

Analysis of Regional Characteristics of Litigation Environment in Fujian Province in Qing Dynasty*

Lihong Xiao

Xiamen University Tan Kah Kee College
Zhangzhou, China 363105

Abstract—Based on the investigation of local chronicles, it is found that the litigation environment of Fujian province in Qing dynasty has certain regional characteristics. Compared with inland provinces, the types of litigation in Fujian province in Qing dynasty showed the characteristics of sea frontier areas. The frequently occurred armed fight (fight with weapons between groups of people), false incrimination (the false accusation of the other side in a murder case), farmland dispute (a dispute over land) and dispute over water conservation, truly reflected the governance dilemma of population explosion and insufficient survival resources faced by local social governance of Fujian province in the Qing dynasty. Through the comparison of prefectures in Fujian province, it is also found that the typical lawsuit types and causes are different in southern Fujian, western Fujian and central Fujian. Behind the different causes of litigation, the unique regional governance problems in different regions are reflected. In dealing with local government affairs and lawsuits, local officials should understand local characteristics and learn how to "enforce law according to local conditions".

Keywords—Qing dynasty; Fujian province; litigation environment; regional characteristics

I. INTRODUCTION

In Qing dynasty, people all over the country were keen to express "the love for lawsuit" among local people. For example, in the first year of Shunzhi, Li Fanyuan, the supervisory censor of Guangxi Dao examination and supervision, said that "now people all over the country are fond of litigating" (dao, an administrative region under province) [1]; in the fourth year of emperor Qianlong's reign, Peng Jiaping, the provincial judge of Hunan province, reported that "Hunan has a folk custom of litigiosity" [2]; in the 12th year of Qianlong, Chen Hongmou, grand coordinator of Hubei province, reported that "Hubei people are litigious" [3]; in the twenty-ninth year of the reign of emperor Qianlong, Fu De, grand coordinator of Jiangxi, said that "there are many lawsuits in Jiangxi" [4]; in the 35th year of the reign of emperor Qianlong, the grand coordinator of Zhejiang province, Xiong Xuepeng, reported that "merchants

gather together and people like to file lawsuits" [5]; in the 53rd year of the reign of emperor Qianlong, Li Shijie, grand coordinator of Sichuan, said that "people like to file lawsuits the most" [6]; in the 12th year of Jiaqing, the grand coordinator of Shandong province reported that "people are litigious" [7]; Li Xingyuan, the education commissioner of Guangdong in the fifteenth year of Daoguang's reign, lamented that "scholars in Guangdong love file lawsuits" [8]; and the Cases of Fujian Province were filled with expressions like "The people of Fujian province are fierce and like fighting and lawsuits" [9]. Faced with the monotonous rhetoric of "litigiosity", do the litigation environments and causes in each province have regional characteristics? If there are regional characteristics, how do they affect the specific development of local judicial practice? This paper hopes to discuss the above problems through the analysis of litigation types and causes in Fujian province in the Qing dynasty.

II. REGIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF LITIGATION TYPES IN FUJIAN PROVINCE IN THE QING DYNASTY

In order to investigate the main types of litigation in Fujian province in Qing dynasty, the author sorted out the data of 74 local Chronicles of Fujian province in Qing dynasty. Local chronicles have indispensable advantages in that it is difficult to present an accurate record of "litigiosity" data in a long period of time, no matter in archives, official's anthology, diary or other materials. As Xu Zhongming and Du Jin put it, local chronicles are more systematic and comprehensive than archives when it comes to the reality of local litigation. "It can reflect the litigation climate of the time and place as a whole", which is an advantage that "other historical materials do not have" [10]. Hou Xinyi also believes that local Chronicles, which record local conditions, customs and history in detail, "play an irreplaceable role with depth, breadth and authenticity" [11]. According to the local records of Fujian province in Qing dynasty, the main types of lawsuits there are as follows:

*Project: This paper is one of the mid-term results of the Youth Project of Humanities and Social Science Fund of the Ministry of Education in 2016, Civil Disputes in Fujian Province in Qing Dynasty and Its Social Governance in Sea Frontier (Project No. 16YJC770030), and one of the mid-term results of the Outstanding Youth Scientific Research Talent Training Program of Colleges and Universities in Fujian Province in 2017 (Fujian Education Science 2017, No. 52).

