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序

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太平天国這一震撼中外的光輝的近代農民革命，猛烈地衝激了封建皇朝的統治機構，動搖了封建社會的基礎。在革命的十八年中，它建立了自己的國家，組織了強大的軍隊，頒行了革命的綱領和政策，發動廣大農民為推翻封建土地制度、反抗外國資本主義侵畧而進行了英勇不屈的鬥爭。隨着政治的、經濟的革命，也產生了燦然可觀的文物。

在中國封建社會的歷史上，從兩千兩百年前的陳勝、吳廣起義開始，農民曾進行過大小幾百次的革命戰爭。然而他們都沒有建立過自己的國家，在一個相當長時期間與地主統治階級的國家相對峙，因此也就沒有產生過引人注目的典章制度及其文物。祇有太平天国達到了農民革命的最高峰，才具有對封建社會的典章制度及其文化進行批判接受的能力，從而產生出自己的典章制度及其文物。

保存到今天的太平天国文物，應該說是鳳毛麟角的了。但是，我們從經濟方面看，有田憑、便民易知由單、完糧執照、業戶收租票、手工業照憑、碼頭渡船規條碑、商憑、關票、砵碼、錢幣等；從政治方面看，有玉璽、各級爵官印、貢單、獎功執照、職憑、門牌、結婚證書等；從軍事方面看，有銅砲、鐵砲、砲臺碑、腰牌、通行證等；從藝術方面看，有壁畫、彩畫、年畫、封面畫等；從建築方面看，有石雕、木刻、瓦當、團龍等；從器用服飾方面看，有緙絲、刺綉等，也確實是相當豐富的了。

我們再從這些文物的內容看，十分之九是繼承過去遺產的。“中國歷史祇是地主有文化，農民沒有文化。可是地主的文化是由農民造成的，因為造成地主文化的東西，不是別的，正是從農民身上掠取的血汗。”^①因此，太平天国建立政權之後，就把向來為地主階級所占有的文化批判地接受過來，拋棄了對革命不利的部份，繼承了優秀的部份。其顯著的例子之一便是壁畫、彩畫和年畫。我們知道，壁畫、彩畫和年畫一向都是中國農民喜愛的藝術。封建統治階級就利用這幾種藝術形式，繪上佛、道人物與封建故事，

從佛祖、道君、閻羅、竈君、財神、門神、孔子、關羽以至牛鬼蛇神等等都作為“護法”，通過這些人物畫，灌輸給農民一種思想毒素，麻醉他們的反抗意識，叫他們迷信“因果報應”，叫他們“聽天由命”，馴馴服服地做奴做隸，從而維護其封建統治。從周、秦以來的社壇、廟宇、祠堂、宮殿壁畫及漢、魏以來的寺院、道觀壁畫，雕樑畫棟的彩畫，到明代以來的年畫，都為這種封建及宗教內容的人物畫所領有，完完全全服務於封建統治。太平天国提出“不准繪人物”的主張，掃蕩了為封建統治服務的人物畫的舊內容，而代之以山水花鳥和翎毛走獸畫的新內容，繼承了壁畫、彩畫和年畫的形式，並且把它們發揚光大。

太平天国對文化遺產反對什麼、接受什麼，是有很明確的政策。就因為太平天国革命有它自己的革命綱領和政策，並具有對封建社會的典章制度和文化進行批判接受的能力，所以才產生出自己的典章制度及其文物。

在太平天国的文物中，還有一些是根據當時革命的形勢而創造出來的。例如在解放婦女（組織女軍、參加政治、參加生產等），提出男女平等要求的情況下而創立的結婚證書，便是一個最顯著的例子。按太平天国婚姻制度規定，凡結婚必須申報，並稟明主管結婚事務的婚娶官，經過婚娶官批准，發給叫做“龍鳳合揮”的結婚證書，才得舉行婚禮。結婚證書中間蓋印，分為一式兩紙，政府保存一紙，發一紙給結婚的當事人，騎縫寫號碼，以備查對。證書上並列男女的姓名、年齡、籍貫、參加太平天国年月、工作崗位等項。從這一種結婚證書所反映出的太平天国男女關係，確實是真正平等的，掃除了中國封建社會男尊女卑的從屬關係。這種適應革命的形勢而創立出來的新文物，是太平天国在批判接受封建社會的典章制度和文化之外的另一個發展。

