

## I.D. THE JIANGNAN REGION, 1645–1659

### I.D.1. Archival Documents, Published

Included are items concerning Jiangnan logistical support for campaigns in other regions, as well as maritime attacks on Jiangnan.

- a. MQSL. Ser. 甲, vols. 2–4; ser. 丙, vols. 2, 6-8; ser. 丁, vol. 1; ser. 己, vols. 1–6.
- b. MQCZ. I: Hongguang shiliao 弘光史料, items 82, 87. III: Hong Chengchou shiliao 洪承疇史料, item 50; Zheng Chenggong shiliao 鄭成功史料, item 82.
- c. MQDA. Ser. A, vols. 3–8, 11, 13, 17, 19–26, 28–31, 34–37.
- d. QNMD. Vol. 2 (see I.B.1.d.).
- e. QNZS. Bk. 1, vol. 2.
- f. *Hong Chengchou zhangzou wence huiji* 洪承疇章奏文冊彙輯. Comp. Wu Shigong 吳世拱. Guoli Beijing daxue yanjiuyuan wenshi congkan 國立北京大學研究院文史叢刊, no. 4. Shanghai: CP, 1937. Rpts. in MQ, pt. 3, vol. 10. Rep. in 2 vol., TW, no. 261; rpt. TWSL, pt. 4, vol. 61.

Hong Chengchou was the Ming Viceroy of Jifu and Liaoning 薊遼總督 from 1639 until his capture by the forces of Hungtaiji in the fall of Songshan 松山 in 1642. After the rebel occupation of Beijing and the death of the CZ emperor, Hong assumed official appointment under the Qing and went on to become the most important former Ming official to assist in the Qing conquest of all of China (see Li Guangtao 1948a; Wang Chen-main 1999; Li Xinda 1992). Many of his very numerous surviving memorials have been published in MQSL and MQDA. In the present collection of 67 memorials, 13 represent his service as Viceroy of Jiangnan and “Pacifier of the South” 招撫南方 from 1645 through 1648. The remaining 54 represent his second phase of active service under the Qing, as Viceroy of Huguang and the southwestern provinces. These were extremely demanding posts, in which Hong had to deal with some of the most crucial developments in the conquest.

Because Hong was such an important figure in the Qing success (and so notorious from the anti-Qing point of view), his memorials have been preserved and published here and there, whenever they have been found, to a greater extent than for lesser-known figures. For examples of scattered items see: the “editor’s principles” 編例 preceding this collection; *Shiliao congbian* 史料叢編 (comp. Luo Jizu 羅繼祖, 1935), pt. 2, fasc. 2; MQCZ, vol. 3; BJ.12, vol. 9; I.D.1.d; I.J.1.e; and I.K.3.

Ref: Meng Sen 1959: 470–76; Xie Guozhen 1981: 337–38.

- g. *Shiliao congkan chubian*, fasc. 7: Among five documents concerning the establishment of Qing control in Jiangnan (SZ1, 2, 4), most informative are a report on surrendered Ming military personnel by Brigade General Zhang Tianlu 張天祿 and an extensive report by Hong Chengchou (see I.D.1.f.) on the seditious activities of the commander-in-chief of Su-Song navies, Wu Shengzhao 吳勝兆 (see I.D.3, I.D.14–15). Ref: *Xuxiu Siku*, IV: 401.
- h. “Shunzhi chao tifa an” 順治朝薙發案. Comp. FHA. *Lishi dang'an* 歷史檔案, 1982 no. 1: 7–18, 84. Published here are fourteen documents (dating from SZ3/6 to SZ8/4, but most from SZ4/5) concerning cases in which men in various parts of the country—No. Zhili, Henan, Huguang, Shanxi, etc.—either refused to shave their heads according to the Qing general order of 1645, or let their hair grow out again after initial compliance.

**I.D.2. *Beizheng deshi jilue*** 北征得失紀略 [*Beizheng jilue* (b); *Beizheng lu* 錄 (various MSS)], 1 j.

Zhang Huangyan 張煌言 [Zhang Cangshui 蒼水]: ECCP: 41–42; Li Zhenhua 1953a; Mao Yibo 1954; Ishihara 1955; two *nianpu* by Quan Zuwang 全祖望 and Zhao Zhiqian 趙之謙, resp., app. to I.F.21 (b, c, d, f).

Editions:

- (a) In *Zhang Cangshui ji* (I.F.21): (b), j. 8; (c); (d), vol. 1; (e), j. 1; and (f).  
 (b) App. to *Lu Chunqiu* (I.E.9): (a) and (b).  
 (c) MS of unstated origin rpt. in *Mingmo shiliao wuzhong*, fasc. 4.

