

QIANXI GAZETTEER PRODUCTION DURING GUIZHOU'S  
TUMULTUOUS NINETEENTH CENTURY

by

Andrew S. Teumer

A thesis submitted to the faculty of  
The University of Utah  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of History

The University of Utah

August 2016

Copyright © Andrew S. Teumer 2016

All Rights Reserved



## ABSTRACT

Recent scholarship has explored the expansion of the Ming and Qing States into the southwest borderlands which became Guizhou and Yunnan Provinces. While many scholars have focused on the effect this expansion had on both the area's non-Chinese inhabitants and the imperial officials and military officers trying to administer them, little attention has been paid to the millions of Chinese who immigrated to the region during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This paper examines the formation of Han Chinese identity among these immigrants by analyzing local gazetteers (*difangzhi*) produced during the Qing era. The purpose of the paper is to examine the aims of gazetteer production; particularly during times of social unrest and violent conflict. The primary sources utilized are two gazetteers from Qianxi Department in Guizhou Province: one published in 1835 and one published in 1884. By comparing the format and content of the Qianxi gazetteers produced before and after the "Miao rebellion" of the 1850s, this paper seeks to explore these documents not only as references but as actual tools of empire. Employing this approach, the research demonstrates that the production of these gazetteers was a conscious act requiring the cooperation of local elites who utilized the process to demonstrate their loyalty to the state while simultaneously imagining themselves as part of a larger Han Chinese identity group.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTERS	
1 HISTORY OF QIANXI AND GUIZHOU PROVINCE.....	11
Geography of Qianxi.....	11
Early Chinese Interaction with Guizhou.....	12
The “Zomia” Perspective: Guizhou’s Missing Narrative.....	16
The Confucian “Civilizing Project” and Ethnic Identity in Qing Guizhou.....	19
2 PRODUCTION OF THE “1835” QIANXI DEPARTMENTAL GAZETTEER.....	25
The Organizational Mode.....	26
The Geographical Mode.....	34
The Commemorative Mode.....	40
3 THE 1884 QIANXI DEPARTMENT CONTINUED GAZETTEER.....	45
The “Miao” Rebellion.....	46
The Compilation of the 1884 Continued Gazetteer.....	48
Loyalty and Chastity in the 1884 Continued Gazetteer.....	51
CONCLUSION.....	57
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	60

## INTRODUCTION

Throughout the nineteenth century, the departmental magistrates (*zhoumu* 州牧) of Qianxi Department published two local gazetteers (*difangzhi* 地方志). On the surface, these gazetteers seem quite unremarkable; one could easily find the types of information these documents provide in concurrent gazetteers produced in any part of the Qing Empire. Notwithstanding their quotidian indices, the remarkableness of these gazetteers lies in the very fact that the gentry of Qianxi Department, a hinterland in already peripheral Guizhou Province, chose to produce documents so closely associated with normative Chinese culture and governance. Despite the challenges inherent in Guizhou's great distance from the Han Chinese heartland, rugged geography, and generally disobliging native population, the 1835 gazetteer demonstrates that, at that time, there existed in Qianxi a local elite which saw itself as not only subjects of the Qing Emperor but also active participants in the establishment and perpetuation of Chinese culture in the region. The production of the latter gazetteer, published in 1885 after decades of tumult throughout China and in Guizhou specifically, demonstrates the steadfastness of the producers' commitment to Han identity.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> The treatment of ethnic identity in relation to Chinese history has been discussed in countless other works. Notable recent scholarship such as the edited volume *Critical Han Studies: The History, Representation, and Identity of China's Majority*, ed. Thomas S. Mullaney et al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012) has convincingly challenged the coherence of "Han" as a single, unitary category. This thesis is less concerned with defining terms such as "Han" and "Chinese" than with describing the way in which Qianxi elites viewed and portrayed their relationships with the Qing state and with the other inhabitants of nineteenth-century Guizhou. In his essay "Ethnicity in the Qing Eight Banners," Mark Elliott defines ethnicity as "the social organization and political assertion of difference that is perceived to inhere in

The long nineteenth century, beginning with the costly military campaigns of Qianlong's later years and continuing through the Xinhai Revolution, marked a period of great decline for China. Throughout the era, major revolts such as the White Lotus and Taiping Rebellions, combined with the Qing's inability to halt the encroachment of foreign powers in the wake of the Opium Wars, weakened the empire and eventually led to its final downfall in 1911. The origins and aims of these uprisings varied, yet they all reflected a growing dissatisfaction with the rule of the Qing dynasty. Qing forces ultimately proved successful in crushing the rebel armies, but the imperial state struggled to recover fully and restore order in much of their territory. Although not as well-known as the revolts in neighboring Yunnan and Guangxi, Guizhou province also experienced a period of turmoil throughout the mid-nineteenth century known as the "Miao" Rebellion.<sup>2</sup> This rebellion, which actually resembled more of a series of loosely related peasant uprisings, devastated Qianxi, with the department seat changing hands between rebel and government forces at least two times. It also occurred between the production of the first and second gazetteers; indeed, the community's need to commemorate the war dead served as the impetus for the latter's production. The production of this gazetteer, an attempt on behalf of the producers to demonstrate their loyalty and orthodoxy toward the

---

culturally bounded descent-based categories" (Elliott, "Ethnicity in the Qing Eight Banners" in *Empire at the Margins: Culture, Ethnicity and Frontier in Early Modern China*, eds. Pamela Kyle Crossley et al. (Berkeley: University of California, 2006): 34.). Operating under this definition, I use the term "Han" to describe the ethnic identity created and promulgated by local elites in nineteenth-century Qianxi Department. My use of this term implies that the production of gazetteers filled with content proving the dedication of Qianxi local elites to normative Chinese culture must be understood in the context of a Qing state which increasingly equated ethnic identity and moral orthodoxy. In addition, I use the term "Han" to imply that Qianxi local elites wished to not only emphasize their ethnic dissimilarities with Guizhou's distinctly non-Han indigenes, but also to promote their own loyalty to the Dynasty.

<sup>2</sup> My use of quotation marks around the term "Miao" borrows from Robert D. Jenks, whose book *Insurgency and Social Disorder in Guizhou: The "Miao" Rebellion of 1854-1873* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994) convincingly challenges the traditional representation of the conflict as primarily ethnic in origin.

Chinese state during a time when the future of that state lay unclear, proves the durability of a Han elite that, in former times, would have perhaps adopted native customs and assimilated amongst the local tribes during an empire's nadir. Nevertheless, when the CCP established the People's Republic of China in 1949, the inclusion of Guizhou was a foregone conclusion. This stands in stark contrast to most of China's imperial history, throughout which the area encompassing present-day Guizhou Province existed outside, or on the margins of the territorial boundaries of the Chinese state. Limited immigration from elsewhere in China and occasional attempts at conquest, while occasionally successful militarily, ultimately proved ephemeral. How then to explain the endurance of the perception, by those living in and outside of the province, that Guizhou, at least in 1949, was not only a part of China but even one of the interior eighteen provinces (*neidishibasheng* 内地十八省)?

I argue that the production of gazetteers by local gentry operating under the auspices of imperial officials became an essential component in the formation of this perception. These gazetteers served, in both intent and effect, as technologies of imperialism, fundamental to the ongoing project of imagining and reimagining Guizhou as a part of China. Recent years have shown an explosion of interest among early-modern scholars in the nonmilitary ways in which empires, and later nation states, created and maintained systems of sovereignty. These tools, which I dub technologies of empire, often proved effective in both a concrete and an abstract manner simultaneously. For example, if a state produces a map of a certain territory, it is not only of aid to a general trying to catch a local rebel leader or a tax collector searching for a remote village, but also has the, perhaps deeper, effect of representing that area, and by extension



its inhabitants, as belonging to that state. In his seminal text *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson argues that many of the ways of thinking that these various technologies cultivated proved highly influential during the establishment of nation states in the late-nineteenth through mid-twentieth centuries.<sup>3</sup>

China scholars have long recognized the importance of locally produced gazetteers. Historians have mined these rich documents for chronologies of local history, as well as local economic, cultural, and genealogical information. It is surprising then, given their long history of use by scholars, that the actual production of gazetteers has rarely been the subject of historical inquiry. A notable exception to this trend is Joseph Dennis' work, which examines Ming era gazetteers produced in Xinchang County in Zhejiang Province. While looking at the relationship between local gazetteer writing and genealogies, Dennis argues that gazetteers "were more than just mere compendia," going so far as to call their production "a strategic act."<sup>4</sup> This thesis asserts that Dennis' claim holds true for the Qianxi gazetteers as well. I argue that, through engaging in gazetteer production, the local gentry strategically utilized three distinct modes to place Qianxi Department within the greater Han Chinese world.

The first mode was organizational; the mere ability to produce a gazetteer required a high degree of cooperation between imperial magistrates and local gentry. Finding enough classically educated men and organizing them to achieve such an undertaking was no easy task, as evidenced by the successive abortive attempts to publish a Qianxi gazetteer during the century and a half prior to 1835. The second mode in

---

<sup>3</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (New York: Verso, 2006).

<sup>4</sup> Joseph Dennis, "Gazetteer Writing as a Strategic Act: The Private Purposes of the Wanli *Xinchang Xian Zhi*." in *Zhongguo zupu difangzhi*, ed. Sha Qimin and Qian Zhengmin (Shanghai: Shanghai Scientific and Technological Literature Publish House: 2002), 245-247.

which the compilers operated was geographical. Through the detailed mapping of every hamlet, temple, geographical feature, and military site throughout Qianxi, the compilers demonstrate their mastery, and therefore their ownership, of the land itself. Moreover, they position the territory in a larger context whereby it exists successively as part of Guizhou, part of China, and part of a greater celestial world in which the Emperor rules. The compilers include the native peoples of Shuixi in this geography. The detailed mapping of their customs, cultures, and history mirrors the mapping of physical geographical features. Likewise, the ability to categorize and describe the other places the Han compilers in a position of superiority. The final mode, nearly ubiquitous in the 1884 gazetteer, was commemorative. The compilers devoted substantial sections of the gazetteers to honoring past members of their community and lineages. By privileging the roles played by their peers and ancestors, the local gentry bound their own family histories to the history of Qianxi. By littering these biographies with tropes and clichés, the compilers simultaneously highlighted the specific behavior of the dead and the universal values shared by all orthodox Confucians.

Operating in these three modes; organizational, geographical, and commemorative; the compilers of the gazetteers presented a typical, if peripheral, department in nineteenth-century China. Whereas travel writers from the late-imperial era through the present day often preoccupy their writings on Guizhou with the seemingly strange and colorful customs of its non-Han inhabitants, these sorts of entries, while present, are not the focus of the gazetteers. Unlike these other writers, the mission of local gazetteer creation in Qianxi lay not in emphasizing the exotic but in accentuating the orthodoxy of Qianxi's Han residents.

The first chapter of this thesis examines the historiography of Guizhou and how it relates to the larger history of the Qing dynasty. Although past historians portrayed the Qing as simply the last in a series of Chinese imperial dynasties, a group of scholars broadly dubbed New Qing Historians have challenged this notion. Instead of adhering to the narrative that the inherent attractiveness of Han civilization gradually Sinicized the ethnic Manchus of the Qing Dynasty,<sup>5</sup> these scholars focus on the Qing's uniqueness. Of particular interest in these studies are the methods by which the Qing Emperors attempted to maintain control and sovereignty over a large area that included significant territory beyond the traditional Han Chinese heartland.

Although the body of work is still limited in comparison to studies of other frontier areas such as Tibet, Xinjiang, and Taiwan, recent years have shown an increase in scholarship on the Qing in the southwest and Guizhou in particular. These studies can broadly be sorted into two categories. The first category, which includes the work of scholars such as John E. Herman, Laura Hostetler, and Donald Sutton, focuses primarily on the Ming and early Qing period up through the reign of the Yongzheng Emperor when the governor-general Ortai formally abolished the *tusi* system.<sup>6</sup> While this thesis is largely indebted to the work of these scholars, the continued lawlessness and occasional full-fledged rebellions which occurred in Guizhou throughout the eighteenth and

---

<sup>5</sup> See Pamela K. Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror: History and Identity in Qing Imperial Ideology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Mark C. Elliott, *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), James A Millward, *Beyond the Pass: Economy, Ethnicity and Empire in Qing Central Asia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998); and Peter Perdue, *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005).

<sup>6</sup> See C. Patterson Giersch, *Asian Borderlands: The Transformation of Qing China's Yunnan Frontier* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), Pamela K. Crossley et al., edited volume, *Empire at the Margins: Culture, Ethnicity and Frontier in Early Modern Guizhou* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), Stevan Harrell, edited volume, *Cultural Encounters on China's Ethnic Frontiers* (Washington, University of Washington Press, 1995)

nineteenth centuries challenge their implied notion that “entering the registers” (*gaitu guiliu* 改土歸流) effectively ended the military, political, or cultural conquest of Guizhou.<sup>7</sup>

The second grouping of scholarship concerning the Qing southwest borderlands focuses mostly on the region’s non-Han ethnicities. The work of scholars such as Donald Sutton, Stevan Harrell, and C. Patterson Giersch successfully portrays the ever-present friction between these native groups and the Chinese state. Seeking to decenter the history of upland Southeast Asia, anthropologist James C. Scott places Guizhou within a distinct region he refers to as Zomia. Zomia, Scott argues, is distinguished by the fact that it is “relatively stateless.” The region’s remoteness, geography, and ethnic diversity have long made it a haven to those who would resist state-building projects.<sup>8</sup> In her own work, Jodi Weinstein applies Scott’s Zomia theory to a late-eighteenth-century rebellion by the Zhongjia people in Southwest Guizhou.<sup>9</sup> Owing to the Zhongjia people’s lack of a substantial written record, Weinstein’s work attempts to interpret the causes behind the revolt.<sup>10</sup> All of the aforementioned scholars correctly portray the Southwest borderlands as a space of broad interaction between three largely defined groups: native peoples, immigrants from other parts of China, and the Qing state. While their approach of utilizing ethnic identity and cultural interaction as a valuable way to investigate southwest China has invigorated the field, they generally fail to address the formation of

---

<sup>7</sup> Bai Jianyun, *Qianxi Zhou Xuzhi* (1884), 1:5a-6b.