由上所述，可見太平天国在革命當中曾經產生有燦然可觀的文物。這些文物本身就說明了太平天国革命的種種業績。

二

隨着太平天国革命的失敗，它的文物遭到清朝反動政府的毀滅。就是到辛亥革命以後，軍閥政府與國民黨政府，也是任其湮沒，無異摧毀。所以在新中國成立以前，太平天国文物只有寥寥可數的幾件。

太平天国文物由政府加以徵集，予以保護，源源不斷地發現，那是新中國成立以後

的事。新中國成立後，黨和政府首先對人民進行了教育。在1951年1月11日金田起義一百週年紀念日，《人民日報》特發表社論紀念，喚起人民對太平天国革命的認識；並在北京、南京、上海、無錫、蘇州、揚州、杭州、合肥等地先後舉辦紀念性的展覽會。通過發表社論和舉辦展覽會，否定並批駁了地主階級對太平天国的種種誣蔑，宣揚了太平天国革命的反封建、反侵略的業績，扭轉了一部份人以往對太平天国不正確的觀念。於是依靠群眾進行徵集、保護太平天国文物的工作，就在黨和政府的正確政策之下開展起來，從而太平天国文物便源源不斷地被發現。

新中國成立以來太平天国文物發現的情況，在這裏是說不完的，現在只舉幾個典型例子來說。

首先是南京堂子街太平天国壁畫。這些珍貴壁畫的發現，不祇是對於太平天国革命史有極重要的意義，對於人民藝術的傳統來說也很重要。但是在反動統治的黑暗年代裏，無人珍重，任它毀壞。直到1951年冬，群眾看過南京市太平天国起義一百週年紀念展覽，知道重視太平天国文物了，才有人報告了政府。

1953年10月發現的兩尊太平天国鐵砲之所以幸得保存，乃是一位觀眾在揚州博物館舉辦的太平天国歷史展覽會上看見了一尊太平天国銅砲之後，想起他以前在揚州附近見過幾尊相似的鐵砲，便向政府反映了情況。政府根據他提供的線索，輾轉追查到上海，才從預備作為廢鐵銷鑄的材料堆中搶救了回來。

同月，又在南京挹江門內戴家巷附近睦寡婦山上發現了天朝元勛曾水源的墳墓。曾水源參加過金田起義，官至天官正丞相。截到今天為止，太平天国人物墳墓的發現，這還是第一次，而發現的人便是一個十三四歲的初中學生。他偶然到山上去玩，看見一塊墓碑上有“天国”二字，便報告了政府。

1954年1月，紹興市毛兒橋居民委員會修理該區三秀庵(原名三依庵)作為辦公地址，泥水工人開闢窗戶的時候，發現牆壁內藏有一個黑布包，裏面珍藏着兩張太平天国合揮(結婚證書)和一張太平天国立功獎狀，於是送交政府保存。

1955年12月，在安徽當塗縣江心洲太陽河村發現的太陽河碼頭渡船規條碑，對於研究太平天国的交通管理十分重要。它的發現，便是根據一位1937年曾到過太陽河村的南京老中醫師在一次調查太平天国遺迹的座談會上的反映而訪查出來的。

1956年12月，在南京興中門外綏遠路找到的太平天国殿右陸拾指揮功勛段潘懋墓碑，

便是由人民解放軍某部軍人在走路的時候，無意中看見小巷路邊一塊平陷在土中的石碑上有“太平天国”幾個字，就向政府報告，於是被發現的。

1958年發現的以花鳥草蟲、翎毛走獸、山水風景為內容的反封建迷信的太平天国年畫，便是一位收藏楊柳青年畫的畫家查訪出來的。他在楊柳青得到這些年畫，起初不知道是什麼時期的畫，便問楊柳青的老年畫師，才得知是“長毛年畫”。後來他又看到討論太平天国不准繪人物的文章，便確認是太平天国年畫。經過鑒定，果然為太平天国年畫。

我們從上面所舉這些例子可以看出，新中國成立後，工人、軍人、畫家、居民、兒童、老人等都對太平天国文物的發掘作出了他們的貢獻。可以說，全部太平天国文物都是依靠群眾發掘出來的。這是群眾辛勞的成果，是黨和政府保護革命文物政策的輝煌成就。

三

現在，爲了要把黨和政府這一輝煌成就向廣大人民作宣傳，爲了使人民更進一步認識太平天国的革命意義，爲了向歷史工作者提供研究太平天国史的重要文獻，所以便有了這一集文物的編纂。