Zhang Huangyan is one of the most famous Ming loyalists because of his ardor—well expressed in surviving writings—and because of the length and stubbornness of his resistance activity. A charter member of the regime of Regent of Lu (see sec. I.E), he led troops in the Lu cause on both land and sea—three times attempting to enter the mouth of the Yangzi and establish a foothold in Jiangnan—until that regime was destroyed by the Qing in 1651. Subsequently Zhang placed his knowledge, energies, and upright reputation at the disposal of Zheng Chenggong (see sec. I.F). Zhang’s experience and enthusiasm proved useful to Zheng in the summer of 1659 when he carried out plans to attack the Yangzi effluence in full force, hoping to wrest Nanjing from Qing control.

The *Beizheng deshi jilue* is Zhang Huangyan’s account of his role in that campaign, of his attempts to rally social leaders in many Jiangnan locales, of his need to hide out in the hills of southwestern Jiangnan when he was left stranded upstream by Zheng’s precipitous retreat from Nanjing, and of his arduous overland trek back to the relative safety of coastal Zhejiang. More than a memoir, this account places blame for the failures in this campaign on Zheng Chenggong’s repeated non-acceptance of the author’s advice. It can well be supplemented by certain poems in Zhang’s collected writings (I.F.21).

Ref: Xie Guozhen 1981: 589–90. Prohib: 188.

- I.D.3.** *Dongcun jishi* 東村記事, 1 j.  
Song Zhengyu 宋徵輿 [Song Yuanwen 轅文]: QXLZ, 46/21a.  
Editions:

- (a) In *Sanyi cilu*, 9th wk.
- (b) In MJ, fasc. 10.

The author, a native of Huating 華亭, the prefectural city of Songjiang 松江, when young was active in the literary coterie of Chen Zilong (see I.C.4, and Chang Sun Kang-i 1991: 44). But unlike Chen and many of his cohort, Song did not take the path of Ming-loyalist resistance. In 1647 he earned a js. degree under the Qing, but he was not appointed to an important post until 1666—Vice Censor-in-Chief to serve as Provincial Education Commissioner for Fujian.

The *Dongcun jishi* is a collection of short accounts of major events and figures of the conquest period, written quite candidly and even handedly considering Song's official position. For instance, Song uses the full official titles of those who fought for the So. Ming courts, even when those titles contain pejorative characters for "barbarians" (i.e., the Qing). Song's sympathy with some of the loyalists is evident. The parts concerning the LW court and Zheng Chenggong's activities outside the Yangzi effluence probably are the results of secondary inquiries that Song was able to make when he served in Fujian. Those parts about Zheng's 1659 campaign to seize Nanjing, and especially about events in the transfer of power from Ming to Qing in Huating, the immediate and longer-term, surreptitious regional resistance to Qing rule, and the capture and execution of certain loyalists (Song's former close associates) probably offer more from Song's personal knowledge and experience. The latter, more valuable parts are titled "Yunjian bingshi" 雲間兵事 and "Wu Shengzhao zhi bian" 吳勝兆之變.

Song's collected prose writings, the *Linwu wengao* 林屋文稿, 16 j. (undated imprint with some MS portions; held SL, rare), contains some pertinent letters (in j. 16) and an interesting account (in j. 12) of the strange cases of the HG reign, "Fu wang shi yishi" 福王時異事, in which Song sets forth distinctive views (favorable to the Qing) on the separate appearances in both Beijing and Nanjing of men who claimed to be the heir-apparent of the CZ emperor. Cf. II.14, II.24, and II.30.

Ref: Chen Zhiping 1989: 378–85; Xie Guozhen 1981: 619.

- I.D.4.** *Dongtang rizha* 東塘日割 [Jiading tucheng jilue 嘉定屠城紀略 (d, e, g, h).  
Zhu Zisu 朱子素: Bai Jian 1963.  
Editions:

- (a) Qing-period imprint (BNU: 102).\*
- (b) In *Jingtuo yishi*, 32nd wk. Rpt. in BJ.4, vol. 8.
- (c) In *Jizai huibian*, fasc. 4. Rpt. MQ, pt. 2, vol. 8.
- (d) In MB, j. 13.
- (e) In *Luchen congshu*, 3rd wk.
- (f) Shanghai: Youzheng shuju 有正書局, n.d.

(g) In ZNW, pt. 2. Rpt. BJ. 10, vol. 4.

(h) In TW, no. 242. 1967.

This work treats in detail the mobilization of local resources in Jiading Co. (eastern Suzhou 蘇州 Pref.) in the early 5th mo. of 1645, when news arrived of the flight of the HG emperor from Nanjing and the massacre of Yangzhou, through the citizenry's rejection of Qing occupation measures and armed resistance to the Qing pacification forces, through the massacre of Jiading city (the first of three times in the conquest period), to the defeat of diehard resisters elsewhere in the county on 8/16. Featured prominently are the Ming general Wu Zhikui 吳志葵, the Qing general (a recent turncoat from the Ming side) Li Chengdong 李成棟, and the prominent social and intellectual leaders Hou Tongzeng 侯峒曾 and Huang Chunyao 黃淳耀.