TABLE I. STATISTICAL OF LITIGATION TYPES RECORDED IN LOCAL CHRONICLES OF FUJIAN PROVINCE IN QING DYNASTY

Prefecture (total number of litigation)	property dispute	family dispute	farmland	Mountains, lakes and other public resources	water conservation	grave dispute	debt	false incrimination	maliciously accusation	dispute over "gu" (a poison made with poisonous insect, worm or beetle)	crime of homicide and robbery	armed fight	accusation of a squire or common people against official	lawsuit between foreigners and Chinese
<i>Fuzhou prefecture (47)</i>			5	4	14	4	8			5	1	4	1	1
<i>Xinghua prefecture (6)</i>					5					1				
<i>Quanzhou prefecture (54)</i>		2	6	3	4	7	6	3	1	3	15	1	3	
<i>Zhangzhou prefecture (51)</i>	1		10	7	4	1	1	10	many	1	2	13	1	
<i>Yanping prefecture (11)</i>			1		1	1	2			5			1	
<i>Jianning prefecture (6)</i>			3				1				1	1		
<i>Shaowu prefecture (7)</i>			1		2		3						1	
<i>Tingzhou prefecture (14)</i>			2			5	2				2	2	1	
<i>Funing prefecture (6)</i>		1	1	1		1	1	1						
<i>Longyan state (16)</i>			5		1		4			3		2	1	
<i>Yongchun state (6)</i>			1		1		1	1		1		1		
<i>total</i>	1	3	35	15	32	19	4	37	3	17	9	38	7	4

^a Data source: *The Records of Customs, Records of Art and Literature, Records of Officials, Records of Personages, Records of Judiciary, Records of schools and other parts of the prefecture chronicles of Fujian province included by Integration of Chinese local Chronicles -Prefecture Chronicles of Fujian Province and Chinese Chronicles series -South China Area -Fujian Province* (Cheng Wen Publishing Co., Ltd.).

^b Unit: frequency

"Table I" shows an incomplete statistics in that there must be statistical omission made by the author and the materials have their deficiencies. However, as a clue and trend, the data in "Table I" reveals the main types of litigation in Fujian province in the Qing dynasty to some extent, which can be analyzed from the following aspects.

A. The Regional Characteristics of the Types of Litigation

"Table I" shows the main types of disputes in Fujian province in the Qing dynasty, which are property dispute, family dispute, farmland, mountains, lakes and other public resources, water conservation, grave dispute, debt, false incrimination, maliciously accusation, dispute over "gu", crime of homicide and robbery, armed fight, accusation of a squire or common people against official and lawsuit between foreigners and Chinese, etc. Most types of disputes are actually widespread across the country. He Shiqi of Qing dynasty lamented that with the many different disputes in different places, but "the main disputes are concentrated in the following categories: appellate case, interpersonal

dispute case, fight cases, fraud case, and homicide and robbery case" [12]. However, the sea border feature of Fujian province in the Qing dynasty made its disputes types have some regional characteristics, such as the existence of disputes related to the sea to varying degrees.

The first comes to the lawsuit between foreigners and Chinese. Such lawsuits took place in many places near the sea including Pingtan county, Tongan county and Nan'an county of Quanzhou prefecture. Such disputes increased day by day in the late Qing dynasty.

The second is disputes over marine resources. For example, people' fishing across the border [13], contend marine products [14], or competing for land near the sea all belong to this type. Such disputes were intensified by the strong power of clan and township families in Fujian province, in that large local clans often encroach on marine resources and infringe on the interests of ordinary people, resulting in disputes. In Zhao'an County, the keen of the powerful to compete for marine resources was called the root of local governance difficulties [16].

