

Upon reconsideration, surely the revenge sought by the aforementioned criminals that resulted in the loss of fourteen lives may be seen as constituting an evil act [*xiong'e*]. The persons themselves and the families of Zhou Wenqiang, who died of illness, Zhou Fuquan, now sentenced to beheading, and Zhou Shanhe, who is sentenced to exile, should all be relocated to some lands at a distance greater than six hundred li under the supervision of an exile official. The lands of the stockade village were originally the property of the Wei lineage, and the transfer back and forth between Zhou and Tan lineages is not clear. If possession is adjudged reverting to the Zhou lineage, then the Tan lineage will not agree; if possession is transferred to the Tan lineage, then the Zhou lineage will not agree. Clearly, the blood feud stemmed entirely from this land. . . . In truth, there would be no benefit in transferring possession only to one lineage and simply creating a cause for further feuding. As the prefect and magistrate recommended above, it should become government property, and strong young men from the countryside should be recruited to cultivate it, with the grain set aside as disaster relief for the area. . . .

The emperor's decision was to confirm the sentences for Zhou Fuquan, beheading with delay until after the autumn assizes, and the others as recommended, presumably including the disposition of the disputed land.

NOTES

Source: *Xingke tiben* [(Board of Punishments) Office of Scrutiny routine memorials] 2-24-2342--I, Yongzheng 6 (1728).

1. In *Manslaughter, Markets*, Buoye describes the rapid increase in homicides stemming from such disputes, particularly in Guangdong. In other parts of China where this transition had occurred earlier, fewer violent clashes erupted during this period. See also Buoye, "Economic Change." Min, in "Theory of Political Feudalism," traces the debates over how much social control to allow local elites and how much to reserve for central officials that apparently lie behind the historical decisions that fomented this vendetta.

2. According to one Qing period historian, the Zhuang were a "clan" (*zu*) of the Man peoples, non-Han "Others" who originally lived, probably as hunter-gatherers, in the mountains of southern China. Naquin and Rawski refer to them as "Tai" (*Chinese Society*, 177). The Zhuang reputedly used poisoned darts against their enemies, making them greatly feared. Yet as seen from this report, by the eighteenth century the Zhuang people were sedentary farmers, no longer the slash-and-burn agricul-

turalists they had been for hundreds of years. By the twentieth century, they were living in Guangxi as well as in Hunan.

3. On the practice of "civilizing the barbarians" during the Qing, see Harrell, *Cultural Encounters*; and Herman, "Empire in the Southwest." This case exemplifies the spread of "cosmopolitan" culture and Han values to this marginal region and the negotiations necessitated between central power structures and local traditions in imposing punishments for infringements of central values. On the Yongzheng emperor's policy for assimilating these aborigines, see Naquin and Rawski, *Chinese Society*, 177. Will, in *Bureaucracy and Famine*, sees the empire's widespread development of relief granaries as a response to its need to prevent famine—and to keep the rapidly expanding populace from migrating in times of natural disaster.

4. When Chinese settlers, most of them Hakkas, moved into the area, they, too, built highly fortified residential structures. For a Hakka structure, see Naquin and Rawski, *Chinese Society*, 174-75.

5. He means wine mixed with a few drops of blood from all who swear brotherhood in the gang; the cup of blood wine was shared by all who took the oath. Usually, such a ceremony was held in a local temple, with oaths of fidelity sworn before the statue of the temple deity, who would serve as a divine guarantor for their commitment.

6. This is not a large plot of land, only slightly more than ten acres.

7. These firearms were probably long-barreled fowling pieces but may have been muskets (they did not have spiral grooves cut into the bores and hence were not rifles, strictly speaking).

8. By reference to the Qing penal code, Article 383, which stipulates that those who set fatal fires should be punished in accordance with the punishment for intentional homicide, and Article 290 on homicide. See Jones, *Great Qing Code*, 358, 276. The order that the Zhou clan compensate its victims financially for all lost property is also in accordance with Article 383.

CASE 16

Rebellious Religious Sectarians (North China, 1791-1814)

The following selections are from depositions made by members of several religious groups affiliated—or thought to be—with the White Lotus Teachings (Bailian Jiao). The White Lotus movement was generally Buddhist in orientation; it originated in the fourteenth century during the fall of the Mongol Yuan dynasty and contributed significantly to the founding of the Ming in 1368. Thereafter, White Lotus sects were

associated with the Ming cause, which made them obvious enemies to the Qing after the Manchus took power in 1644.

The Eight Trigrams Teachings (*Bagua Jiao*) first became powerful early in the nineteenth century, and as several of the following depositions attest, the rebels attacked the capital of Beijing and even broke into the Imperial Palace in 1813. Several palace eunuchs were involved in the conspiracy, but the raid was foiled by other eunuchs who remained loyal to the emperor. (The emperor was not in Beijing at the time.) The Manchu prince who later became the Daoguang emperor played an important role in defeating these rebels.¹ Military officials interrogated anyone suspected of being involved in an armed insurrection and then often executed the subject. Information gleaned from these depositions was forwarded to the emperor via direct memorials.

The first text records the astonishing tale of Liu Zhaokui, a poor man who crisscrossed the country several times as a message carrier for leaders of his sect. His interrogator was initially incredulous, but soon realized that Liu was really quite smart and had somehow learned to read during his many years on the road. In his testimony, Sun Guozhu reveals the core teachings of his group in an apparent effort to demonstrate that he has nothing to hide—his group had no political aspirations and had not been involved in either local uprisings or the attack on Beijing. Two other deponents, Qin Li and Xu Anguo, refer to many of the same figures in the movement that attacked Beijing in 1813. One leader of the insurrection, Lin Qing, reappears in their testimony; eighty thousand lives were lost in their rebellion.² Through his comments, Xu outlines his life story; he also hints at his personal commitments and the individual tragedies involved in the government's suppression of these sectarian movements. Ms. Xing records the special abuses women faced even if they joined the movement unwittingly, as in her case, by marriage. Each of these documents offers unmistakable evidence of the importance of ritual and personal loyalties that were central to Chinese sectarian movements.

The depositions reveal something of the lives and the beliefs that society members held in common, such as shared concepts of the relationship between Heaven and earthly authority, the importance of hierarchical and family relationships in society, and personal ethics. Taken together, they constitute a revealing portrait of popular religious beliefs and groupings of the time. These depositions date from 1791, late in the Qianlong period, to 1814, into the Jiaqing period. By then, the "high Qing" was over.

TESTIMONY OF LIU ZHAOKUI, 1791

"I am thirty-seven *sui* in age, and I am from Pingxin Market in Weinan District. My father Liu Xuefang passed away long ago. My mother, Ms. Zu, was remarried to a man named Yang. My older brother Liu Zhaogui left home to beg; I haven't seen him for many years. My one younger sister married a Yang. I don't have any paternal uncles, nor do I have a wife or children. I've been poor ever since I was a child, and I had no one to turn to. When I was eight, I went with Niu Bing in Weinan District to learn magic tricks [*xifa*].³ In Qianlong 35 [1770], we left and went our separate ways to earn a living. At first, I wandered through various places in Sichuan, Guizhou, and Yunnan for twelve or thirteen years. In Qianlong 48 [1783], I went to Taiping, Liuzhou, and various other places in Guangxi looking for work.

"In the fourth month of 49, I went to the Yangli Department area and stayed in the shop of a military exile, Liu Shufang. When I asked, he told me he was exiled there because of the Eight Trigrams Teachings case in Shan District, Shandong. So I asked him, 'What good points does this school have to offer?' He said, 'Once you join this school, you can eliminate calamities and avoid disasters. Not only can you garner good luck in this life, but in your next, you will surely be reborn in a better place.' I was converted at that moment, and on the first of the fifth month of that year, I vowed to follow Liu Shufang as my master and joined the school. Because I didn't know how to read, he lectured me on all the principles of the Eight Trigrams Teachings. I still remember each and every one of them.

"On the sixth of the first month of 50 [February 14, 1785], Liu Shufang gave me four *liang* of silver and two thousand coppers and told me to go to his home area of Shan District in Shandong to deliver a letter to his family. So then I set out from Yangli, and on the fifteenth of the fourth month [May 23] of that year, I got to his home and delivered the letter. I stayed there until the end of the tenth month [December 1], when his wife, Ms. Li, gave me a letter and some pongee pants and told me to take them back to Yangli.