The author, who had been eligible for the "tribute student" examinations in 1644 but remained out of politics, gaining some reputation as a poet after the change of dynasties, distributes his critical judgments quite evenly in this account, the original title of which probably was *Dongtang rizha*. An anonymous work titled *Jiading(xian) yiyou jishi* 嘉定(縣)乙酉紀事 (in *Tongshi*, vol. 8; and TW, no. 258) appears to be an early rewriting of the *Dongtang rizha* to effect a more clearly pro-loyalist, anti-Qing interpretation.

Ref: Dennerline 1981: App. 2; preface to TW, no. 258; Xie Guozhen 1981: 660–63. Prohib: 425.

**I.D.5.** *Haijiao yibian* 海角遺編.

Manyou yeshi 漫游野史 [pseud.].

Preface 1648.

(a) In *Haiyu zazhi*, both the Nanjing Lib.\* and the FUL MSS. Several other Qing-period MSS, variously in 1 or 2 j. (ZSB.史, #3138–42).\*

(b) In *Yuyang shuoyuan*, fasc. 2. Partial trans. in *Voices*, pp. 75–89.

This is a chronicle of the struggle for control over Changshu 常熟 Co. and its strategic, coastal garrison town, Fushan 福山, from the collapse of the HG regime in the 4th mo. to the defeat by Qing forces of local resistance, led chiefly by Yan Shi 嚴斌, in the 9th mo. of 1645. The same story is embellished with quatrains and filled with more detail to form a sixty-part storytellers' text (*zhanghui xiaoshuo* 章回小說) entitled *Qifeng yibian* 七峰遺編 (in *Yuyang shuoyuan*, fasc. 1). The latter, though it appears frivolous at first glance, is a valuable supplement to the former.

Ref: Xie Guozhen 1981: 669.

**I.D.6.** *Haiyu pibing ji* 海虞被兵記, 1 j.

Anon.

In *Yuyang shuoyuan*, fasc. 2. Partial trans. in *Voices*, pp. 79–92.

This is the memoir of an elderly man who survived the violent assertion of Qing control over Changshu city and the surrounding countryside in the 7th and

8th mos. of 1645. His account complements those in the *Haijiao yibian* and the *Qifeng yibian* (see I.D.5).

Ref. Xie Guozhen 1981: 668.

**I.D.7.** *Jiangnan fushi* 江南撫事, 2 j.

Liu Yingbin 劉應賓: *Qingshi liezhuan*, 79/17a-b.

Imprint, probably of SZ date, held BUL (ZSB.史, #3329).

During the CZ reign Liu Yingbin had been a bureau director in the Ministry of Personnel, and he had been appointed Commissioner of the Office of Transmission in the HG government. When the Qing took Nanjing in the 5th mo. of 1645, Liu surrendered and soon was appointed Governor over the Jiangnan prefectures of Huizhou 徽州, Ningguo 寧國, and Taiping 太平. After Luzhou 廬州 and Chizhou 池州 were added to his jurisdiction in the 9th mo., Liu had authority over the whole region straddling the Yangzi River upstream from Nanjing. This work consists of copies of official communications that Liu sent and received during his tenure in this position from the 閏 6th mo. of 1645 when he arrived in Taiping through the 2nd mo. of 1646, just before the first attempt by Viceroy Hong Chengchou (see I.D.1.f) to have him removed for ineffectuality.

During that time, Liu coordinated with such brigade generals as Zhang Tianlu and Bu Congshan 卜從善 to suppress widespread, vigorous resistance to Qing occupation southeast of the Yangzi, emanating especially from Ningguo and Huizhou prefectures, under the leadership of such figures as Jin Sheng (see I.D.9), Zhu Shengnong 朱盛濃, and Wu Yingqi (see I.B.8). Besides dealing with local bandits, the remnants of Zuo Liangyu's 左良玉 renegade army (see I.C.27), and stockade resistance in the eastern Dabie Hills 大別山, he also reported on actions to halt incursions on the so-called Jiangyou 江右 region by armies of the Lu and LW regimes in Zhejiang and Fujian, respectively, including the defeat and capture of Huang Daozhou (see I.E.4) at Wuyuan 婺源. Such matters are extensively documented in the two long j. of this work. Particularly valuable are the records, during the first three months of Liu's tenure, of responses to his reports by the senior Manchu prince then in Nanjing, Dodo.

**I.D.8.** *Jiangyin shoucheng ji* 江陰守城記, 1 j. [*Jiangyin shoucheng jishi* 事;

*Jiangyin chengshou houji* 城守後紀 (b); *Jiangyin chengshou jilue* 紀略].  
Xu Chongxi 許重熙: *Fushe*, 2/35a.

Editions:

- (a) In *Jingtuo yishi*, 34th wk. Rpt. in MQ, pt. 3, vol. 6. Also rpt. in BJ.4, vol. 8.
- (b) In ZNW, pt. 3.
- (c) In TW, no. 246. 1968.