這一集文物，分經濟、政治、軍事、其他等四大類，共收錄太平天国文物一百六十八件。凡壁畫、彩畫、版畫、雕刻、緯絲、刺綉等具有藝術性的文物，已經輯為《太平天国藝術》一集出版，所以這一集就不再收入了。

這一集文物初稿成於1959年，由劉文英、王淑慎、羅文起共同編纂。1982年打算出版，曾由韓品崢、羅文起、張鐵寶共同做了付印前的工作，後來沒有印成。到1990年，譚躍館長與江蘇人民出版社商洽，決定付印。於是，由譚躍、張鐵寶、曹志君增選近年新發現的文物加以補充，並對全稿進行核定。

傳世的“太平天国文物”多偽品，鑒定不易。其中如有偽品，敬請讀者教正！

1991年6月15日羅爾綱謹序於北京

注釋：

① 見毛澤東《湖南農民運動考察報告》（《毛澤東選集》第一卷，第四十二頁）。

PREFACE

I

The Taiping uprising was a glorious peasant revolution in the modern history of China that dealt a serious blow to the rule of the Qing Dynasty and shook the foundation of the feudal society. During its eighteen years of existence, the revolutionaries established their own government, organized a powerful army, formulated and carried out revolutionary programs and policies, and mobilized the broad masses of the peasants in their heroic struggles against the feudal landowning system and foreign invasion. The revolution left us innumerable relics of historical interest.

Since the first peasant uprising led by Chen Sheng and Wu Guang in 209 B.C., the Chinese peasants had waged hundreds of revolutionary wars against the ruling classes. None of them, however, had founded a government strong enough to rival with the existing regime of the landowning class for a considerable period of time. And as a result, historical relics still extant in connection with their struggles are scanty. It is only the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, a peasant revolt largest in scale and longest in duration in Chinese history, which developed its own highly articulate political and social institutions that left behind a great variety of historical relics. Regarding economic activities, these relics include land title deeds, notifications of taxation, tax returns, permits authorized to landowners to collect rent, handicraftsmen's licenses, traffic regulations, business licenses, receipts of customs duties, and coinage. Regarding political activities, they cover the royal seals made of jade and gold, official seals, receipts of donations, certificates of meritorious deeds, appointment certificates, household registry and marriage licenses. In the military aspect, there still remain bronze and iron guns, fort stone tablets, identification cards, travel permits, etc. Relics of fine arts include wall paintings, colored drawings, Spring Festival pictures and book-cover drawings. Architectural relics include stone carvings, wood carvings, eaves-tiles, coiled dragons carved on brick-like materials, etc. Ornamental articles include tapestry of cut silk, and embroidery.

These relics clearly show that the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom had critically inherited the fine

tradition of the Chinese culture. "In China education has always been the exclusive preserve of the landlords, and the peasants have had no excess to it. But the landlords' culture is created by the peasants, for its sole source is the peasants' sweat and blood." (Mao Tsetung, *SELECTED WORKS OF MAO TSETUNG*, Vol. I, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1967, p.53.) When the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom set up its own regime, it began to take advantage of the Chinese culture, weeding through the old to bring forth the new. This found its most conspicuous expression in the wall paintings, colored drawings and Spring Festival pictures produced by the Taiping artists. These were forms of art traditionally popular among the ordinary Chinese. The feudal ruling classes, in order to sustain their position, had always made use of them by incarnating Buddhist, Taoist and feudal legendary figures such as Bodhisattvas, religious immortals, King of Hell, Kitchen God, God of Wealth, Door-God, Guang Yu and even monsters and demons as the "protectors of law" in an attempt to paralyse and disarm the people's will of resistance, and mesmerize them into subservient believers of fatalism and predestination. The post-Zhou and Qin wall paintings and colored drawings decorating the sacrificial altars, ancestral temples, palaces, monasteries and the post-Ming Spring Festival pictures were all filled with these feudal and religious figures, thus making art serve the interest of the ruling classes. Therefore, the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom decided to forbid the artists to draw human figures, legendary or real, in their works. What were allowed to appear in paintings and pictures were only mountains, waters, flowers, birds and animals. In other words, the Taiping Government had its clearcut policy to distinguish the good elements from the bad ones in the Chinese traditional culture.