"During the first month of 51 [February 1786], I returned to Yangli and delivered the letter and the thing. I also told Liu Shufang what I had heard at Ms. Li's house, that fellow school members who had been exiled to Guangdong—Li Dazhi, Wei Rong, and Li Shu—had all fallen sick and died at the exile stations in Guangning and Heshan Districts. Liu Shufang said that Li

Dazhi and the others were all his friends in the [Eight Trigrams] Teachings. Since they had all died at the exile stations, if somebody could transport their remains back home, it would be a work of great merit in our sect. At first, I wasn't willing, but when I saw how earnestly he talked, I felt generous and agreed to do it. Just before I set out, Liu Shufang gave me ten *liang* for my travel expenses and gave me a letter and twenty-five *liang* to give to his wife, Ms. Li. He also told me to go to Deqing Department in Guangdong to make inquiries about another man who also had been exiled in this case, Bu Wenbin.

"Because I didn't have enough money for travel expenses, I first went to various places in Guangdong where I did magic and saved up more than thirty ounces. Only in the summer of 53 [May–June 1788] could I get to Guangning and Heshan and have the coffins of Li Dazhi and the others cremated. Then, carrying their remains with me, I went on to Shandong. My road went through Deqing Department, where I found Bu Wenbin and informed him about how Liu Shufang had accepted me as his disciple and had told me to make inquiries about him along the way and to escort the remains of their fellow school members home. He kept me there with him more than ten days. Because I was totally committed to the Dao, he recognized me as his foster son. He wrote a letter and told me to take it to his wife, Ms. Xiao. He also taught me more of the principles, all about "acknowledging the ancestor and returning to the root" [*renzu guigen*]. I remember each and every one of them, too.

"In the eleventh month of 53 [December 1788], I arrived in Shandong and, having delivered the letter, the silver, and the remains to the various places, I lived at the house of Ms. Xiao, Mrs. Bu, and helped with the farming. I didn't go out at all to do magic tricks. At the end of the winter of 54 [late January 1790], Ms. Xiao gave me five hundred coppers and told me to take them to the Mrs. Wang Yuan at Yuan Family Village in the north of Heze District. She said that when Mrs. Wang Yuan's husband Wang Zhongyuan, Administrative King of the Eastern Zhen [Trigram], died, the people all put forward her son, Wang Zizhong, as administrator for the school.⁴ The one who was exiled beyond the Great Wall the year before last was Bu Wenbin's wife's brother's son. When I got to Mrs. Wang Yuan's house, I saw that Yang Wu, Guo Xin, and a fellow named Liu, all from Pei District in Jiangnan, had brought two pecks of rice, a cask of wine, and twelve *liang* of silver to give to Mrs. Wang Yuan. I asked Mrs. Wang Yuan, and she said that when Wang was alive, he had given permission for them to propagate the Gen Trigram

School [Gengua Jiao]. After I made acquaintance with them, we all went our separate ways.

"In the first month of 55 [mid-February 1790], I went with Mrs. Bu Xiao to Mrs. Wang Yuan's house to celebrate the New Year. Mrs. Wang Yuan said her son Wang Zizhong had been sentenced to exile beyond the Great Wall and she had not heard anything from him. Because I was a man of righteousness, she wanted to send me beyond the Wall to see Wang Zizhong. And since Wang Zizhong was the administrator of the Eastern Zhen, I was willing to take a letter to him for her. Mrs. Wang Yuan gave me twenty-four *liang* of silver, and on the nineteenth of the second month of 55 [April 3, 1790], I set out from Shandong. In the fourth month, I arrived at my hometown in Weinan District. I stayed at the home of my clan aunt Mrs. Liu Li for two days, and then I went outside the Wall.

"Only after I got outside the Wall did I learn that Wang Zizhong had been exiled to Kashgar [in Xinjiang]. I made inquiries all along the way, and when I got to Kucha, I saw my fellow in the [Eight Trigrams] Teachings Mao Youlun, who had been sent there for punishment. At Akhsu, I saw Zhou Facai and Zhou Jin, and at Ye'erqiang, I saw Qu Jinhe, Shen Wencheng, Song Ming, and others. The six of them all told me to let Wang Zizhong know that they were still firm in their faith when I saw him. They wanted me to ask Wang Zizhong for titles for them. I was delayed along the way, and so it was only on the sixteenth of the tenth month [November 22] that I finally arrived in Kashgar. I found Wang Zizhong and gave him the news of his family and relayed to him the message from Qu Jinhe and the others requesting titles.

"Wang Zizhong kept me there for a month, explaining to me everything about the teachings in detail. He also said that there were just eight levels of titles in the teachings. After joining the school, with good conduct, you will have the first title of Pastoral Officer [Chuanshi]. From Pastoral Officer, one may be promoted to Officer of Totality [Quanshi]. From Officer of Totality, one may be promoted to Igniter [Dianhuo], and afterward Navigator [Liushui], then General Navigator [Zong Liushui], Defender Perfected Man [Danglai Zhenren], Pathbreaking Perfected Man [Kailu Zhenren], and Trailblazing Perfected Man [Zhilu Zhenren]. After patiently working one's way up to Officer of Totality, you may transmit the teachings to your disciples. From Navigator [levels] and above, you are allowed to keep the accounts. After you've reached the Perfected Man level, you may manage the funds. He said that because I had escorted the remains of my fellows in the teach-

ings to Guangdong and had traveled beyond the Wall to deliver a letter, I had earned great merit in the teachings. He appointed me directly to Pathbreaking Perfected Man of the Most Virtuous Conduct, Eastern Zhen Trigram [Dong Zhen Zhixing Kailu Zhenren], and he told me to return to Shandong.

"If the original teachings could be revived, I was commanded to administer all the internal affairs of the school there. He gave me twelve *liang* of silver and a horse and sent me off, instructing me to go back to Ye'erqiang, Akhsu, and Kucha and to see Qu Jinhe and the others. They are to be granted the titles Officer of Totality and others, and they must keep the teachings always in their hearts. He also told me to go to Shandong and to tell everything about the school to his nephew La Yuaner so that he could easily revive the original teachings. He also gave me two letters that I should first take to Liujiazuang in Pei District, Jiangnan, where I should find Yang Wu, Guo Xin, and Liu Xing and tell them to figure out some way to take care of the school's business there. Then I was to go to Deqing Prefecture in Guangdong, where I should award Bu Wenbin the title Trailblazing Perfected Man, and so on. When I had finished with business matters, I was to bring a letter back to him in Kashgar and he would give me a scarlet sword with jade inlaid in brass. With that, I would have the authority to decide matters of life and death. Then I picked up the letters to the families of Wang Zizhong and the others and set out from Kashgar.

"Just as I was about to leave Zhan Qingzhen and others, exiles from the Guangdong Heaven and Earth Society [Tiandi Hui] case, entrusted me with letters for their families as well. At first, I was not willing, but Zhan Qingzhen gave me two strips of paper and said that when I deliver his letter to Guangdong, if I bring out the strips of paper and show them to the members of their families, I will surely be heavily rewarded. So, scheming for some payment, I took their letters along. Afterward, I returned to Ye'erqiang, Akhsu, and Kucha and told Qu Jinhe and the others about the Officers of Totality titles Wang Zizhong had awarded them. I also took out the family letters for all of them, and those people altogether presented me with more than thirty *liang* of silver for my travel expenses. Then I set out on my return journey.

"On the eighteenth of the sixth month [July 18, 1791], I returned to my old home in Weinan and borrowed a place to stay at my clan nephew Liu Shibing's house. I had originally planned on resting a few days before going to the other places to deliver the letters. I didn't expect that the local warden would report me to the district magistrate there and that I'd be arrested for questioning. My only purpose in joining the Eight Trigrams School was to eliminate catastrophes and to obtain good fortune. I never had in mind any

other reason or to do anything illegal. Nor did I ever take any disciples. I've wandered ever since I was a child; certainly I had never preached any of the teachings here in my home, Weinan. My title in the [Eight Trigrams] Teachings was just announced orally; there was never any written certificate. This is the truth."

