret society operating in Metro Toronto, an informant has suggested that it has branches all over Canada. [However what is better known publicly is the Phoenix]. Shown below in Table 6, based on various information, is a Gongletang structure.

Table 6: Organizational Structure

**HEADQUARTERS**
Zuoquan
Employees
Ordinary members
Blue Lanterns

**BRANCHES**
(Windsor-based Phoenix)
Leader
Advisor (optional)
I
I
White Pigeon—White Eagle—White Crane
I
I
Extorted and active members

Literally, Zuoquan means the person presiding over a society, which in English means leader. To be a leader or employee, members have to hold the ranks of 426, 415, or 432, of which the 426s are more likely to hold important positions. However, they will not refer to one another by the code names, they prefer Chairman, Manager, Treasurer, or other organizational terms. Each section [White Pigeon,
White Eagle, and the White Crane] consists of two leaders who look after certain numbers of members. However, there were two persons whose relationship with the Phoenix was not identified. One of them had been reported as a Gongletang member who overlooked the Phoenix. The other one, who was also a Gongletang member, might serve as co-leader in the Phoenix.

5.2.4 Rituals and Sanctions
According to informants, the initiation ceremony and promotion ceremony are still performed in the traditional ways, such as burning the yellow paper and sharing wine mixed with blood. However, the informants were unwilling to identify any occasion. Given the secretive nature of Chinatowns, it is believed most ceremonies should be performed in the Chinatown region. Having little knowledge about Chinatown's affairs, the Canadian authorities, without the assistance of insiders, would not notice the differences between the secret societies' ceremonies and the ordinary Chinese celebrations.

The initiation ceremony is performed with a single recruit or with several of them, depending on the time and location of the recruitment. In some cases, the ceremony is staged as short as possible so as to minimize the chance of attracting suspicion. In order to stage a promotion ceremony, there must be three members who are being promoted to the ranks of 426, 415, and 432 respectively. The ceremony
will be postponed if no member could be promoted to any one of these positions. Promotion ceremonies are generally held in the headquarters, so every member will be notified.

Modern members are concerned more with money than with loyalty to their leaders. Besides, it is the leader's charisma that holds the members together. Members are required to swear to obey their leader, rather than the society. In general, the thirty-six oaths and other regulations are becoming as simple as possible so as to suit the fast pace of life. Besides, the sanctions that emphasized the punishments of "killed by thousands of knives" or "stricken by five bolts of lightning" have lost their traditional deterrent usage. For the youngster, these are "bullshit" and unrealistic. The new version is that the traitors or those who have blundered will be electrocuted. In practice, however, the punishment is usually by being shot to death.

Most members have their own methods to organize the group and use different tactics to bring out the strength of brotherhood. The poems and hand signals have puzzled many scholars about their meanings, let alone those people who have no ideas about the origins of the Secret Society, of which they have claimed to be members. For secret communication, the societies may make up some things that are easy enough for members to identify one another.
5.3 Comparison of the Secret Societies' Two Localities

Given the changed social conditions, the findings revealed that there were differences between the secret societies in Hongkong and the Gongletang. First of all, societies in Hongkong were purely profit oriented. Their main concern was to prey upon ordinary people and to improve their monetary gain. In the city of Toronto, the Gongletang was also aiming at making money; however, it also served as a political remedy. Since the Chinese are a visible minority, some members considered the Gongletang as an alternative to fighting against discrimination. As the Chinese enjoy a majority in the Hongkong society, secret societies do not have to worry about being discriminated against.

When recruiting members, both localities showed the same interest in young males between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five. No female recruits were reported in the Gongletang. Due to their rebellious behaviour, young males in this age group were easier to be lured into joining secret societies which could provide them a means to get ahead. Besides, their recklessness and naivete made them vulnerable to these societies which needed someone to do the dirty jobs. Moreover, these younger members had a greater opportunity to get away from prosecution, or to receive lenient punishment for their offenses than the older members because of their age.
Educational background for the two localities did not vary much. Most members were dropouts or attended class irregularly. But members in the Gongsletang were easier to recruit since the language barrier confined them to certain locations which the Gongsletang members frequently visited in order to look for new recruits.

Most members in the Gongsletang and in the societies in Hongkong came from the lower social strata. Being members of an underprivileged class, most members regarded joining secret societies as a way to move up the social ladder or at least to obtain social status and respect from the society so as to prove that they were "somebody".

As for methods of recruitment, both localities utilized forced and voluntary recruitments. Besides those who viewed the membership as a stepping stone for individual ambitions, other members joined secret societies because they needed to be protected from their enemies or they feared bodily harm if they refused to join. Initiation fees were collected in the same amounts such as CAN$36 or CAN$108.

In terms of organizational structure, societies in Hongkong and the Gongsletang were somewhat similar. One boss overlooked an entire organization with the assistance of several officials. However, secret societies in Hongkong were separating into cells rather than forming one structure like the Gongsletang. Besides, members in Hongkong utilized traditional names such as Red Pole, Grass Sandal, or Paper
Pan as well as the code numbers such as 426, 415, or 432. Members in the Gongletang would not refer to one another by the code names, if any; they preferred Chairman, Manager, Treasurer, or other business-like terms.

The biggest difference between the two localities were in the area of rituals and sanctions. Members in Hongkong adhered to original rituals whereas members in the Gongletang invented different versions to substitute those they thought unrealistic. Poems, hand signals, and teacup arrangements had lost their traditional usage in identifying members. They were too complicated to be understood and remembered by the younger members who did not even know the origins of the Secret Society of which they claimed to be members. This is an interesting example of cultural loss, the traditional ways, and reasons for them, in an immigration.

Perhaps it is safe to say that the social conditions that confronted the secret societies in the two localities contributed to the differences. On the one hand, the Chinese are the majority in Hongkong where they are not being discriminated against. But the Chinese in Canada are a visible minority. They have no control over the social institutions which were established by the whites. In such a vulnerable position, the only way for the Chinese to live happily in the receiving country is to adapt to its social conditions. The Chinese-Canadians have to deal with other ethnic groups
which have different cultural backgrounds, mentalities, and ways of doing things. In such a social environment, the Chinese have to modify their traditional practices in order to function in an integrative fashion in the Canadian society.

The large continuing influx of Chinese immigrants from Hongkong helps to maintain some of the similarities between the Gongletang and the secret societies in Hongkong. Chinese organized crime is one of the social institutions that the immigrants brought with them into Canada. With more immigrants pouring into this "Promised Land", they not only nourish the growth of Chinatowns, but also the secret societies as well.

5.4 The Future of the Chinatown's Underworld

In a sense, the Gongletang still maintains a somewhat traditional organizational structure. However, what it maintains is only a skeleton structure, within which the organization is gradually changing. Nonetheless, it is this hierarchy and the chain of command that has let the Gongletang remain powerful for over ten years. But not any more. The society is now facing numerous challenges which, in the words of informants, is a matter of struggle for existence.

Right after the deportation of the leader, Mr. Liu, the Gongletang has divided into several fractions in which ambitious individuals are fighting each other to compete for the
top position. This internal conflict has threatened the stability of the secret society. Reportedly, Mr. Liu still controls the society's affairs from Hongkong. \(^{70}\) However, given the long distance between Hongkong and Canada, and his direct control, Liu's influence over the Gongletang will gradually decrease in a matter of time. Unless there is a member who can unite the rival factions, the Gongletang may not be able to remain as a whole.

Competition from other groups is another major threat. The primary competitor is the Vietnamese gangs which have come to Canada since the fall of Saigon in 1975 (Lavigne: 1986, A9). Over the past years, the Gongletang's memberships have been declining because of police surveillance and internal conflict. To fill the vacuum, members started to recruit Vietnamese hoodlums who are more reckless and energetic than other ethnic Chinese immigrants. Besides, their knowledge of firearms makes them more attractive to the society's members.

However, not all Vietnamese gangs agree to cooperate with the Gongletang. Perhaps they were raised in war-torn conditions, these youngsters are more violent and eager to fight with the Gongletang.\(^{71}\) Besides their violence, the Vietnam-

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\(^{70}\) Police sources indicated that several years ago a Chairman was forced out during an annual election. On the same evening the meeting took place, Mr. Liu called from Hongkong and he apparently knew what the result was going to be. Besides, another sources said that the current leader, although he controlled 70% of the Gongletang, had to report to Liu in cases of crises or to consult him for major decision makings.
ese gangs are also being accused of lack of righteousness. If one hired them as watchmen or bouncers for a gambling house, they would end up robbing the customers and the house. Monetary gains are all that concern the Vietnamese gangs. However, it is because they are not afraid of the police, nor are they afraid of dying, that they have become favourable recruits.