Some of the extant relics of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom show that the revolutionaries had created new social institutions under the new circumstances. For instance, the Taiping Government introduced a new marriage system that guaranteed equality between the sexes. This system provided that marriage must be approved by the appropriate Taiping authorities who would grant the couples licenses known as *hehui* before wedding ceremony could be held. Two identical copies were made for each marriage license with the detachable line serial-numbered, one kept by the authorities, the other by the married couple. The license was covered with an official seal and filled in with the married couple's names, age, place(s) of birth, time of joining the Taiping army and work places. Such a marriage license demonstrates that the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom followed a policy of genuine

equality between men and women in contrast to the inferior position women usually held in the Chinese feudal society.

The relics of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom bear definitive testimony to the contributions it made to Chinese social reforms.

II

Most of the relics of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom were destroyed by the Qing Government after the revolt was suppressed. They continued to suffer from damage or fall into oblivion under the negligence of the warlord Governments and the subsequent Kuomintang Government after the 1911 Revolution. And as a result, very few of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom's relics had survived before the founding of New China in 1949.

After 1949 the People's Government reevaluated the historical role of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. Marking the first centennial of the Jintian Uprising, the *People's Daily* carried an editorial on Jan. 11, 1951 emphasizing the revolutionary character of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. In the meantime, nationwide commemorative exhibits were held in such major cities as Beijing, Nanjing, Shanghai, Wuxi, Suzhou, Yangzhou, Hangzhou and Hefei. These activities refuted various slanders thrown upon the Taiping revolutionaries, reaffirmed their just struggles against feudalism and foreign invasion, and corrected distorted concepts entertained by certain people towards them. It was under such circumstances that the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom's relics began to be systematically gathered, frequently discovered and carefully preserved.

The following is a brief account of how some of the discoveries have been made since liberation.

In the winter of 1951 the Nanjing Municipal Government was told of the existence of a set of wall paintings at an old residence believed to be the palace of a certain Taiping prince at Tangzi Road. This was a significant discovery in that these paintings imbued with revolutionary enthusiasm had long remained unknown and neglected, and they could never have been found if not for the importance given to the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom by the People's Government.

In October 1953 two iron guns of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom were found. The discovery of these two guns was particularly helpful to the study of the armament industry of the Taiping Heavenly

Kingdom. It was sheer coincidence that these two guns were found, thanks to a man who happened to have a second thought after seeing a bronze gun at an exhibit held in Yangzhou where weapons of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom were put on view to the public. The bronze gun struck him that he had come across several iron guns much of the same size and make somewhere about the city of Yangzhou. He then shared his reflections with the local government, which followed up his clue as far as until Shanghai, where the two iron guns were found lying hidden in the scrap metal heap waiting to be remelted.

Almost at the same time the tomb of Zeng Shuiyuan, a Taiping veteran general, was discovered on the Muguafu Hill by the Daijia Lane near the Yijiangmen Gate of Nanjing. General Zeng was a participant of the Jintian Uprising in 1851 and was later appointed Chancellor of the order of *tian*. Zeng's was the first tomb ever found of the Taiping revolutionaries. Surprisingly enough, the discoverer of General Zeng's tomb was a junior high teenager who, when once playing on the hill, incidentally found a piece of stone engraved with two Chinese characters meaning the "Heavenly Kingdom". He reported his finding to the government that led to the confirmation of General Zeng's resting place.

In January 1954 the Maoerqiao Neighborhood Committee, Shaoxing, decided to renovate the Sanxiu Nunnery and turn it into offices. The construction workers found inside the wall a black parcel which contained two marriage licenses and a certificate of meritorious deeds all granted by the Taiping authorities. The workers who had learned after liberation that the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom was a peasant revolutionary movement immediately handed them to the local government.

A stone tablet inscribed with ferry-boat traffic regulations was discovered in December 1955 in the Taiyanghe Village, Dangtu County, Anhui Province. The regulations clearly show that the Taiping government was deeply concerned with the interest of the ordinary people. The discovery of this tablet which gives very important evidence in the study of the Taiping social policies was made by virtue of the information provided by an aged Chinese medicine practitioner in Nanjing who at a forum about the gathering of the Taiping relics recalled that he had seen the tablet in the Taiyanghe Village when he paid a visit there in 1937.

In December 1956 a PLA man when taking a walk along the Suiyuan Road outside the

Xingzhongmen Gate of Nanjing accidentally found a tombstone that bore four inscribed characters meaning “the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom”. He quickly alerted the local authorities and it was later identified as the tombstone originally placed over the grave of the Taiping General by the name of Duan Panmao.