Question: "Liu Zhaokui, you found Liu Shufang, Bu Wenbin, Wang Zizhong, and the others, and even though the places to which they had been sent were very far away from one another, they were able to exchange letters. I can see how you were able to share information in your teachings. That Duan Wenjing was an important criminal in the Zhen Trigram School; surely he, too, sent letters back and forth. You must have carried letters for him as well. Where is Duan Wenjing hiding out now? There's no way you could not know! Yang Wu and the others in Pei District have long been in league with Wang Zizhong in establishing the Gen Trigram School. Where are they practicing the teachings now? Who's in charge? How many members are there in the teachings now? Surely you know all about that. Zhan Qingzhen was exiled because of the Heaven and Earth Society case in Guangdong. Surely what was written on the paper strips he gave you were the society's secret passwords. Why would he give them to you without any concern if you hadn't become a member of their society? And when he gave them to you, he must have explained the meaning of what was written on them. Hurry up and tell the truth about them, and tell me how you interpret every line from those letters you were to deliver." He was questioned repeatedly; likewise, heavy torture by squeezing was applied during interrogation.

Further testimony of Liu Zhaokui: "After I joined the school, I never saw Liu Shufang again. Bu Wenbin and Duan Wenjing exchanged letters. As for the letters I carried for Wang Zizhong and the others, I inspected what was in all of them, and none mentioned Duan Wenjing. I could tell that none of them had secret information in them. Only once, at the end of the winter of 54 [early 1790], I was in the house of Mrs. Wang Yuan and I saw Wang Zizhong's nephew La Yuaner. He was originally a constable for Heze District. He had a bill that he showed to Yang Wu, Guo Xin, and the man Liu from Pei District, and he said that it was an arrest warrant for Duan Wenjing issued by the magistrate there. Yang Wu and the others wanted to know how he could dare to hide out here if the chances for his arrest were this high. They had heard that he had some disciples around Dengzhou, and so maybe he had fled to the coast. Who those disciples were or where Duan Wenjing is hiding out now, I truly have no idea.

"I saw Yang Wu and the others only once, in Mrs. Wang Yuan's house. I asked her and then found out that they are in the Gen Trigram School. I never had any dealings with them. Whether they are practicing the teachings there and how many there are in the school, again, I truly have no idea. I got to know Zhan Qingzhen, that exile from Guangdong, only in Kashgar. I never joined their school. I wrongfully listened to what Zhan Qingzhen said about taking those strips of paper only because I hoped to get a few extra gifts of gratitude for delivering the letters. Whatever those strips of paper said, I just couldn't figure out the characters, and I didn't ask him for an explanation.⁵

"The letter from Wang Zizhong to Bu Wenbin said, 'My elder brother Yuanfu: As for the duties of the position I formerly held in Guangdong, I rely on you, elder brother, to assist me in managing them.' What he meant by that was that before Bu Wenbin was convicted, he had originally been a Trailblazing Perfected Man. Later, after the case was exposed and he was convicted, he was not able to manage the affairs of the teachings, and the position was left empty. Now that Bu Wenbin has taken me as his foster son to carry on the duties of the teachings, Wang Zizhong has been restored to his original position of Trailblazing Perfected Man. This means that when Guangdong men from our teachings are exiled, the title each one will be awarded depends on Bu Wenbin's recommendation. Likewise, the letter from Wang Zizhong to Yan, Guo, and Liu said, 'Travel expenses for everyone exiled along the western frontier would be grain from the Southeastern Gen Trigram. In my heart, I foresee that with these provisions, members of our school will reform their humanity and return home.' What that means is that when he was exiled to Xinjiang, Yang Wu, Guo Xin, and Liu of the Gen Trigram provided for his travel expenses all along the way. 'Even now my gratitude overflows for the provisions of your school' means that he calls on practitioners in the Gen Trigram school to continue to offer provisions.

"And Mr. Qu said to Zhou Youxin'na, 'Uncle Bu has bestowed upon us, Qu and Zhou, a single Path. We now entrust to Zhou's own grandson a humble contribution to Du Sanyuan. We three thus entreat you for a signal by which to transmit a command to the society's leaders to move the imperial accounts expeditiously. Each utterance is grounded in our loyal hearts and filial thoughts.' Mr. Qu is Qu Jinhe. Because I succeeded him as Bu Wenbin's foster son, he called me 'Uncle Bu.' When I got to Kashgar, I asked Wang Zizhong for titles for Qu Jinhe and the others. So he said I 'bestowed upon them, Qu and Zhou, a single Path.' Qu Jinhe wrote a letter telling Zhou Yousun to make a contribution to Du Sanyuan. The 'signal' he requested

were these titles. So what Zhou Jin gave to his grandfather Zhou Youxin'na was the same thing. The 'command to the leaders' means the people in the teachings who have titles. 'Quickly move the imperial accounts for loyal hearts and filial minds' tells them to rely on their consciences and quickly raise money, either to send to Mrs. Wang Yuan for her use or to send beyond the Great Wall for Wang Zizhong to use as travel expenses.

"This is all true. Because I wrongfully listened to what Liu Shufang said and became a member of the teachings, I was truly so muddle-headed that I should die for it. Beyond this, I did nothing else, no illegal activities. Nor did I ever accept any disciples or proselytize the teachings. I beg for a lenient punishment."

TESTIMONY OF SUN GUOZHU, 1810

"I am from inside the east gate of the Xuyi District seat in Anhui, and I am forty-three *sui* in age. My father Sun Yuwen and my mother, Ms. Hou, have already passed away. My elder brother Sun Guobin opened a rice and noodles shop in order to make a living. My wife is Ms. Fu; we have three sons. The oldest is Yongchang, the second is Yongning, and the third is Yongpu. Formerly, I was a financial section scribe [*hufang tiexie*] for the district, but later I went out to work selling my writing skills.

"On the eighth of the fourth month of Jiaqing 10 [May 6, 1805], in Longshan Temple outside the east gate, I was invited to join the Heavenly Principle Society [Tianli Hui] by the butcher Zhou Yongtai, the salt monopoly clerk Guo Tai, the Sizhou constable Ren Tai, the district constables Jin Kui, Fan Rong, and Wu Jie, and the boatman Ji Yougong. We all swore brotherhood. Zhou Yongtai had appointed himself the Loyal and Filial King [Zhongxiao Wang] and head of it; he taught us all the mantras. I have heard that this teaching was transmitted by Lin Sheng, the head of the Eastern Peak [Dongyue] Daoist Monastery who lived at Wang Family Garden on Shencuihua Alley in this district. All of them originally were Sword-Carrying Society [Yedao Hui] members.⁶

"During the fifth month of 13 [June 1808], I returned home and went to the house of Zhou Yongtai, where he had a paper man. Zhou Yongtai said that he could change it into a person. He said that because there had been year after year of famine, the dynasty was doomed and that we should take advantage of this opportunity to make our move. He told me to go out and find places where there was turmoil, where we could stage our uprising. When I had some facts, I was to return and report to him, and in the future,

when our enterprise was successful, he would appoint me his prime minister. That year, I left and went all over Jiangnan selling my writing skills; I got back in the fourth month of the following year [May 1809]. Zhou Yongtai said that we would stage our uprising in less than a year and a half, and he told me to go back out and gather information. He wanted to set out for Henan and Zhili after the Dragon Boat Festival [Duanwujie] this year [June 6, 1810] and made an agreement to meet me at the end of the eighth month in Zhengding Prefecture.⁷ So I set out in the sixth month, making my way selling my writing skills as before, gathering information in the Shandong, Henan, Zhili region.

"On the third of the ninth month [October 1] of this year, I arrived in Zhengding Prefecture and went to look for Zhou Yongtai. At that time, Gao Yongkui, Du Wenli, and Zhang Rujia of Daming Prefecture and Wang Xizeng, Wu Shikui, and Du Qiheng of Guide Prefecture were all there. Zhou Yongtai said they were all brothers in our teachings, and he wanted to meet outside the east gate of Zhangde Prefecture to recruit men. If we couldn't recruit men there, he wanted to go back to Xuyi District and invite Guo Tai, Ren Tai, and the others to make our move. He told me to go to Shanxi to find a route that we could take with both men and horses. He agreed that on the twentieth of the tenth month [November 16, 1810], I should hurry to Zhangde for a conference. Then I passed through Zhengding, Xinle, Fuping, and other districts and through the Longquan Barrier to Wutai District, traveling through Yingzhou, Datong, and Fengzhenting. I went beyond the [Great] Wall to Ningyuan, Guihui, and Twenty Families and reentered the Wall at Shahukou Pass. From Zuoyun and Guangwu, I traveled to Daizhou. I was spying out how many soldiers there were when I was arrested and taken into custody by military police.