The Vietnamese gangs are gaining on the Gongletang in the Chinatown's underworld. Currently there are seven major groups operating in the Chinese communities. Under the present situation, each group, which consists of a single leader overlooking numbers of members, competes with the others as well as with other, non-Chinese, criminal groups. However, if there is one group that becomes big enough, it

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71 During an interview with an informant in a Chinese restaurant, around ten Vietnamese walked in and they began talking about how they would wreck up a person from the rival gang. One youngster, who appeared to be around 15-year-old and was the most talkative, proposed they let him gun that person down. The informant later revealed that he had seen this youngster get into a fight with a white man twice his size and beat him up. "He does not know any martial arts," he said, "but he scares people with his eagerness to fight until he dies".

72 Constable Ken Yates of the Metro Toronto Police Force's 52 Division Oriental Crime Unit, who was quoted by Harey (1986: 36), reported that he and his colleagues had questioned a group of Vietnamese gang members. Later they discovered not only that the youth they questioned was carrying a pistol, but that there had been a gun pointing at them under the table, in case they made an arrest.

73 Originally, all seven groups were located in the old Chinatown region of the Dundas and Spadina area. But with the establishment of Dragon Center in the municipality of Scarborough which is east of Toronto, two groups have already moved to the new location.
will control the whole Chinatown. In the near future, an informant predicted, that Chinatown will become Vietnamese-town.

For years the gongletang dominated Chinatown, but when it is now at its all-time low, rival gangs start taking advantage. The Hongkong-based 14K, with more than one hundred members, is the third most powerful following the Gongletang and the Vietnamese. The Canadian chapter of the 14K is reportedly engaged heavily in the drug trade, with its headquarters as the major supplier. Police sources indicate that the 14K has allied with—a Vietnamese gang in competing with the Gongletang.

After their first attempt to establish a branch in Toronto during 1976 to 1977, the New York City-based Ghost Shadows did gain a foothold here in Toronto. When the authorities started looking into the Chinese secret societies during the early 1980s, they found the Ghost Shadows were big enough to pose a threat to the Gongletang. However, back in New York City the Ghost Shadows has four rival factions, and intelligence information showed that the Gongletang is closely connected with one of the four factions.

The United Bamboo secret society is also creeping into Metro's Chinatown. The Taiwan-based society is reportedly the most powerful group in Taiwan and it is also one of the largest criminal organizations which deal with heroin. However, its Canadian chapter at present keeps a very low pro-
file because the American chapter is under scrutiny from the American government.\footnote{Two United Bamboo members were convicted of murdering a Taiwanese-American writer. At first it was treated as an ordinary homicide case. But when the Federal Bureau of Investigation found out the Taiwanese Government was behind the scenes, the American authorities launched a massive investigation. The victim, LIU Yiliang, was murdered because he had published an unauthorized autobiography of the President of the Republic of China - JIANG Jinqiu - who expressed his discomfort to an aide who reportedly misunderstood Jiang's meaning and ordered two hitmen from the United Bamboo to carry out the assassination.}

Another competing group is the San Francisco-based Wah Ching (or Chinese Youths) which has a current membership of around thirty (Harvey: 1986, 48). Although it is extremely active in San Francisco, the insignificant number of members in Canada only poses a minimal threat to the Gongletang.

In this new phase of Chinatown squabbles, the Canadian authorities need new tactics to confront the Chinese organized crime. First of all the Police Forces can no longer maintain the old notion that Chinese secret societies are a Chinese problem. Surely, the members now are only preying on their own people; however, the Italian Mafia, before they came to power, had their powerbase established in the Italian communities.

The viciousness of the gangs and their frequent use of firearms have made police investigations more difficult and dangerous. Formerly, they needed only a warrant to bust a gambling house, now they need to wear a bulletproof vest and be prepared to exchange gunfire. In terms of physical
appearance, most societies' members are smaller than the six-foot-average officers, but these reckless youngsters will not hesitate to destroy any one who is standing in their way.

The visibility of the Chinese Canadians can be an advantage for the police since they can easily recognize and tag those who are suspicious. However, the difference in skin colour also make police's undercover operations difficult, if not impossible. The Chinese-immigrants-only regulation for membership has certainly prevented any infiltration by police officers, who are mostly whites.

To the Chinese who emigrated from Hongkong, they see no difference between the Canadian authorities and the Hongkong Colonial authorities: they are all whites. This ethnic bias creates difficulties for the Canadian Police Forces to gain confidence from the Chinese communities. Middlemen had been established to serve as bridges for the two peoples; however, police complained that these individuals did not give detailed information of what had happened in Chinatown, and the secret societies perceived these individuals as informants for the police. As a result, police intelligence information has been collected from limited sources. Recently, with the increase of public campaigns, there is a progressive sign of cooperation between the two groups. However, the groups having been isolated from each other for a long time, a wholehearted mutual trust will not come too easily.
5.5 Chinese Organized Crime: A Global Perspective

To cope with the increasing competition, the Gngletang has allied itself with other secret societies. Locally, it joins forces with the Vietnamese gangs, whose physical toughness provide protection for its rackets. Within North America, there are indications showing it is closely connected with secret societies based in Vancouver, Montreal, New York City, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. With its affiliation with the Hongkong-based Liangongle, it is also capable of engaging in any international criminal activity.

Due to the pending takeover of Hongkong by Communist China in 1997, the secret societies in Hongkong are worrying about their future. Having been Republican supporters, they have to move out of the island before the Communists come and wipe them out. Police sources revealed that in January 1983, various societies' leaders from various North American cities convened in Hongkong to meet with several local leaders. Nothing was learned from the meeting, but it was generally believed that they were consolidating the weblock of secret societies in North America.

If there is one international activity that can lure the secret societies' members, it is drug trafficking. No matter how risky it is in the business, either because of police pressure and harsh punishments or jealousy from rival gangs, it is difficult to resist such an enormous profit. While the Mafia controls the cocaine trade, the Chinese
secret societies control the heroin. Buruma and McBeth reported that:

the Chinese form the main multinational link in heroin trade. There are around ten to fifteen Chinese narcotics syndicates operating between Thailand and Hongkong, [of which] at least five with a history in the heroin trade going back to the 1950s (1984: 35).

Since Hongkong is one of the major markets for heroin, the connection between the societies in both places has long been established. Besides, the societies in Hongkong have links, through the overseas Chinese communities, in every continent.

Because of the multinational operating system, the secret societies can perform the trade via numerous transitional points and take many forms. For example, a typical heroin trade may include the following procedures: A Chinese or Thai drug grower sells the raw products to a Chinese dealer, who will divide it in small packages and distribute them to, say, ten couriers who may have different nationalities. These couriers will take different means of transportation to their destination. One may collect his/her package from Thailand, take a flight to Japan, transfer another flight to Italy, get on a train to Amsterdam, get on a plane to Canada, and ride on a coach to America, which, besides Europe, has a large consumption of heroin. Or another, one may receive the order from Hongkong, pick up the package in Tai-

75 Couriers are usually selected from tourists who travel alone. To have local people of the major drug ports make deliveries may attract drug enforcement agencies.
wan, take a flight to South Africa and leave it to another courier who may go to South America and give it to another courier to take it into America. In general, each voyage will be planned to be as complex as possible, and sometimes decoys are made so that authorities will capture one courier with a small package and neglect the other one who is carrying a bigger load. Secret societies at the destination will collect all small packages and distribute them in the market. With such a delicate operation, the drug enforcement agencies have a difficult time to counter the drug traffickers. Besides, the drug comes in a white powder form, which can be easily stored, or they can confuse authorities with other forms of white powder such as flour.

Recent trends of drug trafficking have shown cooperation between the Chinese secret societies and the Mafia (Buruma & McBeth: 1984; Daley: 1981; O'Callaghan: 1978 & 1982; FBI Report: 1985; and Roberston: 1977). In New York City, the heroin trade is believed to be handled by a Chinese restaurateur who is a Anliangtang member and reputedly the only Chinese ever admitted to the Carlo Gambino crime family.

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76 Generally, it is known as No.4 heroin which is the final product of what begins as a milky fluid extracted from the fruits of the poppy, turned brown when exposed to air (which is also called Brown Sugar or No.3 heroin with a purity of 28-40%), and refined with chemicals that make it into a real killer with a purity of 98% (Roberston: 1977, 128).

77 To make a delivery, the drug may be tucked into a courier's underwear, the inside of a doll, canned and shipped alongside other canned foods, or stored in a dead body.

78 Besides the Gambino family, the rest of the five most
In facing up to the new challenge, INTERPOL, which is headquartered in St. Cloud, a suburb of Paris, France (Colitre: 1984, 2), has had to step up measures such as: collating intelligence of drug activities in every country or territory concerned; channelling such information rapidly via INTERPOL's facilities; recognizing the drug traffickers must be treated as part and parcel of world-wide organized crime; and accepting the principle that narcotics traffickers disregard international frontiers and geographical barriers (Robertson: 1977, 91). The drug trade is no longer a local business; therefore, it requires a much broader range of cooperation among all levels of law enforcement agencies and among concerned countries.