The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom’s Spring Festival pictures in defiance of feudal superstition were found in 1958 by a young painter who was interested in collecting the Spring Festival pictures of the Yangliuqing style. However, when he first saw these pictures he felt unable to make a credible appraisal of them. He then went to consult an old Spring Festival picture painter of Yangliuqing style. He was told that these were the Spring Festival pictures of “long-haired rebels”. Later when he happened to lay his eyes on an article asserting that no human figures were allowed in the Taiping drawings and paintings, he became sure that these were truly the artistic creations of the Taiping painters. And his conclusion was subsequently verified.

These few instances I cited above are enough to show that a large part of the credit in connection with the discovery of the historical relics of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom should go to the ordinary people including workers, PLA men, artists, youngsters and the elderly taught by the Chinese Communist Party and the People’s Government to respect the great peasant revolution that took place in the mid-19th century.

III

This collection is intended to meet the needs of scholars with special concerns of and interest in the history of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. Under four general subheadings, i.e., economic, political, military, and others, it contains 168 items. It does not include relics of art such as wall paintings, colored drawings, wood-block paintings, carvings, tapestry of cut silk and embroidery, because they have been arranged in a separate collection entitled *THE ART OF THE TAIPIING HEAVENLY KINGDOM* which was published in 1959.

The first draft of this collection was completed in 1959 by Liu Wenying, Wang Shushen and Luo Wenqi. In 1982 Han Pinzheng, Luo Wenqi and Zhang Tiebao added new items to the first draft and made it ready to be put into print. However, the publication was not materialized. In 1990 Mr. Tan

Yao, Director of the Historical Museum of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, reached an agreement with the Jiangsu People's Publishing House that the publication of this collection should not be delayed any longer. And in order to bring it up-to-date, Tan Yao, Zhang Tiebao and Cao Zhijun carefully checked the whole draft and appropriately augmented it in light of the new discoveries made in recent years. I feel very happy that the project started over three decades ago now is eventually brought to fruition.

The editors would greatly appreciate if our readers would advise us of counterfeit items, if any, already included in this collection.

Luo Ergang

Beijing

June 15, 1991

凡 例

一. 本集所收都是現存文物，凡祇有照片而原物今已不知下落者不收。

二. 本集所收文物分經濟、政治、軍事、其他等四大類編纂。每大類又分爲若干小類，以時間編次先後，凡文物上署有年月而無日期可考的，編於該月之末；凡署有年而無月日可考的，編於該年之末；凡年月日都缺的，則編於該類之末。

三. 本集所收文物，都記明其質地、尺寸、印文、來源與藏處等項，若有某項待考者則暫缺。若文物上的文字有模糊不清而尚能辨認者，仿金石釋文例附以釋文；其模糊太甚而難以辨認者，用符號“□”爲記；有明顯訛誤者，則在訛字之後的符號“〔 〕”內注明。

四. 本集所收文物的收藏單位，以原選時的單位爲准，其後若知轉移者，則以新收藏單位記錄。

EDITOR'S NOTES

- (1) All the relics included in this collection are known to us in definite existence. Relics without our knowledge of their whereabouts are not included even if their photographs are available.
- (2) Relics in this collection fall into the following four headings: economic, political, military, and others. And each heading is further divided into subheadings. Within each subheading items are arranged in chronological order. Items only dated with year and month stand at the end of those with complete dating of the same month, items only dated with year stand at the end of those with complete dating of the same year, and items without dating stand at the end of those under the same subheading.
- (3) Brief explanatory notes are given to all the inclusions in connection with their size, inscriptions and seal-impressions on them, material of which they are made and the places where they were found and where they are kept. In a few cases, however, it is impossible to make the notes perfect. Wherever a character in the seal-impression or gun inscriptions is not recognizable, a square sign is placed in its stead. In case an obvious language mistake is found in the original text of the inscriptions, correction is provided in parenthesis following the error.
- (4) It should be stated here that the recognition of the institutions that keep in their possession the relics included in this collection is based on what we knew when we first started the compiling, with some revisions as we later learned of the transfers that already occurred.
- (5) There are unavoidably modifications in the English translation of the terms peculiar to the history of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. Readers are advised to refer to the Chinese text in case ambiguity arises.

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