This is a brief but stirring account of local resistance to the assertion of Qing authority in Jiangyin Co. (northern Changzhou 常州 Pref.), beginning with open resistance to the head-shaving order on 1645/閏 6/1 and proceeding to concentrate on the resulting eighty-one-day siege of Jiangyin city by Qing

troops. Leadership of the city's defenders by the current and former county jailers, Chen Mingyu 陳明遇 and Yan Yingyuan 閻應元, is made all the more valiant by their lack of preparation time, men, or supplies. Much attention is given to the various firearms employed and their relative effectiveness.

A detailed chronicle of the period from the 1st mo. of 1644 through the 5th mo. of 1645, variously titled *Jiayi huilue* 甲乙彙略, *Mingji jiayi liangnian huibian* 明季甲乙兩年彙編, and *Mingji jiayi liangnian huilue* 略, signed “Dongcun bashiyi laoren” 東邨八十一老人, which apparently survives only in MSS, also has been attributed to Xu Chongxi. See also II.22.

Ref: Xie Guozhen 1981: 367–69, 657.

**I.D.9. *Jin Zhengxi xiansheng wenji jilue* 金正希先生文集輯略 [Yanyige ji 燕詒閣集; cover title *Jin taishi ji* 金太史集, 9 j.**

Jin Sheng 金聲: Wang Youdian 1877: 6/36a–41a; *Nanjiang yishi* (II.31.c): 96–97; QDRW, II: 262–67; Chen Youqin 1937.

Comp. Shao Pengcheng 邵鵬程 (disciple of Jin Sheng).

Editions:

- (a) Ed. Shaoshi 邵氏. Shangzhitang 尚志堂, preface 1644. Rep. in QK, j. 457–65 (rpt. vol. 32).
- (b) Pertinent letters also in *Jin Zhongjie gong wenji* 金忠節公文集, j. 5. Jiayu 嘉魚 [Hubei]: Kuaiyin shanfang 檜陰山房, 1827. Ed. and rep. Li Zongmei 李宗媚. Yixian 黟縣 [Anhui], 1888.

Jin Sheng, a well-known intellectual of unusually broad interests, had been appointed to the Hanlin Academy 翰林院 during the CZ period and had served in censorial posts, but the focus of his energies was in local and regional military mobilization. With the fall of Nanjing, Jin, with his disciple Jiang Tianyi 江天一, led resistance to the Qing occupation of his home prefecture, Huizhou, in far southern So. Zhili (see I.D.7) until he was captured and executed in the 9th–10th mos. of 1645.

The 5th j. of this collection of Jin Sheng's writings includes some of his letters from that resistance period, for instance, to the Huizhou prefect, to fellow loyalists such as Liu Zongzhou (see I.C.14), to his erstwhile nemesis Ma Shiyong, to the turncoat who betrayed him, Huang Shu 黃澍, and to family members explaining his resolve. Also, the 8th j. contains several short essays on local security measures.

Ref: Ch'ü Wan-li 1974: 483; LC, II: 1024–25 (Wang Zhongmin 1983: suppl. 19–20); Xie Guozhen 1981: 841–42. Prohib: 259.

**I.D.10. *Jintan yu'an* 金壇獄案.**

Ji Liuqi 計六奇: Zhang Yin 1980: 320–23; Ren Daobin 1980 (QDRW, VI: 288–92).

Editions:

- (a) In *Jizai huibian*; fasc. 2 of Liulichang ed.; 9th wk. in SBG ed.
- (b) In TW, no. 241. 1967.

When Zheng Chenggong's armada entered the mouth of the Yangzi River and laid siege to Nanjing in 1659 (see I.D.2), contacts were sought with officials and members of the elite in many proximate locales, including Jintan in southern Zhenjiang 鎮江 Pref. After Zheng's campaign failed, his forces withdrew, and the Qing court finished assessing blame among its own officials, many prominent persons in various Jiangnan locales came under indictment for collaborating with the "pirates." In Jintan initially ten men were accused, and in the end forty-nine persons were executed and fourteen exiled. In this account of the Jintan persecutions, Ji Liuqi, author of well-known secondary histories of the Ming-Qing transition (see II.26) and a resident of nearby Wuxi 無錫 Co., lays the blame for instigating and pressing this case squarely with certain unprincipled, powerful families who had scores to settle with upstanding men of the locale who had criticized their corrupt practices.

A thorough secondary study of this case, by a JQ-period descendant of one of the men who was executed, is the *Jintan shisheng shilue* 十生事略 by Yao Wentian 姚文田 (in j. 3 of Yao's *Suiyatang ji* 邃雅堂集 [Jiangyin 江陰, 1821]).

Ref: Xie Guozhen 1981: 718.