<sup>8</sup> James C. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009) 16-19.

<sup>9</sup> The Zhongjia were also a prominent ethnic group in Qianxi.

<sup>10</sup> See Jodie L. Weinstein, *Empire and Identity in Guizhou: Local Resistance to Qing Expansion* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014) and Jodi L. Weinstein “Subsistence and Sedition in Southwest China: Local Responses to Qing Rule in Eighteenth-century Guizhou” (PhD diss., Yale University, 2007).

contemporary Guizhou's largest ethnic group: Han Chinese.<sup>11</sup>

Through a review of the existing literature and an examination of the content of the Qianxi gazetteers, I aim not only to situate Qianxi within the larger discussion of China's southwest borderlands during the late-imperial era, but also to highlight the importance of emerging Han identity to that same landscape.

The second chapter closely examines the 1835 gazetteer. Published during a period of relative stability between the major revolts of the 1790s and the 1850s, this gazetteer provides evidence of an educated elite living in Qianxi who saw their identity as essentially Han. The compilers' emphasis on methodology based on evidence and empiricism suggest influence from the Han Learning movement, a contemporary intellectual movement active in the province and elsewhere during the early-nineteenth century. In doing so, the 1835 gazetteer not only presents the locality of Qianxi Department as fully under the control of the Qing Empire but also presents the compilers themselves as upright Confucians who, despite their living in a hinterland, possess at least an awareness of contemporary trends among Chinese scholars.

The 1884 gazetteer serves as the subject of the third chapter. Published more than a decade after the conclusion of the bloody and chaotic "Miao" rebellion, the first chapters of the gazetteer give priority to the names, sometimes accompanied by short biographical entries, of Qianxi Department residents who lost their lives and women who maintained their chastity during the rebellion. Although the experience of Qianxi's

---

<sup>11</sup> A notable exception to this statement is C. Patterson Giersch's article "From Subjects to Han: The Rise of Han as Identity in Nineteenth Century Southwest China," in *Critical Han Studies: The History, Representation, and Identity of China's Majority*, ed. Thomas S. Mullaney et al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012): 191-210. In this article, Giersch argues that factors including increasing economic competition, intellectual discourse associating minorities with violence, and Qing attempts to label subjects as Han all contributed to the rise of Han identity in nineteenth-century Yunnan.

residents during the violent and volatile years of the rebellion was surely harrowing, the compilers desire to cope with tragedy alone cannot describe the distinctive shift toward the commemorative present in the gazetteer. In order to understand the Qianxi compilers' shift in mode, it is essential to understand the rebellion and in its aftermath within the larger context of mid-nineteenth-century China.

As stated earlier, the “Miao” rebellion in Guizhou occurred concurrently with the Taiping Rebellion in the Lower Yangtze Delta. Because of this correlation, although the rebellion in Guizhou neither proved especially unique from previous revolts in the province nor posed a threat to dynastic order comparable to the Taiping Rebellion, the compilers of the 1885 gazetteer adhered to trends in commemoration present elsewhere in China during the postrebellion Tongzhi Restoration. According to William Rowe, four interpretations of the postrebellion era have emerged. The first, which Rowe argues is the most widespread, focuses mostly on the Self-Strengthening Movement and portrays the Tongzhi restoration as a late attempt by the Qing at “modernization.” The second portrays the restoration as being primarily driven by moral reformists “driven by Neo-Confucian convictions.” The third interpretation of the Tongzhi era, Rowe argues, is as a devolution of central power in favor of local governance, eventually leading to the warlord era of the early-twentieth century. Finally, Rowe offers a fourth interpretation which focuses on the rise of local elites who, having organized, raised taxes, and provided for local defenses largely without government aid during the rebellion years, gained growing autonomy in the latter nineteenth century.<sup>12</sup> The fact that all of these interpretations can be read into the 1885 gazetteer shows how much Qianxi had become,

---

<sup>12</sup> William T. Rowe, *China's Last Empire: The Great Qing* (Cambridge: Harvard, 2009), 202-209.

at least in the imaginations of the compilers, a typical Chinese department.

The assertion that Qianxi's full incorporation into China was not a foregone conclusion constitutes a central aspect of my argument. As I demonstrate in this thesis, the historical narrative of Guizhou province is characterized not by an inevitable march toward Han civilization but instead by a constant negotiation played out not only militarily and politically but also in the imaginations of Guizhou's Han and non-Han inhabitants. Despite the province's aforementioned inclusion in the PRC, it remained the last interior province to be conquered by the People's Liberation Army. Even today, many of the province's administrative divisions maintain the title of Autonomous Prefecture, acknowledging their high concentration of non-Han minorities. There exist alternate visions of Guizhou whereby late Ming and early Qing attempts at integration proved as ephemeral as past dynasties' and the region ultimately became a flashpoint for antistate activity such as Tibet or Xinjiang or perhaps a part of one of the other nation-states which control contemporary Zomia. In this light, I argue, nineteenth-century gazetteer production should not be viewed as merely an inevitable consequence of increased Chinese integration but instead as a conscious act of identity formation on behalf of the compilers which proved integral to the future status of the province.

## CHAPTER 1

### HISTORY OF QIANXI AND GUIZHOU PROVINCE

#### **Geography of Qianxi**

Originally made a prefecture (*fu* 府) in 1664, Kangxi later demoted Qianxi to a department (*zhou* 州) under Weining Prefecture in 1684. In 1730, Yongzheng demoted Weining to a department and reorganized Qianxi as part of Dading Prefecture.<sup>13</sup> As a department-level administrative unit, Qianxi corresponded roughly to a small plain in Dading Prefecture in the northwestern corner of Guizhou province, at the center of which lay the town of Qianxi itself. This plain marked the low-point of a distinctive region of Guizhou province known as Shuixi, an area with a reputation for particular remoteness and poverty in a province imperial officials generally regarded as backwards and unprofitable.<sup>14</sup> Qianxi itself, although not as mountainous or inhospitable as other parts of Shuixi, was in every way a backwater, lying on none of the major roads which crisscrossed Guizhou, connecting interior China to the valuable mines of Yunnan province.<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup>Lu Shousong, *Qianxi Zhou Zhi* (黔西州志), 1835, 2:3a.

<sup>14</sup>John E. Herman, *Amid the Clouds and Mist: China's Colonization of Guizhou, 1200-1700* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007) 223-224.

<sup>15</sup>Laura Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Empire: Ethnography and Cartography in Early Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).



### Early Chinese Interaction with Guizhou

The harsh and mountainous region of present-day southwest China known as Guizhou existed, for centuries, fully outside of Chinese state control. According to the 1835 gazetteer, in ancient times, the area of Qianxi originally belonged to the *Sanmiao* (三苗) before being granted by Zhuge Liang to the ruler of the state of Luodian as a reward for the latter coming to the aid of the former in battle. The gazetteer goes on to claim the area remained part of Luodian from the time of the Tang up through the Qing.<sup>16</sup> Highlighting the connection between Qianxi and a figure of Zhuge Liang's stature serves to establish a history of the relationship between Qianxi and the Chinese state whose primary features are longevity and the subordination of the former. Relying on indigenous Yi historical texts as well as a small number of Chinese sources, John Herman's work challenges this narrative by characterizing this early period as a time of small, independent states such as Luodian acted as buffers between and occasionally allies with their more powerful Chinese, Tibetan, and Burmese neighbors.<sup>17</sup>

Herman goes on to argue that the Mongol conquest of the southwest served as a "pivotal turning point" in Guizhou's history. Although de facto indigenous rule continued in the region, Yuan officials organized Qianxi, along with other parts of southwest China into new administrative units. According to Herman, although military conquest remained largely ephemeral, establishing the region as a geopolitical entity subject to the rule of the Chinese emperor "compelled China's political elite to view the southwest as a part of China."<sup>18</sup> This narrative not only challenges traditional Chinese

---

<sup>16</sup>Lu, QXZZ, 2:1a

<sup>17</sup>Herman, *Amid the Clouds and Mist*, 37-43.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, 69-70.

rhetoric of conquest, it presents a wholly new paradigm whereby the imagining of Guizhou as part of China becomes the justification for making it so.

In order to control their newly conquered lands, the Yuan entered into patron-client relationship with local rulers, many of whom had been leaders in the years prior to the Mongol conquest. In the case of Shuixi, in 1279, Mongol general Liu Tanzhou appointed Acha, the leader of a Nasu-Yi patriclan known as the Azhe, military commissioner of the recently “conquered” Mu-ege kingdom. This alliance proved difficult and Shuixi continued to be the site of constant banditry that occasionally erupted into small scale conflict between soldiers loyal to the Azhe and the Mongols. Eventually, in 1331, Yuan officials installed the new head of the Azhe patriclan, Ahua, as the native official (*tusi* 土司) of a pacification commission which corresponded roughly to the clan's historic lands. Ahua's successor Aicui continued this tradition and, in 1372, pledged allegiance to the newly established Ming Dynasty, receiving in return the title of Guizhou Pacification Commissioner, along with authority over an increased area which continued to include Shuixi.

The *tusi* system addressed the tension between Guizhou's *de jure* status as part of the Chinese realm and its *de facto* status as largely outside of imperial control by instituting a system of local rulers. Under this system, whose roots predated the Ming, the emperor invested local headmen with hereditary office in exchange for their loyalty. Originally, the Ming emperors awarded the *tusi* titles to native, non-Han, officials and assigned to them responsibility for governing the non-Han population. Despite various attempts and edicts on the part of the Ming officials to enroll native students in Confucian schools, *tusi* and the people they ruled remained largely nonsinicized up through the

seventeenth century. Herman argues the *tusi* occupied a transitional role in Guizhou's status "between military annexation and civilian rule."<sup>19</sup>

In the context of Shuixi, Azhe *tusi* continued to rule their ancestral lands while facing the presence of an increasing number of Ming military units, immigrants from interior China, and internal unrest within their territory and around their borders. Initially, the clan's efforts were largely successful; the Nasu-Yi in Shuixi utilized the presence of Han merchants, farmers, and craftsmen to improve infrastructure and agricultural techniques. Their success, however, led to an inherent paradox; the more Shuixi prospered and appeared safe for migrants, the more attraction it held for the Ming as a target for *gaitu guiliu*, the process of transforming regions ruled by *tusi* into official departments and prefectures overseen by Confucian-educated imperial officials. Throughout the fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries, the Azhe relationship with imperial officials was characterized by mistrust, occasionally resulting in armed conflict. By the early 1600s, Ming officials had eliminated other large Guizhou *tusi* such as the Bozhou Pacification Commissioner and set their sights on Shuixi. From the onset, the argument by Ming officials in favor of the *tusi* system constituted a "moral discourse." According to Herman, there existed great concern among these officials as to the "social and economic effects that an expanding Shuixi political economy had on neighboring Han communities."<sup>20</sup> Eventually, in 1621, two regents loyal to Guizhou Pacification Commissioner An Wei<sup>21</sup> led a major revolt against Ming forces known as the She-An

---

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 105-117.

<sup>20</sup> John Herman, "The Cant of Conquest: Tusi Offices and China's Political Incorporation of the Southwest Frontier," in *Empire at the Margins*, ed. Pamela Kyle Crossley et al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 150-152.

<sup>21</sup> The Azhe patriclan had adopted the surname *An* (安) upon swearing allegiance to the Ming dynasty and receiving the *tusi* title Guizhou Pacification Commissioner. The two regents who led and lent their names

rebellion. While She-An forces initially marched on Guiyang and sacked Chongqing, the Ming eventually crushed the rebellion with a coalition of imperial and native forces. Nevertheless, the rebellion ravished the area for eight years and further convinced Ming officials of the need to diminish the power of the *tusi*. Although Azhe leaders continued to hold the modified title of Shuixi Pacification Commissioners, their actual authority was much diminished.<sup>22</sup>

The arrival of Qing general Wu Sangui in Shuixi destroyed the Ming's plans for that province's gradual integration. Although Shuixi Pacification Commissioner An Kun originally surrendered to the Qing, Wu conquered Shuixi in 1666 and eliminated the post of Shuixi Pacification Commissioner, arguing to Qing authorities that the region could only be brought fully under control by elimination of *tusi*, increased Han settlement, and the creation of Chinese schools.<sup>23</sup> Following the defeat of Wu's Revolt of the Three Feudatories at the hands of the Qing, the Kangxi Emperor maintained Wu's division of Shuixi into the Pingyue, Qianxi, Weining, and Dading prefectures, all controlled by degree-holding Qing officials. Nevertheless, non-Han areas outside of the towns continued to be under the authority of *tusi*, now subordinate to Qing officials in Guiyang. The post of Shuixi Pacification Commissioner, while temporarily restored for symbolic reasons, was formally abolished in 1701.<sup>24</sup>

Throughout the Yuan, Ming, and Qing eras, Chinese officials and military forces repeatedly attempted to establish sovereignty over Shuixi. Despite their efforts, the Azhe

---

to the She-An rebellion were An Wei's uncle, An Bangyan and his cousin She Chongming. (Ibid., 171-173.)