Because of her geographical proximity to America, Canada has become one of the major transitional points for illicit drugs. Besides, since her population growth relies heavily on immigration, it is natural that the Chinese secret societies will come in with the immigrants, as was the case with powerful Mafia families in New York City are Bonanno family, Colombo family, Genovese family, and Lucchese family.

The first international police cooperation was established in 1914 when delegates from various countries met in Paris, France, to discuss solutions about a wide range of problems facing the world law enforcement community. In 1923, the Second International Criminal Police Congress met in Vienna, Austria, and it was decided to create the International Criminal Police Commission (ICPC), the forerunner of the present-day International Criminal Police Organization (ICPO) which was renewed in 1956. The term "INTERPOL" was in use in 1946 as a telegraphic address, but it has become so worldly known that it substitutes for the original ICPC as well as ICPO (Colitre: 1984, 1-2).
the Italian influx in the first decades of this century. However, it will be unfair and biased to assume all drug traffickers are members of secret societies. There are some individuals who know people from the criminal underworld as well as people from the legitimate society. They are not necessarily secret societies' members; it is the connection they have from the two worlds that makes their criminal activities operative.

The criminals, or let us call them wiseguys, are truly businessmen who are concerned with making maximum profit. They realize the power of money, which can allow them to make connections, obtain protection, bribe officials, or engineer assassinations. They do not need a complicated hierarchical organization to work a scheme out since such an organization will be too obvious to the public. Nor do they need too many members since a few trusted assistants under an innovative leader will be enough to carry out the activities. What they have to do is to make connection with the suppliers, arrange each voyage for delivery, and make another connection with whom their contrabands — be they drugs, golds, watches, or aliens — can be put into the market.

Having been scared by the Communist takeover, these wiseguys are also planning their future. However, unlike the secret societies which have to modify their structures and

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80 "Wiseguys" is defined here as those criminals who engaged in international criminal activities, and whose relations with secret societies are unidentified.
operating systems to cope with the changed environments, the wiseguys need to adapt to the different weather of the new country, understand the ways the local people do business, and practice their language ability in case of encounters with foreigners. With the money they have obtained illegally, they may purchase real estate, restaurants, or other legitimate businesses so that they can be accepted in the Chinatown's business sector, and look for potential partners with whom they can make connection.

There is no powerbase for the wiseguys, they themselves are the headquarters. They travel back and forth among different countries to take care of their businesses. They are invisible in terms of their criminal intention. They talk, dress, and behave in the manner of an ordinary Chinese. It is their use of Chinatowns as covers and their high mobility that make the wiseguys the most dangerous international criminals and another challenge to the world police community.

5.6 Theoretical Interpretation of Organized Crime

Ethnic organized criminal groups are all struggling in the same arena of power and money. Their operating systems may be different in regard to different social settings, but they share the same greed which has motivated them in the pursuit of ultimate control of the vice industry and maximum profit. In other words, they are pursuing the achievement of monopoly.
The major revenues of organized crime derive from the sale of illegal goods and/or services to the willing customers. In this respect, organized crime is truly a business. If there are differences between a grocery store and a nation-wide supermarket chain, the same holds true for organized crime. Thereby is created a debate over a neutral definition of organized crime. For some people, organized crime is an association of two or more people engaging for a common purpose. For others, organized crime is:

any criminal activity involving two or more individuals, specialized or nonspecialized, encompassing some form of social structure, with some form of leadership, utilizing certain modes of operation, in which the ultimate purpose of the organization is found in the enterprises of the particular group (Albini: 1971, 37).

In this sense, every association, from loosely-organized street gangs to highly structured illegal enterprises, is included. Still, for others, who think it is necessary to make some essential differences, organized crime, to a certain degree, is syndicated crime which denotes:

a subsisting association of criminals which is so highly organized that it has acquired exclusive control of crime over a given area, in other words, a monopoly. The monopoly does not necessarily include all organized crime in the area. In a given area they may be one or more syndicates exercising exclusive control in different types of crime. One syndicate may have exclusive control of gambling, another of prostitution and another of narcotics. These syndicates are jealous of their respective monopolies and in their own way guard the areas over which they have control against the intrusion into their field of any opposition. Their common enemy are the honest police and politicians. If they are to thrive they need the assistance of both. Their methods of crushing any opposition that threatens their
monopoly are varied and usually subtle. They resort to violence only as a last resort. With the aid of crooked police it can be arranged that criminals who set up in opposition to the syndicate are caught (Quebec’s Commission of Inquiry: 1968, 24).

In this manner, therefore, an interaction appears among the criminals, individual citizens, police, and politicians. A syndicate must create a structure which can provide a means to deliver its illegal services and/or goods to the customers, make certain that the law enforcement community would not interfere with its operations, develop strength to destroy opponents, and then judge and politicians etc.

Such diverse definitions further complicate the debate. On the one hand, to designate illegal businesses as organized crime may neglect the highly structured and sophisticated enterprises; and on the other hand, to designate them as syndicated crime may exclude those smaller, independent, illegal groups. Besides, if organized crime is to be differentiated by means of the degree of organization; therefore, what would be the standard(s) in making such differentiation? In other words, by what guidelines can an illegal association be defined as organized crime? To what degree and extent is an organized crime said to be a syndicated crime? Perhaps it is necessary to develop a measurement of organized crime so that it can serve as a model in analyzing such social phenomena.

After the emergence of the Italian Mafia in America at the turn of the century, scholars of various disciplines
have developed a connection between ethnic groups and organized crime. This debate revolved around the issue of whether organized crime is a foreign import, a product of the receiving country's social conditions, or a synthesis of the two (Light: 1977, 464-466).

Since most organized crime, Mafia or Chinese secret societies, is ethnic-oriented, it is convenient for the general public to depict it as a transplantation that came along with the immigrants. Perhaps this is why for some people organized crime is synonymous with "Mafia" or "la Cosa Nostra" (Kelly: 1996, 10). In contrast to the import theory, sociologists turn to study the receiving country's social conditions. The first theory that asserts organized crime is domestic in origin depends upon the observation that:

The public demand for protection against Sicilian bandits, and for other services not provided by the established government, created an illicit government which, in the long-run, exploited all its members and the very public that created it. The American demand for illicit goods and services has created an illicit government (Cressey, appeared in the U.S. Task Force Report: 1967, 31).

This is echoed by Joseph Albini who argued:

81 Literally, "la Cosa Nostra" means "our own thing". According to Kelly, only after the Joseph Valachi hearings in 1963 did the Federal Bureau of Investigation begin admitting the existence of organized crime and reporting "la Cosa Nostra" organized crime groups (1986: 55, n.2). In his own memoirs, Joe Bonanno says "Mafia" comes from an event in 1282 when Sicily was under French rule. It became a cry of the resistance movement after a French officer raped a Sicilian girl, and her mother ran through the streets screaming "Ma fia! Ma fia!" (My daughter! My daughter!) (1983: 22).
illegal enterprise satisfies the demand of the American public for illegal products and services (1971: 47).

The theory of ethnic succession provides another support that organized crime is domestic rather than imported. According to Daniel Bell, crime has:

...a functional role in the society, and the urban rackets—the illicit activity organized for continuing profit rather than individual illegal acts—is one of the queer ladders of social mobility in American life (1971: 133).

Advancing the same idea, Francis Ianni concluded in his study of Black Mafia that:

by the 1920s and the period of prohibition and speculation in the money markets and real estate, the Irish were succeeded in organized crime by the Jews...[who] dominated crime gambling and labour racketeering for over a decade. The Jews quickly moved into the world of business and the professions as more legitimate avenues to economic and social mobility. The Italians came next...and what is now becoming increasingly obvious was that as the Italians are leaving or are pushed out of organized crime they are being replaced by the next wave of migrants to the city: blacks and Puerto Ricans (1974: 14).

Moving one step away from these one-sided arguments, Ivan Light argued that:

the public's demand for illegal commodities does not preclude the possibility that cultural, organizational or demographic characteristics of ethnic groups might also affect the timing, duration, price or scale of the supply engendered (1977: 466).

Having studied the illegal enterprise by comparing Chinese and blacks in prostitution between 1880 and 1944, Light then concluded that:

...the historical comparison of blacks and Chinese confirms the claim that American society chan-
nelled disadvantaged minorities into illegal industries. But...socio-cultural and demographic characteristics of minorities also affected these outcomes (1977: 475).

In short, since the primary purpose of this research is to investigate the origins of the Secret Society, the social conditions which led to its changes, and the adaptation that occurred in relation with the changes, the above theories, taking from Robert Merton’s words, are:

special theories designed to guide the investigation of specific sociological problems within an evolving and provisional framework (1949: 46).