"Nowhere on my route to Shanxi had I seen anyone from our society. Only at Twenty Families I saw Yang Qizi and Zhou Wuzi, the two of them. They had the marks of incense burns on the backs of their left hands as a sign, so I knew that they were members of our society. Only after I talked to them did I learn that they were Du Wenli's men. So I told them that Du Wenli was in Zhengding Prefecture. 'Why haven't you gone there yet?' And they agreed to go. As for the main leaders in our school, I heard Zhou Yongtai say that Wang Daolong was from Qingyuan District in Zhili and that he was with Lin Qing. Wang Daolong, Wu Yi, and Han Zhang are all very good men. They all agreed to start their uprising around the fifteenth of the ninth month [October 13].

"Wang Daolong is over fifty *sui* in age, with a dark face, pockmarks, and

a big beard. And Yu Kejing (also known as Yu Kejiang and Yu Diqi) is a Daming Prefecture man; I've never seen him with my own eyes. Zhou Yongtai said that Li Wencheng was from Hejian District and is fifty-four. He has three lines on his forehead, a high-bridged nose, high cheekbones, brown sideburns, and lots of abilities. I saw him at Zhou Yongtai's house. I also saw Wang Tizhi and Liu Chengzhang from Guide Prefecture and Cheng Wenkui from Weihui Prefecture at Zhou Yongtai's house. Every one of the main leaders of the Heavenly Principle Society had from several hundred to more than a thousand men under his command. The heads in Zhili are Wang Daolong and Lin Qing. Zhou Yongtai from Pengde Prefecture in Henan should also be counted among them. Li Wencheng, Wang Tizhi, Liu Chengzhang, and Cheng Wenkui are all leaders. I've heard that there are eighty or ninety leaders altogether. We have members in Zhili, Shandong, Henan, Anhui, and Hubei.

"Our names are Heavenly Principle Society, Teachings of the Great Accomplishment [Dacheng Jiao], White Lotus Teachings, and White Ocean Teachings [Baiyang Jiao], but all members of these schools share the spirit of helping one another. Zhou Yongtai has scriptures from our school at his house; I've seen them. He taught me the mantra, but I can recite only seven lines. Zhou Yongtai gave me this Dashun period coin last year to wear as a mark.⁸ Zhou Yongtai dug that coin up from under the pagoda beside Lake Huze in 14; altogether there were more than eighty of them, but I can't remember clearly which people he handed them out to. Zhou Yongtai said that after our uprising was successful, we would call our state Dashun. People in our school carry cow's horn boxes, or they have a 2- or 3-*cun*-long strip of red cloth in their felt hats, or they have a little strip of red cloth on the lapel of their robes. These, and the incense burns on the backs of our left hands, are our marks. As for those who went to the capital to make mischief, I didn't recognize any of them at all. I don't know how many there were or where they had stayed. This is the truth."

TESTIMONY OF XU ANGUO, 1814

"I am a resident of Chen Family Manor [Chenjiazhuang] in Changdan District, Zhili. I am thirty-nine *sui* in age. My father Jincheng has already passed away. My mother, Ms. Zhao, who belonged to the wife of Xiaolong, Ms. Li, has also passed away.⁹ My elder brother is Anbang; my younger brothers are Anfu and Anming. My son Xiaowu is nine *sui* this year. My own nephew is Xu Xian. I am a member of the Zhen Trigram. In Jiaqing 14 [1809], Wang

Xueyi led us in paying our respects to Liu Guoming of Hua District as our master, and we joined the Dui Trigram. At Dingtao, the Cao District seat, and in Wudan District and Jinxiang, one place after another, I recruited followers, both men and women, old and young, 113 families. In total, there were about six or seven hundred people, and all were major disciples. Zhu Chengfang took charge of them and registered them in a ledger.

"During the eighth month of this year [September 1810], Lin Qing came to Hua District, and he and Li Wencheng settled on the fifteenth of the ninth month [October 13] as the date for the uprising. At that time, I was in Hujiaji in Cao District, at the house of Zhu Chengfang. Liu Guoming wrote a letter to inform me. I went home to hear it [read]. Later, at Jinxiang District, they arrested my disciples Cui Shijun, Sun Zhanbiao, Li Huarong, Zhang Wenming, Yang Yujin, Li Ronghui, and others. At Cao District, they arrested Zhu Chengfang's brother Zhu Chengzhen, but the bulk of our disciples did not submit and took Zhu Chengfang as their head. In the dark of night on the ninth of the ninth month [October 7], they killed the master [*taiye*, i.e., the magistrate] of Cao District and burned down the jail. On the seventeenth [October 15], Zhu Chengfang and others brought their disciples all together in a group, about fifteen hundred of them all told, to Chen Family Manor, where they put me forward to be their head.

"On the twentieth of the ninth month [October 18], I led the whole band off toward Hua District; we first killed our enemies the two military licentiates and three people in the Xu Tongjia family, robbing and killing along the way. On the twenty-eighth of the ninth month [October 26], we arrived in the Hua District seat. The Hua District magistrate had already been killed on the seventh of the month. There, I met with Li Wencheng, Liu Guoming, Song Yuancheng, Song Kejun, Wang Xiuzhi, Yin Chengde, Shou Guangde, Wang Daolong, Feng Laosan, Liu Zongxun, and Niu Liangchen. Zhu Wencheng appointed me and Zhu Chengfang barons of the Dui Palace, which he wrote on a large, white, pointed pennant. We had been there for seven or eight days when Li Wencheng told me to take the fifteen hundred people I had brought and, with the more than seven thousand brought by Wang Xiuzhi, Song Kejun, Wang Daolong, and Feng Laosan, to occupy Daokou.¹⁰ We fought several battles west of the [Yellow] River.

"On the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh of the tenth month [November 22, 23], we encountered government troops led by Commander Yang of Shaanxi. Our people were defeated, and all retreated into the Hua District seat and sealed up the city gates with rocks and earth, leaving the north gate

open.¹¹ The government troops advanced and made their camp outside the west gate. Li Wencheng said he wanted to flee toward Beijing, to Lin Qing, but he was not able to ride a horse because his legs had been broken by torture, so at the end of the tenth month, he fled in a carriage through the north gate, protected by three hundred men led by Liu Guoming, Song Kejun, and Wang Xiuzhi. Later, one of Song Kejun's disciples named Zhao came from Taoyuan to Huacheng, where he scaled the wall with a rope to say that Li Wencheng and the others had a force of two to three thousand in the Taoyuan-Nanhu area. They stayed in Nanhu for two days and then headed toward the Fenqiu region. After Li Wencheng left, Song Yuancheng became the commander in chief, and Niu Liangchen, Yin Chengde, and I secured the area from the north gate to the east gate. On the fourth and fifth of the eleventh month [November 30, December 1], the government troops completely surrounded the district seat. From the wall, we fired muskets and beat gongs and kept watch.

"On the second of the twelfth month [December 27], the government troops set off land mines at the east gate at both outer and inner gates, but they weren't destroyed. The government troops also dug a tunnel under the southwestern corner of the wall, and on the tenth they set off a mine under the southwestern corner, which blew a big hole in the wall, and the government troops swarmed in. Our people were all wearing plain cotton sashes, so whenever the government troops saw plain sashes, they opened fire with muskets and arrows. We could not hold out, and I was wounded and fell. My older brother Xu Anbang and my nephew Xu Xian dragged me into a family's house, where they dug a pit in the ground. Taking a sword, my brother, my nephew, and I all got down into it, and Wang Xiuzhi's brother Wang Xiuren covered us with a polished plate over our heads and piled dirt on top to hide it.

"When the government troops entered the house, one of the scouts noticed that the dirt covering us was wet and opened up our pit. Seeing that the situation was bad, I took care of my brother and nephew and was about to slit my own throat when I was stopped and held fast by soldiers under Commander Ge.

"Zhu Chengfang had registered all of our disciples, male and female, old and young, without distinction in his ledger. But Zhu Chengfang had already burned up all those ledgers by the time he was captured. I can remember that, in addition to Cui Shijun and the others, there were among the major disciples Zhang Yi, Feng Ju, Cai Tingyuan, Xue Ziyou, Liu Guohan, Hu Chengde, Zhao Bingren, Zhang Shijin, Li Huayi, Zhao Mingjie, and Liang

Duozhu; all of them had come to Hua District with me. But whether they're alive or dead now, I really do not know. And the others, the minor disciples, I really cannot remember. Song Kejun told his disciples Zhu Zhigui and An Huaipu to take men and go to Chen Family Manor and move my family members to Hua District. I don't know if they are dead or alive now.