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 186-188.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 205-208.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 220-221.

clan which controlled the region prior to Yuan conquest outlived the two dynasties and maintained control of the region until the end of the seventeenth century. This perseverance serves as a testament to the difficulty faced by imperial officials in controlling an area so remote and containing so few Han inhabitants. It also likely speaks to the lack of commitment, and perhaps interest, on the part of many officials to bother with such an area. Upon undergoing *gaitu guiliu* under Kangxi, Shuixi had certainly undergone massive economic and demographic changes which brought it closer to the Chinese state. Nevertheless, major revolts throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century demonstrate that, especially outside of the towns and cities, Shuixi remained far from pacified.

### **The “Zomia” Perspective: Guizhou’s Missing Narrative**

Any scholar attempting to research late-imperial Guizhou eventually encounters the issue of how to address the paucity of non-Han primary source material.<sup>25</sup> Due to the lack of this non-Han voice, coupled with the relative abundance of Chinese sources, portraying the experience of the subaltern remains a challenge. Despite this challenge, these missing narratives constitute an essential aspect of the nature of nineteenth-century Qianxi. The creation of identity requires an Other against which a group can define itself. In the context of Han Chinese in Guizhou province, the other always consisted of the area’s multitudinous non-Han tribes. Although Chinese sources, including the 1835 Qianxi gazetteer, attempt to describe these groups, they contain an inherent bias. Almost uniformly, portrayals of non-Han natives highlight their perceived backwardness and lack

---

<sup>25</sup>It should be noted that recent the work of C. Patterson Giersch and John Herman have successfully utilized native-language sources of the Yi people.

of civilization. Unquestioning acceptance of this narrative implies that Chinese would inevitably dominate and civilize these inferior people.

In his book *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Southeast Asia*, James Scott provides an alternate reading of state action vis-à-vis the peoples living in the peripheral hills and valleys of upland Southeast Asia, a region he names Zomia. According to Scott, the remoteness of the areas in which these people lived presented a challenge to centralized states such as the Chinese, for whom “occupation was beyond its reach...thus the physical, coercive presence of the state in the remotest, hilly areas was episodic, often to the vanishing point.”<sup>26</sup> This analysis can certainly be applied to the experience of the Yuan, Ming, and Qing states in Shuixi. Attempted Chinese conquests of the area repeatedly led to the ennoblement of *tusi*, often belonging to the same clans which had always controlled the area. Although Han immigration to the area increased steadily throughout the Ming, the state lacked the resolve to directly administer the area until the end of the seventeenth century. In addition to these restraints on state power, Guizhou contained few natural resources and, as an “internal frontier,” received few military resources compared to Qing central Asia or neighboring Yunnan.<sup>27</sup> Even after most of the province had experienced *gaitu guiliu*, major rebellions occurred throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Two studies, *Empire and Identity in Guizhou: Local Resistance to Qing Expansion* by Jodi Weinstein and “Ethnicity and the Miao Frontier in the Eighteenth Century” by Donald Sutton, highlight non-Han reactions to the encroaching Qing state in the eighteenth century. In doing so, they also inform our

---

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 62-63.

<sup>27</sup> Jenks argues that, during the mid-nineteenth century, the Qing pulling military forces *from* Guizhou to deal with rebellions elsewhere largely hampered the ability of provincial officials to deal with local rebellions. (Jenks, *Insurgency and Social Disorder*, 145.)

understanding of the context in which the gentry of Qianxi produced their 1835 gazetteer.

Weinstein's study, which focuses on the Nanlong Uprising of 1797, examines the livelihoods Zhongjia people<sup>28</sup> in order to explore the ways in which marginalized people actively used the resources available to them in the face of political and economic hardship. Using criminal cases from the Qianlong era, she concludes that many Zhongjia utilized their limited exposure to Qing institutions in order to subvert ruling authorities.<sup>29</sup> These cases, she argues, demonstrate that attempts by the Qing to increase control over southwestern Guizhou during the eighteenth century actually "generated resentment and resistance from the local populace."<sup>30</sup> Seen in this context, the Nanlong Uprising of 1797 was not a response to specific actions but a flashpoint in the ongoing negotiation between Guizhou's non-Han residents and the Qing state.

In his article "Ethnicity and the Miao Frontier in the Eighteenth Century," Donald Sutton argues that, in order to "create a subjective unity," the Miao people of the Hunan and Guizhou borderlands had to come into contact and conflict with Qing officials and Han settlers.<sup>31</sup> As settlers from other parts of China moved into this region, early Qing officials attempted to quarantine the Miao to prevent interaction which could potentially lead to the assimilation of Han settlers (termed traitors, or *hanjian* 漢奸). Under Yongzheng, however, this area, like Qianxi, underwent *gaitu guiliu*, resulting in a series of laws which ran counter to Miao customs. The logic behind these laws lay in the

---

<sup>28</sup> The Zhongjia people, known today as the Buyi, are a Tai speaking ethnic group historically present in central and western Guizhou Province, including Qianxi.

<sup>29</sup> Jodi L. Weinstein, *Empire and Identity in Guizhou: Local Resistance to Qing Expansion* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014), 1-82.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 123-124.

<sup>31</sup> Donald S. Sutton, "Ethnicity in the Miao Frontier in the Eighteenth Century" in *Empire at the Margins*, ed. Pamela Kyle Crossley et al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 190-191.

concept of *shenghua*, which Sutton defines as “civilized transformation under imperial rule.”<sup>32</sup> Despite the efforts of some reformers, attempts at acculturation ultimately proved shallow and, as in Nanlong, led to widespread resentment among the native populace. The Qianlong Emperor, whose concern still mostly focused on Miao contagion turning loyal subjects into *hanjian*, failed to realize that policies of assimilation had actually resulted in creating a sense of common identity amongst the area’s Miao. The uprising which began in Hunan in 1795 proved that the experience of contact, while leading to some level of acculturation, failed to create loyal Qing subjects of the Miao.<sup>33</sup>

The case studies of the Zhongjia in Guizhou’s southwest and the Miao on the Guizhou and Hunan border highlight the ongoing nature of the Qing’s conquest of the province. Although officials under Kangxi and Yongzheng succeeded in bringing the area under the *de jure* control of the Qing state, the identities of its residents remained far more fluid.

### **The Confucian “Civilizing Project” and Ethnic Identity in Qing Guizhou**

In the past, China scholars have utilized the term “sinicization” (*hanhua* 漢化) to describe the process by which Han civilization inevitably subsumed the peoples around its margins due to its inherent attractiveness. According to this narrative, perhaps most infamously posited by Herold Wiens in his book *China Marches Toward the Tropics*, as Chinese pushed into the southern and western frontiers, the native inhabitants essentially became Chinese.<sup>34</sup> The premise of this theory, dubbed the “march thesis” by Herman, is problematic because, at its root, it assumes cultural exchange between Han and non-Han

---

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 195-203.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 214-220.

<sup>34</sup> Herold J. Wiens, *China’s March Toward the Tropics* (Hamden, CT: Shoestring Press, 1954), 159-167.



was one-directional and permanent. In reality, examples such as the aforementioned studies by Weinstein and Sutton prove that immigrants often assimilated into local cultures and that identity politics in late-imperial Guizhou remained complex.

Nevertheless, the mission to civilize the non-Han peoples of southwestern China did emerge as a central tenet of southwest policy during the reign of Yongzheng (1722-1735) and later Qianlong (1735-1796).

Beginning in the 1720s, Qing reformers led by Chen Hongmou established Confucian schools throughout the southwestern borderlands. In Yunnan and likely in the other provinces, these schools existed solely to spread morals through the ability to read the classical Confucian texts. In his essay on education in late-imperial Southwest China, William Rowe offers a summary of the Qing officials perception of their mission vis-à-vis the native population:

The extension of empire into southwest China in the eighteenth century involved for Ch'ing officials above all a process of "moral transformation (*hua*) of the indigenous population, and the goal of school building was one of "transformation via education" (*chiao-hua*). Among the most ancient and pregnant concepts in Confucian discourse, *hua* in the eighteenth century was decidedly a transitive verb...transformation was more commonly something done by someone to someone else. Ch'en wrote repeatedly throughout his career of his duty to "transform the people and perfect local customs" (*huamin ch'engsu*) and described the cardinal task of the official as that of "transforming and guiding" (*hua-tao*) the local populace.<sup>35</sup>

This mission sparked a debate amongst Chen's contemporaries that highlights the difficulty in making generalizations about Qing attitudes toward sinicization. While Chen wished to increase literacy, some of his opponents worried about sharing the gift of

---

<sup>35</sup> William T. Rowe, "Education and Empire in Southwest China: Ch'en Hung-mou in Yunnan, 1733-38" in *Education and Society in Late Imperial China, 1600-1900*, eds. Alexander Woodside and Benjamin A. Elman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 419. Note Rowe's use of Wade-Giles Romanization system.

*hanzi* with their enemies. Thus even as some Yongzheng era reformers sought to acculturate the native population, others remained skeptical of the natives' ability to truly transform.

Ultimately, any civilizing project requires not just action on the part of the civilizers but also on the part of the target. Although some estimates claim immigrants outnumbered natives by a margin of three to one by the late-seventeenth century,<sup>36</sup> it remains difficult and perhaps useless to categorize Guizhou or Qianxi's residents along clearly defined ethnic lines. In effect, this would be committing the same mistake as Wiens by viewing the civilizing process as top-down and permanent. When reflecting on the chasm between Confucian ideals and actual mid-nineteenth-century life on the Guizhou-Yunnan frontier, James Scott concludes:

Small wonder that the ideals of Han civilization had little traction on the ground. On the contrary, the contradiction between ideal and reality was sufficient reason both for local people and for reflective imperial officials to conclude that the civilization discourse was mere humbug.<sup>37</sup>

The issue with Scott's statement lays in its presentation of a false dichotomy whereby one had to either be Han or native (non-Han). The complicated reality suggests identity formation became a key tool utilized by the Qing state, as well as the old and new inhabitants of Southwest China while they adapted to a changing world.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries marked a period of extreme transformation in Guizhou province and Qianxi in particular. The efforts of Chen Hongmou resulted in the widespread construction of schools throughout the southwest,

---

<sup>36</sup> Shu-Li Huang, "From Millenarians to Christians: The History of Christian Bureaucracy in Ahmao (Miao/Hmong) Society 1850s-2012" (PhD diss. University of Michigan, 2014), 12-13.

<sup>37</sup> Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed*, 335.

including in Qianxi Department.<sup>38</sup> At the same time, the population of Guizhou province increased dramatically due to large amounts of in-migration. According to James Lee, the registered population of Guizhou Province increased from about 2.4 million in 1741 to 5.3 million in 1835.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, in order to develop the recently discovered copper deposits in Yunnan, the Qing government had to maintain control over Guizhou's roads.<sup>40</sup>

The relatively sudden increase in population and the subsequent development of mining and agriculture brought about a strain on resources not just for the natives but for immigrants as well.<sup>41</sup> When this strain led to revolt, such as the uprising Sutton examines, which occurred in 1795-1797 on the Guizhou-Hunan border, ethnic identity played a dual-role as unifying force for the rebels, and convenient bogeyman for Qing officials. Dan McMahon challenges the reality of a "Miao" revolt in Guizhou by portraying the war as "a contest between shifting multi-ethnic coalitions."<sup>42</sup> Although he acknowledges the utility of ethnic identity to present-day authors, he notes that officials writing at the time displayed unsteadiness when attempting to label any groups involved with the conflict.<sup>43</sup> McMahon draws on C. Patterson Gierch's work on the Yunnan frontier<sup>44</sup> to define the Miao frontier as a shared zone of intercultural interaction. As

---

<sup>38</sup> According to the 1835 Gazetteer, there were at least five schools operating in the Department, including 3 private schools and 2 branches of the department school (Lu, QXZZ, 3:3b-4a).

<sup>39</sup> James Lee, "Food Supply and Population Growth in Southwest China, 1250-1850," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 41 (1982): 725-727. Lee considers these figures to be highly conservative, estimating that the 1850 population of Guizhou province likely surpassed 10 million.

<sup>40</sup> Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise*, 120-121.

<sup>41</sup> Mark Elvin, *The Retreat of the Elephants: An Environmental History of China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 241-251.

<sup>42</sup> Dan McMahon, "Identity and Conflict on a Chinese Borderland: Yan Ruyi and the Recruitment of the Gelao During the 1795-1797 Miao Revolt," *Late Imperial China* 23 (2002): 65.

<sup>43</sup> It should be noted that, writing in the 1884 Qianxi gazetteer, Chen Huanmo displays no such apprehension at applying ethnic labels to rebel groups (Bai, QXZZ, 1:6a-7b).

<sup>44</sup> See C. Patterson Giersch, *Asian Borderlands: The Transformation of Qing China's Yunnan Frontier* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006).

evidenced by Sutton's discussion of *hanjian*, the concern of Qing officials lay less in ethnic identity than morality. This moralistic view, deeply rooted in the notion of Confucian orthodoxy, allowed for both *hanjian* and *liang miao* (good Miao) in official records.<sup>45</sup>

The threat of *hanjian* was a huge concern for many Qing officials in the southwest frontier provinces, especially during the early years of the nineteenth century. As settlers from other parts of China poured into Guizhou and Yunnan, an inevitable amount of interaction occurred between them and the existing, native population. According to David Atwell, the category of *hanjian* arose in the borderlands to describe "Han who acted in the interests of local non-Han and against the Qing."<sup>46</sup> Atwill argues that by applying this term, rife with antistate implications, to Han living in Yunnan, early nineteenth-century Qing officials demonstrated an anxiety concerning the effects of frontier life, with its strange environment and inhabitants, on the character of Han Chinese.<sup>47</sup> Thus the rise of the term *hanjian*, provides evidence of a shift in Qing attitudes toward the non-Han peoples of the southwest. Whereas leading Yongzheng era officials such as Ortai and Chen Hongmou sought to civilize the area's non-Han inhabitants, later officials seemed less concerned with this mission. Faced with a half-century of immigration, Qianlong era officials came to see the primary issue as laying not in the non-Han themselves but in the threat of contagion among Han settlers. Conversely, the threat of Hanjianism meant, for the settlers themselves, that simply not being non-Han no longer proved sufficient; in order to demonstrate loyalty to the state,

---

<sup>45</sup> McMahon, "Identity and Conflict," 65-75.