The third is the disputes brought by going abroad. In the coastal Fujian, whether it was in smuggling or other ways, it was very common for people to go abroad. The people who went abroad and didn't come back for a long time might be considered dead. The wife might be remarried and his family property sold off. When he came home to find everything changed, he could only resort to lawsuit in hope to get everything back. Examples of such cases can be found in various literature of Fujian province in the Qing dynasty.

B. The Types of Frequent Disputes Are Related to the Local Social Governance Dilemma

In addition to the regional characteristics of litigation types, the frequent disputes in Fujian province in the Qing dynasty were also different from those in other provinces. According to "Table I", the most frequent types of litigation in Fujian province in the Qing dynasty included armed fight (38 cases, accounting for 16.9% of the total), false incrimination (37 cases, accounting for 16.4% of the total), farmland dispute (35 cases, accounting for 15.6% of the total) and dispute over water conservation (32 cases, accounting for 14.2% of the total), all of which account for 63.1% of the total. Compared with other provinces, frequent disputes in Fujian province in the Qing dynasty still had certain regional characteristics [17]. And the four main types of disputes often directly associated with social governance dilemma.

In the middle and late Qing dynasty, with the development of social economy, the growing population of Fujian province made the survival resources scarcer and scarcer. According to Mr. Liang Fangzhong's research, in the 18th year of the reign of emperor Shunzhi of the Qing dynasty, the population density of Fujian province was 12.48 people per square kilometer. To first year of reign of Xianfeng, the number grew to 172.31, 14 times its original population. However, the number of fields did not increase by this margin. During the reign of Hongzhi in the Ming dynasty, there were more than 13.51 million mu of cultivated land in Fujian province, but the number was only 13.06 million mu in the first year of Xianfeng' reign in the Qing dynasty [18]. The expansion of population and the shortage of land resources were bound to cause more livelihood problems. Therefore, according to "Table I", Zhangzhou, Fuzhou, Quanzhou and other populous prefectures did face a higher rate of farmland disputes. In the case of insufficient land, coastal prefectures and counties would compete for mud flat and other income-generating reserve land resources in large scale, which caused even armed fight. In order for generate more food from the limited land to feed a growing population, landholders tend to put a premium on irrigation. However, water conservancy is a public resource, and usually one irrigation canal passed through several villages, so it was difficult to make a clear division of its property rights [20]. The mountainous landform in Fujian exacerbated the problem. When water resources were insufficient and it was difficult to make a clear division of water property rights, various disputes accompanied by water conservancy disputes were naturally frequent. In the process of contending for water and land, the two sides often fought with each other with weapon to win relying on powerful township and clan

forces. In Qing dynasty, there was the saying of "in ten cases of armed fight eight are about water conservation" in Fujian coastal areas. Homicide cases might also be made to scapegoat others, in hope for the victory in the war for water and farmland. However, due to the entanglement of the township ethnic and clan forces, and the concern of human lives, it was easy for false incrimination and armed fight to cause more riots in the local society and endanger the local social order. Therefore it was easier for them to attract the attention of local officials, which naturally caused the frequent critical rhetoric for false incrimination and armed fight, farmland dispute and water conservation dispute. Therefore, the statistical results in "Table I" truly reflect the governance dilemma of population explosion and insufficient survival resources faced by local social governance in Fujian province in the Qing dynasty.

Although competition for survival resources was fierce across China in Qing dynasty, with mountains and hills accounting for more than 80% of the province's total area, the coastal feature of Fujian which was known as "mountains accounting for eight tenth, water one tenth and field one tenth," aggravated the overall shortage of soil and water resources, and uneven distribution, which directly intensified the tension of its survival resources. It can be seen that the frequent litigation types are mostly related to the competition for survival resources, which reflects the typical regional characteristics.

