Racism, religion and governmentality in China

the Muslim rebellion in the 19th century

Yuehua Dong

Field of study: Religion in Peace and Conflict
Level: Master
Credits: 30 credits
Supervisor: Mattias Gardell
Department of Theology
Uppsala University
Abstract:

This thesis consists of historical narratives on Muslim rebellion (1864-1877) in Xinjiang together with several parts of theoretical applications on racial-culturalism, nationalism, governmentality and further discussion on colonialism in the 19th century of China. By taking this 14 years’ historical event as a prototype, with analysis on historical archives, thesis has explored lots of issues which reflect ethnic conflicts on religion, racial-culturalism and governmentality on Xinjiang.

With discourse analysis as leading method in analyzing original archives, this thesis depicts racial notions as “shengfan (raw barbarian)”, “shufan (cooked barbarian)” as core opinions in rulers’ political colonial view, hence formed Chinese unification and national identity and even influenced on governmentality in Xinjiang in Qing dynasty. And this vigilance of Qing rulers came from a mixed political consideration which combined islamophobia with frontier security issues.

The results of the analysis indicate that there are three features from the events within the empiric materials’ analysis: there was strong evidence to present Qing rulers’ political discourse on ethnocentric view also with racial cultural superiority; the formation of Chinese nationalism was changed with enlarging territory; defects in Qing’s governmentality in Xinjiang became a blasting fuse which led to rebellion. By this researching conclusion, this paper provides more inspirations and indications on perspectives like cultural differences, Qing’s governmentality, frontier security and unification thought in rulers since ancient times. These will give more clues to understand ongoing conflict in modern China.

**Keyword:** racial culturalism, nationalism, governmentality, ethnocentric
1. Background introduction and topic framing
   1.1. Introduction
   1.2. Historical events as research scope
       1.2.1. Selected events in history as researching subjects
       1.2.2. Historical meanings of these events
   1.3. Themes of the research, questions and structure
       1.3.1. Themes and meanings of the research
       1.3.2. Researching questions are as below:
   1.4. Relevance and potential limitation of the study
       1.4.1. Relevance
       1.4.2. Delimitation and Theoretical frame
2. Method selection and literature review
   2.1. Methods and materials resources
       2.1.1. Discourse analysis on materials—realities of the rebellion
       2.1.2. Fictional interviews based on related figures
   2.2. Literature review on the previous studies
3. Uprising and rebellion in Tongzhi times
   3.1. Narrating the core of events
       3.1.1. Time to revenge—Discourse analysis on events
       3.1.2. Factors from China which lead to the revolt
       3.1.3. Situation before uprisings in Xinjiang
   3.2. Discussion on interviews
       3.2.1. Problematic situation as background
       3.2.2. The uprising and rebellion
       3.2.3. Hesitation of reconquering
4. Analysis on historical events
   4.1. Racism and violence in China in the 19th century
       4.1.1. Cultural violence triangle in Xinjiang
       4.1.2. Perceptions on racial issues and Qing rule
   4.2. Ethnic groups’ leaders in gambling game with the royal power
4.3. Racism in administration of the Qing government .................................................. 31
  4.3.1. Segregation policy in Qing rule in Xinjiang .................................................. 31
  4.3.2. Segregation on administration in Xinjiang .................................................. 32
  4.3.3. Cultural segregation—the key racial discrimination ........................................ 34
4.4. Discussion on segregation policy in Xinjiang ...................................................... 36
4.5. Nationalism and National identity ........................................................................ 39
  4.5.1. The changing borders with changing Chinese national identity ...................... 39
  4.5.2. The concept of “China” .................................................................................. 42
  4.5.3. Discussion on Qing dynasty’s national identification ...................................... 47
4.6. Governmentality in Xinjiang in the 19th century .................................................. 52
  4.6.1. Beg system and Segregation policy in Qing rule ............................................ 52
  4.6.2. Muslim state and its ruling structure—a mutant form of governmentality ....... 55
  4.6.3. The discussion on nationalism in governmentality ......................................... 56
  4.6.4. The Qing government’s ruling structure in Xinjiang ..................................... 61
4.7. Further discussion on colonialism and nationalism in Xinjiang ............................ 63
5. Conclusion ................................................................................................................... 67
1. **Background introduction and topic framing**