<sup>46</sup> David Atwill, *The Chinese Sultantate: Islam, Ethnicity, and the Panthay Rebellion in Southwest China, 1856-1874* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 52.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.

one had to actively engage in performing Han-ness.

Elsewhere, Giersch challenges the very notion of pre-existing “Han” identity in the southwest borderlands, going so far as to argue that there were no Han in Yunnan until the nineteenth century.<sup>48</sup> Qing officials such as Ortai seldom used the word *Han*, preferring instead words such as *min* or *neidi minren* to refer to the migrants under their administration. The early migrants themselves were more likely to create native-place identities, at least during the eighteenth century. Giersch describes the emergence of the term *Han* as a descriptor as having a dialectical relationship with people’s own identity formation. He argues that this change occurred within the context of a state trying to extend its “control over the diverse geographies and communities of the Southwest.”<sup>49</sup> As the state began to treat different groups of people unequally, developing a Han identity became advantageous.

Read this way, the civilizing project in Qing Guizhou cannot be merely dismissed as “mere humbug.” Instead, Han identity became a valuable tool to adopt, or in some cases reject, as interactions between migrants, natives, and the Qing state led to increased competition for resources. In the case of Qianxi gentry, their identity formation depended on the aforementioned civilization discourse. These men, who had lived in Qianxi for generations and received their education in Confucian schools, wholeheartedly embraced both their new native place and their Han identity. The gazetteer they produced in 1835 demonstrates that not only did they participate in Han rituals and practices, they also sought to actively present their identity to the Qing state.

---

<sup>48</sup> C. Patterson Giersch, “From Subjects to Han,” 201-209.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 201.

## CHAPTER 2

### PRODUCTION OF THE “1835” QIANXI DEPARTMENTAL GAZETTEER

The production of *difangzhi*, also known as local gazetteers, has an ancient history in China. Although the material contained within these documents varies, James Hargett has argued that most local gazetteers compiled since the Song dynasty share a place-name in their title, a scope “limited to a specific geographic-administrative locale,” and detailed and comprehensive information.<sup>50</sup> While the 1835 Qianxi Departmental gazetteer fits well within these parameters, its notability lies not so much in its content as in the context of its production. Compiled in a frontier province prone to rebellions, where government control remained dubious and ethnic identity was characterized by fluidity, the local gazetteer operated both as a technology of empire on behalf of the Qing state and as a statement of identity on behalf of the local gentry of Qianxi. In this chapter, I explore the nature and content of the 1835 gazetteer, arguing that by operating in the organizational, geographical, and commemorative modes, Qianxi’s gentry attempted to use gazetteer production as a means to simultaneously demonstrate their dominion over the land and their devotion to a larger Han cultural identity.

---

<sup>50</sup> James M. Hargett, “Song Dynasty Local Gazetteers and Their Place in the History of *Difangzhi* Writing” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 56 (1996), 405.

## The Organizational Mode

In the decades before Shuixi underwent *gaitu guiliu*, a noteworthy event occurred when, in 1617, Guizhou Governor Yang He requested Vice Pacification Commissioner An Bangyan to provide detailed geographic and demographic information about Shuixi. An took this as yet another challenge to Yi sovereignty in Shuixi and subsequently denied Yang's request. This event proved to be just one in an escalating series of events which result in the aforementioned She-An rebellion (to which An Bangyan gave his name).<sup>51</sup> The implications of this exchange, however, suggest that, as recently as the early 1600s, Chinese officials felt discomfort at how little they knew about the region. The remainder of the 1600s proved to be a chaotic time for Shuixi. Following the close of the She-An rebellion, Wu Sangui's invasion of Guizhou temporarily removed the Azhe clan from power while the Revolt of the Three Feudatories further complicated the politics of the region. Although Qianxi officially entered the registers in 1684 as a department-level administrative unit, the first attempt to compile a *difangzhi* suggests this designation remained superficial.

In 1686, a mere two years after the establishment of the department, provincial official He Jin wrote of the difficulty in undertaking a task of such great magnitude as compiling a gazetteer:

When I undertook administering that locality, it was first changed from a prefecture to a department; the Yi and the Han were living together, and the various affairs [of administration] had just begun. When I inquired about records, there were none. When I inquired about documentation, there was none. I inquired as to why there was no documentation. It is probably because Qianxi was a new frontier, formerly administered by *tusi* as part of *Luodian*. The officials were not included in the drawing of King [Cheng's] assembly [of states], and the number of its citizens were not recorded in the registers of the Director of the Masses. Since [the locality] opened up, over more than two thousand years,

---

<sup>51</sup> Herman, *Amid the Clouds and Mist*, 176.

many times it has been exhorted, many times it has avoided being reformed, and then rapidly, it has removed the old and changed to the new; we have employed the model of the Xia transforming the Yi, and still [the results] have not been as thorough as they should be.

承牧是邦，適值改府爲州之始，夷漢混處，庶事草創。問載籍，无有也。問文獻，无有也。蓋黔西新疆，舊隸土司，爲羅甸國，衣冠不列王會之圖，民數不登司徒之版。自開闢來閱二千餘載，幾經勸，幾免經漸摩，乃駸駸乎有革舊鼎新，用夏變夷之象，而猶未盡然也。<sup>52</sup>

He's description goes on to discuss the backwardness and heterodox customs of Qianxi's residents. He lamented the lack of existing documents and the rudimentary state of education in Qianxi Department. Eventually, He sought aid from a local prefectural degree holder named Gao Renlong, who proceeded to gather oral accounts from elders and local gentry.<sup>53</sup> Ultimately, the primary causes for He Jin's failure: lack of existing records, lack of educated locals, and lack of historical precedent, lay in the absence of established Han gentry in Qianxi. Producing a local gazetteer required an amount of organizational capacity that the department clearly lacked in 1686.

During the reign of the Yongzheng Emperor, the emperor's close confidant Ortai became the governor-general of Yunnan and Guizhou. While serving in this capacity from 1723 to 1730, he prioritized provincial gazetteer production. These gazetteers differed from other provincial gazetteers in their privileging of straightforward descriptions of the region over imperial edicts. According to R. Kent Guy, the compilation of these gazetteers marked the beginning of a period when "Yunnan and Guizhou were now standard provinces, interchangeable, at least on paper, with other

---

<sup>52</sup> Lu, QXZZ, 1:2b-3a.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 1:3a-3b. He's collaboration with Gao begins a pattern of Qianxi Departmental Magistrates consulting and collaborating with local elders, degree holders, and gentry in order to compile gazetteers.



provinces.”<sup>54</sup> During Ortai’s governorship, Qianxi Department Magistrate Bao Shangzhong made a second attempt at compiling a departmental gazetteer. While the 1744 edition praises Bao’s ambition, it describes his effort as “confused and disordered.”<sup>55</sup> The first successful attempt at gazetteer compilation in Qianxi occurred under Department Magistrate Feng Guangsu in 1744. Apparently building on the previous work of Magistrates He and Bao, Feng’s handwritten gazetteer includes an unnumbered first section consisting of rules (*fanli* 凡例), the table of contents, and maps; followed by eight chapters (*juan* 卷) and subchapters (see Table 1).<sup>56</sup>

*Table 1: Chapters (卷) of the 1744 Qianxi Gazetteer*

Chapter Title	Subchapters
1. Astronomy	star charts, climate, omens
2. Geography	administrative history, boundaries, topography, mountains and rivers, passes and bridges, postal stations, social customs, barbarians, historical sites
3. Public Works	walls and moats, government offices, schools, free schools, ancestral temples, Buddhist and Daoist temples
4. Economy	population, land tax, other taxes, expenditures, charity, granaries, products and crops
5. Government	officialdom, local officials, meritorious officials from Qianxi, <i>tusi</i> (native officials)
6. Military Preparations	military system, study of military units
7. Notable People	degree holders, filial and righteous men, imperial officials, hermits, chaste women, exiles, Buddhist and Daoist monks
8. Literature	epitaphs, prefaces, introductions, inscriptions, poetry

<sup>54</sup> R. Kent Guy, *Qing Governors and Their Provinces: The Evolution of Territorial Administration in China, 1644-1796* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010), 350.

<sup>55</sup> Feng Guangsu, *Qianxi Zhou Zhi* (1744), 1:5a.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:1a-2a. The copy of this gazetteer I used was first published by the Guizhou Provincial Library in 1966. So far, I cannot determine whether or not the gazetteer was ever published prior to this.

The 1744 gazetteer was expanded in 1803 under the direction of Liu Yong'an and Li Bingyan and finally completed in 1835.<sup>57</sup> Like the 1744 edition, the 1835 edition, compiled by Department Magistrate Lu Shousong, consists of eight *juan*, although they appear in a slightly modified order and with additional subchapters (see Table 2).

Table 2: Chapters (卷) of the 1835 Qianxi Gazetteer

Chapter Title	Subchapters
1. Astronomy	maps, star charts, climate, omens
2. Geography	establishment, boundaries, mountains and streams, passes and bridges, postal stations, customs, topography, barbarians, historic sites, neighborhoods, markets, villages and hamlets
3. Public Works	walls and moats, workshops, government offices, Confucian academies, schools, explanation of rites, ancestral temples, donations, Buddhist and Daoist temples
4. Notable People	degree holders, purchased offices, imperial officials, military merit, conferred titles, long-lived men, filial and righteous men, chaste and filial women, long-lived females, hermits, Buddhist and Daoist monks, exiles
5. Economy	population, land tax, other taxes, granaries, expenditures, charity, products and crops
6. Government	office system, local officials, meritorious officials from Qianxi, <i>tusi</i> (native officials)
7. Military Preparations	military system, study of military units
8. Literature	Imperial decrees, books, commentary, discourse, notes, annales, prefaces, studies, biographies, eulogies, poems, additional poems

<sup>57</sup> Although the Family History Library in Salt Lake City has a microfilm of the “1803 gazetteer,” close inspection has revealed it to be identical to their 1835 edition. There exists a purported 1803 Gazetteer printed by the Guizhou Provincial Library in 1966, but it is nearly identical to the 1835 gazetteer found in the National Library of China and the Family History Library. For the purposes of this thesis, I have used the 1835 gazetteer available digitally from the National Library of China. In sections specific to the 1744 gazetteer, I have used the handwritten copy published in 1966 by the Guizhou Provincial Library.

Unlike the 1744 edition, the 1835 edition is printed in block print and contains three prefaces: the original preface written by Magistrate He Jin,<sup>58</sup> a new preface written by Magistrate Liu Yong'an, and a postscript signed by “all the gentry of the department” (*he zhou shenshi* 闔州紳士).<sup>59</sup> The inclusion of these three essays implies two important things concerning the production of the 1835 Qianxi Departmental Gazetteer. By including He's preface, as well as much of the material from the 1744 gazetteer, the gazetteer is presented as a project completed by the compilers over the course of a century. The prominent role of “the gentry of the department” in compiling the document also implies that gazetteer production constituted a consultative and cooperative process between government officials and local elites. Liu implies as much in his preface, which notes the presence of educated elites in Qianxi Department as well as the high degree to which he relied on these men to compile the gazetteer.<sup>60</sup>

The success of Magistrate Lu and the failure of Magistrate He cannot simply be explained by the region's shifting demographics or the supposed success of the Chinese civilizing project. Due to the immigrants' diverse backgrounds, the fluid nature of ethnic identity in the southwest borderlands, and the fear of *hanjian* on the part of Qing officials, the “Han-ness” of Qianxi's residents should not be assumed. Instead, I argue, the production of a high-quality gazetteer in 1835 must be considered a conscious act of not only identity creation but also identity presentation.

The ability and desire of Qianxi gentry to work with Departmental Magistrates

---

<sup>58</sup> In the gazetteer rules section, the compilers note that He's original preface was included to remember the first attempt at gazetteer production in Qianxi Department (Lu, QXZZ, 1:9b).

<sup>59</sup> Lu, QXZZ, 1:5b. Despite being labeled as a postscript, this placement of this essay occurs at the beginning of the gazetteer, following the two prefaces and preceding the rules section.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:1a-1b.

can only be understood in the context of the changes the department underwent during the eighteenth century. According to the gazetteer, the number of registered household in Qianxi increased from 3,867 when the department was founded to over 5,000 in 1731.<sup>61</sup> As these migrants moved into the area, the increased population required department officials to expand the city walls and undertake other infrastructure projects such as bridge building. The 1835 gazetteer records five instances of wall construction alone between the department's founding and 1759.<sup>62</sup> These kinds of projects, as well as the dedication of numerous steles, may have been paid for or directed by Qing officials but they required a certain amount of community effort to undertake. They also imply a sense of permanence on behalf of the population. These migrants came to Qianxi to stay and, by the mid-eighteenth century, they had already begun the process of transforming the county town into a typical Chinese space.