III. REGIONAL FACTORS OF THE CAUSES OF LITIGATION IN FUJIAN PROVINCE IN THE QING DYNASTY

It can be seen from the analysis in "Table I" that armed fight, farmland dispute, false incrimination, grave dispute and water conservancy dispute are prevalent in all prefectural counties of Fujian province, but they were recorded differently in different regions. Taking southern Fujian as an example, no matter in Zhangzhou prefecture or Quanzhou prefecture, the number of armed fight was most typical, and the number of farmland dispute, false incrimination, water conservation and other disputes was more than other types. Taking central Fujian as an example, no matter in Fuzhou prefecture or Xinghua prefecture, the number of water conservation disputes is most typical, and the number of false incrimination, "gu" lawsuit, farmland dispute, armed fight, disputes over mountain and lake and other public resources was more than other types. Then looking at western Fujian, one can find that the dispute types of grave dispute, farmland dispute and false incrimination were common in Tingzhou prefecture and Longyan state, etc. From the "biased" record of the authors, the causes of litigation in different regions of Fujian province in the Qing dynasty can be explored, and then the specific regional problems in local social governance can be perceived.

A. The Regional Factors of the Causes of Litigation in Southern Fujian

Taking southern Fujian as an example, located in the coastal area with few plains and many mountains, it had relatively concentrated population and thus tense contradiction between man and land. In the Qing dynasty,

Zhangzhou and Quanzhou constantly lamented the shortage of arable land. For example, the prefectural government of Quanzhou said that "With narrow and barren land, four-tenths of people in coastal areas are engaged in farming and six-tenths in fishing. In mountainous areas, three-tenths of the people work in the fields, and seven-tenths of the people work in planting in the mountains." [21] As a result, the struggle for land broke out naturally and frequently. The prefectural government of Zhangzhou called it "Appreciation of land leads to frequent struggle over land" [22]. In the face of limited land resources, in order to solve the survival crisis, in addition to efforts, people would also turn to metaphysics, hoping to occupy the geomantic treasure land to bring the whole family good luck, so the grave disputes caused by battle for the geomantic treasure land as grave took place frequently.

The biggest feature of the disputes over farmland, grave and water conservation in southern Fujian was the entanglement of township ethnic and clan power, along with armed fight and false incrimination. As Tongan prefecture said, "Once the farmland disputes are concerned, whether through lawsuits or fighting privately, people would often lose a family fortune." [23] In order to fight against the big clan, small clans in some areas even downplayed the concept of kinship of the clan. That is, "several small clans united into a big clan". Just as the grand fight between the two clans in the surname of "Bao and Qi", the former was formed by the union of the four big clans of Li, Chen, Zhuang and Lin and the latter by the union of other small clan, in which small clans changed their surnames to unite as large clans in order to enhance strength and gain an advantage in the fight. With the war between united names getting worse, "Tong", "Hai", "Wan" [25] and other new united names emerged later. Once "the clans were united for fight", the disputes immediately escalated. If local officials did not handle it properly, homicide cases are likely to arise. Emperor Yongzheng of the Qing dynasty blamed Zhangzhou and Quanzhou for their tough folkways, large clans often oppressed small clans by relying on powerful manpower, leading to major local cases [26]. Emperor Qianlong also said, in the area of Zhangzhou and Quanzhou, whenever faced by land disputes or just a quarrel, often both sides gathered many people and fought with arms. Big clan bullied the small clan, but the small clan would not be reconciled and would gather many people for revenge [27]. The preference of the imperial court was directly related to the judgment of the career of local officials. Therefore, faced with the armed fight, local officials were always nervous and as a result, criticism for the "litigiousness" of people in southern Fujian came in flocks. For example, "With fierce folk customs in Fujian province, people fight with each other" [28], "(Longxi county), for trivial disputes people fight each other with weapons resulting in homicide cases" [30], "(Yunxiao county) Fighting happens very frequently in this county, and people often go into battle whenever they disagree with each other" [31], etc. In order to win the battle, either side might commit murders and then accused each other falsely, resulting in the frequently occurred cases of false incrimination in southern Fujian. In addition, since false incrimination was often related to homicide, such cases might easily attract the

attention of local officials, thus leading to the frequent occurrence of criticism of false incrimination in historical materials.