"During the battle, I used a lance. In the Hua District seat, we had eleven cannons at the four gates. Large fowling guns and saltpeter are produced in Hua District, where we dug six hundred *jin* out of the mines. We hadn't used it up yet. We got our lead by melting tin utensils from pawnshops.

"You asked me whether Liu Chengxiang, Liu Diwu, and Zhu Xianzhi had given us financial support: none had come to Hua District. Nor did they manage the business of the children from the Song [imperial] Zhao family descendants. This is the truth."

TESTIMONY OF MS. XING, WIFE OF ZHU BINGREN, 1814

She testified: "I am a resident of Wang Family Manor in Wanping District; I am twenty-four *sui* old. My father is Xing Wenbin, and my mother is Ms. Cui. When I was nineteen, I was betrothed to Zhu Bingren, son of Zhu Xian of Sangfa, as his wife.¹² We have one daughter. When I married into their family, I had no idea that Zhu Xian's family was in the Heavenly Principle Society. After I was married, I heard it said that at first Zhu Xian's family was not in the society, but when my stepmother-in-law, Ms. Long, was taken into the family, she was already a member, and my senior mother-in-law, Ms. Xu, converted. From that time onward, the whole family took up Song Jinhui's teachings. They said it was none too convenient that I wasn't in the society, and they told me to pay my respects to Chen Shuang as my teacher. He taught me the eight-word [mantra]: Primordial Father and Mother of the True Vacuity Land [Zhenkong Jiaxiang Wusheng Fumu]. From then onward, they didn't keep anything from me.

"Zhu Xian and Lin Qing were on good terms, and he often sent Lin Qing money. When Lin Qing came to our house, everyone called him 'Old Master' [Lao Yezi]. Either they would tell my stepmother-in-law to sleep with him, or they'd tell me to sleep with him. Neither of us would dare to object. When my husband Zhu Bingren went to Lin Qing's house, he always had illicit sex with Lin Qing's women as well. They thought nothing of it among believers.

"There were more than thirty under Zhu Xian's command. Zhu Zhen, Li Fengquan, and Wang Shiyou were the short-term hands in our house; Young

Wang (also known as Wang Qixing) was the long-term help. Aside from them, Li Fengyin, Li Chengzong, Li Ming, Gong Shu, Chen Wenkui, Liu Xi'er, and others were people Zhu Xian had converted. I can't remember the rest of them.

"During the seventh and eighth months of last year [1813], they discussed entering the city [Beijing] to start a rebellion, and early in the ninth, they all went off in plain clothing [*baibu*]. Zhu Xian also knew that the chances were not good, and he said that this enterprise was like riding a tiger—you can't get off. He spoke to us with tears streaming down his face, and we all cried. Zhu Xian had a soft heart, and he went to Lin Qing's house to withdraw from attacking the city. Lin Qing inspired him by saying that being desirous of one's wife and enamored of one's children was not the way of the real man [*haohan*], and Zhu Xian took heart. On the thirteenth, just before he set off [for Beijing], he said to us that if it were fated, we'd meet again, but if it were not, this would be our last time. All of us wept bitterly and then said farewell. Zhu Xian was riding a red horse with a long jade-colored blaze, and Young Wang went with him, riding a red horse with a curved white blaze.

"Ever since the sixteenth of the eighth month, my husband Zhu Bingren had been at Lin Qing's headquarters and had not come home. At the second watch on the fifteenth of the ninth month [the day of the attack on Beijing], Liu Pei'er, Yang Laoshi, and Li Shiwang returned to our village to report, and our village was thrown into confusion. Just at sunset on the sixteenth, Liu Xi'er came to our house to say that everyone who had entered the city had been killed by the government troops.¹³ Zhu Xian was hiding on the old levee. He had sent him [Liu Xi'er] to come here and give us the news and also sent Young Wang to go to Lin Qing's place to get horses so they could escape together.

"We were all in a panic, and when we heard on the eighteenth that the government troops were arresting people, we all fled in a hurry. My senior mother-in-law, my stepmother-in-law, and their three maids all became separated on the road. I abandoned my daughter, not even a year old, by the roadside and just ran aimlessly for two days. My immediate plan was to find my way to Wang Family Manor, where I'd look for my mother and father. But when I got to Wang Family Manor, I saw they were arresting people there. I thought that if I went home and was arrested, it would just be my death. But how would that not implicate my parents? Better I should turn myself in.

"So I found the local constable Sun Erlong and made my statement. Sun Erlong kept me for twenty days. A local constable under his jurisdiction

reported me to the magistrate of the Lugou Subdistrict, His Lordship Chen [Chen Shaoyong], who said he had to go south and that he'd interrogate me when he returned. The next day, His Lordship Chen returned, but before he interrogated me, my mother heard about it and hastened over and asked his people to beg his man Yu Tingfu to say that a woman would not dare to rebel, and it would be best if he'd release me for a little money. He demanded fifty strings of coppers from my mother, so my mother sold some food grain and paid Yu Tingfu twenty-four strings, and he promised to release me and let me go home. Later, he also said that if he released me, I'd probably just be arrested somewhere else, so it would be better to hide me for a while in His Lordship Chen's court. That day, he took me to the *yamen* where I lived with Her Ladyship [Chen's wife].

"While on his way back, His Lordship got the message that he had been dismissed from office, so he returned to the court and spent half the night writing a petition. He entered the city [Beijing] at dawn the next day. During the tenth month, I heard that the prefect from Xilu was coming to the subdistrict *yamen* to make an investigation. Her Ladyship was frightened and took me to a powder shop in the capital and rented a room on Liuli Street for me to live in. But just as I was moving in, I heard that they were searching very carefully for people in the capital. Her Ladyship was frightened and sent me to stay at the house of a matchmaker, Ms. Cao.

"At the beginning of the eleventh month, His Lordship Chen was released by the Board of Punishments and sent Her Ladyship back to Lugou Bridge. He told a runner of the court, Huang Er, to take me back to his residence. That night, he had illicit sex with me there. The next day, he sent me to the Zhao family in Dry Noodles Hutong and falsely claimed that I was the wife of his uncle Chang's family. Chang had escorted a coffin back south for burial, and because he no longer had an official position, he couldn't take care of me and so was entrusting me to them. When Chang returned from the south, he would claim me. The Zhao family consented to have me stay there.

"I stayed at the Zhao house for three months. Because His Lordship Chen had taught the children in their family and because he had been an official, they believed what he said was true and never asked me anything about it. Only when you officials heard about me did the Zhao family turn me in."

The rest of the document is in the voice of arresting officials in the gendarmerie.

"Your subjects interrogated her strenuously concerning the whereabouts of Zhu Xian. She responded, saying, 'After the sixteenth of the ninth month, when

Liu Xier brought the message, he never again returned home.' On the twenty-second, she went to the *yamen* of the subdistrict magistrate, after which she never again saw anyone from her village or from her sect. 'Truly I don't know where Zhu Xian fled to.' As for his becoming a monk, she testified that two years previously, he had twice gone with his mother to the Tanzhe Monastery [west of Beijing] to burn incense. After he returned, he said that it was so quiet in the mountains that he would be happy if he could practice meditation in this place. But this was something he said two years ago, and as he was about to set out, he said nothing about becoming a monk.

Your subjects questioned her about which relatives or friends Zhu Xian was particularly close to in their daily contacts, who might be helping to hide him now; we instructed her to tell the truth. According to the criminal woman, there were several among Zhu Xian's in-laws, his relatives on both sides, and his friends with whom his contacts were closest. Among them were five families who had joined the society and were believers in its teachings. The others among Zhu Xian's closest friends had never joined the society. Even after strenuous questioning, she stuck to her story."

The interrogating officials from the Beijing Office of the Gendarmerie (Bujun Tongling Yamen) recommended that she be turned over to the Board of Punishments for sentencing and that Yu Tingfu, the servant of the already cashiered Magistrate Chen Shaoyong, who had taken bribes, and Chen, who had hidden a fugitive and had illicit sex with a prisoner and thus "has no sense of shame" (wu lianchi), should both be arrested and interrogated. They also recommended that all who had close relations with Zhu Xian, whether members of the White Lotus or other sects, should be carefully interrogated about his whereabouts.