Perhaps the most important factor contributing to the rise of Han culture in Qianxi Department was the tremendous success of one of its leading citizens, Li Shijie (李世傑), who lived from 1716-1794. Despite Li's ultimate rise to unprecedented levels of power and success, his background portrays an experience not unordinary for a seventeenth-century Qianxi family. The origins of the Li family lay in Jiangnan. Shijie's great-grandfather Li Yuba went to Guizhou as a soldier and apparently brought his family along with him. Although Yuba died fighting, his family stayed on and "became Qianxi people." Li's father, Li Zhi became a tribute student (*gongsheng* 貢生). Although Li remained uninterested in serious matters throughout his youth, he eventually received a

---

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 5:1b-2a. Unfortunately, the gazetteer provides no information for after 1731 (雍正九年). However, the work of James Lee (see Lee, *Food Supply and Population Growth*) suggests that Qianxi's population likely continued to increase rapidly throughout the eighteenth century.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 3:1b-2a.

low-level appointment in Changshu, Zhejiang province. Li's natural ability impressed his superiors and he continued to advance through the ranks of Qing officialdom. At some point, he became a favorite of Qianlong and subsequently served one term as Governor of Liangjiang Province and two more as Governor of Sichuan Province. After proving himself as an effective commander and administrator in Sichuan, Li went to Beijing to serve as Minister of War in 1790. His appointment did not last long, however, as the aging Li had to resign his post due to ill health. Li returned to Qianxi where he died in 1794 at the age of 79.<sup>63</sup>

Li Shijie's rise served as a boon to his clan and to the gentry of Qianxi in general. Although Li himself never held a degree, he established Wenfeng Academy (*wenfeng shuyuan* 文峰書院) in Qianxi in 1779. This academy served as a precedent and eventually gentry established four other private academies.<sup>64</sup> These academies, unlike the department school which had been established under Magistrate He, specifically trained students in the Confucian classics in order to prepare them to pass imperial exams.<sup>65</sup> The establishment of these Confucian schools is significant but not unique to Qianxi. By some estimates, Guizhou contained at least 130 academies during the period from 1736-1851.<sup>66</sup> Nevertheless, the timeline of their establishment coincides with the collection work of the 1835 Gazetteer, most of which occurred under the direction of Magistrate Liu Yong'an in the years before 1804.

---

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 8.2:18b-24b.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 3:3b-4a.

<sup>65</sup> For more information on the different types of schools built in Southwest China, see Rowe, "Education and Empire."

<sup>66</sup> Alexander A. Woodside and Benjamin A. Elman, "Afterword: The Expansion of Education in Ch'ing China," in *Education and Society in Late Imperial China, 1600-1900*, eds. Alexander Woodside and Benjamin A. Elman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 526.

A comparison of the education-related chapters in the 1744 and 1835 gazetteers clearly points to the rise of an educated elite in late-eighteenth century Guizhou. While the subchapters covering schools account for three pages in the former, they take up twenty-two pages in the latter.<sup>67</sup> Perhaps more importantly, the numbers of degree candidates, degree holders, and imperial officials from Qianxi greatly increased between 1744 and 1835.<sup>68</sup> In the early-nineteenth century, Magistrates Liu and Lu relied on the aid of over two dozen of these men, nearly all of whom were either degree holders or degree candidates. In Liu's preface, he notes the increased number of local talents present in 1803 Qianxi.<sup>69</sup> Li Shijie's own nephew, a provincial degree holder (*juren* 舉人) named Li Huafu, served as the primary compiler under Magistrate Liu. According to the postscript written by "all department gentry," Liu turned to the younger Li to lead the compilation effort among the gentry.<sup>70</sup>

Despite the efforts of He Jin and Bao Shangzhong, the ability to organize a project on the scale of gazetteer compilation did not exist in late-seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century Qianxi. Increased levels of immigration combined with the establishment of Confucian academies, largely established and funded through donations from local gentry, gave rise to a critical mass of local intelligentsia by the late-nineteenth century. These men had received the type of education and training necessary to undertake a project such as gazetteer compilation, an act closely linked with the Han

---

<sup>67</sup> Lu, QXZZ, 3:3b-33a and Feng, QXZZ (1744). 3:2b-4b.

<sup>68</sup> Lu, QXZZ, 4:1b-12b and Feng, QXZZ (1744). 7:1a-9b. Many of the candidates are clearly members of the same Li clan as Shijie. Relying on generational names, I found over two dozen Li clan members belonging to the 1<sup>st</sup> (generation name *shi* 世), 2<sup>nd</sup> (generation name *hua* 華), 3<sup>rd</sup> (generation name *zai* 再), and 4<sup>th</sup> (generation name *zhi* 之) generations.

<sup>69</sup> Lu, QXZZ, 1:1a.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:4b-5a.

learning movement.<sup>71</sup> Their mere ability to produce the 1835 gazetteer can therefore be seen as a statement of Han identity among Qianxi elite.

### **The Geographical Mode**

As evidenced by Yang He's attempt to force An Bangyan to compile gazetteer-like content such as geographic and demographic information in Shuixi and present it to Ming officials, gazetteer production served a military and colonial purpose. According to Hargett, the importance of geographical information contained in gazetteers to the imperial ruling project dates back to the Northern Song.<sup>72</sup> This held particularly true in Guizhou province, a region of notoriously difficult physical and human geography. The twin geographical projects of mapping and ethnography, defined broadly as recording and categorizing the topographical and cultural features present in formerly unknown spaces, played a key component in the expansion of Qing control in Guizhou Province. In examining the utilization of these two key technologies of empire, Laura Hostetler argues that, like European powers, the Qing dynasty's actions can properly be defined as "colonial." By utilizing these technologies, she argues that, through representation and definition, the Qing effectively "claimed" the depicted lands and peoples.<sup>73</sup>

In the case of the 1835 Qianxi gazetteer, the inclusion of geographical information likely proved useful to military leaders chasing rebels through the area during the mid-1850s or to department administrators from far away provinces.

---

<sup>71</sup> For the relationship between gazetteer compilation and Han learning in Guizhou, see Guo Wu, "The Shatan Intellectual Community: The Spread of Han Learning and Rise of Confucian Intellectualism in Late Qing Northern Guizhou" (paper presented to Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting, Chicago, March 2015).

<sup>72</sup> Hargett, *Song Dynasty Local Gazetteers*, 412.

<sup>73</sup> Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise: Ethnography and Cartography in Early Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press: 2001), 1-32.

Furthermore, the ability to intimately and accurately describe the land and the people of the area made it clear to all readers that the Qing exerted a measure of sovereignty in the nineteenth century clearly absent during the Ming. However, considering the inclusion of such information as simply a facet of Qing colonialism overlooks the collaborative relationship between the Qing State, as represented by departmental officials, and the Qianxi local elite. As the compilers of the gazetteer, these local elites not only placed Qianxi's geography within the context of a larger Chinese world, they also wrote their own, distinctly Chinese geography, onto Qianxi.

The compilers of the 1835 gazetteer seem to have acted consistently with those of Yongzheng era gazetteers by placing maps at the front of the gazetteer as opposed to the usual imperial edicts.<sup>74</sup> According to the gazetteer rules, these maps have been given a primary position in order to provide an easy reference for officials seeking advantageous terrain.<sup>75</sup> Furthermore, this placement implies the importance of mapping to both imperial officials and the local elite, both of whom required knowledge of a place in order to legitimize their relationship with it. Although Benjamin Elman has argued that, during the Qing, "geography became instead a precise field of evidential inquiry,"<sup>76</sup> the maps in the 1835 gazetteer lack the mathematical precision popular elsewhere at the time. Instead, these maps portray a space both lived in and familiar. While some mapmakers bemoaned the difficulty in charting Guizhou's complex topography,<sup>77</sup> the Qianxi gazetteers eschew scientific techniques, replacing them with a more artistic style. These maps include not only the standard names of topographical features such as mountains

---

<sup>74</sup> Guy, *Qing Governors*, 350.

<sup>75</sup> Lu, QXZZ, 1:6a-6b.

<sup>76</sup> Benjamin Elman, "Geographical Research in the Ming-Ch'ing Period" *Monumenta Serica* 35 (1988), 15.

<sup>77</sup> Elvin, *Retreat of the Elephants*, 236.



and streams, they also include the locations of Confucian temples, graves, and memorials. While one would assume a series of maps meant for administrators and generals would include the locations of indigenous villages, the only such depiction is included in a series of landscape drawings. While the artists' rendering of the village romantically nestled amidst peaks and streams is surely beautiful, its tactical use to a Qing commander would have been dubious.<sup>78</sup>

Aside from the maps included in the first chapter, the compilers of the 1835 gazetteer placed the majority of the geographic information in the second chapter. In addition to information concerning infrastructure, this section contains a subchapter devoted to barbarians (*miaoman* 苗蠻). This subchapter consists of ethnographic entries describing the non-Han ethnic groups living in Qianxi. Laura Hostetler argues that Qing administrators considered these types of ethnographies, which became a common form during the eighteenth century, essential tools to administering their realm. In a study of various collections of ethnographies, Hostetler finds that the number of groups described increased as the Qing conquered more territory, noting in particular the relationship between increased numbers of ethnographies and increased number of place names. The authors of these ethnographies often highlighted the strange cultural practices of the subject people, especially when they conflicted with traditional Confucian views on dress. Beginning with the Kangxi Guizhou Gazetteer of 1673, the descriptions of non-Han pertained more and more to the groups' degree of sinicization. This interest in acculturation peaked under the governorship of Ortai during the Yongzheng period. After that, although the number of groups enumerated increased, the emphasis on

---

<sup>78</sup> Lu, QXZZ, 1:10a-24a.

description waned. This change likely reflected the policies of the Qianlong Emperor, who generally pursued policies of quantification over assimilation.<sup>79</sup>

The ten non-Han groups which appear in the 1835 Qianxi Gazetteer are the Zhongjia (狝家), Songjia (宋家), Caijia (蔡家), Flower Miao (花苗), White Miao (白苗), Clear Miao (青苗), Gelao (犵狫), Liu E Zi (六額子), Luoluo (猓獞), and White Luoluo (白猓獞). The entry for the White Miao reads:

The White Miao are identified by their white clothing, which only barely reaches the knee. The males go barefoot; the women always roll their hair in a bun. Like the Flower Miao, it is their practice every other month to sacrifice to their ancestors. Every village selects its bull with the largest horns to fight in a field, with the winner being considered lucky. After the fight, they choose a time to sacrifice the bull as a funerary rite. They wear white clothing with green rope and fine pleats, changing to comfortable dresses after the occasion. Members of the same clan sing songs and drink alcohol together. Their nature is honest yet severe. They tend to move around. They are all becoming civilized.

白苗衣尚白，短僅及膝，男子科首赤足，婦人盤髻長簪，跳月之習與花苗同祀祖，擇大牯牛頭角端正者，飼及茁壯即通各寨有牛者，合鬪於野勝即為吉，鬪後卜日斫牛以祀主祭者，服白衣青套細褶，寬腰裙祭後合，親族高歌暢飲，其性戇而厲，轉徙不恒，亦皆向化。<sup>80</sup>

What is notable about the description above lays is that it is nearly identical to the entry for the White Miao in both the 1741 Guizhou Provincial Gazetteer and the 1744 Qianxi Departmental Gazetteer. The only discrepancies between the three entries occur in the final line. Where the 1835 gazetteer claims the Bai Miao “are all becoming civilized,”<sup>81</sup> the 1741 Provincial Gazetteer states they “were hired as laborers to cultivate fields and

<sup>79</sup> Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise*, 127-157.

<sup>80</sup> Lu, QXZZ, 2:10a-10b.

<sup>81</sup> The compilers’ use of the term “are all becoming civilized” is interesting for two reasons. On the one hand, it implies that, even if they “accepted culture,” the White Miao were still barbarians. Furthermore, the large rebellions which took place less than twenty years later suggests that the “acceptance of culture” amongst these non-Han groups was either shallow or an exaggeration on the part of the compilers. Either way, historical events suggest that, despite the compilers’ attempts to apply rigidity, identity politics in Guizhou remained fluid.

frequently run away when owing rent” (為人僱役墾田往往負租逃).<sup>82</sup> In the 1744 Qianxi Departmental Gazetteer, the author added “in the schools there are some attempting to become scholars.” (知學問入泮者).<sup>83</sup> The other nine entries are all equally similar in each of the three gazetteers. In almost every case, compilers used the description from the 1741 Guizhou Provincial Gazetteer as a base, tacking on phrases such as “are all becoming civilized,” “in the schools there are some attempting to become scholars,” “some can calculate astronomical measurements” (有度數者) or, in the case of the Congjia “have recently started to bathe” (近今沐浴).<sup>84</sup> Considering the massive transformation happening in Qianxi throughout the eighteenth century, the non-Han minorities not experiencing any noteworthy cultural changes is highly unlikely. This suggests either a lack of contact or a lack of interest on the part of Qianxi’s gentry toward the area’s non-Han residents. Although villages generally segregated along ethnic lines, the former remains highly unlikely. Ultimately, despite the importance of the ethnographical writing in relation to the civilizing project during the Yongzheng era, portrayal of the area’s non-Han residents was clearly not a priority to the compilers of the 1835 Gazetteer. This apparent lack of interest may be ascribed to the shifting attitudes toward non-Han throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Although Yongzheng died in 1735, the compilation of the 1741 Guizhou Provincial Gazetteer occurred at a time when his assimilationist policies remained in vogue. Working after the fear of Hanjianism arose following a series of late-eighteenth-century revolts, the attitudes of early-nineteenth-century gazetteer compilers in Qianxi toward non-Han

---

<sup>82</sup> Jing Daomo, *Guizhou Tongzhi* (1741), 7:41a-41b.

<sup>83</sup> Feng, *QXZZ* (1741), 2:12a-12b.

<sup>84</sup> Lu, *QXZZ*, 2:9a-12b.

reflected the segregationist policies of the time.