**I.D.11. *Laijiang jishi benmo*** 瀨江紀事本末, 1 j.

Ming Chushi Yiming Daoren 明處士一明道人 [pseud., Zhou Tingying 周廷英]: See the latter part of this work, under *yiwei* 乙未.

Preface early winter of 1645.

(a) In *Qingshi ziliao* 清史資料, no. 1 (1980): 137–57. Based on Qing-period (QL or later) MS held CASS.

(b) Other MSS: Qinghua 清華 U Lib. (ZSB.史, #3331)\*; Nankai 南開 U Lib. (rare); NLB (reg.).

This work is an excellent revelation of how social cleavages limited the efforts of Jiangnan locales to resist Qing occupation and also made that occupation more complicated. It tells of how the desperate magistrate of Liyang 溧陽 county (southeastern Yingtian 應天 Pref.) sought to use, for defense of the county seat, the forces of a band of erstwhile indentured servants (*nupu* 奴僕 and other terms) who, with the collapse of Ming authority in Nanjing, had been in violent revolt against their masters. This resulted not in defense but in rampant plunder, defection of the servant band to the Qing, and collaboration with the Qing soldiers in further rapine.

When the head-shaving decree was announced, naturally the most offended former masters assumed leadership of the groundswell of anti-Qing activity, linking up with resistance groups on nearby Changdang Lake 長蕩湖. But when the Qing, aided by the servant band, were able to gain enough of a stance to offer county-level civil service examinations, some of those same masters were willing to endure humiliation by their former servants to vie for examination honors under Qing auspices. So the truly loyal resistance became marginalized, and the truly upright could only flee into obscurity. After defeating the loyalists both in the county and on the lake, the Qing authorities then turned on

the leaders of the servant band and executed them. The author, a Ming stipendiary student who fled Liyang, condemns both the villainy of the servants and the hypocrisy of their masters.

Ref: Xie Guozhen 1981: 664–66.

**I.D.12.** *Laosheng mengnan* 老生蒙難 [*Shu* 書 *laosheng mengnan shi* 事 (b)], 1 j. Anon.

Editions:

- (a) In *Haiyu zazhi*, both Nanjing Lib.\* and FUL MSS.
- (b) In *Yuyang shuoyuan*, fasc. 3.

This is the story of a curmudgeonly old scholar in Changshu Co., Guo Chunqing 郭春卿, who issued a public call for condemnation when he heard rumors that some fellow landmen had compromised themselves vis-à-vis Li Zicheng's 李自成 regime in Beijing. But Guo himself proved compromising when, after the Qing subjugation of Changshu (see I.D.5, I.D.6), he tried to get away with cutting his hair and trimming his sleeves only slightly in perfunctory compliance with the Qing hair-and-dress decree. Subsequently in 1646 he caused an uproar when summoned, along with all the other stipendiary students in the county, for a compulsory review in the presence of the newly appointed Qing circuit intendant, a notorious turncoat (apparently Ma Shaoyu 馬紹愉—see I.C.3). When the intendant reported the refractoriness of the students to the governor, the latter demurred, fearing open insurrection in view of the severity that Changshu recently had undergone. The elderly Guo, however, was thrown into jail and soon died there. The lively, storyteller's tone of this record is mitigated by the attachment of two formal documents relevant to the case.

Ref: Xie Guozhen 1981: 721.

**I.D.13.** *Linian ji* 歷年記, 3 j., cont. 1 j., suppl. 1 j. Yao Tinglin 姚廷遴: Kishimoto 1986: 53–65.

Copy and edition:

- (a) Rare MS held Shanghai Museum 上海博物館.\*
- (b) In *Qingdai riji huichao*.

This work is a yearly record, begun when the author was forty-one *sui*, of detailed and keen observations on the changing social, economic, and political conditions of his lifetime. It looks back, beginning from the year of his birth in 1628, and continues through 1697. The author, of Shanghai 上海 Co. (Songjiang Pref.), was a member of a lineage that had held considerable wealth and political prominence during the Ming period, but which suffered financial ruin at the hands of both renegade “loyalist” troops and arbitrary Qing officials during the early SZ period. Thus, Yao Tinglin's record allows us to share the perspective of an impoverished but prideful member of the lower intelligentsia.

The work is very useful for research on Yangzi-delta lineage cohesion, local economic factors, social mores, and state-society relations. Regarding the Ming-Qing conflict, most significant is the ruination of the economic means of the author's grand-uncle, Yao Yongji 姚永濟, then retired from long service in

highly-ranked Ming official positions, and the way he and his relatives were treated by local officials and notables thereafter.

Ref: Kishimoto 1986.

**I.D.14.** *Sucheng jibian* 蘇城記變, 1 j.; app. *Xuji* 續記, 1 j.

Anon.

Editions:

- (a) In *Guocui congshu*, pt. 3, fasc. 39.
- (b) In MJ, fasc. 8.