TESTIMONY OF QIN LI (ALSO KNOWN AS QIN XUEZENG), 1814

"I am thirty-three *sui* old. I have no parents, brothers, wife, or children. I am a resident of Jun District. In the past, I served as a corvée laborer working for the Hua and Jun District governments.¹⁴ Ever since my grandfather, we have practiced the White Lotus teachings. All people in Hua and Jun Counties are followers of the same Zhen Trigram of the Teachings of the Former Heaven [Xian Tian Jiao nei Zhenzi yigua]. Only the Later Heaven [Hou Tian] was divided into the teachings of the Eight Trigrams. Our masters transmitted the teachings from the Grand Eunuch [Taijian] Wei Ziyi during the Shunzhi reign [1644-61] to Li Letian in Shandong, who changed the name.

Liu Fengtian transmitted them to a person named Gao in the south, who transmitted them to a person named Qin in Qingfeng District, and he transmitted them to a person named Wang in Cao District. Both of them were arrested and executed as criminals.

"Now what our scriptures say is that there is an Old Lord of the Former Heaven, an Old Lord of the Later Heaven, and an Old Lord King of the Zhen Trigram Palace. This Old Lord of the Former Heaven is Liu Fengtian. This man named Wang is Old Lord Wang of the Zhen Trigram Palace. The scripture that we used to read is *The Three Buddhas' Response to Calamities* [San Fo yingjie]. Niu Liangchen fled in Jiaqing 7 [1802] because of the criminal charge against him, and in Jiaqing 14 [1809], he brought Lin Qing with him to Hua District. He said that Lin Qing was Liu Fengtian who had reincarnated to become an Old Lord of the Later Heaven; he is the head of the whole Eight Trigrams Teachings. He also said that Feng Keshan was the head of the Yang Trigram. Wang Xiang of Jining Department in Shandong is the head of the Wu Trigram. He said that Li Wencheng was the incarnation of Li Zicheng as King of Heaven;¹⁵ Yu Kejing, who is Yu Diqi, would be King of Earth; and Feng Xueli would be King of Humanity: all of them manage the Eight Trigrams. Each one of the trigrams divisions has a trigram head. That of the Li Trigram is Wang Daolong; of the Gen Trigram, Li Zongxun; of the Zhen Trigram, Song Kejun; of the Qian Trigram, Shou Guangde; of the Kun Trigram, Feng Xianglin; of the Xun Trigram, Wang Xiuzhi; of the Dui Trigram, Liu Guoming; of the Kan Trigram, at first Yin Decheng, but after he died, it's now his son Yin Zhen. All of them recognize Lin Qing as their sage.

"Every year, I collected funds for Li Wencheng's use. Sometimes, I gave them to Li Wencheng's foster children Liu Chengzhang or Song Yuancheng or turned them over directly to members of Lin Qing's house for their use. Sometimes, Lin Qing came in person to take them away. During the seventh month of this year, I went with Liu Chengzhang to take five hundred *liang* of silver to Lin Qing's household. I know that among his adopted sons is Zhu Xian, the son of Zhu Xianzhi, of the Bordered Blue Banner, and Chen Wenkui of the same banner.¹⁶ Both were Lin Qing's adopted sons. He also took me to a shop south of the mouth of Vegetable Market Road, where we stayed for two days. There, I saw a man he said was Old Li Five from Xiong District wearing a mandarin's red hat with a peacock feather down the back and also one he said was a son of Cao Lun, I don't know his name, who was wearing a white mandarin's hat. Even more, the Grand Eunuchs Liu Jin, Liu Decai, Wang Fulu, and Gao Zhen all came to the shop and gave them deep respect.¹⁷ They also gave them carriages and silver.

"In the past, when Liu Chengzhang was in the Board of Punishments prison, he saw another inmate who was an old member of the White Lotus Teachings from the Zhen Trigram, Jiao Chengfang.

"In the secret text that Lin Qing let me read, it said that we would make our move on the fifteenth of the ninth month of this year [October 8, 1813]. Altogether, there would be four provinces, eight prefectures, and sixty-four counties. Li Wencheng is the True Ruler. He still had to go to Hua District and Shandong to see the people in the Teachings and explain the schedule for making our move. In the twenties of the eighth month, he came to the Hua District seat. After that, I took my leave and went home. By the time I got home, Lin Qing had already gone with Feng Keshan to Shandong and had returned to the capital. I never expected that Inspector Liu [Xunyan] of Lao'an Village would report us to the magistrate because we were making weapons. On the third, the magistrate's runners arrested Li Wencheng, Niu Liangchen, and others and took them to the Hua District *yamen*. The magistrate had Li Wencheng beaten several hundred strokes and broke both his legs. Li Wencheng confessed to all the facts about the White Lotus Teachings' plans for rebellion. We discussed it together with other school members, and very early on the seventh, we broke into the city, killed the magistrate, and rescued Li Wencheng. Then we occupied the city.

"Li Wencheng was the True Ruler, Niu Liangchen was his prime minister, and Song Yuancheng was his commander in chief. I was Vanguard for Recruiting and Training Infantry and Cavalry. All the heads of the Eight Trigrams were Kings of Palaces. Every palace had eight barons, but I can't remember the names. Afterward, because Jinan Prefecture in Shandong had arrested Cui Shijun, then Zhu Chengfang and his younger brother Zhu Xing (Zhu Ying), Xu Anguo, Dong Jiwen, and the others made their move. They defeated and pacified Taocao District. In Changhuan District, in Zhili, there are school members Zhao Fu (Zhao Delong) and Zhao Lu (Zhao Defeng). Because their own magistrate was himself investigating and making arrests, Zhao Fu and the others in their shop killed the magistrate and made their move. All of them in turn brought men to Hua District, Daokou, and Taoyuan and made their camp at Daokou.

"After they were defeated, Liu Guoming, Song Kejun, Niu Liangchen's son Niu Wencheng, Wang Xiuzhi, Wang Xueyi, Lü Juntai, Luo Guowang, Zhu Chengfang, Zhu Ying, Zhao Lu, and others went into the mountains, protecting Li Wencheng with more than four thousand men. So for a while, I heard nothing from them. I didn't expect that the government troops would catch up with them and wipe out so many of them, time after time. Even

when Hou Zhaochuan occupied the official stockade, he was surrounded by government troops. Li Wencheng had no way out and at first decided to commit suicide. Only then did the lot of them start fires, with each one committing suicide by himself.

"I personally was a member of the school that my grandfather had taught, and I have read the books of the school. I have also seen the secret ledgers of Lin Qing, which tell of a Liu Si who lives in a village, I don't know its name, twelve *li* outside the west gate of Dongchang Prefecture. He lets his hair grow, and he wears a gold hoop on his head. He carries a three-ringed iron meditation staff [*chan zhang*] over his shoulder and wears Daoist robes.¹⁸ He protects a man called Big Head Zhang from East of the Pass [Guandong] who is sixteen or seventeen *sui* old, has a big head and long ear lobes and hands that hang down below his knees. They say he is an extraordinary man.¹⁹ They are generally active in the Nanyang Prefecture area. There are herbalists in Kaifeng Prefecture, Wang Rizhong and Wang Riyu, who know his whereabouts.

"If you're willing to let me go into the [Hua District] city, I will bring Niu Liangchen and Song Laozhan out in fetters for you. As for Xu Anguo, only Jin Zhongzhao could capture and kill him. Of the leaders in our school, the head of the Wu Trigram, Wang Xiang of Jining, already died of disease in the fourth month. The King of Earth in Hua District, Yu Kejing, was captured by the government troops in the mountains, at Ruifu Hill, and was killed. Zhao Fu (Zhao Delong) was killed by government troops outside the north gate of Hua District. The King of Heaven Li Wencheng and the King of Humanity Feng Xueli, head of the Li Trigram Wang Xiuzhi, Liu Guoming, Song Kejun, and Wang Xueyi all burned themselves to death at the official stockade. Wang Xuecheng and Niu Liangchen's son Niu Wencheng, Han Yishu, Zhao Lu (Zhao Defeng), Zhu Xing (Zhu Ying) all died from the beatings administered by government forces outside the stockade. I, Shen Wenxian, and Song Laozhan's son Song Linmei were arrested and kept at Lintong. Zhao Deyi was the baron of the Li Trigram Palace; now he's in the city. Of our leaders still in the city, there are only Niu Liangchen and Song Yuancheng (Song Laozhan), Xu Anguo from Shandong, the trigram heads Yin Zhen, Wang Daolong, Shou Guangde, Liu Zongshun, and Feng Xianglin. All the rest are lower level, and I can't remember their names clearly. This is the truth."