Therefore, the frequent armed fight in southern Fujian was not only because of the intense competition for survival resources, but also directly related to the mixing of the powerful clan and township forces there. Therefore the types and causes of litigation there have typical regional features.

B. The Regional Factors of the Causes of Litigation in Western Fujian

Another example is western Fujian, where there are many mountains and few plains. The shortage of cultivated land led to a large number of farmland disputes. But in addition to farmland disputes, false incrimination and grave litigation in this area were especially common, which was closely related to the geographical environment and social customs of western Fujian.

Taking false incrimination as an example, in the Qing dynasty, most of the counties in western Fujian were deeply troubled by it, which was directly related to the widespread availability of gelsemium elegans. Longyan states said, "Ignorant people often have disputes because of small conflicts and some of them might even eat gelsemium elegans in order to just to incriminate others falsely." [32] According to Longyan county, "Gelsemium elegans, which is common in this place can cause death if it is eaten. Ignorant people tend to rely on it as a preemptive measure, while villains use it as a medium to cheat and harm." As a result, eight or nine times out of ten people die when they take the herb [33], and etc. In order to reduce false incrimination, the local officials sharply denounced that "false incrimination is so abominable and ignorant people are so stupid", and said "False incrimination is the most inapprehensible approach" [35]. They often punished prisoners by sending them to pull up such poisonous herb [36], or let the beadles in the townships "pay regular attention to scrutinize everywhere, and immediately pulled out the herb when encountering it, in case of hurting others and bringing trouble to themselves." And continuous efforts were made to persuade villagers of the truth that they couldn't fake the professional officials out in postmortem and eating this poisonous herb wouldn't help to bring down their enemies and would just cause death in vain since the coroner could see with half an eye from the symptom of blue face and cracks in the lips after eating the herb. Officials in Fujian hoped that through verbal exhortation, this vice of "neglecting life and taking blackmail as career" [38] could be eradicated.

In addition, the frequent occurrence of the grave litigation in western Fujian was closely related to its strong geomancy idea there. In ancient feng shui theory, the Jiangxi and Fujian schools are the most famous. Many prefectures of western Fujian bordered on Jiangxi province and thus developed a rather complicated geomancy idea by mix different factions. As a result, the disputes over feng shui were very common. Shanghang county of Tingzhou prefecture claimed that "Villagers attach great importance to tombs due to feng shui. Sometimes they want to occupy

others' auspicious graves, and sometimes they are afraid of the feng shui of their own auspicious graves being damaged. As a result, disputes or fights often occur because of cemeteries, which are really local vices". [39] In the Qing dynasty, officials in Fujian and Jiangxi provinces felt helpless about the feng shui disputes around the border of the two provinces. The official of Fujian province said that "As Fujian province is close to Jiangxi province, ordinary people, scholars and officials alike, are often superstitious about the geomantic masters, buying or digging the graves of others by force" [40]. An official of Gannan dao in Jiangxi said that "Gannan is the border area between Fujian and Jiangxi, where people are strong, litigious and have bad customs" [41]. People's blind worship in feng shui view caused the frequent grave litigation in this area.

Therefore, the frequent occurrence of false incrimination and grave litigation in western Fujian, were not only related to the competition for survival resources, but also directly related to the social environment where the natural environment is suitable for the growth of gelsemium elegant and the strong feng shui concept. Its types and causes of litigation also have typical regional features.

IV. SUMMARY: "LOCALIZED EXECUTION" IS THE BEST WAY TO SOLVE THE LITIGATIONS WITH REGIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

The types of litigation and the regional characteristics of the causes of litigation directly affect the litigation behavior of local officials. In Qing dynasty, the "avoidance system" was adopted in the appointment of officials. Different languages and customs have brought many obstacles to local officials. People of the time said, "As a non-native person, he did not understand the local customs and language, but had to manage the people and property of the county. He had many affairs to deal with, and the slightest carelessness would lead to mistakes and arouse people's resentment." [42] In addition, the types and causes of lawsuits in different places were different. To deal with local lawsuits, local officials had to first understand local characteristics and learn to "adapt measures to local conditions". In the Qing dynasty, officials in Fujian left a lot of experience in this aspect.