Considering the central role of geographical information throughout the history of gazetteer production, and the apparent centrality of geographical projects in Guizhou to the Qing colonial mission, Qianxi's gentry seem to have devoted a minimal effort to its compilation during the production of the 1835 gazetteer. The chapter dedicated to geography totals twelve pages compared to the forty-one dedicated to construction in chapter three. This speaks directly to the motives driving the compilers to produce the gazetteer. Instead of wishing to provide Qing officials with geographical information useful for governing, the gazetteer compilers sought to provide them with a record of the achievements of Qianxi's elite. Their actions actually continued a long tradition of local elites producing gazetteers in order to serve their own purposes. In his analysis of local gazetteers during the Song and Yuan dynasties, Peter K. Bol offers two conclusions concerning Wuzhou gazetteer production. The first is that a gazetteer "creates a definition of place out of its categories" and the second is that they serve more to highlight the role of local literati as opposed to aiding in daily government.<sup>85</sup> Seen this way, by eschewing the collection of traditional geographic information and instead privileging records of the construction, patronage, and operation of government offices, schools, shrines, and temples, Qianxi's elite sought to create a new geography for the department. Operating in this mode, they presented Qianxi not as a distant, hostile place filled with strange and backward people, but instead as a familiar one filled with Han people doing distinctly Chinese things.

---

<sup>85</sup> Peter K. Bol, "The Rise of Local History: History, Geography, and Culture in Southern Song and Yuan Wuzhou" *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 61 (2001), 52-54.

## The Commemorative Mode

In his examination of gazetteers in late-Ming Zhejiang, Joe Dennis argues that the 1579 Xinchang County Gazetteer effectively operated as a “public genealogy,” highlighting the contributions of an extended family of local elites consisting of four lineages. Read this way, the gazetteer “blurs the line between local history and genealogy.”<sup>86</sup> Although, in the case of Qianxi, the compilers belong to far more than four lineages, an inspection of the subchapters regarding degree holders, temples, gravesites, and biographies reveals that, like the earlier Xinchang County Gazetteer, the 1835 Qianxi Gazetteer sought to write the history of the locality as largely the history of the lineages of its leading citizens.<sup>87</sup>

The link between lineage and locality is well established in the field of Chinese history. Although imperial magistrates served as the nominal head of government at the local level, these men relied to a large extent on powerful local lineages to maintain order. The power of these lineages increased throughout the Ming, as local administration broke down in the face of invasion. Throughout the early Qing era, ancestral hall construction increased and imperial officials came to see organized lineages as a critical institution for maintaining “the moral order of society.”<sup>88</sup>

For the compilers of the 1835 Qianxi gazetteer, asserting the social status of their lineage constituted an important aspect of identity creation. Although the native inhabitants of Guizhou practiced ancestor worship, the notion of lineage had peculiarly

---

<sup>86</sup> Joseph Dennis, “Between Lineage and State: Extended Family and Gazetteer Compilation in Xinchang County,” *Ming Studies* 45-46 (2001), 69-113.

<sup>87</sup> I came to this conclusion through examining the names of the local gentry who contributed to the compilation of the 1835 gazetteer and comparing them with the names which appear in the biographies section, paying attention to both surnames and generational names.

<sup>88</sup> Kai-Wing Chow, *The Rise of Confucian Ritualism in Late Imperial China: Ethics, Classics, and Lineage Discourse* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 71-97.

Han implications. In his examination of Yao ethnicity during the Ming era, David Faure suggests, “no one could mistake for a southern native a registered household sacrificing to ancestral tablets in a hall built in an imperially sanctioned style.”<sup>89</sup> In addition to household registration and ancestral hall construction, the gentry of Qianxi used the 1835 gazetteer to list degree holders and commemorate moral exemplars of Confucian values on whom the emperor had conferred honors (*jingbiao* 旌表). In doing so, they presented Qianxi’s history as an extension of the histories of their own lineages.

During the reign of the Yongzheng Emperor, the state practice of *jingbiao* became increasingly regulated and standardized. During his first year, Yongzheng ordered every governmental seat to create a Shrine to the Loyal, Righteous, and Filial (*zhongyi xiaodi ci* 忠義孝弟祠) as well as a Shrine to the Chaste and Filial (*jiexiao ci* 節孝祠).<sup>90</sup> In her study of the chastity cult during the eighteenth century, Janet Theiss argues that, in frontier regions, these shrines constituted a key component of the state civilizing project.<sup>91</sup> In the case of the Qianxi Gazetteer, many of the biographies of moral exemplars commemorate members of the compilers’ own lineages. These entries therefore directly linked the compilers’ lineages with notions of moral-uprightness critical to the Qing vision of statecraft. Consider, for example, the biography of Li Zhiqian, a third-generation descendent of either Li Shijie or one of his brothers:

Li Zhiqian, the department’s imperial academy student, eldest son of tribute student Li Zaihu. Upon the death of his father, he displayed filial piety to his mother and lived with his younger brothers, treating them all with kindly affection. Even though he was an imperial official, he did not act haughty when among common villagers, instead showing both righteousness and happiness.

---

<sup>89</sup> David Faure, “The Yao Wars in the Mid-Ming and Their Impact on Yao Ethnicity,” in *Empire at the Margins*, ed. Pamela Kyle Crossley et al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 172.

<sup>90</sup> Janet M. Theiss, *Disgraceful Matters: The Politics of Chastity in Eighteenth-century China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 30-32.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

During the fourteenth year of the Daoguang Emperor (1835), following a bad harvest, he gave financial aid amounting to 50,000 taels. Departmental Magistrate He conferred on him a stone tablet reading: “Made an effort to be benevolent.”

李之鈐，州監生，系貢生李再湖之長子也。父卒，事母至孝，兄弟同居，克敦友愛。雖為宦族，在鄉鄰無驕矜氣，且好義樂施。道光十四年，邑中歲飢，捐錢五十千助賑。州牧吳題額曰“勉力為善”。<sup>92</sup>

Li's biography links him not only to perhaps the area's most famous lineage, but also to Qianxi itself. Whereas earlier biographies such as that of Li Shijie emphasize the native place from which they migrated, Zhiqian's biography presents him as a true local. In this capacity, he fulfilled the accompanying expectation that, in times of hardship, he would aid the community, in this case donating money during a time of famine. This act, which presumably led the departmental magistrate to enshrine Li Zhiqian, establishes a firm connection between the Li family, Qianxi, and the imperial state sealed together through the notion of Confucian virtue.

Also present in the 1835 gazetteer's fourth chapter, the biographies of chaste and filial women (*jiexiao* 節孝) far outnumber those of filial and righteous men (*xiaoyi* 孝義). Most of the entries in this subchapter, which like the men's section is dominated by members of the department's leading clans, contain simple biographical information: usually the name of the woman's father, the number of years she has remained a chaste widow, the current age of the woman, and the dedication for the arch in her honor. This imbalance can be attributed to the growing importance of the chastity cult throughout the eighteenth century.<sup>93</sup> Gazetteers produced during this era reflected this shift, displaying a

<sup>92</sup> Lu, QXZZ, 4:15a.

<sup>93</sup> For more information on the rise of the Cult of the Chaste Widow in Qing China, see Susan Mann, “Historical Change in Female Biography from Song to Qing Times: The Case of Early Qing Jiangnan (Jiangsu and Anhui Provinces)” (paper presented at the International Conference of Orientalists, Japan,

dramatically increased number of chaste widows in their sections dedicated to biographies of exemplary women.<sup>94</sup> The inclusion of women who maintained their chastity after their husbands or betrotheds died had its roots in the reign of the Yongzheng Emperor, although the sheer numbers included in the 1835 gazetteer suggest standards had relaxed by the early nineteenth century.<sup>95</sup> Janet Theiss has argued that Yongzheng “cast the chaste woman, epitomized as a lifelong widow, as a model of the proper subject of his civilizing empire.”<sup>96</sup> Furthermore, the chaste widow exemplified the perfect imperial subject by demonstrating loyalty through “obedience and service to family and state.”<sup>97</sup> This characterization held particular value in the context of Guizhou province, where the chaste widows described in the gazetteer are contrasted with depictions elsewhere of Miao women as promiscuous with unorthodox gender practices.<sup>98</sup>

Seen this way, by including such a large quantity of chaste widow biographies in the 1835 gazetteer, the compilers achieve two goals: the performance of orthodoxy and the demonstration of loyalty to the state. By including women who were members of, or had married into, their own clans, the compilers sent a message both to state and to future generations that the behavior of women of their lineages was dissimilar to the barbarians and similar to Han Chinese throughout the empire. By honoring such behavior via enshrinement in the *jiexiao ci*, the compilers also demonstrated their loyalty to the Qing

---

May 30-31 and June 1-8, 1985) and Lu Weijing, *True to Her Word: The Faithful Maiden Cult in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008).

<sup>94</sup> Mann, “Historical Change in Female Biography.”

<sup>95</sup> Janet Theiss, “Managing Martyrdom: Female Suicide and Statecraft in Mid-Qing China,” in *Passionate Women: Female Suicide in Late Imperial China*, ed. Paul S. Ropp, Paola Zamperini, and Harriet T. Zurndorfer (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2001), 47-76.

<sup>96</sup> Theiss, *Disgraceful Matters*, 33.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>98</sup> Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise*, 168-169.



state. As massive uprisings shook Guizhou throughout the nineteenth century, the notion of commemorating loyal lineage members as a method of demonstrating loyalty to the state took on new significance. Although they constituted only part of one chapter in the 1835 gazetteer, biographies of moral exemplars, especially those of chaste women, formed the first two chapters of the 1884 Continued Gazetteer.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE 1884 QIANXI DEPARTMENT CONTINUED GAZETTEER

The gentry of Qianxi department produced another gazetteer in 1884, which they titled “Qianxi Department Continued Gazetteer” (*Qianxi Zhou Xuzhi* 黔西州續志), emphasizing the production of the gazetteer as a renewed effort, not so much a separate project but an addendum to the 1835 edition. The content of this gazetteer differs significantly from the traditional model followed by the 1835 compilers, with the geographic and ethnographic content of the earlier edition eschewed in favor of commemoration of Qianxi people and land devastated by the mid-century rebellion. In the gazetteer’s third prologue, local degree holder Chen Huanmo explains the focus of the continued gazetteer:

Generally speaking, the astronomy, geography, and people entries were [previously] compiled in great detail so we do not need to attend to them. We have discussed proofing [the previous gazetteer’s] damaged [pages], correcting its errors, and submitting it again for woodblock engraving. This is what was not done with the previous gazetteer, so good and bad coexist. Since 1835 through 1864 there have been many more events. We have selected and compiled them to continue and complete six chapters. Among these events, it was especially important to preserve the spirit of loyalty, highlight specific examples of chastity, arrange biographies showing good examples of former citizens, record various matters that have arisen, use categories to record human talent, and write verse to complete what was left.

凡天文地理，人物诸条例，采集精详勿庸参，后学末议爰为校其残缺，订其错简，重付梓刷，此前志所以不没者，良非偶也。惟自乙未而后，越甲子遭乱，增多时事，采而辑之，续成六卷，其中尤要存忠义之风，规昭节烈之壹

范，列传仰先民之矩，杂记观庶事之兴，科目以纪人才，题咏以备绪余。<sup>99</sup>

This marks a distinct shift in the type of information Qianxi's gentry wished to present. Although the 1835 compilers also embraced the concept of honoring the men and women of Qianxi for upholding Confucian values such as loyalty, righteousness, filial piety, and chastity, the postrebellion era saw the compilers equating these values with a single act: dying for the dynasty. This coincided with a similar shift throughout China, largely in response to the devastation wrought by the Taiping Rebellion. Faced with the reality that the essentially Han locality their forbearers portrayed in the 1835 Gazetteer was perhaps a chimera, the compilers of the 1884 Continued Gazetteer adopted a new rhetoric to demonstrate their loyalty to the state.

### **The “Miao” Rebellion**

What exactly was the “Miao” rebellion (referred to in the gazetteer as the *miaoni* 苗逆) and what effect did it have on the people of Qianxi Department? Stated broadly, the “Miao” rebellion consisted of a series of uprisings, some related and some unrelated, that plagued Guizhou Province from 1854 to 1873. In his comprehensive study of this period, Robert Jenks questions the ethnic dimension of the rebellion, citing ethnic hostility as just one of five factors which caused many of Guizhou's inhabitants to rebel. The other factors he identifies include alienation of lands and usury, excessive taxation, maladministration by officials, and sectarian religion.<sup>100</sup> In a near perfect example of the dialectical nature of identity in Zomia, the basis of the identity Qianxi elites hoped to promulgate in their 1835 gazetteer became essentially what the rebels defined themselves

---

<sup>99</sup> Bai, QXZXZ, 1:5b-6a.

<sup>100</sup> Denks, *Insurgency and Social Disorder*, 47-55.

against. In his study, Jenks also rejects attempts by some contemporary Chinese historians to connect the rebellion in Guizhou with the Taiping, arguing that no evidence exists to support a direct connection between the various bands of rebels in Guizhou and Hong Xiuquan's Heavenly Kingdom.<sup>101</sup>

In his preface, Chen offers his own account of the causes and course of the rebellion in Qianxi. Chen names multiple groups of rebels, which he generally refers to as bandits (*fei* 匪). While some of these groups are associated with an ethnic identity (i.e., *miaofei* 苗匪 and *zhongfei* 钟匪), Chen also mentions religiously motivated bandits (*jiaofei* 教匪). According to Chen, the fault for the rebellion lay in the lack of preparedness on the part of the government. When various rebel groups began attacking and raiding throughout Qianxi, the local troops found themselves disorganized and undertrained. The conflict consisted mainly of rebel raids and counteractions by local militia or soldiers, resulting in massive devastation to the land and people.<sup>102</sup>

Regardless of the causes of the rebellion, the effects were devastating, with some estimates of deaths approaching five million people.<sup>103</sup> In addition to the massive amount of deaths, recent works have also shown a large amount of depopulation due to the exodus of some rebel groups, often to the more depopulated regions of Zomia in Laos and Vietnam.<sup>104</sup> The 1884 gazetteer implies large-scale destruction in Qianxi, particularly at the hands of Wang San's Clear Oil Teaching (*qingyou jiao* 清油教) sect.<sup>105</sup>

---

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 130-141.