Therefore, in order to understand this macro-sociological problem, functional and conflict perspectives are taken into consideration.

In analyzing why some individuals are more vulnerable than others to deviant behaviour, Merton extended Emile Durkheim’s sociological concept of anomie\(^2\) and defined it as a contradiction or a breakdown between:

the cultural structure [which] places a disproportionate emphasis on the achievement of the goal of accumulated wealth and maintains that this goal is applicable to all persons and the social structure [which] effectively limits the possibilities of individuals within these groups to achieve this goal through the use of institutional means (Vold: 1958, 214).

Therefore, it is this cultural setting which extremely emphasizes the goal of success that pressures individuals to succeed "by fair means if possible and by foul means if necessary" (Merton: 1949, 223). This form of deviant behaviour

\(^2\) According to Durkheim, the initial concept of anomie referred to a condition of relative normlessness in a society or group (Merton: 1949, 215).
is described as innovation in which:

persons who "innovate" retain their allegiance to
the cultural goal..., but they find that they can-
not succeed at this through the institutionalized
means. Therefore, they figure out new methods by
which [goal(s)] can be acquired (Vold: 1958, 215).

At first glance, the innovative adaptation seemed to
explain the emergence of the Secret Society by which it was
a means for the Chinese to struggle against the ethnic Man-
chus for the political power (anomie). When the social set-
ting turned chaotic (anomie), it became a ladder for the
ambitious people. And when the Chinese put themselves in a
totally unfamiliar environment (anomie), it became a ladder
for social mobility. Therefore, because of these historical
events, the Chinese Secret Society changed from a politically
to a criminally oriented organization, and from a mili-
tary organization to a businesslike enterprise. The forego-
ing chapters have demonstrated such innovations.

However, for the international criminals, or those who
had been criminals before, they came to Canada not to read-
just their lives but to continue to be criminals. Apparent-
ly, they do not share the Canadian cultural values—nor are
they affected by Canada's social systems. Therefore, the
notion of anomie does not fit them and Merton's anomie theo-
ry does not apply to these criminals.

If society "is a continually contested political strug-
gle" (Horton: 1966, 704), the pattern of the political
upheavals of Chinese history from its dawn in 2852 B.C. to
the present has demonstrated a classical example. Basing their theories on Marxism, most modern Chinese historians use slavery, the clan system, and feudalism to interpret Chinese history. However, society is not just an arena between the ruler and the ruled; it is a battleground in which groups come into conflict with one another:

as the interests and purposes they serve tend to overlap, encroach on one another, and become competitive (Vold: 1958, 284).

In order to solve these social conflicts, adaptation is required so that:

changes are made which reduce the conflict by making cultural or behavioural features more similar (Berry: 1981, 215).

Therefore, in studying the relationship between social/organizational structure and group interest as well as the balance of resources, Coser's *The Functions of Social Conflict* (1956) seemed to be the most appropriate analytical approach in which he argued that:

conflict is not always dysfunctional for the relationship in which it occurs; often conflict is necessary to maintain such a relationship (47).

However, the group conflict theory fails to explain how the Society managed to stay on after it had achieved its political aim [of overthrowing the Manchu Qing Dynasty], and why it managed to keep alive in the overseas Chinese communities. Besides, if Coser's 32 propositions of functional conflict were to be applied in this research, a selected bias might occur since there might be some areas that Coser's sociological interpretation fails to explain.
According to Weber, sociology is a science which:

aims at the interpretative understanding of social behaviour in order to gain an explanation of its causes, its courses, and its effects (Weber: 1964, 29).

In order to achieve this understanding, therefore, persons engaged in doing empirical sociological investigation should begin with the question:

what motives determine and lead the individual members in this socialist community to behave in such a way that the community came into being in the first place and that it continues to exist (Binns: 1974, 8)?

In his effort to escape from the dilemma in which either the conceptual tool is too general or too particularized (Coser: 1971, 223), Weber developed the notion of the ideal type which is defined as:

a thought-picture that is neither the historical reality nor even perhaps the "true" reality, whose purpose is even less to serve as a schema in which a part of reality should find its place as an instance but it has to be interpreted as a purely ideal limiting concept for the comparison with and scrutiny of reality for the purpose of emphasizing certain significant parts of empirical reality (Burger: 1976, 140).

Therefore, an ideal type, being an analytic construct, serves as a yardstick with which concrete reality can be compared as purely limiting concepts or utopias in order to reveal the significances of that reality (Shils & Pinch: 1949, 90-93). However, in order to construct such an ideal type, it is necessary to identify the historical causality that made the existence of such concrete reality possible. By conceptualizing the historical events, it is then plausi-
ble to compare them to the ideal type, have them systematically and logically analyzed, and locate the similarities and deviations.

As demonstrated before, Chinese secret societies are not a unique social phenomenon. With the use of Weber's ideal-typical concept, a model could be generated and serves as a measurement for all organized criminal groups. Besides, since the Chinese secret societies have extended to every continent, different social conditions may create a different degree of adaptation for each locality of the secret societies. Again, by using Weber's notion of the ideal type, different localities could be compared and their similarities and deviations could be analyzed and hypothesized.
Chapter VI
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary
In order to assess the nature and extent of Chinese organized crime, it was necessary to construct a historical reality, which played an important role in establishing the social conditions that gave birth to the Secret Society. In Chapter II, the Chinese social and cultural structure was discussed in order to understand how the Chinese ideologies and social institutions served as a background that nurtured secret organizations. The major event, that set in motion the creation of the original establishment, which was the Manchu Conquest, and the Society's subsequent degeneration into numerous criminal factions were also described. Chapter III focused on the genesis of the Society and on its organizational framework, a framework that had changed over the years from its original military structure to the contemporary businesslike form. Chapter IV concerned the adaptation of Chinese immigrants in a western society: Canada. Being a visible minority, the Chinese had been discriminated against by the Canadian institutions, which denied the Chinese equality. In order to adapt to the new and unfamiliar Canadian environment, the Chinese had to modify their
traditional social and cultural behaviours. Because of such changed social conditions, the Chinese criminal underworld had to change the pattern of its illegal practices. This revelation was followed by the discussion in Chapter V which described the contemporary situation of Chinese organized crime in a Canadian setting. Some vital reference information such as the Chinese dynasties, the Chinese criminal organizations in North America and in Hongkong, and various secret practices which originated from the original Society were discussed in the Appendices. This research did not attempt to theorize or hypothesize on the social phenomenon of organized crime, but rather to serve as an exploratory background study.

6.2 Conclusion

Over the past years, with the increase of youth gang problems and bloody slaughters among rival gangs, law enforcement agencies have begun to focus attention on the emerging crime problem developing in the Asian immigrant community. Organized crime had fascinated the general public; but heretofore, the attention was focused on the Italian Mafia and the motorcycle gangs. In this research, a historical account was constructed in order to provide a comprehensive picture of the nature of the Chinese Secret Society. By means of a comparative analysis, this research sought to reveal the differences and/or similarities between two
localities of the secret societies: the city of Toronto, Ontario, Canada, and Hongkong.

In general, the Chinese were to be found in every part of Canada. Although they initially arrived in British Columbia, most of the recent immigrants preferred to settle in Ontario, particularly in the city of Toronto, where the industrialized and commercialized character of this provincial capital was more suitable for the industrious people of Hongkong. The traditional family system was gradually changing because of the increasing participation of the immigrants in the heterogeneous Canadian society. Since younger immigrants were more eager to get involved, it created a conflict with the older ones who wanted to retain their cultural identity. Most Chinese immigrants in the older days were restricted to low status jobs. But newcomers, equipped with higher education and better language ability, were able to compete with other ethnic groups to obtain a higher socio-economic status. Using Lewis Coser's analytical conflict model to analyze intergroup relations in Canada, the findings confirmed that social conflicts encountered by the Chinese were not always dysfunctional and socially undesirable. It made the Chinese become aware of their difficult plight and group themselves together to counter the institutionalized discrimination they faced. The establishing of Chinatowns was the result of such awareness.
Besides being cultural communities, Chinatowns were also greenhouses for criminals to be gradually socialized into the deviant subculture. The cultural cohesiveness not only bound the people together, but also served as an obstacle which made it very difficult for the Canadian law enforcers, most of whom were whites, to understand and curtail the activities of the Chinese organized criminal groups. This lack of legal constraints combined with the general fear of the silence about the secret societies within the Chinese communities nourished the growth of these secret societies.