1.1. **Introduction**

Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, is an autonomous region in the northwest of China. It is the largest Chinese administrative division and shares borders with eight countries. It is also bordered, to the south, by Tibet. It is a home to a number of ethnic groups including the Uyghur, Han, Kazakhs, Tajiks, Hui, Kyrgyz, and Mongols. More than a dozen autonomous prefectures and counties for minorities are in Xinjiang. It has a documented history of at least 2,500 years and with a succession of peoples (tribes) and empires has taken control over all or parts of this territory. Several civilizations of Asia came across here and left long-lasting marks on the history of this area. Hence these brought a variety of changes on politics, social patterns, and cultures to this region. Before the 21st century, all or part of the region has been ruled or controlled by various states.

The Chinese part of central Asia, that is the Xinjiang-Uyghur Autonomous region, is divided into two unequal parts by Tianshan range: eastern Xinjiang which is mostly desert; and Zhungharia, which is a grassland steppe in the plains and mountain valleys. Around the mid-19th century, there were only one to two million people lived in this region.

1.2. **Historical events as research scope**

1.2.1. **Selected events in history as researching subjects**

After careful observations and considerations, I decide to build up my thesis’s study with scope on an earlier historical period in the 19th century, basically from 1864-1877, the events I select to researching theme are: The Muslim rebellion (1864-1877) in northwest of China and Qing government’s reconquest of Xinjiang (1876–1878).

This special period started with an enormous political upheaval that quickly swept the whole

---

1. Note: also can be spelled as “Zungharia”

2. Note: Under the Qing Dynasty China, its territory covered 10 per cent of the Earth’s land area and became one of the largest empires in history. (Map resource: https://year9historyjoestewart.wordpress.com/2014/09/12/the-physical-features-and-geographic/)
Xinjiang in 1864. And this revolt led to the establishment of an independent Muslim state ruled by Yaqub Beg\(^3\). This independent state ended up with Yaqub Beg’s death and the Qing government's conquest in 1877. This state had a special unique historical meaning for this region—this is the first time in history, the people of Eastern Turkestan (The east part) were united together to fight against government but the uprising was used by Yaqub Beg who founded a state which got recognition and support from the outside world—mainly from British and Russian. This period of autonomy in the 19\(^{th}\) century in Xinjiang also has become the inspiration for later new generation of nationalistic leaders in the 20\(^{th}\) century to seek their self-identity.

The Qing reconquest of Xinjiang (1876–1878A.D.) was the event when the Qing dynasty\(^4\) in China reconquered Xinjiang after the Dungan Revolt in the late 19th century. Qing’s ruling after they defeated Zhungar where East Turkestan was addressed by its regime which means northern Xinjiang now, had some positive function in maintaining and went on developing Zhungar’s agricultural reform\(^5\). After a century's Qing government’s ruling, Qing had met lots of potential and ongoing conflicts in lots of areas in China, like Taiping, the Nian, Shanbei (Northern Shanxi) Muslim revolt and so on. Taking advantage of this empire’s declining trend, with the support of the outside world, the Tajik adventurer Yakub Beg occupied almost all of Xinjiang during the revolt, but it was soon eventually defeated by the Qing General Zuo Zongtang (also known as General Tso). Furthermore, Qing government recovered the Gulja (Yining) region through a series of diplomatic negotiations with the Russian Empire and the Treaty of Saint Petersburg in 1881. Xinjiang was finally nominated as a province in 1884.