The author, a distraught widower who says that he no longer cares about life or death, describes the complete dissolution of governmental authority and social cohesion that allowed Qing forces to effortlessly occupy one of China's most important prefectural capitals in the early 6th mo. of 1645. The text is especially graphic about the extensive rape of the women of Suzhou (long famed as the most beautiful in China), and about the looting. He views with disdain the inept efforts of loyalists from nearby Chen Lake 陳湖 to dislodge the Qing occupiers, saying that they only caused more death and destruction for the common people.

The “Continued Record” consists of the author's observations when he returned to the city in the 9th mo. after a prudent stay in the countryside. It describes the devastation but praises the efforts of the regional commander-in-chief Wu Shengzhao (see I.D.3, I.D.15) to right injustices, particularly by reuniting captured women with their families.

Ref: Xie Guozhen 1981: 667–68.

**I.D.15.** *Tizhai jianwen lu* 惕齋見聞錄, 1 j.

Su Rong 蘇融: Biog. sketch by Wang Dalong 王大隆 app. to (a).

Editions:

- (a) In *Dingchou congbian*, j. 7.
- (b) In MJ, fasc. 8.

The author's lineage was active on the political and literary scene in Jiading county (Suzhou Pref.). Approximately the first one-fourth of this work consists of notes on occurrences from 1644 through 1645. It offers valuable detail on: the socio-political tensions and conflicts that worsened in Jiading with the loss of the northern capital in the 3rd mo. of 1644; the particular animus of collaborating general Li Chengdong that led him to subject Jiading to terrible punishment; the inaction of Ming regional commander Wu Zhikui; martyrs of the local resistance; activities in contiguous places (particularly Chongming 崇明 island); the plot of Regional Commander-in-Chief Wu Shengzhao (see also I.D.3, I.D.14) to revert to Ming allegiance; and the many leading figures of the Su-Song region who were implicated and executed when that plot failed.

The remainder of this notebook consists of generalities, hearsay, and error-ridden information about things outside the author's range of experience—in Beijing, Nanjing, Zhejiang, Fujian, and elsewhere. The first part should be utilized in combination with I.D.4.

Ref: Xie Guozhen 1981: 968.

**I.D.16.** *Weiyang xunjie jilue* 維揚殉節紀略, 1 j.

Shi Dewei 史得威 (adopted son of Shi Kefa): See biogs. of latter, entry I.C.24.

Editions:

- (a) In *Jieyue shanfang huichao* 借月山房彙鈔, pt. 6, fasc. 46. Comp. Zhang Haipeng 張海鵬. 1812. (*Baibu*, ser. 48, case 5, fasc. 8).
- (b) In *Zeguzhai chongchao* 澤古齋重鈔, pt. 6, fasc. 46. Comp. Chen Huang 陳璜. Shanghai, 1824.

This is a brief and straightforward but moving account of Shi Kefa's martyrdom in the fall of Yangzhou. The author, Vice Commissioner-in-Chief of the five divisions of Shi's personal guard, was designated by the childless Kefa to function as his formal heir and take care of his posthumous affairs. His account begins on 1645/4/1 when Kefa learns of the earnest advance of Qing armies across the Huai River 淮河. It then tells of how Ming defenses were undercut by the mutiny of Zuo Liangyu who was threatening Nanjing from the west (see I.C.20, I.C.27), of the course of the siege of Yangzhou city (see I.D.20), of Kefa's attempt to commit suicide and his final, defiant confrontation with the conquering Manchu prince, Dodo, and of how his body was chopped to pieces in the South Wall Tower. Shi Dewei goes on to explain how he himself managed to survive and retrieve a letter that Kefa had written to Dodo, and how later he ceremonially buried some of Shi's clothing to provide a place for his soul to rest.

Dewei appends a list of others who died loyally in the defeat at Yangzhou, as well as several of Kefa's last letters, which also can be found in the latter's collected writings (I.C.24).

Ref: Xie Guozhen 1981: 653.

**I.D.17.** *Wucheng riji* 吳城日記, 3 j.

Anon. resident of Suzhou.

Ed. and annot. Tuiweng 蛻翁 [pseud.; Ye Tingguan 葉廷琯, TZ period].

Editions:

- (a) In *Fuzhai congshu* 復齋叢書, fasc. 1. Comp. Feng Yingtu 馮應圖. Zhengyi 正儀, 1875.
- (b) Ed. Wang Shijun 王士君. [Nanjing]: Jiangsu guji chubanshe 江蘇古籍出版社, 1985. Suzhou difang wenxian congshu 蘇州地方文獻叢書 ser. Comp. Suzhou Museum 蘇州博物館. In vol. with *Danwu biji* 丹午筆記, pp. 197–236. From MS held Suzhou Museum.\*

This work is a diary-like chronicle of developments in and near the Suzhou prefectural city (which also encompassed the Wu 吳 and Changzhou 長洲 county governments), from the 5th mo. of 1645 through the 8th mo. of 1653. Entries are almost daily to the end of 1645; then they become less regular. The author—apparently of an established, wealthy Suzhou family—records in

detail a wide variety of phenomena: the failure of Ming-loyalist elements to gain support from Suzhou townspeople; the distress of the city residents as Suzhou became an island of Qing control in a sea of uncoordinated anti-Qing resistance in the Yangzi delta region; initial announcement and enforcement (and subsequent, repeated reinforcement) of the Qing hair-and-dress regulations; reinstatement of the civil service examinations; commodity prices, copper-silver exchange ratios, and problems in establishing a sound SZ-reign coinage; legal and illegal exactions from the populace; local manifestations of early-Qing experiments in altering the inherited Ming bureaucratic system; and various indictments, persecutions, and executions.