Once the two localities had been compared, the findings indicated that there were numerous differences between the Gongletang in the city of Toronto and the societies in Hongkong. In the category of "Purposes and Activities", the secret societies in Hongkong engaged in virtually every illicit activity; but the Gongletang seemed to concentrate more on extortion and gambling. Methods of recruitment for the two localities were more or less similar, with the exception that there was no indication that there were any female recruits in the Gongletang. In terms of structure, the secret societies in Hongkong were becoming cells with a high degree of autonomy. The Gongletang still maintained a hierarchical structure and a chain of command, of which reflects the fact that the construction of Chinatowns was based on the immigrants' memory, although the organization was gradually changing. It became more businesslike and
used various organizational terms rather than the traditional code numbers. Rituals and sanctions showed a significant difference. Given the complexity of the rules and regulations of the Secret Society, secret societies in Hongkong had simplified them and made them suitable for the fast changing pace of life. But the new versions were more or less variations on the old versions. For the Gongletang members, they not only simplified the old versions, but in some cases invented their own. Due to the fact that firearms were easily obtained in North America, the gang rivalries were bloodier than those that happening in Hongkong, where members still relied on fists, knives, or other home-made weapons for combat.

The increase of police surveillance and competition from rival gangs have disrupted the domination of Gongletang, which had controlled the Toronto's Chinatown's underworld for over ten years. To face up to the competition, the Gongletang has allied itself with other organized criminal groups such as the Vietnamese gangs. Besides, there is some indication of collaboration between the Gongletang and the secret societies in Hongkong. Due to the Communists' pending takeover of Hongkong in 1997, the island's criminal groups were moving out to other parts of the world. With considerably large Chinese communities, Canada could conceivably be one of the prime targets for these secret societies which were looking for new power bases.
When the criminological theories were analyzed, it was found that Import Theory emphasized that organized crime was an immigration problem which came along with the ethnic immigrants. Ethnic Succession Theory identified the receiving country's social conditions only and neglected the cultural components of ethnic organized crime. Ivan Light proposed a synthesis of the above two theories, but its interpretation was confined to a particular locality. Robert Merton's Anomie Theory did not fit in since there were criminals who did not share the Canadian cultural values and were not affected by Canada's social structure. Lewis Coser's analytical conflict perspective was appropriate in analyzing the group conflict situation, but it failed to explain how the secret societies continued to exist.

In future research, by using Max Weber's notion of the ideal type, a model of organized crime could be demonstrated, which could help social scientists escape the dilemma of conceptualizing such social phenomenon. Besides, as the ideal type is an analytic construct, it could serve as a yardstick against which different criminal organizations could be compared with regard to different social conditions. However, in order to construct such an ideal type, it would be necessary to identify the historical causality that made the existence of such concrete reality possible. Having traced the secret societies to the old Chinese days, this research could serve as a preliminary background for
further studies aiming to reveal the particular nature of Chinese organized crime as well as to compare it to other ethnically oriented criminal groups.
### Appendix A

#### CHINESE DYNASTIES AND REIGNS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names of Chinese Dynasties</th>
<th>Duration</th>
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<tr>
<td>Shennong</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huangdi</td>
<td>2697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shahao</td>
<td>2597</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juanxu</td>
<td>2513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yao</td>
<td>2356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shun</td>
<td>2255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xia</td>
<td>2205-1766</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shang or Yin</td>
<td>1766-1123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhou (Western)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Eastern)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Chungiu or Spring and Autumn Period)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Warring States)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qin</td>
<td>770-256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Han (Western or Earlier)</td>
<td>1122-771</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Eastern or Later)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three Kingdoms</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shu</td>
<td>778-480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wei</td>
<td>403-221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wu</td>
<td>221-207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jin (Western)</td>
<td>220-265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Eastern)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern and Southern Dynasties</td>
<td>206 B.C. - 7 A.D.</td>
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<td>Southern Dynasties</td>
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<tr>
<td>Former Song</td>
<td>78-139</td>
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<tr>
<td>Southern Qi</td>
<td>139-177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Liang</td>
<td>177-220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Chen</td>
<td>220-265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Dynasties</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Wei</td>
<td>265-317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jin (Eastern)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Dynasties</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Wei</td>
<td>317-420</td>
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---

CHINESE ORGANIZED CRIME

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<td>Western Wei</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Qi</td>
<td>550-577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Zhou</td>
<td>557-581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sui</td>
<td>590-618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tang</td>
<td>618-906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five Dynasties</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Later Liang</td>
<td>907-923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Later Tang</td>
<td>923-936</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Later Jin</td>
<td>936-947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Later Han</td>
<td>947-950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Later Zhou</td>
<td>951-960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liao (Kitan Tartar)</td>
<td>907-1125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Song</td>
<td>960-1126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xixia</td>
<td>990-1227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Song</td>
<td>1127-1279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jin</td>
<td>1115-1234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuan (Mongol)</td>
<td>1260-1368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ming</td>
<td>1368-1644</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qing (Manchu)</td>
<td>1644-1912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Republic of China</td>
<td>1912-1949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The People's Republic of China</td>
<td>1949-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B

THE QING DYNASTY [A.D. 1644 TO 1911]

Emperor

1. Shunzhi  A.D. 1644 - 1661 A.D.
2. Kangxi       1662 - 1722
3. Yongzheng   1723 - 1735
4. Qianlong    1736 - 1795
5. Jiaqing      1796 - 1820
6. Daoguang    1821 - 1850
7. Xianfeng    1851 - 1861
8. Tongzhi     1862 - 1874
9. Guangxu     1875 - 1909
10. Xuantong   1909 - 1911

---

Appendix C

THE CHINESE ETHNIC MINORITIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Minority Group</th>
<th>Population</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Zhuang</td>
<td>13,383,086</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Hui (Muslim)</td>
<td>7,228,398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Uygur</td>
<td>5,963,491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Yi</td>
<td>5,453,564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Miao</td>
<td>5,021,175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Man (Manchu)</td>
<td>4,304,991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Zang (Tibetan)</td>
<td>3,847,875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Menggu (Mongolian)</td>
<td>3,411,367</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Tujia</td>
<td>2,836,814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Euyi</td>
<td>2,119,345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Chaoxian (Korean)</td>
<td>1,765,204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Dong</td>
<td>1,426,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Yao</td>
<td>1,411,967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Pai</td>
<td>1,132,224</td>
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<tr>
<td>15. Hani</td>
<td>1,058,806</td>
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<table>
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<th>No.</th>
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<td>Li</td>
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<td>Dai</td>
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<td>Lisu</td>
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<td>She</td>
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<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Tu</td>
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<td>43</td>
<td>Deang (formerly Benglong)</td>
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## Appendix D

**CHINESE NUMERALS**

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*Lin, op. cit., p. 1454.*
### Appendix E

**CHINESE SECRET SOCIETIES ACTIVE IN NORTH AMERICA**

--- 1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tang Bingyong</th>
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88 W.P. Morgan, *Triad Societies in Hongkong* (Hong Kong: Government Press, 1960), p. 294. **Alias Hongmen Zhigongtang**, which is commonly believed to be the headquarters of all overseas branches of the secret societies, but information is that it is simply a former mainland society with many branches overseas. Does not have control over all overseas branches.
San Francisco, CA Hesheng Boys
Seattle, WA
New York, NY
Albany, NY
Atlanta, GA Ghost Shadows (GS)
Baltimore, MD GS - NY chapter
Boston, MA GS
Buffalo, NY
Charlotte, NC
Chicago, IL GS
Cleveland, OH
Columbus, OH
Detroit, MI
Greenville, MS
Hartford, CT
Houston, TX
Jacksonville, FL
Kansas City, MO
Miami, FL
Minneapolis, MN
New Orleans, LA
New York, NY GS - Headquarters
Norfolk, VA
Oakland, CA
Omaha, NE
Pittsburgh, PA
Philadelphia, PA
Providence, RI
Richmond, VA
Rochester, NY
San Antonio, TX
San Francisco, CA
St. Louis, MO
Washington, DC GS - NY chapter

Cuisheng San Francisco, CA
Quanqing New York, NY
Dongan San Francisco, CA
Yingan San Francisco, CA Jiezi
Appendix F

CHINESE SECRET SOCIETIES IN HONG KONG

F.1 The Most Active Societies in 1981

1. He Group or Hezitou (29,000)99
   a. Heanle (Qishui @ Anle @ Shuifang) secret society
   b. Hegetao secret society
   c. Helide secret society
   d. Hequn secret society
   e. Hequnle secret society
   f. Hegunying secret society
   g. Heshenghe secret society
   h. Heshengtang secret society
   i. Heshengyi secret society
   j. Heyitang secret society
   k. Heyongyi secret society

2. 14K secret society (24,000)99

99 Morgan, op. cit., p. 301. Headquarters society of the He group. Uncertain if still in existence but in any case it is ineffective nowadays.