1.2.2. **Historical meanings of these events**

The Muslim rebellion and the foundation of an independent state had an enormous impact to China. Qing dynasty is the second ethnic origin regime in China also the last feudal empire in Chinese history and it had found the regime in 1644. And Xinjiang had been a large territory and free from Chinese governments’ rulings for a long time even before the establishment of Qing dynasty. There were intense debates over whether the empire should accept the loss of Xinjiang or pay full effort to regain this region in spite of huge financial burden may cost. Earlier historical

\(^3\) Note: the name of Yaqub Beg has also been spelt as Yakub Beg, Yakoob Beg (Boulger, 1878), or Ya’qūb Beg (Kim Hodong, 2004).

\(^4\) Note: Qing dynasty was from 1644-1912A.D.

\(^5\) Note: this reform included Qing soldiers worked in fields that were close to their garrisons, *Tuntian* in Chinese
precedent has told us: Xinjiang⁶, or East Turkestan had slipped from China during both the Han (206 B.C-220 A.D.) and Tang (618-907 A.D.) dynasties, the Ming dynasty had not shown so much intention to conquer this region also and actually it was Ming ruler shut down the Jia yu pass to Xinjiang.

While the Qing had shown concerns and paid lots of efforts on its territory and ethnic minorities’ relationship since they took the regime. The Qing also devoted much of its frontier military effort to ally with vast area of Mongolia, Tibet, and Manchuria. Meanwhile, the Qing had already been plagued by a series of pervasive rebellions in other areas of China such as the Taiping, the Nian, and Muslim in Shanxi-Gansu which is called Tong Zhi Muslim Revolt⁷, part of this group of rebellious power joined Yaqub Beg’s regime later and in Yunnan, as well as the intensive territorial and trade demands from the Western imperial powers since the Second Opium War (October 8, 1856 – October 18, 1860)⁸. After many debates, the Qing finally decided to carry on a policy to reconquest on Xinjiang. From territorial meaning and historical meaning, Xinjiang had played important strategic role hundreds of years ago, while the Qing had concerns that such a loss might furtherly lost its authority and power, they were afraid this loss of Xinjiang would lead to more unrest rebellions in China. In order to chase a better strategic successful situation on Xinjiang, the Qing officially took Xinjiang as a province of China and abolished the previous indirect rule called Beg system (Beg, this word was showing the distinctive influence on Xinjiang from Islamic world, as Arabic word “Emir”, as Persian “Mirza” and it may mix on the usage in central Asia. After Ming dynasty⁹, among those ethnic groups who settled down in Xinjiang and central Asia like Uyghur and Uzbeks, Beg was the name for local officials). And actually, these events lead to government’s institutional reforms together with massive colonization of the region by Han Chinese immigrants to reinforce this administrative change. Since then, Xinjiang has become an integral but “forgotten” part of China. The rebellion and its following sequences have very strong influential effect on successive Chinese governments’ policy making.

---

⁶ Note: Xinjiang was a name from Qianlong emperor after it was unified by him.
⁷ Note: Tong Zhi Muslim Revolt (1862-1877 A.D.)
⁸ Nick Holdstock, p8
⁹ Ming dynasty was from A. D1368–A. D1644
1.3. Themes of the research, questions and structure

1.3.1. Themes and meanings of the research

By this historical significance and present significance, I will explore themes as “racism, religion and governmentality in China in the 19th century” in my master thesis.