He further testified: "Even though Li Wencheng was a false ruler, he had no talent. Everything was controlled by Lin Qing. His foster child Liu Chengzhang was very smart and a really capable administrator. Li Wen-

cheng did not take charge of anything; everything was in Liu Chengzhang's hands. When Li Wencheng died, it should have been Liu Chengzhang who became ruler. But Lin Qing said that he could be so only after rebirth and that he had no successor. When Yu Kejing and Feng Xueli died, they had no successors either. Lin Qing maintained that Li Wencheng was the son of wood. He also said that Niu [combined with] *ba* was the surname Zhu, and that *shuangkou* [two mouths] was the surname Lü. *Zou* [combined with] *xiao* was the Zhao character. All of these were foretold in our scripture, but the people in our school could not interpret them."²⁰

Qin Li's interrogators clearly wanted more information about other members of the organization. They began to ask specific questions; the responses are only summarized here.

He further testified: "Nearby to the east of Lin Qing's house in Song Family Manor [Songjiazhuang] was a Ji Jincai, who was Lin Qing's sister's son. And he was in the [Eight Trigrams] School, too. Chen Dilao is Chen Dakui's father, and he's in the school as well. His house is on the west side of Song Family Manor, but I don't know the name of the place. And then there was Liu Yuanlong who also lived near and on the east of Lin Qing in the manor. They were all later converts."

He further testified: "In Shandong, there's a Dong Jiwen. If he's not from Dingtao, then he's from Cao District. He's also in the school, but he's not at all one of Lin Qing's adopted sons. Only the Cao who is Lin Qing's nephew is an adopted son. I don't know his given name. I don't know who Dong Tuanwang is.

He further testified: "There's a Zhang Youyong in Longping District of Zhili; he's also known as Zhang Xiaohou [Little Monkey Zhang]. And in Qufu, in Shandong, there's a Kong Fubiao. They are followers of another tradition of teachings. In the past, they invited Lin Qing to join them, but he wasn't willing to follow their teachings, and he got into an argument with them."

He also testified: "As for how Li Wencheng died, I think surely somebody at the district seat will know. If they get news of it, then surely they'll have a public discussion about what course to follow; they won't necessarily be willing to surrender. If I go and give them the order to do so, then they would disband."

The following seem to be responses to yet more specific questions.

Response to questioning: "Liu Chengzhang's family, including his younger brother Liu Xianzhang, were all in the Hua District seat. After Liu Wencheng was captured, I don't know where Liu Chengzhang went."

Response to questioning: "On the eighth of the ninth month, Feng Keshan was at Daokou. He was carrying five *liang* of silver with orders to go to Dezhou to roust out the members of our teachings. I never saw him return."

Response to questioning: "Liu Chengxiang was Lin Qing's landlord. He lived in the same courtyard as Lin Qing, and was head of the Kan Trigram. He made his living as a farmer."

Response to questioning: "Lin Qing recognized his sister's son as his foster child. His name was Dong Guotai. He had a paternal uncle, but I'm not sure whether he was Dong Tuanwang."

Response to questioning: "Zhu Xian, also known as Zhu Xian,²¹ was a garrison soldier of the Blue Banner, but he had never been sent out on a mission [for the school]. He lived about ten *li* southwest of Song Family Manor; I don't know the name of the village."

Response to questioning: "Chen Wenkui was also a bannerman. He lived in the same manor as Zhu Xian. He made a living as a carter. He came to the Hua District seat with Lin Qing in the eighth month of this year."

Response to questioning: "I saw the man who was wearing a red hat with a peacock feather in the southern shop at the mouth of Vegetable Market Road in the capital. Once I asked Lin Qing about him, and he said that he was Li Laowu from Xiong District."

Response to questioning: "During the fourth month of this year, Yu Kejing and Song Yuancheng came back from the capital with a letter for Jiao Chengfang and 150 *liang* of silver. In the seventh month, Liu Wencheng handed 500 *liang* over to me, along with an additional 150 *liang*. Together with Lü Juntai and Liu Chengzhang, he went to Lin Qing's house and delivered 500 *liang* to Lin Qing. That 150 *liang* was what Lin Qing, Liu Chengzhang, and Zhu Xian had taken to the Board of Punishments prison to give to Jiao Chengfang. But because the gate guards at the Board of Punishments wouldn't let them in, they brought the original sum back. Whether or not they ever delivered it, I don't know."

Response to questioning: "Liu Jin was originally a military-degree holder from Caozhou. I don't know why he had himself castrated to become a Grand Eunuch. I did see this man once, in the capital."

Response to questioning: "The four provinces that Lin Qing mentioned [as prepared to rise in rebellion against the Qing government] were Zhili,

Shandong, Shanxi, and Henan. As for the [eight] prefectures and [sixty-four] counties, he didn't say what places they were, and I didn't dare to ask him."

Response to questioning: "It was only when we were plotting to rise in rebellion that Lin Qing said he was the True Ruler."

Response to questioning: "Dong Jiwen was killed by the government troops when he came out of the official stockade to do battle."

Response to questioning: "Song Yuancheng was from Niedu in Rui District. He was in the Gen Trigram. Now he's at the Hua District seat."

Response to questioning: "Chen Dilao was Chen Wenkui's father. He was a bannerman, but he had never been sent out on missions."

TESTIMONY OF JI BA, 1814

He testified: "My name is Ji Wensheng, and this year I am twenty-eight *sui*. I'm a resident of Dongjing Village in Qing District. My father Ji Fuhuang is more than seventy this year; my mother is Ms. Liu. There are three of us brothers. My oldest brother Ji Wenxue manages the tea stall in the *yamen* of the governor-general. My second-older brother Ji Wencheng farms. We divided up the family and all live separately. I'm the third in my generation, and my childhood name was Ba'er [Little Eighth]. My wife is Ms. He; this year she is twenty-nine. We have two sons. The older is called Tun'er, and he's five *sui* this year. The little one is called Xi'er, and he's two *sui* this year. I've always worked as a farmer for my living."

"I've always known Wang Shiqing of New Zhu Family Manor. During the third month of [Jiaqing] 16 [March–April 1811], I went to Xinji to market, and there I ran into Wang Shiqing, who converted me. He told me to go to his house, where he kept me for a day and a night. He had a painting of a Buddha on paper that he had up in his house, but I honestly don't remember what Buddha it was. He told me to burn incense and *ketou*, and he taught me to say nicely that it was the Righteous Harmony Sect [Yihemen], based on the idea of harmony.²² I can't rightly explain that 'righteousness' idea. He taught me to be filial to my parents and to forge good relations in my neighborhood. My ears should not listen to wrong sounds, my eyes should not look at wrong things, my nose should not turn smells around, and my mouth should not say wrong words. He also taught me to sit in meditation and to move my *qi* and to cultivate my nose, eyes, ears, and tongue.²³ He said that there were three lines across people's foreheads that are three gold locks and three gold hoops. A person's basic nature [*xing*] is between his eyebrows, and his face is the key to it. The *qi* is a great bell. If you move your *qi*, you can

wash open the three gold hoops around the top of your head, and your nature can come out through the front of your forehead. You cultivate your true nature in order to cultivate your next life. There's nothing more to it. This is what he taught me. Afterward, I went to his house from time to time, and I saw that he had scriptures in his house. But because I can't read, I couldn't read those scriptures.

"In the fall of 16 [1811], I was going back and forth to Keniu Village, taking livestock and peddling firewood. I converted Wang Kuan, and in Wang Kuan's house, I converted Hao Mingyuan and Li Xing. In Li Xing's house, I converted Li Xing's brother Li Wei (also known as Li Er). From time to time, I went to market at Li Village, and I converted Li Fa (known as Li Er). At Li Fa's house, I converted Yue Fu. At Yue Fu's house, I converted Dai Zhenxian and Li Ba (also known as Li Shenghua). Li Ba is about forty *sui* old, and he shaves heads for a living. In the twelfth month of 16 [early 1812], in Dai Er's house, I converted Dai San, but because his nose was stuffed up, Tang Shijiu couldn't move his *qi*, and so I didn't teach him how. All of this happened over the last two years, and I don't remember precisely when. And then in the ninth month of last year, in Dai Zhenxian's house, I converted Liu Huichang. That night, I taught him the practice of moving his *qi*. I used ashes to draw a man's face and showed him how moving your *qi* could wash your forehead clean, that I did.

