

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 1 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 Xuezhu): "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.

"In the eighth month of Jiaqing 17 (1812), Li Mao wanted to go home. Since I wasn't making any money, I took my leave of the wineshop keeper and went along with Li Mao. We found a place to stay in the Taibai Temple in Yiyang District, Henan.¹ It didn't even have an abbot, but we discovered that there were two monks and a twelve- or thirteen-*sui* boy staying there. So we moved into the temple, too. Li Mao noticed that their baggage looked pretty heavy, and so he conceived the idea of plotting to kill the three of them. He told me to help him.

"That night, when they were sleeping soundly, Li Mao and I strangled the two monks with a rope. Later, we strangled the boy, too. Li Mao broke open their cases, and there were 110 *liang* of silver in them. We divided it, and when morning came, we carried the three bodies on our backs and dumped them into the Wei River. Then we fled to the Yaozhou area, where we shaved off our hair and queues, changed into the robes and hats of the two monks we had strangled, and traveled along the road, begging for alms.

"In the tenth month, we came to Mountain Blessings wineshop on Gou Family Mountain [Guojiashan] in Wulangting to beg for alms. Four men were already drinking there. One among them asked me where I was from, and we introduced ourselves. He said his wife was sick and was seeing spirits and ghosts. 'Do you two have some way to help her?'

"'I have some charms and spells that might cure her,' I answered him, and he arranged for us to go to his house to write charms and recite spells for his wife. Afterward, she got better, so he kept us at his house for a good long time. Then, one day, he said to the other three, 'I can tell that these are great guys, and they have some real talent [*benshi*]; wherever they've been, they've been able to pull things off. If they are willing to follow our teachings, everything will be fine between us from now on. What would you guys think of that?' And they said, 'If you recommend them, Great King, of course we will go along with you.'

"Hearing this, we were really surprised and wondered what they meant. We asked them, and only then did we learn that the fellow who had invited us to cure his wife was none other than Liu Tiangui, the Great King of Heavenly Peace [Tianping Dawang]. Of those three men who were drinking with him, one was Zuo Fengxian, the Great Instructor of the Bright Portal. One was Jiao Tingyan, and the other was Jiao Jinxian; they were both Generals of the Palace of Suppression. We were confused, and without thinking, we agreed, and he appointed us Great Chan Masters Who Protect the Troops.

"With Li Mao, I went to Jiao Jinxian's house on Gou Family Mountain some twenty *li* from Wulangting, where we lived for three months. We saw

that under the floorboards of a room in his eastern wing, there was a cave in the earth with more than thirty dirt steps that finally opened to a very broad space big enough for seven or eight hundred men. At that time, there were already seventy or eighty men there with many spears and swords as well as [sleeping] mats and stores of food.

"In the first month of this year, Liu Tiangui said that the day before, Liu Chengyu (the King Who Follows Heaven), Wang Fuyu (who is Big Head Wang), Niu Bangting, Li Tiancheng, and others from the Kan Trigram mark in Weihui Prefecture in Henan had sent Liu Chengxiang with a message saying that they had more than ten thousand men and were about to fight their way from there into Zhili and wanted to arrange for us to join forces with them. 'Because we are short of troops, we cannot rise with them, and only after we get more men will we make our move. I've already sent a response.' Because he was short of men, Li Tiangui could not make his move, so on the twenty-sixth of the first month [February 26, 1813], he told Guan Xiaoxian, Du Kongxian, Li Mao, and me to go out and find men to join our teachings. We were to give every man a wood-block print of the Great King of Heavenly Peace and a four-line password. He gave us thirty or forty *liang* of silver, depending on the person, and sent us along different routes. 'If you use up the silver, I'll send Wang Chengxian to bring travel money to you there on the winter solstice.'

"Wang Chengxian is forty-two *sui* old and a native of Chenggu District in Hanzhong Prefecture. He's of middling height and has a bare face with thin whiskers. Guan Xiaoxian is forty-two and is from Baoding Prefecture. He's of middling height and has a bare face with thin sideburns. He went along the road to Huguang. Du Kongxian is something more than thirty *sui*; he's from Linjin District in Shanxi. He's tall and has a bare face with sideburns. He went along the Sichuan border road. Li Mao is forty-six; he's a native of Weinan District in Shaanxi. He's of middling height, has a bare face with sideburns, and is dressed like a monk. He went along the Changwu-Yongshou and northward route, to Yulin and Dingbian. I went through Xingping, Fufeng, Wugong, Qingshui, Qinzhou, Fuqiang, and Gongchang.

"At the end of the tenth month [around November 20], I arrived in Qingshui District, where I ran into Jiang Desheng and Jiang Deli, two brothers I used to know. They asked me when I had taken my monk's vows and where I lived now. So I told them about entering the teachings, and when I told them the good points about it, the two of them were willing to enter the school. There were also Yang Ji of Qinzhou and his son, and Liu Yu of Gaoju, and others who entered the teachings. I gave every one of them two lots of

silver. Each lot was worth seven or eight coppers; they varied. I also taught them the four-line password: 'Heaven and Earth are as they are; The Jade Vapor has spread around; So many kinds of Mysterious Space, Brown [Earth] and Bright [Heaven] are the Great Mystery.'² I gave them each a block-printed card and told them to go to Gou Family Mountain. I never thought that I'd be rounded up by government runners when I got to Gongchang.

"As for Liu Wuxun, I don't know him, nor have I heard anyone mention him.³ So surely I can't tell you where he is. This is the truth."

NOTES

Source: *Lufu zouzhe* 3.166.8807.50, dated Jiaqing 18.12.12 (January 3, 1814).

1. The temple is dedicated to the memory of the great Tang period poet Li Bai (701–762), whose name is sometimes romanized as Li Po.

2. "Tian Di ziran, Yuqi fen san; Zhongzhong xuanxu, Huang lang Taixuan." This is more a spell or mantra than a statement of fundamental beliefs.

3. Liu was apparently another secret society leader whom the authorities were seeking in this region.

PART VI

SOCIAL MOBILITY AND CRIME

Widespread economic and demographic changes during the Qing period produced a fairly large number of dislocated people who often traveled long distances to find work. Several are featured in part V. The two cases in this section feature a family and its probably unwanted follower—precisely the sort of unattached and wandering unskilled laborer that became so common during the eighteenth century as to constitute a worry for central bureaucrats—and an imposter whose successful assumption of false identities depended on the extensive travel generally required for official service. China's transportation routes were undoubtedly crowded with all sorts of people—merchants, religious seekers, criminals, and fugitives as well as those driven by more personal needs.

CASE 18

Jin San: A Spurned Lover (Sichuan, 1728)

In this case, desire changed to hatred, and an outraged lover killed his paramour because she ended the relationship. The recorded testimony is rich in the many voices enlisted to corroborate the facts and the detail with which the judges explored the motivations behind the crime. The case also exemplifies the internal migrations of the poor who journeyed from one region of China to another in the hope of finding