We also learn much about how Suzhou was used as a staging area, or at least as a source of funds and civilian manpower, for campaigns not only on other parts of the prefecture, but on Zhejiang and Fujian, as well.

This work is informative about the characters and activities of such figures as Yang Wencong 楊文聰, Wu Yi 吳易, Li Yanling 李延齡, Wu Shengzhao, Yang Tingshu 楊廷樞, and Qin Shizhen (see I.F.2). And it probably is the most important non-official source on the career of Tu Guobao 土國寶, the highest-ranking official in Suzhou during most of the period covered.

**I.D.18** *Wutang yeshi* 武塘野史, 1 fasc.

Anon.

MS held ZPL (ZSB. 史, #3137). Copy from QL period or later in Qing.

This is a terse but informative and fairly objective chronicle of developments in Jiaying 嘉興 Pref. (northeastern Zhejiang), from the beginning of 1640 through 1683, focused on the prefectural seat. Much of it concerns the array of social elements that were active, first in the establishment of Qing control (military and bureaucratic) after the capitulation of Nanjing, and then in the anti-Qing resistance, which ensued from the 9th mo. of 1645 and continued through the 8th mo. of 1647 (including the “white-kerchiefed troops” 白頭兵 from Tai Lake 太湖, led by Wu Yi). In addition, valuable observations are provided on such matters as: repeated campaigns to enforce the Qing hair-and-dress regulations, with increasingly stringent dress requirements; the gradual Qing implementation of fiscal measures, such as price controls and new taxes; restoration of the civil service examinations; and the replacement of less reliable, southern, turncoat officials with men from the Liao region.

**I.D.19.** *Xue Xiemeng biji* 薛諧孟筆記, 2 fasc.

Xue Cai 薛棗: *Mingshi jishi*, 辛 19 (vol. 28): 3093; Struve 2008.

Apparent editor Xue Tao 薛弢 (Republican period).

Pub. by Xue’s descendants, probably in Shanghai; preface by Qian Zhenhuang 錢振鏗, 1939.

The author, a js. of 1630, had served as a section director in the Nanjing Ministry of Punishments and as Prefect of Kaifeng 開封 in the CZ period. But with the establishment of the HG court he remained at home in Wujin 武進 Co. (Changzhou Pref.), passively, albeit emotionally and thoughtfully,

keeping this journal in response to hearsay about the course of national and regional events. Though the journal's first entry was written in 1642, it begins in earnest with news of the rebel advance on the capital in the 3rd and 4th mos. of 1644. The first fasc. concludes in the middle 6th mo. of 1645 with ruminations on the failure of the HG court. The first one-quarter of the second fasc. goes on to record what Xue heard about resistance to the head-shaving decree, assassinations of Qing officials, the depredations of Qing and renegade Ming troops, organized resistance attempts, and massacres of urban populations in the prefectures of Changzhou and Suzhou down through mid-February of 1646.

The first fasc. is distinctive in its obsession with the roving rebels and the possibility that one of the CZ emperor's heirs had survived, in its disparagement of the HG court for failing to take action against the rebel-murderers of the CZ emperor, and in its nearly complete disregard for the Manchu threat. The second fasc., however, does not flinch at decrying wrongdoings and atrocities in Jiangnan by Manchus and those who collaborated with them. From the 5th mo. of 1645 onward, Xue secluded himself in a Buddhist retreat in the Wushan 吳山 area and learned about events from his servants, traveling monks, and other visitors. Though the pertinent parts of this journal, thus, consist largely of hearsay, the texture is thick and the work is worth checking in combination with more firsthand accounts. Also distinctive are Xue's frequent, detailed, vivid records of his dreams through the whole period of acute worry, insecurity, and distress over the death of his daughter.

Ref: 1927 and 1928 cols. to this work by the author's descendants, Xue Yunzhong 允中 and Xue Tao; Struve 2008; Xie Guozhen 1981: 941–42 (see also Xie 1962a: 356–57).