For example, Xie Jinluan, who served as an educational officer in Shaowu, Nanjing, Anxi and Nanping prefectures during the reign of emperor Jiaqing, believed that armed fights occurred frequently all over Fujian province, yet the solutions in different places should be different. The fights in Zhangpu and Tongan counties, for example, arose from piled-up grievances and rancor, which could be between long-time enemies or murderers of father or brother. Such fight can only be solved by long-term influence of "virtue". Executing a few people often could not root out the hatred. And the fight in other places in Fujian usually arose from trivial which could be contend for grave field, water conservation, or it could be stirred up by the temporary shame and anger in a quarrel. Such fights should be dealt with fiercely to end the disputes as they arise. Long-time procrastination might make a long-pending case, which would result in deeper grievances that are difficult to solve. For example, Chen Shengshao, who served successively in

Jianyang, Gutian, Xianyou, Zhao 'an, Shaowu and other places in Fujian during the reign of Daoguang, believed that local officials should learn how to "apply law according to local conditions" when dealing with civil disputes. In the face of Xianyou and Jianyang's frequent clan fighting, farmland litigation and grave litigation, Chen Shengshao did not use the state machinery to force the local powerful clans to dissolve, but "elected the patriarch to coordinate to solve the dispute". In the face of continuous fighting between Fujianese and Cantonese in Taiwan, he advocated "letting the local officials handle the dispute" and letting the local officials choose a person with family property, talent and reputation from Fujian and Guangdong to act as the "premier" who took corresponding measures according to the degree of dispute [44], etc.

Therefore, in the Qing dynasty, well-governed officials often paid great attention to the differences of customs and environment in Fujian province. For example, when Zhu Kejian governed Fujian in the early Qing dynasty, he carefully investigated the regional characteristics of Zhangzhou prefecture, Yanping prefecture, Tingzhou prefecture, Xinghua prefecture, Quanzhou prefecture and Fuzhou prefecture. He believed that as the provincial capital city with an important geographical location, Fuzhou's main defense was against bandits and pirates landing on the land and raiding people [45]; since Xinghua prefecture only managed two counties, pacifying the post-war defeat was the main task of the early Qing dynasty [46]; Zhangzhou prefecture should especially clear the interference of government officials in handling cases [47] and Yanping prefecture should strictly prohibit the homicide cases of false incrimination [48]. Another example was De Fu who also believed that prefectures in Fujian province have different customs during his governance of Fujian province. "As the provincial capital, Fuzhou has law-abiding people yet disputes over trivial could also emerge often; people in Funing have weak temperament and tend to do things more carefully; Xinghua, Yongchun and Yanping, Jianyang, Shaowu and other prefectures, has always been engaged in farming and thus have more tame folklore. Only Tingzhou prefecture, Zhangzhou prefecture, Quanzhou prefecture and Longyan state and other places like litigation and have tough people and the worst customs. Isolated from the land, the seawater surrounded Taiwan gets its residents mainly from Zhangzhou, Quanzhou, Huizhou and Chaozhou. They live together with local people, and there are also many fighting cases" [49]. With an accurate grasp of the characteristics of regional governance, officials could get twice the result with half the effort no matter they were dealing with litigation or government affairs.

V. CONCLUSION

It can be seen from the above analysis that although litigiousness was complained all over the country, the types and causes of litigation frequently occurred in all parts have certain regional characteristics. In order to deal with local government affairs effectively with half the effort, officials must understand the local characteristics and learn how to apply the law according to the local conditions.