99 Sheng Zhang, The Activities of The Secret Societies in Hong Kong (Hongkong: Universe Publishing Co., 1979), pp. 67-69. Relatively new society formed amongst refugees from Chinese mainland. Formerly the Hongfashan Zhongyitang which was organized in Guangdong by General GE Zhao-huang under the order of Commander MAO Renfeng to strike back at the Communist Party.
23 Sub-groups:

a. Ai - Love
b. Cheng - Truthful
c. De - Moral
d. He - Calm
e. Jian - Fulfilment
f. Jian - Strong
g. Jie - Clean
h. Jun - Superior
i. Li - Polie
j. Lun - Affinity
k. Mao - Plum Blossom
l. Qian - Pure
m. Ren - Kind
n. Shi - Actual
o. Tong - Union
p. Xiao - Filial
q. Xin - Faithful
r. Yi - Resolute
s. Yi - Righteous
t. Yisheng - Righteous Victory
u. Yong - Brave
v. Zhi - Wise
w. Zhong - Loyal

3. The Big Four Group (19,000) \(^91\)

\(^91\) Origin unknown.
4. **Chaozhou Group (16,000)**

   a. Dahaocai Lucky secret society (Chaoguangshe)
   b. Fuyixing secret society
   c. Hailufeng Mutual Aid Group
   d. Xinyian secret society
   e. Yiqun secret society
   f. Zhengyi secret society

5. **Others (4,000)**

   a. Guanghong secret society
   b. Guangliansheng secret society

---

92 Morgan, op. cit., p. 305. The main society of Chaozhou residents in Hongkong. In 1953, following deportation of the leaders, it split up into two groups, the Chaoguang and Zhongyi. These, in turn, have further degenerated into many groups.
c. Guangshenotang secret society
d. Qingbang or Green Bang secret society
e. Qinghuashe secret society
f. Quanchaoying secret society
g. Quanqunle secret society
h. Quanrizhi (Laoquan) secret society
i. Quanxingyi secret society
j. Yuedong secret society

P.2 Ten Most Active Societies in 1984

93 1. 14K
2. Heshenghe
3. Heanle
4. Heshengyi
5. Puyixing.
6. Xinyian
7. Lianyingshe
8. Heshengtang
9. Yuedong
10. Hegetao

Recent information suggested that 14K is the most powerful group in Hongkong. The Chaozhou Group rose to the second place due to its tight security and its Chaozhou dialect which prohibits infiltration by the Hongkong Police Force.

consisting mainly of Cantonese officers. The He Group dropped to the third while the Lian Group became the fourth.
Appendix G

RULES OF THE CHINESE SECRET SOCIETY

G.1 Oath Taking

G.1.1 Thirty-Six Oaths

1. After entering, you swear to regard the parents of a brother as your own father and mother, his brother and sister as your own brother and sister, his wife as your sister-in-law, and his children as your own children; if you do not, may you be stricken by five bolts of lightning.

2. Whenever a subscription is raised to relieve a brother who has met with distress, you swear to go forward to assist him monetarily or physically, or both; if you pretend to know nothing of it, may you be stricken by five bolts of lightning.

3. Wherever a brother shall arrive, you swear to lodge and feed him; if you treat him like stranger, may you be killed by thousands of knives.

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**Translated from Wenli Su. The Secrets of Hong League (Hongkong: Modern Age Publishing Co., 1940), pp. 26-30.**
4. If you should encounter a brother whom you do not know, and you pretend not to recognize the secret signals he uses, may you be killed by thousands of knives.

5. After entering, you swear not to reveal the secrets of the Society to anyone, including your parents, brothers, or wife, or receive any rewards by showing your identification; if you do, may you be killed by thousands of knives.

6. You swear not to avenge your private animosity under pretense of a public wrong, thus covertly scheming to injure a brother. In case of any quarrel, you swear to bring it before other brothers, and release a brother who is captured by mistake; if you do not, may you be stricken by five bolts of lightning.

7. You swear to assist a brother whenever he is in financial difficulties; if you do not, may you be stricken by five bolts of lightning.

8. If you should slander a brother, or assassinate the Incense Master, may you be killed by thousands of knives.

9. If you should debauch a brother’s wife, daughter, or sister, may you be stricken by five bolts of lightning.

10. If you should embezzle a brother’s money or property, may you be killed by thousands of knives.
Whenever a brother shall trust you with money or property to take to any place for him, you will carry them for him; if you do not, may you be stricken by five bolts of lightning.

You swear to give correct information to the Society at the Initiation Ceremony; if you do not, may you be stricken by five bolts of lightning.

You swear not to change your mind after entering; if you do, may you be killed by thousands of knives.

If you assist an outsider to rob a brother, may you be stricken by five bolts of lightning.

If you rely on force or numbers to occupy a brother's property, may you be killed by thousands of knives.

Whenever you shall borrow of a brother, you will repay him, and not avail of a false pretext to cheat him; if you do, may you be stricken by five bolts of lightning.

If you should by mistake rob a brother of his property, you will restore it to him as soon as you find out that he is a brother; if you do not, may you be killed by thousands of knives.

If you should commit any transgression, your own body will endure its retribution, your own life will suffer its penalty, and you will not implicate a brother; if you do, may you be stricken by five bolts of lightning.
19. If a brother shall be captured by the government or away from home for a long time, you will take care of his relatives and property; if you pretend to know nothing of it, may you be stricken by five bolts of lightning.

20. Whenever you shall see a brother oppressed or insulted by a person not a member, you will exhort them to stop, or ask for assistance from your Society; if you pretend to know nothing of it, may you be stricken by five bolts of lightning.

21. You shall inform a brother, who is wanted, to provide him time to escape; if you pretend to know nothing of it, may you be killed by thousands of knives.

22. You swear not to secretly get your brother into a gambling-house in order to cheat him out of his property with an outsider; if you do, may you be killed by thousands of knives.

23. You swear not to spread slanderous reports tending to interrupt brotherly feeling; if you do, may you be killed by thousands of knives.

24. After entering, you swear to wear mourning for three years. If you shall be publicly nominated, you will then be promoted to the rank of Incense Master. You will not announce yourself to be as such by illegal conduct; if you do, may you be stricken by five bolts of lightning.
25. After entering, you swear to make no new enemies, nor to remember the old ones; if you do, may you be stricken by five bolts of lightning.

26. If your own brother shall be fighting with a brother of the Society, you will exhort them to stop, but will not secretly assist either side; if you do, may you be stricken by five bolts of lightning.

27. You swear not to occupy your brother's territory; if you pretend to know nothing of it, may you be stricken by five bolts of lightning.

28. You swear not to requite, by evil acts, the favors you receive from a brother, nor injure him in your lust for the gain and pursuit of wealth; if you do, may you be stricken by five bolts of lightning.

29. You swear that should a brother become prosperous, you will not stop him in his path to extort from him; if you do, may you be killed by thousands of knives.

30. You swear not to protect an outsider who has oppressed a brother; if you do, may you be killed by thousands of knives.

31. You swear not to oppress the weak by employing the strong, nor the poor by means of the rich, nor the few by the many; if you do, may you be stricken by five bolts of lightning.

32. You swear not to injure a brother who did not lend you money; if you do, may you be stricken by five bolts of lightning.
33. You swear not to debauch a brother's children; if you do, may you be stricken by five bolts of lightning.

34. You swear not to irregularly take a sister-in-law in the brotherhood to wife, contracting the marriage by a go-between, nor to have any illicit intercourse; if you do, may you be killed by thousands of knives.

35. You swear not to verify the laws or acts of the Society, nor introduce into the company of the brotherhood those who are not members, nor to secretly disclose its principles; if you do, may you be killed by thousands of knives.

36. Each one has his own specialty. After entering, you will treat loyalty and righteousness as your prime conduct, and make friends from all walks of life in order to gather power to destroy the Qing and restore the Ming Dynasty; if you hesitate or keep away from fear, may you be killed by thousands of knives.

6.2 Prescribed Procedures

6.2.1 Twenty-One Regulations

1. Those who offended against the laws and made the innocent suffer will be sentenced to death if it is serious, or have both hands lopped off\textsuperscript{95} if it is light.

\textsuperscript{95} A symbol of humiliation.
2. Those who debauched a brother's wife, daughter, or sister will be sentenced to death without pardon.

3. Those who shanghaied a brother will have both ears lopped off.

4. Those who turned in a brother for the sake of reward will be sentenced to death.

5. Those who claimed to be the Incense Master without official recognition will be sentenced to death.

6. Those who showed their identification cards or certificates to an outsider will have both ears lopped off and be caned one hundred and eight times.

7. New members who exceed their authority will have one ear lopped off.

8. Those who told outsiders the Society's secrets will have both ears lopped off.

9. Those who said nasty words to their parents will have both ears lopped off.

10. Those who oppressed the weak by employing the strong, or the poor by means of the rich, or the few by the many will have both ears lopped off.