<sup>102</sup> Bai, QXZXZ, 1:6a-7b.

<sup>103</sup> Denks, *Insurgency and Social Disorder*, 164.

<sup>104</sup> Shu-Li Huang, "From Millenarians to Christians: The History of Christian Bureaucracy in Ahmao (Miao/Hmong) Society, 1850s-2012. PhD Diss. University of Michigan, 2014.

<sup>105</sup> Bai, QXZXZ, 5:19b-20a.

The lists of dead in chapters two and three of the gazetteer show that the department's residents, including its gentry, suffered greatly.

### **The Compilation of the 1884 Continued Gazetteer**

The first preface to the 1884 Gazetteer, written by Dading Prefectural Magistrate Yu, echoes the sentiments of He writing after the Qing conquest. Yu says that, despite two hundred years of prosperity, the disorder surrounding the rebellion caused Qianxi's records to be largely disorganized or destroyed. However, unlike after the Qing conquest, District Magistrate Bai Jianyun successfully mustered the will of the gentry and compiled the continued gazetteer:

Desiring to use cultural instruction to reform [the people's] vulgar customs and stimulate their morale, I cannot but have Magistrate Bai in my mind. When he took office, Bai acted with great magnanimity and seriousness. The violent ones went into hiding and the good ones stayed in peace. Officials were impressed by his prestige and the people admired his virtue. The hundred affairs were engaged, and [Bai's] illustrious [achievements] were considerable. He reassembled the gentry and elders to discuss continuing and revising the gazetteer.

欲以文教渐摩其薄俗而振作其士气，不谓刺史白君先得我心，下车伊始，宽仁严肃，强暴者潜踪，善良者安堵，吏畏其威，民怀其德，百务奋举，烂然可观，复萃州之绅耆商议续修州志。<sup>106</sup>

Yu's effusive praise of Bai likely stemmed from his position as Bai's superior. Although Bai may well have been a diligent worker, the primary difference between He's failure and his success was likely the presence of an educated gentry who could draw from a deep well of local knowledge. In his preface, Bai notes that he recruited the aforementioned local provincial degree holder named Chen Huanmo to serve as the chief compiler (*zongzuan* 總纂). Chen organized the other compilers, who numbered thirty in

---

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., 1:1a-1b.

total. The men chosen by Chen to assist with the project consisted mostly of county-level degree candidates but also included teachers, students, and minor government officials. Although no descendants of the Li lineage contributed to the gazetteer, six of the assistant compilers, including Chen's deputy Liu Dequan (劉德銓), share the Liu (劉) surname, indicating that the Liu family described in the 1835 gazetteer had likely maintained their position as a preeminent lineage in Qianxi Department.<sup>107</sup> Together, the compilers published six new chapters dedicated to the years 1835 to 1884, with the majority of content focusing on the nearly two decade long rebellion (see Table 3).

If, as Joseph Dennis has suggested, gazetteer writing can be viewed as a “strategic act,”<sup>108</sup> it is essential to parse the identities of the compilers. In the case of the 1884 edition, Magistrate Bai and the local compilers led by Chen Huanmo evinced high praise of one another as collaborators, but their purposes for renewing gazetteer production

*Table 3: Chapters (卷) of the 1884 Qianxi Gazetteer*

Chapter Title	Subchapters
1. Loyal and Righteous Men	killed in action, died for a just cause, filial and righteous
2. Chaste Widows	chaste martyrs, chaste and filial, examples of paragons of chastity, long-lived women
3. Biographies	martyred department magistrates, elderly virtuous men, righteous gentry, exemplary women
4. Miscellaneous Notes	(no subchapters)
5. Offices	past service, examination candidates, posts and ranks, relatives of recognized officials, long-lived people, <i>tusi</i> (native chieftains), subordinate to the department
6. Poems	(no subchapters)

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:8a-9a.

<sup>108</sup> Joseph Dennis, “Gazetteer Writing as a Strategic Act”

somewhat differed. Consider the following excerpt from Magistrate Bai's preface:

What do the ones who compile gazetteers record? [They] record those events that can be used as models and can be passed on. Even if it is so that the number of loyal and filial [men] and chaste and outstanding [women], the number of mountains and streams, the hardships of getting established and operating, as well as essays and poems concerning societal conditions, are few, then take what can be used as models and can be passed on and submit them. Over time, oral transmission will surely disseminate [those events] and they will lose their truth. Wouldn't it be better to rely on handing [them] down [so they will] not be obliterated? Those events cannot end in making a record [and] a gazetteer cannot end in doing a revision.

志者曷志乎志其事可法可傳也雖然忠孝節烈之大山川人物之繁創置經營之苦以及有關世道之文章歌咏，不有表而出之將可法可傳者付之悠悠之口必至流播失其真奚特以垂不特以垂不朽。是事之不能已於志，志之不能已於修也。<sup>109</sup>

In this preface, the briefest of the three and the only section of the gazetteer Magistrate Bai surely wrote himself, the discussion of gazetteer production is abstract and not specifically related to Qianxi, although he does mention loyalty, filial piety, and chastity, three central themes of the 1884 edition. When he does mention the rebellion, it primarily serves as an excuse for the continued gazetteer's long delay as well as an opportunity for Bai to highlight his own tireless work ethic.<sup>110</sup> For Bai, gazetteer production provided an opportunity to demonstrate his magisterial abilities; an accomplishment that could perhaps be used to gain the respect of his superiors and a promotion. The relevance of the chaotic situation in Qianxi lay only in the obstacles it presented to Magistrate Bai and the other compilers.

For Chen Huanmo and other local elites, gazetteer production remained an essential tool to demonstrate the loyalty of Qianxi's elite to the state, maintained even in

---

<sup>109</sup> Bai, QXZZXZ, 1:3b.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 1:3. He also acknowledges the important contributions of Chen and the other gentry, who seem to have most of the work.

times of war and destruction. Martyrdom, as the ultimate expression of loyalty to the state, forms the subject of the first two sections of the 1884 gazetteer. In her book *What Remains: Coming to Terms with Civil War in 19<sup>th</sup> Century China*, Tobie Meyer-Fong outlines the history of state-sponsored commemoration during the Qing dynasty. She argues that honoring loyalty as expressed through death was a vital institution to the Qing and that, over time, the definition of dying for the state became expanded and increasingly localized.<sup>111</sup> Even before the end of the Taiping Rebellion, the Qing state, provincial governments, and local communities all began to undertake genealogical projects which, due to the intense destruction resulting from the war, included massive numbers of entries. Meyer-Fong goes on to suggest that these projects helped local elites “make moral sense of suffering” and “demonstrate retrospectively the virtue of their communities.”<sup>112</sup> By the time the Continued Gazetteer was published in 1884, Jiangnan elites had already established a precedent and a model upon which Chen and his collaborators could act. An examination of the chapters concerning loyalty and chastity martyrs suggests that honoring the dead in Qianxi in many ways mirrored the same process in China’s interior.

### **Loyalty and Chastity in the 1884 Continued Gazetteer**

The first chapter of the 1884 gazetteer is dedicated to commemorating the Loyal and Righteous (*zhongyi* 忠義), a category absent from the first gazetteer but with roots

---

<sup>111</sup> Tobie Meyer-Fong, *What Remains: Coming to Terms with Civil War in 19<sup>th</sup> Century China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), 137-141.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 147-149.



going back to the reign of the Yongzheng Emperor. The chapter is further subdivided into five subchapters. The first two subchapters, names of gentry who sacrificed themselves in battle for a just cause (*zhenwang xunnan shenshi xingming* 陣亡殉難紳士姓名) and names of militiamen who sacrificed themselves for a just cause (*xunnan tunmin xingming* 殉難團民姓名), consist of a list of casualties with no accompanying biodata. This list portrays a staggering amount of loss among the men of the department, with over eighty members of the gentry and nearly seven-hundred militiamen killed.

The next subchapter, brief biographies of gentry killed in battle (*xunnan shenmin xingming jielue* 殉難紳民姓名節略) contains names of martyrs accompanied by brief descriptions of their deaths:

Yang Lian Pei: In the first reign year of the Tongzhi Emperor (1861), when the long-haired traitors passed through the land, [he] led the militia against the enemy and fell in battle.

楊璉佩：同治元年髮賊過境率團衆對敵陣亡。<sup>113</sup>

Compared with the final subchapter's biographies of the filial and righteous (*xiaoyi xingming jielue* 孝义姓名節略), which resemble closely the *xiaoyi* section of the 1835 gazetteer, Yang's sole cause for notability seems to lay in his dying while fighting the enemy. This point is made even more explicitly in the following entry which simply reads: "killed the traitors, fell in battle" (*shazei zhenwang* 殺賊陣亡).<sup>114</sup> In the context of a revolt which included heterodox rebels of all sorts, the mere act of dying while fighting the enemy served as proof of loyalty and righteousness.

The resemblance of the sections on martyrdom in the 1884 gazetteer to the

---

<sup>113</sup> Bai, QXZXZ, 1:22a.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., 1:22b.

treatment of war dead in Jiangnan described by Tobie Meyer-Fong is evident. Referring to charts of the loyal and righteous in Wuxi and Jinkui counties, she describes the details given as “just enough to situate the dead, and their deaths, in the local landscape and establish them as martyrs and natives or residents.”<sup>115</sup> The additional inclusion of genealogical information in many of the Qianxi entries places the dead in a lineage as well as a locality. However, despite these similarities, the context of the commemoration projects differs greatly. Meyer-Fong argues that, in the Jiangnan context, loyalty rhetoric “papered over the deep tensions and fissures within the polity that had been exposed and expressed in wartime.”<sup>116</sup> As a borderland province that, throughout the Qing, underwent a massive revolt about every two generations, these fissures likely continued to be omnipresent. Although the “Miao” Rebellion surely resulted in a tremendous amount of loss and trauma, it did not vary significantly in nature from the many rebellions in Guizhou that preceded it. For the gentry of Qianxi however, the revolt of 1854-1873 marked a distinct turning point. Despite the presence of other groups, or perhaps in relation to them, the Qianxi gentry constructed a world centered around their own constructed Han identity. While the roots of this world lay solidly in western Guizhou, the progenitors remained in interior China. Faced with the simultaneous dissolution of this world both in Guizhou and the Chinese heartland, the gentry of the periphery turned to the heartland for the necessary language to approach the new paradigm. Using this new language, the gentry of Qianxi opted once again to produce a local gazetteer. The shared experience of the mid-nineteenth century seems to ultimately have bound Qianxi’s

---

<sup>115</sup> Meyer-Fong, *What Remains*, 150.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 15-16.

elites closer to the Han Chinese interior. Meanwhile, many of the surviving rebels slipped back into Zomia.

Like the lists of male war dead, the volume of both chastity martyrs and widows listed in the 1884 gazetteer is staggering in number. The section is subdivided into four categories, with a total of about 280 biographical entries<sup>117</sup> whereas the 1835 edition contains ninety-nine *jiefu* biographies. Considering the number of taxable households mentioned in the 1835 gazetteer,<sup>118</sup> the number of women memorialized likely represented a large percentage of the entire female population of the department.

The first and largest subchapter consists of biographies of *jielie* (節烈), women who died while defending their honor in the face of the enemy. The organizing principle seems to be chronological, with some evidence of women of higher status being listed first. The longer entries typically include some biographical data, proof or evidence of the woman's chastity, and how the woman died. Take, for example, the biography of Shi Yang Shi (Mrs. Yang, wife of Shi):

Shi née Yang: The mother of *juren* Shi Shengshu, faithful widow for more than 60 years. During the fifteenth reign year of the Daoguang Emperor (1835), a memorial was submitted to request a memorial arch [for her]. In the third reign year of the Tongzhi Emperor (1864), when the town fell, [she] cursed the enemy and met her death.

史楊氏：舉人史勝書之母守節六十餘年道光十五年奏請旌表同治三年城陷罵賊遇害<sup>119</sup>

The prime position of her biography may be related to her prior recognition as a chaste widow, as well as the fact that her son became a degree holder. Another degree holder of

---

<sup>117</sup> This number included entries which account for multiple women. The total number of women memorialized in this section is thus closer to 300.

<sup>118</sup> Lu, QXZZ, 5:1a-3a.

<sup>119</sup> Bai, QXZZ, 2:1a.

the Shi clan is the third name listed under compilers, and multiple Shi family members are included in the lists of local government officials. Other biographical entries in this section are far less specific. Often, the entire description reads simply “died at the hands of the enemy when the town fell.” In some instances, the compilers group five or six names into one entry, indicating that they either lacked details about the women’s deaths or did not care enough to include them. Either way, it appears the standard for recognizing chastity had fallen even further since the publishing of the 1835 edition, wherein a brief story accompanied every entry.

The second subchapter contains six biographies of filial and chaste women (*jiexiao* 節孝) whose husbands died prematurely. These represent chaste widow biographies of the more traditional type found in other gazetteers, including the 1835 Qianxi Departmental Gazetteer. When compared with the numerous entries in the previous subchapter, the paucity of noted chaste widows in the period from 1835-1884 lends credence to the notion that, in the wake of rebellion, dying at the hands of the enemy had largely replaced chaste widowhood as the paradigm for exemplary behavior. Nevertheless, the last entry in this subchapter, dedicated to the Maiden Li, suggests Qianxi’s literati continued to be involved in debates concerning the nature of female virtue.