"Beyond these people, I haven't preached to anybody. And I never said to Dai Zhenxian that he could bring in several hundred people at a time. Truly, I never converted Wang Sangangzi or Wang Sigangzi or Gu Xiang. As for Young Dai Er, I was in his house only that one evening, but he was never converted. As for that rebel bandit at the capital Lin Qing or those rebel bandits who made trouble in Henan, I really don't know even a one of them. We are the Righteous Harmony Sect, not at all one of those 'teachings.' Ever since last month, when I heard about the announcement that this wasn't a good thing, I've been scared and have wanted to repent. And this is the truth."

NOTES

Sources: For Liu Zhaokui testimony, *Lufu zouzhe* microfilm 3.166.8800.2, dated Qianlong 56.7.13 [August 12, 1791]; Liu was interrogated by Shaanxi governor Qin Cheng'en. For Sun Guozhu testimony, *Lufu zouzhe* microfilm 3.166.8811.37, undated (apparently Jiaqing 15 [1810]). For Xu Anguo, *Lufu zouzhe* microfilm 3.166.8809.1 dated Jiaqing 18.12.26 (also designated 3.2390.1 in the "Peasant Uprising" [Nongmin qiyi] category). For Ms. Xing, wife of Zhu Bingren, testimony, *Gongzhongdang* 017364, dated

Jiaqing 19.2.26 (March 17, 1814), a memorial submitted by Yinghe, Xilabu, and Yingshou. For Qin Li (also known as Qin Xuezheng) testimony, *Lufu zouzhe* microfilm 3.166.8810.9, dated Jiaqing 19.11.14 (December 25, 1814). For Ji Ba testimony, *Lufu zouzhe* microfilm 3.166.8797.22, dated Jiaqing 18.12.10 (January 1, 1814).

1. The Heaven and Earth Society (Tiandi Hui), began in Guangdong and Sichuan. The White Lotus and Eight Trigrams sects described here were northern Chinese phenomena, in Shandong, Zhili, and Henan, starting in the sixteenth century. A succinct description of White Lotus teachings appears in Naquin and Rawski, *Chinese Society*, 135–37. Murray, in *Origins of the Tiandihui*, concludes that all of these groups arose as a consequence of economic need in China's countryside.

2. For a detailed study of the Eight Trigrams movement, see Naquin, *Millenarian Rebellion*. For the career of Lin Qing, see *ibid.*, 72–117, 146–76, 184–88.

3. *Xifa* here means sleight of hand as entertainment and has nothing to do with religious beliefs or practices.

4. The Eight Trigrams (Bagua) of *The Book of Changes*, the ancient collection of auguries and philosophical meditations, were organizational groups within the White Lotus Teachings and other movements. See Naquin, *Millenarian Rebellion*.

5. Presumably, these were composite characters of the sort used in protective amulets even today.

6. Neither the Sword-Carrying Society nor the Heavenly Principle Society were significant movements in national terms.

7. The Dragon Boat Festival falls on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month and commemorates the fourth-century b.c.e. statesman Qu Yuan, who committed suicide because his king refused to listen to his good advice and instead followed the urgings of sycophants. As a consequence, the state fell to the machinations of a rival. Boat races are traditionally held in Qu Yuan's honor on that date.

8. Dashun is the reign period of one of the Ming pretenders after the Manchus took Beijing. By carrying the coin, members demonstrated that they were rebels against the Qing.

9. Presumably, she "belonged" to Ms. Li as a bondservant.

10. On the crucial Daokou meeting, see Naquin, *Millenarian Rebellion*, 110–17. On Xu Anguo's role in the rebellion, see *ibid.*, 104–5, 115, and elsewhere.

11. For a description of the horrendous situation in Hua based on other depositions from participants, see *ibid.*, 197–202, 210–12. For the rebels' strategy, with reference to the leaders named here, see *ibid.*, 211–19. For a reproduction of a wanted list from *Gongzhongdang* 16763, *Fupian* Jiaqing 19.10.20 [December 1, 1815], with the names of Liu Chengxiang, Zhu Xian, Zhi Jincai, and Liu Chengzhang, see Naquin, "True Confessions," 14, fig. 7.

12. Zhu Xian's name is represented with two different characters (see the glos-

sary). For a discussion of Zhu Xian's role in the Eight Trigrams rebellion, see Naquin, *Millenarian Rebellion*, 158–60. Portions of this deposition are also translated in Naquin, "True Confessions," 2–4.

13. For an account of the disastrous attack on the Imperial Palace, see Naquin, *Millenarian Rebellion*, 176–84. On the capture and execution of Lin Qing, see *ibid.*, 184–88.

14. Corvée service was regularly required of residents in many jurisdictions; they worked on roads or irrigation projects or, like Qin Li, as menials for a magistrate or prefect.

15. Li Zicheng was one of the most notorious rebels of the late Ming period. He took the capital of Beijing in 1644, leading to the suicide of the last Ming emperor and providing a rationale for the Manchu armies to advance into northern China to "restore order." See Wakeman, *Great Enterprise*, esp. 225–318.

16. On the banner organization, see appendix I in this volume. To have recruited bannermen to their cause demonstrated the range of the Eight Trigrams Teachings appeal.

17. Literally, gave them their *ketou*, the series of prostrations and touching the head to the ground properly reserved for the emperor. To do so before anyone but one's senior relatives indicated heretical political allegiance and could be considered an act of treason by Qing administrators.

18. The meditation staff is a padded staff with which drowsy meditators are prodded back to wakefulness. Here, it indicates his mastery of meditation techniques: he wields the staff instead of needing its prompting.

19. These characteristics were often attributed to True Rulers, those fit to be dynasty founders.

20. Such cryptic phrases were considered prophetic in children's songs or in revealed texts requiring at least modest reading skills; they seemed to refer to the names of individuals already living or yet to be born. The meaning works on visual puns: the character *zou* (walk) plus the character 肖 *xiao* (resemble) make up the character for the surname Zhao 趙; the surname Lü 呂 is made up of two *kou* 口, or mouth elements; the character for the surname Niu 牛 and the character *ba* 八 (eight) make up the surname Zhu 朱, and the character for the surname Li 李 may be deconstructed to form *mu* 木 (wood) and *zi* 子 (son). Li was the imperial family of the Tang dynasty, Zhao of the Song, and Zhu of the Ming. Empress Lü was the controlling power behind the throne during the early Han dynasty. The prophecies here all indicate a new ruling dynasty that would supplant the Qing and were treasonous ideas at the time.

21. The text gives the two characters by which Ms. Xing's father-in-law was known.

22. Here, *ketou* probably means only prostrating oneself before the image.

23. Qi means breath as well as one's spiritual essence.

CASE 17

Ji Yanghua: Secret Society Member (Shanxi, 1814)

This early nineteenth-century deposition from North China suggests that members of some secret organizations lived at the margins of society, in a kind of underworld of violence and immediate gratification beyond laws or normal social ties. Although most adherents of these religious movements were farmers who had been driven from their lands by natural disasters and high taxes, others were apparently callous criminals. Portraying all the naive rebels as wandering riffraff fit the government's policy of discrediting them and thereby justified the harsh treatment they received. There is, however, a clear distinction between the self-centered lawlessness of Ji Yanghua and the ways in which other religious sectarians defended their political aspirations in the previous cases. Ji Yanghua was a religious charlatan; Ji Ba and others were sincere in their proselytizing.

Testimony of Ji Yanghua (also known as Ji Xuezhū): "I am a native of Yue Village of Yongle Market, Yongji District, in Puzhou Prefecture of Shanxi. I am forty-seven *sui* in age, and my parents have passed away. Of the four brothers in my family, my oldest brother Ji Xuezhong is fifty-seven, but his wife, my sister-in-law Yang, has passed away. Some time ago, my oldest brother moved to Mount Meng Fork [Mengshancha] in Jingning Department. My second-older brother Ji Xuezhi is already dead. The fourth of us, my younger brother Ji Xuerong, is now twenty-five *sui*. He never married, but he went west beyond the [Great] Wall. I'm third in my family. I have never been married. We brothers divided the household long ago, and we all live separately. Usually, I make my living as a hired laborer; I have no trade.

"In Jiaqing 16 [1811], I went to work for Chen Yongfa's family in Bahewan in Xianyang District of Shaanxi. Because her husband was away, his nephew's wife and I started to mess around, we started having illicit sex, and we had a child. Then her husband came home, and he wouldn't forgive her, so the woman hanged herself. I was scared and ran away and took a job working in Yang Zhifa's wineshop in Dengzhou in Henan, where I got acquainted with Li Mao, a native of Weinan District in Shaanxi.