REFERENCES

- [1] Records of Emperor Shizu Zhang, vol. 12, December 17, the first year of Shunzhi. (in Chinese)
- [2] Records of Emperor Gaozong Chun, vol. 150, Nov. 29, the fourth year of Emperor Qianlong. (in Chinese)
- [3] Records of Emperor Gaozong Chun, vol. 283, 30th day of the first month, the twelfth year of Emperor Qianlong. (in Chinese)
- [4] Records of Emperor Gaozong Chun, vol. 790, April 19, the 29th year of Emperor Qianlong. (in Chinese)
- [5] Records of Emperor Gaozong Chun, vol. 899, September 22, the 35 year of Emperor Qianlong. (in Chinese)
- [6] Records of Emperor Gaozong Chun, vol. 1,332, September 7, the 53rd year of Emperor Qianlong. (in Chinese)
- [7] Record of the Emperor Renzong Rui, vol. 181, June 6, the twelfth year of JiaQing. (in Chinese)
- [8] Qing History Draft, Vol. 393, Biography of Li Xingyuan. (in Chinese)
- [9] Cases of Fujian Province, Vol 27, "Prohibition on Litigiosity" in "Punishment Administration Cases I". (in Chinese)
- [10] Xu Zhongming, Du Jin. Empirical analysis and cultural interpretation of litigation ethos in the Qing dynasty, Tsinghua University Law Journal, 2007 (1). (in Chinese)
- [11] Hou Xinyi. Research on civil litigation in Jiangnan region of the Qing dynasty, Chinese Journal of Law, no.4, 2006. (in Chinese)
- [12] Sheng Kang. Royal Continuation of imperial classics, volume 111, "Handling of Legal Cases" in "Punishment Administration Cases IV -Prison Administration II". (in Chinese)
- [13] [In the reign of Daoguang Emperor of Qing dynasty] Newly Compiled Annals of Luoyuan County, volume 16, "Political Achievements". (in Chinese)
- [14] [In the reign of Guangxu Emperor of Qing dynasty] Annals of Zhangzhou Prefecture, volume 38, "Folk Customs". (in Chinese)
- [15] [In the reign of Guangxu Emperor of Qing dynasty] Annals of Zhangzhou Prefecture, volume 14, "Taxes and Corv  ". (in Chinese)
- [16] [In the reign of Kangxi Emperor of Qing dynasty] Annals of Zhao'an County, volume 3, "Local Political Affairs". (in Chinese)
- [17] According to Mr. Xu Zhongming's statistics on the volume of "Customs" in local Chronicles in Shanghai, Shandong and Guangdong in the Qing dynasty, farmland disputes in Shanghai and Shandong was the most typical, and false incrimination in Guangdong most typical. For details, see Xu Zhongming, Du Jin. Empirical analysis and cultural interpretation of litigation ethos in the Qing dynasty, Tsinghua University Law Journal, 2007 (1).
- [18] Liang Fangzhong. Statistics of household registration, land and land taxes in Chinese history, Zhonghua Book Company, 2008 edition, page 272. (in Chinese)
- [19] [In the reign of Kangxi Emperor of Qing dynasty] Annals of Zhangzhou Prefecture, volume 11, "Taxes and Corv  ". (in Chinese)
- [20] Zhao Shiyu. Water diversion: public resources and the power and symbol of rural society, Social Sciences in China, no.2, 2005. (in Chinese)
- [21] [In the reign of Qianlong Emperor of Qing dynasty] Annals of Quanzhou Prefecture, vol. 20, "Customs". (in Chinese)
- [22] [In the reign of Guangxu Emperor of Qing dynasty] Annals of Zhangzhou Prefecture, volume 38, "Folk Customs". (in Chinese)
- [23] [The Republic of China] Annals of Tong'an County. vol. 22, "Customs and Folklore". (in Chinese)
- [24] Compilation of Imperial Classics of the Qing Dynasty, vol. 23, "On the Governance of Armed Fight". (in Chinese)