**I.D.20.** *Yangzhou shiri ji* 揚州十日記, 1 j.  
Wang Xiuchu 王秀楚.

Editions:

- (a) In *Jingtuo yishi*, 31st wk. Rpt. in BJ. 4, vol. 7.
- (b) In MB, j. 27. Rpt. in MQ, pt. 2, vol. 5.
- (c) In *Luchen congshu*, 2nd wk.
- (d) In *Yangzhou congke*, fasc. 3.\*
- (e) In ZNW, vol. 3.
- (f) In TW, no. 242, 1967.
- (g) Trans. Aucourt 1907; Lucien Mao 1937; in Ebrey 1993: 272–79; in *Voices*, pp. 33–54.

In the twentieth century this work certainly has been the best-known account of atrocities in the Ming-Qing conflict. The author, about whom nothing is known apart from the content of the *Yangzhou shiri ji*, vividly recounts in poignant, terrifying, bloodcurdling detail how he and his family members struggled, with pitifully little success, to survive the punishment that was inflicted on wonderful Yangzhou city by Dodo's army, because it was the first to resist the Qing conquest of Jiangnan.

The “ten days” include five of authorized, unrestrained killing and looting, beginning with the penetration of the city on 1645/4/25 (some light is shed on the last hours of Shi Kefa [see I.C.24, I.D.16]), and five more days during which desultory rapine gradually was replaced by relief measures. The relations among family members, neighbors, and friends under such duress, and the opinions passed on certain behaviors, are socially revealing.

Ref: Zhang Defang 1964. Prohib: 390.

**I.D.21.** *Yantang jianwen zaji* 研堂見聞雜記, 1 j.

Attrib. Wang Jiazhen 婁東無名氏: 1936 postscript to (b) by Feng Chao 馮超.  
Editions:

- (a) In *Tongshi*, vol. 10. Rpt. of 1917 ed. in MQ, pt. 7, v. 59.
- (b) In ZNW, pt. 17. Rpt. in BJ. 10, vol. 5.
- (c) TW, no. 254. 1968.

This work narrates the course of events in Taicang Subprefecture 太倉州 by a resident of the town of Shaxi 沙溪 who was formerly a student of the Fushe 復社 leader Zhang Pu 張溥. It is particularly interesting for the light it casts on the role of ruffian gangs—for instance, one called the Black Dragon Society 烏龍會—in the armed turmoil that ensued when news of Qing armies crossing the Yangzi arrived and local Ming officials and troops disappeared in the early 5th mo. of 1645. With that gang element encouraging violent attacks by commoners and servants on wealthy households, and with familiar, surrendered Ming officials having been sent by the Qing authorities in Nanjing to take charge of Taicang, the disposition of the elite to side with the Qing in the interest of restoring law and order is easy to understand through reading this work. The author suggests that the continued resistance in Taicang could have been avoided if not for promulgation of the head-shaving decree, which he blames not primarily on the Manchus but on an ingratiating Ming js. degree-holder. Events of, and major figures in, the resistance and its suppression, in Taicang and surrounding jurisdictions, are treated in considerable detail down to the failed reversion of Su-Song Regional Commander-in-Chief Wu Shengzhao (see also I.D.3 and I.D.14–15) in the late spring of 1647.

Ref: Xie Guozhen 1981: 966–67.

**I.D.22.** *Yiyong biji* 乙酉筆記 [Zeng Yuwang riji 曾羽王日記].

Zeng Yuwang 曾羽王 [orig. surname Wang 王]: Xie Guozhen 1981: 1090.  
Copy and edition:

- (a) Rare MS held Shanghai Museum.\*
- (b) In *Qingdai riji huichao*.

Despite the title of this work, the brief notes of which it is constituted are not limited in focus to 1645. Rather, they roam freely in time from as far back as the middle sixteenth century (the author was born around 1610) to as late as the early KX reign, keeping no chronological or topical order. The stated aim of the author, a Ming stipendiary student who apparently held no examination degree under Qing rule, is to tell us about all the terrible things that happened

in his home area, Songjiang Pref., during his lifetime, that is, from late WL onward. We learn a great deal, from the perspective of an ordinary well-educated resident, about the social and political turmoil that ensued when the Ming governments in Beijing and Nanjing failed; about the losses in lives and property in the armed subjugation of Songjiang and in conflicts between Qing and loyalist forces; about the numerous ways in which residents seized opportunities in the shifting political situation to settle old scores against fellow residents; about the predicament of ordinary people who not only were caught in hostilities but also suffered pressures and demands from both Qing officials and Ming loyalists; about the selfish motives of men on both sides; about the generally cruel, rapacious, and avaricious quality of the SZ-period Qing officials assigned to Songjiang; and about the severe effects of the coastal interdiction 海禁 of the late SZ and early KX periods on the livelihoods of the fish-eating populace.

Ref: Xie Guozhen 1981: 1090–91.

See also: I.B.1.n, “Shunzhi chunian...”; I.F.3, *Haiwai tongku ji*; II.22, *Jiangyin chengshou ji*; II.25, *Liang gongbao zhuangyou ji*; II.41, *Wanzhai jishi*.