11. Those who spread slanderous reports to interrupt brotherly feeling will have both ears lopped off.

12. Those who hid away from revolution will have both ears lopped off.

13. Those who did not assist a brother in trouble will have both ears lopped off and be caned one hundred and eight times.
14. Those who stole a brother's property and did not return it will have both ears lopped off.
15. Those who hurt a brother or wasted his money will have one ear lopped off.
16. Those who hid away from the call-in of other branches of the Society will be sentenced to death.
17. Those who were seduced by outsiders to tell the affairs of the Society will have both ears lopped off and be caned seventy-two times.
18. Those who were in charge but did not manage properly or embezzled will have both ears lopped off and be caned one hundred and eight times.
19. Those new members who did not pay the fees after the initial ceremony will have both ears lopped off and be caned seventy-two times.
20. Those who took advantage from brothers will have both ears lopped off.
21. Those who violated the regulations, opposed the punishment, or laid the blame on others will have both ears lopped off.

G.2.2 Ten Restrictions
1. One must treat a brother's wife with respect. Members who are married must not seek out other women; for those who do will be sentenced to death. Women of loose morals will have both ears lopped off.
2. Those who did not assist a brother, physically or monetarily, to bury a deceased parent will have both ears lopped off.

3. Those who did not assist a brother in straitened circumstances will have both ears lopped off.

4. Those who cheated a brother in gambling will be caned one hundred and eight times.

5. Those who showed outsiders the Society's regulations will be sentenced to death.

6. Those who took advantage of brothers who have their own business will have both ears lopped off.

7. Those who did not assist a brother who was in a fight with outsiders will be caned one hundred and eight times.

8. Those who oppressed others by means of seniority or the poor by employing the strong will have both ears lopped off and be caned seventy-two times.

9. Those who did not assist a brother in trouble will be caned one hundred and eight times.

10. Those who did not assist a brother to escape from the pursuit of the government will be caned one hundred and eight times.
G.2.3 Ten Punishments

1. Those who did not treat their parents with respect will be caned one hundred and eight times.
2. Those who let out the Society's secrets will be caned one hundred and eight times.
3. Those who pretended having trouble will be caned one hundred and eight times.
4. Those who cheated a brother will be caned one hundred and eight times.
5. Those who allied with outsiders to oppress a brother will be caned one hundred and eight times.
6. Those who managed a brother's money and wasted it will be caned seventy-two times.
7. Those who were drunk and subsequently caused trouble will be caned seventy-two times.
8. Those who hid a brother's property in order to keep it themselves will be caned in relation to the value of the property.
9. Those who interrupted the brotherly feeling by arguing with a brother's relatives will be caned seventy-two times.
10. Those who tricked a brother to gamble will be caned seventy-two times.
G.2.4 Eighteen Statutes

1. Those who did not respect their parents will be punished depending on the situation and punishment will be decided upon by the masses.

2. Those who did not respect their elders will be punished depending on the situation and punishment will be decided upon by the masses.

3. Those who relied on the powerful connections of the Society to beat up their relatives will be punished depending on the situation.

4. Those who beat up their brother will be punished depending on the situation.

5. Those who teased a woman of the same rank in the family will be punished depending on the situation.

6. Those who teased a woman of a higher rank in the family will be punished depending on the situation.

7. Those who teased a woman of a lower rank in the family will be punished depending on the situation.

8. Those who had illicit relations with a woman of a higher rank in the family will be punished severely.

9. Those who had illicit relations with a woman of a lower rank in the family will be punished severely.

10. Those who took advantage from an orphan will be punished depending on the situation.

11. Those who sold out their brothers will be punished depending on the situation.
12. Those who sold out the Society will be punished depending on the situation.
13. Those who accepted bribes to sell out their brother will be punished depending on the situation.
14. Those who cheated a brother will be punished depending on the situation.
15. Troublemakers will be punished severely.
16. Those who introduced outsiders to check out a brother's property will be punished depending on the situation.
17. Those who embezzled a brother's investment will be punished depending on the situation.
18. Those who lied or spread rumours or threatened a brother by force will be punished depending on the situation.

G.2.5 Ten Articles
1. Be faithful to serve the country.
2. Be filial to one's parents.
4. Be friendly with neighbours.
5. Be a gentleman.
6. Be kind and just.
8. Be kind and just to one's brother.
9. Be respectful to the Society's regulations.
10. Have mutual confidence and assistance among brothers.

G.2.6 Ten Forbidden Items

1. No vicious and arrogant behaviour.
2. No teasing of sisters or sisters-in-law.
3. No exaggerating.
4. No shanghaiing.
5. No quarreling.
6. No leaking out of secrets.
7. No indecorous conduct.
8. No oppression of the weak by employing the strong.
9. No fighting for bonus.
10. No introduction of bad people to the Society.

G.2.7 Ten Discussions and Commandments

The following items were made and decided upon by individual branches of the Society.

1. No cheating among brothers.
2. No scolding of parents.
3. No troublemaking.
4. No oppression of the weak by employing the strong.
5. No cheating.
6. No advantage be taken from another.
7. No unkind and unjust behaviour.
8. No fighting to be first.
9. No illegal occupying of public property.
10. No sponging upon.
G.3 Domestic Disciplines

G.3.1 Five Levels of Punishments

1. Capital punishment - either be killed by slow torture until death or be killed by broad sword.

2. Severe punishment - either by burial until death or by drowning to death.

3. Light punishment - be striken through by broad sword three times for senior officials and be caned forty times by red club for junior officials.

4. Demotion.

5. Dismissal - never be appointed again.

\*\* The size of the red club was three feet three inches, according to the Chinese measurement, and it is also named by fighting officials nowadays.
Appendix H

TEACUP ARRANGEMENTS

The Chinese are great tea drinkers, and the secret societies have a set of test questions and answers made up of teacups. These are very convenient and would not raise suspicion in the minds of non-members. However, they have been mostly forgotten or abandoned nowadays.

- $\exists$ = Teacup

Table 7: The Dragon Formation

Fach solution was followed by a poem; however, they consist of a lot of historical characters and folklores, which are difficult to translate and be understood by foreigners. Therefore, they will not be included here. Solution: drink it.

Table 8: The Double Dragons Formation

$\exists \exists$

Solution: drink either one.

Table 9: The Kind and Just Formation

$\exists \exists$

Solution: drink either one.

---

Translated from Su, op. cit., pp. 77-99.
Table 10: The Three Kingdoms Formation

Refering to the three heroes during the Three Kingdoms era (220-265 B.C.) of whom formed a pact of friendship to death. Solution: drink any one.

Table 11: The Faith and Righteousness Formation

Solution: drink the one in the middle.

Table 12: The Chinese-character-of 'Pin' Formation

Solution: arrange them in a row by moving the two at the bottom, then drink any one.

Table 13: The Four Corners Formation

Solution: drink any one.

Table 14: The Grave-for-hero Formation

Solution: drink either one from the bottom row.

Table 15: The Alliance-with-ZHAO Yun Formation

SHAO Yun is a historical character. Solution: move the one at the bottom to the upper row, then drink either one.

Table 16: The Very-well-disposed Formation

Solution: drink any one.

Table 17: The Dragon King's Crystal Palace Formation

Solution: drink any one.
Table 18: The Mutually Accelerate and Counterclockwise Formation

Solution: drink any one.

Table 19: The Five Petals Plum Flower Formation

Solution: drink any one.

Table 20: The Six Countries Formation

The six countries of the Warring States Period (403-221 B.C.). Solution: drink any one.

Table 21: The Six-generals-guarding-three-gates Formation

Solution: move the middle one in the upper row up, and move the middle one in the bottom row down, then drink any one.

Table 22: The Six Trends Formation

Solution: drink any one.

Table 23: The Sword of Great Dipper Formation One

Solution: only the one at the top, and the one in the middle of the bottom row can be taken.
Table 24: The Sword of Great Dipper Formation Two

Solution: move the one on the top to the fourth row, and drink any one from the row.

Table 25: The Sword of Great Dipper Formation Three

Solution: drink any one.

Table 26: The Great Dipper Formation

Solution: drink any one.

Table 27: The Seven Goddesses Formation

Solution: drink any one from the four cups on the right; those three on the left represent 'self-interest' and therefore cannot be taken.

Table 28: The Chinese-character-of 'Xia' Formation

Solution: drink the one in the third row.
Table 29: The Plum Flower Formation

Solution: drink any one.

Table 30: The Moon Formation

Solution: drink the one in the centre.

Table 31: The Liang Mountain Formation

The headquarters of the Water Margin Rebels during the Song Dynasty (1127-1279 A.D.). They were highly respected by the Society's members. This formation was mainly for important ceremonial use only. Solution: drink any one.

- a = Teacup; 0 = Empty Teacup.