- [25] (Taiwan) Memorials of Yongzheng Dynasty (series 14), Taipei Palace Museum, 1979, p. 717. (in Chinese)
- [26] Holy Teachings of Emperor Shizong of Qing Dynasty, volume 26, "Emphasis on Custom". (in Chinese)
- [27] Records of the Emperor Gaozong of the Qing dynasty, vol. 146, July of the sixth year of Emperor Qianlong. (in Chinese)
- [28] Pu Lin. Report on the draft disposition according to law on Zhao'an armed fight of Huang Han. etc. causing four deaths case, 29th day of the fourth lunar month in the 56th year of Qianlong, file number: 04-01-26-0011-011. (in Chinese)
- [29] [In the reign of Qianlong Emperor of Qing dynasty] Longxi County Annals volume 10, Custom. (in Chinese)
- [30] [The Republic of China] Annals of Nanjing County. Vol. 4, Geography II -Terroir". (in Chinese)
- [31] [The Republic of China] Annals of Yunxiao County. Vol. 4, Geography II -Terroir". (in Chinese)
- [32] [In the reign of Daoguang Emperor of Qing dynasty] "Annals of Longyan State", Vol. 7, "Customs". (in Chinese)
- [33] [In the reign of Daoguang Emperor of Qing dynasty] "Annals of Longyan State", Vol. 10, "Political Achievement". (in Chinese)
- [34] Cases of Fujian Province, Vol 27, "Prohibition on Suicide with Poisonous Herbs" in "Punishment Administration Cases I". (in Chinese)
- [35] [The Republic of China] Annals of Zhao'an County, volume 1 of the first part, "Astronomy". (in Chinese)
- [36] Chen Quanlun, Bi Kejuan, Lv Xiaodong, Ed. The Court Verdict of Xu Gong — the Trial Record of Xu Shilin, a Famous Official in the Qing Dynasty. Shandong Qilu Press, 2001. (in Chinese)
- [37] Cases of Fujian Province, Vol 27, "Prohibition on Suicide with Poisonous Herbs" in "Punishment Administration Cases I". (in Chinese)
- [38] Cases of Fujian Province, Vol 27, "Prohibition on Suicide with Poisonous Herbs for False Incrimination" in "Punishment Administration Cases II". (in Chinese)
- [39] [The Republic of China] Annals of Shanghang County, volume 20 of the first part, "Customs and Folklore I". (in Chinese)
- [40] Cases of Fujian Province, Vol 14, "Strict Prohibition on Grave Contention" in "Punishment Administration Cases II". (in Chinese)
- [41] Li Xiangkun, Collected Works of "A Memorial for My Brother". Quoted from Chen Haibin in his "A study on the folk custom of litigiosity in southern Jiangxi in the Qing dynasty, Journal of Jiaying University, no.9, 2014. (in Chinese)
- [42] [The Republic of China] Annals of Pingtan County. vol. 19, "Criminal Law Records". (in Chinese)
- [43] [Qing dynasty] Xie Jinluan, On the Administration of Quanzhou and Zhangzhou, "Armed Fight". (in Chinese)
- [44] [Qing dynasty] Chen Shengshao, "Record of Custom". (in Chinese)
- [45] [Qing dynasty] Zhu Kejian, Memorial of Comment on Fujian Province, volume 2, Memorial of the Condition of Fuzhou Prefecture. (in Chinese)
- [46] [Qing dynasty] Zhu Kejian, Memorial of Comment on Fujian Province, volume 2, Memorial of the Condition of Xinghua Prefecture. (in Chinese)
- [47] [Qing dynasty] Zhu Kejian, Memorial of Comment on Fujian Province, volume 2, Memorial of the Condition of Zhangzhou Prefecture. (in Chinese)
- [48] [Qing dynasty] Zhu Kejian, Memorial of Comment on Fujian Province, volume 2, Memorial of the Condition of Yanping Prefecture. (in Chinese)
- [49] [Qing dynasty] De Fu, Guideline of Administration in Fujian, middle part, "Folk Customs". (in Chinese)