The entry recounts the story of a young woman from the Li clan who killed herself following the death of her betrothed. Although Li’s response was not uncommon for the period, the fact that the entry continues for nearly five pages, while no other entries in the section fill a single page, is noteworthy.<sup>120</sup> The entry’s author uses the

---

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., 2:11b-14a.

majority of the text to engage in a debate over the merits of Li's act of suicide, a topic which Janet Theiss argues "was part of a wider discourse on marriage ritual spurred by the evidentiary (*kaozheng*) movement."<sup>121</sup> By featuring this discussion so prominently, the compilers demonstrated that, even in the wake of massive death and destruction, Qianxi elites continued to engage in arguments surrounding notions of proper behavior. Maiden Li's lineage is significant: her father Li Zaifen was a grandson of Li Shijie. When the author of the entry concludes that Li was, in fact, a woman who demonstrated exemplary behavior, he therefore implies that, despite being tested, Qianxi's foremost family maintained their orthodoxy throughout.

---

<sup>121</sup> Janet Theiss, "Love in a Confucian Climate: The Perils of Intimacy in Eighteenth-Century China," *Nan Nü* 11(2009): 204-205.

## CONCLUSION

Despite Qianxi having undergone *gaitu guiliu* at the end of the seventeenth century, many heirs of *tusi* retained the hereditary titles. In addition to maintaining some ceremonial value, the term *tusi* also appeared as a subchapter in all three extant Qianxi gazetteers from the Qing era. The first two editions, produced in 1744 and 1835, contain an essay chronicling the aforementioned She-An rebellion. The 1884 *tusi* section, however, provides insight into the ongoing nature of identity formation in Qianxi Department. In addition to listing the current *tusi* office holders, the section contains a long essay on the history, rites, and customs of the area's non-Han inhabitants. In this essay, the author posits that the rites and customs of the *tusi* date back to the Han's own ancestors. Considering this shared heritage, the author hopes that, if given time and proper guidance, the *tusi* can eventually change for the better.<sup>122</sup> This rhetoric, which portrays the barbarian as a primitive who requires the instruction of a more advanced civilization, is largely a reiteration of the assimilationist policies of the Yongzheng Emperor. While the 1744 and 1835 gazetteers' producers seem to have favored the segregationist stance which became popular during the Qianlong era, the language of acculturation seems to have reappeared. Despite a succession of state programs aimed at dealing with the diverse populace of China's southwest frontier provinces, the rhetoric

---

<sup>122</sup> Bai, QXZXZ, 5:14b-27b.

surrounding the topic had remained largely unchanged.<sup>123</sup> In addition to rhetoric, actual events in Guizhou during the Qing era suggest the process of *gaitu guiliu* remained largely ephemeral. Although it had officially “entered the registers,” Guizhou province remained largely outside the control of the Chinese state.<sup>124</sup>

Like the region’s borders, identity remained a porous category through which one could slip into or out of depending on the need. Read this way, the perseverance of Han identity in Guizhou should not be misconstrued as a consequence of the inevitable expansion of Chinese state power into that particular corner of Zomia. The content of the two gazetteers reviewed in this thesis suggests that, although the Qianxi gentry generally wished to demonstrate their loyalty to the state, Han ethnogenesis took place largely outside the confines of the state apparatus. Nor should the perseverance of Han identity be considered evidence of the inherent attractiveness of Confucian culture or the success civilizing mission begun under Yongzheng. A familiarity with Confucian culture and ritual likely predated a coherent Han identity among the many gentry whose families emigrated to Qianxi from other parts of China. Furthermore, the myriad rebellions that occurred in Guizhou throughout the Qing period suggests that the civilizing mission continued to produce malcontents well into the nineteenth century. Ultimately, the Qianxi gentry actively constructed their Han identity in relationship to the Qing state as well as the non-Han population. Not only did the gazetteers’ compilers utilize the documents as repositories of testimonies to the multiple acts and rituals involved in this

---

<sup>123</sup> The civilizing mission continues in the twenty-first century. Grade schools in non-Han “autonomous” counties in present-day Guizhou often contain signs imploring their students to “only speak Mandarin Chinese” (based on the author’s personal experience as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Guizhou Province from 2010-2012).

<sup>124</sup> Even after the 1949 revolution, Guizhou remained the last of the eighteen interior provinces to be fully pacified by the People’s Liberation Army.

identity construction, they also saw gazetteer production itself as an essential act.

Joe Dennis has argued that a local gazetteer often comprised “the first substantial piece of literature produced in a particular borderland locale.”<sup>125</sup> Gazetteer production was therefore an inseparable aspect of *gaitu guiliu*. If every Chinese place required a gazetteer, a place without a gazetteer could not be considered a part of China. Qing officials apparently agreed, as the first attempt to produce a gazetteer in Qianxi Department occurred only two years after the department’s founding. The fact that this task could not be completed until 1744, and that the publishing of the first gazetteer did not occur until 1835, implies that, despite being on the map, Qianxi could not truly be considered a part of China. Therefore, producing, and finally publishing, a gazetteer, may well have constituted a form of catharsis for Qianxi’s residents; a relief from the tension they must have felt living so far from the historical center of Han civilization. No matter whether the ancestors of Qianxi’s gentry had migrated from that center or adopted its cultural identity, as soon as Qianxi had a gazetteer, they could fully imagine themselves as a part of that civilization. The 1835 gazetteer essentially served as a statement that the residents of Qianxi had succeeded in making a native place. By publishing a record of the departments, government buildings, temples, ancestral shrines and schools, as well as the orthodox and morally upright behavior of its residents, Qianxi’s elite were saying to the Qing State: this place is part of China and the people living here are Han Chinese.

---

<sup>125</sup> Joe Dennis, “Projecting Legitimacy in Ming Native Domains,” in *Handbook of Oriental Studies: Section 3 Southeast Asia, Volume 22: China's Encounters on the South and Southwest: Reforging the Fiery Frontier over Two Millennia*, eds. James A. Anderson and John K. Whitmore (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2014): 261.



## SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Primary Sources

Chen Huanmou 譙煥模 and Bai Jian Yun 白建鑿, ed. 1884 *Qianxi Zhou Xuzhi*. 黔西州續志. Digital copy obtained from the National Library of China

Feng Guangsu 馮光宿, ed. 1744 *Qianxi Zhouzhi*. 黔西州志. Digital copy obtained from the Guizhou Provincial Library.

Jing Daomo 靖道謨, ed. 1741 *Guizhou Tongzhi* 貴州通志. Digital copy obtained from the National Library of China.

Lu Shousong 魯壽松, ed. 1835. *Qianxi Zhouzhi*. 黔西州志. Digital copy obtained from the National Library of China.

### Secondary Sources

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. New York: Verso, 2006.

Atwill, David. *The Chinese Sultantate: Islam, Ethnicity, and the Panthay Rebellion in Southwest China, 1856-1874*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005.

Bol, Peter K. "The Rise of Local History: History, Geography, and Culture in Southern Song and Yuan Wuzhou" *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 61 (2001): 37-76.

Dennis, Joseph. "Gazetteer Writing as a Strategic Act: The Private Purposes of the Wanli *Xinchang Xian Zhi*." In *Zhongguo zupu difangzhi*, edited by Sha Qimin and Qian Zhengmin, 245-261. Shanghai: Shanghai Scientific and Technological Literature Publish House: 2002.

Chow, Kai-Wing. *The Rise of Confucian Ritualism in Late Imperial China: Ethics, Classics, and Lineage Discourse*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994.

Dennis, Joe. "Between Lineage and State: Extended Family and Gazetteer Compilation in Xinchang County." *Ming Studies* 45-46 (2001): 69-113.

- Dennis, Joe. "Projecting Legitimacy in Ming Native Domains." In *Handbook of Oriental Studies: Section 3 Southeast Asia, Volume 22: China's Encounters on the South and Southwest: Reforging the Fiery Frontier over Two Millennia*, edited by James A. Anderson and John K. Whitmore, 259-272. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2014.
- Elman, Benjamin. "Geographical Research in the Ming-Ch'ing Period." *Monumenta Serica* 35 (1988): 1-18.
- Elliott, "Ethnicity in the Qing Eight Banners." In *Empire at the Margins: Culture, Ethnicity and Frontier in Early Modern China*, edited by Pamela Kyle Crossley et al., 27-58. Berkeley: University of California, 2006.
- Elvin, Mark. *The Retreat of the Elephants: An Environmental History of China*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.
- Faure, David "The Yao Wars in the Mid-Ming and Their Impact on Yao Ethnicity." In *Empire at the Margins: Culture, Ethnicity, and Frontier in Early Modern China*, edited by Pamela Kyle Crossley, Helen F. Siu, and Donald Sutton, 190-228. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.
- Guy, R. Kent. *Qing Governors and Their Provinces: The Evolution of Territorial Administration in China, 1644-1796*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010.
- Giersch, C. Patterson. *Asian Borderlands: The Transformation of Qing China's Yunnan Frontier*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976.
- Giersch, C. Patterson. "From Subjects to Han: The Rise of Han as Identity in Nineteenth Century Southwest China." In *Critical Han Studies: The History, Representation, and Identity of China's Majority*, edited by Thomas S. Mullaney et al., 191-210. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.
- Hargett, James M. "Local Gazetteers and Their Place in the History of Difangzhi Writing." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 56 (1996): 405-442.
- Herman, John E. *Amid the Clouds and Mist: China's Colonization of Guizhou, 1200-1700*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007.
- Herman, John E. "The Cant of Conquest: Tusi Offices and China's Political Incorporation of the Southwest Frontier." In *Empire at the Margins: Culture, Ethnicity, and Frontier in Early Modern China*, edited by Pamela Kyle Crossley, Helen F. Siu, and Donald Sutton, 135-168. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.

- Hostetler, Laura. *Qing Colonial Enterprise: Ethnography and Cartography in Early Modern China*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.
- Huang, Shu-Li, "From Millenarians to Christians: From Millenarians to Christians: The History of Christian Bureaucracy in Ahmao (Miao/Hmong) Society, 1850s-2012." PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2014.
- Hucker, Charles O. *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985.
- Jenks, Robert D. *Insurgency and Social Disorder in Guizhou: The "Miao" Rebellion, 1854-1873*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994.
- Lu Weijing, *True to Her Word: The Faithful Maiden Cult in Late Imperial China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008.
- Lee, James. "Food Supply and Population Growth in Southwest China, 1250-1850," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 41, (1982): 711-746.
- Mann, Susan. "Historical Change in Female Biography from Song to Qing Times: The Case of Early Qing Jiangnan (Jiangsu and Anhui Provinces)." Paper presented at the International Conference of Orientalists, Japan, May 30-31 and June 1-8, 1985.
- Mayers, William Frederick. *The Chinese Government: A Manual of Chinese Titles, Categorically Arranged and Explained with an Appendix*. Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1897.
- McMahon, Dan. "Identity and Conflict on a Chinese Borderland: Yan Ruyi and the Recruitment of the Gelao During the 1795-1797 Miao Revolt." *Late Imperial China* 23 (2002): 53-86
- Metzger, Thomas A. *Internal Organization of the Ch'ing Bureaucracy: Legal, Normative, and Communication Aspects*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973.
- Meyer-Fong, Tobie. *What Remains: Coming to Terms with Civil War in 19<sup>th</sup> Century China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013.
- Rowe, William T. *China's Last Empire: The Great Qing*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Rowe, William T. "Education and Empire in Southwest China: Ch'en Hung-mou in Yunnan, 1733-38." In *Education and Society in Late Imperial China, 1600-1900*, edited by Alexander Woodside and Benjamin A. Elman, 417-457. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

- Scott, James C. *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Yale University, 2009.
- Sutton, Donald S. "Ethnicity and the Miao Frontier in the Eighteenth Century." In *Empire at the Margins: Culture, Ethnicity, and Frontier in Early Modern China*, edited by Pamela Kyle Crossley, Helen F. Siu, and Donald Sutton, 190-228. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.
- Theiss, Janet "Managing Martyrdom: Female Suicide and Statecraft in Mid-Qing China." In *Passionate Women: Female Suicide in Late Imperial China*, edited by Paul S. Ropp, Paola Zamperini, and Harriet T. Zurndorfer, 47-76. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2001.
- Theiss, Janet. *Disgraceful Matters: The Politics of Chastity in Eighteenth Century China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.
- Theiss, Janet. "Love in a Confucian Climate: The Perils of Intimacy in Eighteenth-Century China." *Nan Nü* 11 (2009): 197-233.
- Weinstein, Jodi L. "Subsistence and Sedition in Southwest China: Local Responses to Qing Rule in Eighteenth-century Guizhou." PhD diss., Yale University, 2007.
- Weinstein, Jodi L. *Empire and Identity in Guizhou: Local Resistance to Qing Expansion*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014
- Wiens, Herold J. *China's March Toward the Tropics*. Hamden, CT: Shoestring Press, 1954.
- Woolridge Jr., William Charles. "Transformations of Ritual and State in Nineteenth-Century Nanjing." PhD diss., Princeton University, 2007.
- Woodside, Alexander and Elman, Benjamin A. "Afterword: The Expansion of Education in Ch'ing China" In *Education and Society in Late Imperial China, 1600-1900*. eds. Alexander Woodside and Benjamin A. Elman, 525-561 Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- Wu, Guo, "The Shatan Intellectual Community: The Spread of Han Learning and Rise of Confucian Intellectualism in Late Qing Northern Guizhou," paper presented to Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting, Chicago, March 2015.