Table 32: The Restore-the-Chinese-Ming-Dynasty Formation

Solution: pour tea into the empty one and drink it.
Table 33: The Overthrow-the-Manchu-Ching-Dynasty Formation

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\& \ 0 \\
\& \ 0 \\
\& \ 0
\end{array}
\]

Solution: pour tea into any empty cup and drink it.

\(\& = \text{Teacup}; \ 0 = \text{Half-filled Teacup}; \ & = \text{Teapot}; \ \_ = \text{Tray}; \ / = \text{Candle or Chopstick}\).

Table 34: The Whip Formation (for requesting help)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\& \ X \\
\_ \\
\end{array}
\]

Solution: if the one being requested can help, drink the tea; if not, clean up the cup, pour new tea and drink it.

Table 35: The Proper Order and Converse Formation

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\& \ X \\
\& \ X \\
\& \ X
\end{array}
\]

Solution: put the tea from the cups back into the teapot, then pour tea into any one and drink it.

Table 36: The Upper and Lower Formation

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\& \ X \\
\& \ X
\end{array}
\]

Solution: arrange the cups in a row and drink any one.

Table 37: The Double-dragons-competing-for-a-jade Formation

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\& \ X \\
\& \ X
\end{array}
\]

Solution: set aside the candles or chopsticks first, then arrange the cups in a row and drink any one.

Table 38: The Fighting Formation (for requesting help)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\& \ & \ & \ X
\end{array}
\]

Solution: if the one being requested cannot assist the brother in a fight, drink the one in the middle; otherwise, drink all of them.
Table 39: The LIU Xiu-going-through-a-mountain-pass Formation

(for requesting help)

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{X} \\
\text{a} \quad \text{a} \\
\text{a} \\
\text{a} \\
\end{array} \]

LIU Xiu is a historical character. Solution: if the one being requested can assist, drink any one; otherwise, clean one cup, pour tea and drink it.

Table 40: The Honest-and-Loyal-minister Formation (for requesting help)

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{X} \\
\text{a} \quad \text{a} \\
\text{a} \quad \text{a} \\
\end{array} \]

Solution: for those who can assist, a brother to take care of his wife - drink the one on the left; for those who can assist a brother by lending him money - drink the second one from the left; for those who can save a brother's life - drink the third one from the left; for those who can assist a brother out of trouble - drink the one on the right. If any of the above requests cannot be accepted, the answerer will rearrange the positions of the cups and drink any one.

Table 41: The Strait Formation (for requesting help)

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{X} \\
\text{a} \\
\text{a} \\
\end{array} \]

Solution: for those who can assist a brother out of straitened circumstances will set aside the teapot and drink any one.

Table 42: The A Dou-being-helped-by-ZHAO Yun Formation

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{X} \\
\text{a} \\
\text{a} \\
\text{a} \\
\end{array} \]

A Dou and ZHAO Yun are historical characters. Solution: take the teapot off of the tray, then drink any one.

Table 43: The Mutual Assistance Formation

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{X} \\
\text{a} \\
\text{a} \\
\text{a} \\
\end{array} \]

Solution: put the teacup in the tray along with the other four, then drink any one.
Table 44: The Five Tiger-generals Formation

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
\text{a} & \text{a} & \text{a} & \text{a} & \text{x} \\
\end{array} \]

Solution: put the tea back into the teapot in sequence, then pour tea into the middle cup and drink it.

Table 45: The Classic-form-of-number-eight Formation

\[ \begin{array}{cc}
\text{a} & \text{a} \\
\text{a} & \text{x} \\
\text{a} & \text{a} \\
\end{array} \]

Solution: move the left one in the second row to the upper row and the right one to the bottom row, then drink any one.

Table 46: The Prime-minister-of-the-six-countries Formation

\[ \begin{array}{ccc}
\text{a} & \text{x} & \text{a} \\
\text{a} & \text{a} & \text{a} \\
\end{array} \]

The six countries during the Warring States Period (403-221 B.C.). Solution: set aside the teapot, move the left one in the second row to the top, and the right one to the bottom, then drink any one.
Appendix I

POEMS

1. "Bao" (Treasure) Verse
   A bend I passed and then another bend;
   My family lives on the Five Fingers Mountain;
   I've come to look for the Temple of the Sisters-
   in-law;
   It's the third in the row,
   No matter whether you count from the right or the
   left.

2. "Feng" (Wind) Verse
   Feng you said I was but I am not;
   Flags in five colours are in the wooden tub:
   On the left are the banners of the Dragon, the
   Tiger, the Tortoise and the Serpent;
   On the right, the banners pronounce Brilliance,
   Longevity, and Harmony.

3. "Liu" (Glass) Verse
   Liu you said I was but I am not;
   The Three Rivers meet and the confluence flows for
   centuries;
I have taken the water from the Three Rivers with my head lowered;
You're more Liu if you say I am Liu.

4. Title Verse

a. 14K secret society

The name of our family rises high as the Phoenix dances and the dragon flies;
Like a bolt from the blue the title of our family rumbles over the land,
With K Gold as our mark, China will guard.

b. Meanle secret society

The head of a lion, the belly of glass;
There are 24 piles;
You'll get hurt if you touch them;
You can talk about them but not bite at them.

5. Yin' (Seal) Verse (49 member)

If you ask for my Yin it's the first, the second and the fourth;
Everyone knows it is in the shape of a triangle;
It's a sign for thousands of sworn brothers;
Together we'll put our Lord on the Throne.
Appendix J

A CHINESE'S PERSPECTIVE OF WESTERN SOCIETIES

1. The Chinese are concerned with knowing what other people are doing, but they do not know what they should do; the foreigners do not care what others are doing; they know only what they have to do.

2. The Chinese are Confucians who believe that people are born to be decent. They do not believe in regulation since it would make it more difficult for a person to make a success of his life; however, it always produces well-known bad guys. The foreigners belong to the Legalist School which believes people are born to be bad (original sin); therefore, they set up a lot of regulations to govern people's behavior. Consequently, there have not been too many evil persons.

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98 Translated from LIU Tiangang. "China and Foreign Countries". China Spring Vol. 22 (April 1985), 90. The article was written by a Chinese, who came from the People's Republic of China, and was studying as a graduate student in Canada. In the view of the author, those foreign countries only refer to Canada and United States, and does not include the European nations. Besides, his opinion does not necessarily represent the general Chinese public.

99 For more detailed discussion, see Chapter II.
3. The Chinese celebrate when they are enlisted in certain organizations or parties; the foreigners celebrate when they become famous or earn a fortune.

4. The Chinese talk about doctrines, and the foreigners talk about actual gains; Chinese are fond of rank, and the foreigners are fond of money.

5. The Chinese spend money to make a living; the foreigners spend on elections.

6. The Chinese are great savers, but they do not seem to have saved a lot; the foreigners are big spenders, and there are always lots of things that they can spend on.

7. The Chinese have their quarrels on the street; the foreigners have theirs in the parliament.

8. The Chinese have trouble remembering the dynasties in Chinese history because there are too many; the foreigners have trouble remembering the advertisements because there are a lot too.

9. The Chinese shop like poor people; the foreigners shop like millionaires.

10. The Chinese talk about their ancestry; the foreigners talk about themselves.

11. The Chinese compare themselves to the past and the weak; the foreigners compare to others and the strong.

12. The Chinese talk about equality, but there are clear distinctions among occupations; the foreigners talk
about equality in all occupations, but there is a gap between rich and poor.

13. The Chinese teach the youngsters to be content; the foreigners teach the opposite.

14. The Chinese emphasize talent, but there are not too many talented people; the foreigners set legislations to control people, but there are a lot of people with different talent.

15. The Chinese government loves the people; the foreign governments fear them.

16. Chinese leaders discuss policies with the foreigners before telling the public; the foreigners have to clarify themselves to the people first.

17. The Chinese talk about equality, but the government documents are distributed with regard to rank; the foreigners have racial inequality, but their news does not make it appear so.

18. Chinese literature aims at educating the populace; the foreigners aim at reproaching the government.

19. In China, the government feeds the people; in foreign countries, the people feed the governments which have to report their spending to the public in detail.

20. Chinese newspapers publish achievements; the foreigners publish disasters.

21. In talking about democracy, the Chinese can elect their own group leaders, foremen, or section chiefs.
but not Chairman, Prime Minister, or Representatives; the foreigners just do the opposite.

22. China is surrounded by her enemies, there are so many spies that it is impossible to wipe them out completely; the foreign countries are short of labour that they are trying hard to bring people in.

23. The Chinese curse the others behind their backs, but praise directly; the foreigners curse and praise in person.

24. The Chinese are concerned with the health of their leaders; the foreigners care for themselves.

25. It might be reasonable that in order to understand China one ought to go to the foreign countries, and vice versa.
REFERENCES

Books


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100 CL = Chinese Literature


Journals


Magazines


Newspapers


CHINESE ORGANIZED CRIME

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