Though most of Chinese historical materials make comments on Muslim rebellion in Xinjiang as “anti-Qing’s rule” and it has no particular difference from rebellions in China at the same period. The Xinjiang rebellion in 1864 was a distinctive event comparing with Han Chinese rebels in other region of China, and even to rebellions which launched in Shaanxi province and Gansu province by ethnic Chinese Muslim (Hui Muslim). At least in the beginning, those who lived in Xinjiang regarded themselves as meaning-seeking in revitalize a living Islamic spirit that would return their land to the Dar al-Islam. Another different part is, the rebellion and its result—an emerge of the Islamic state in Xinjiang which got the recognition or support from outsiders—British and Russian. And these, if we explore more in depth would give us the clues or hints to even modern China’s ongoing conflicts in Xinjiang. The result of the rebellion ended up by the leader’s death but it was ended up by the Qing’s reconquest of Xinjiang—it was eventually defeated by the Qing General Zuo Zongtang (also known as General Tso)

1.3.2. Researching questions are as below:

1. How did the Qing’s public political discourse present, frame and understand the specific event—the Muslim rebellion? What made Qing finally decide to take action and reconquer Xinjiang? For example, historical figures from Qing dynasty, Zuo zongtang, Tongzhi emperor’s speech on official announcements in ancient Chinese.)

2. Was racism one of the main reason to lead to the rebellion? How did Qing rulers’ racial thoughts apply on ethnic groups and affect its governing? Can we find the similarities from Xinjiang's situation before the rebellion among other colonial nations in the world?

3. How did Yaqub Beg run the government and what was the structure of his administration and where were the changes on Xinjiang’s governmentality before and after the rebellion? How these political discourse and government’s institution reform relate to the official

Note: Fan Qing fu Ming (anti-Qing and restoration of Ming) was a slogan adopted by lots of intellectuals and officers or non-official organizations in later Ming dynasty and it was used from the establishment of Qing till Qing’s collapse. It has definitely no particular link with government’s administration but it was linked with narrow Chinese nationalism on ethnic group as rulers for China. Ming dynasty was ruling central China for 276 years (1368–1644), following the collapse of the Mongol-led Yuan dynasty.
ethnic harmony rhetoric in the 19th century?

These answers to these above questions form three main parts in Chapter 4 of my thesis, and each of chapters are furtherly subdivided into smaller sections. These questions will be answered through the following disposition: a background that introduces the field of study and previous research, followed by theoretical framework, methodology, analysis, discussion and conclusion. The historical research on Chinese central Asian remains inadequate compared to the other areas of studies. Some materials range over a wide variety of languages—Chinese, Uyghur, Ottoman Turkish, Persian, Russian, English, French and German—to provide us a various perspectives and levels of understanding. I would prefer have both historical materials from oversea and comparing with Chinese materials on the same events. By combining all possible solid facts from published materials, I hope to provide a study as an overall description that can serve as the basic for further analytic studies. And it is possible to utilize the limited materials in hand to do and analyze within the given time.

1.4. Relevance and potential limitation of the study

1.4.1. Relevance

Reviews of literature on history, religions, cultures and geographical features in minorities areas in modern China and other previous researchers’ views on religious issues and ethnic issues especially in these areas, are enormous. Here I only choose those related studies and primary resources like historic archives as my main supporting materials on ethnic groups which concentrated on this living area in the 19th century of China.

Besides primary resources, here I will present some important local historical sources as my secondary resources including Tarikhi āminiya by Mulla Musa Sayrami (1836-1917) in Chinese version, Holy war in China—the Muslim rebellion and state in Chinese central Asia by Hodong Kim, and the research on Dungan Revolt in Qing dynasty (1862–1877) by Wu wanshan, a history professor from Northwest University for Nationalities. I feel no shame to rely on their previous researches so that I can get to know the full view about this event from different levels. By these different levels and various understandings on these selected events, we get the more reliable facts which can cover the entire period from the beginning or earlier before the beginning of the rebellion to the reconquest of Xinjiang by Qing.

There are other historical works available but only in manuscript form. Some are preserved in museums and libraries in Russia, China, England and a few other countries. And some institutions
make source difficult for no matter foreign researchers or native people to get access to them, which can bring limitations to my study and the material selections of my study. In China, for example, the full research about this part of history is inadequate, and I have some primary materials including e-version of archives to obtain original information as discourses and resources. Despite these limitations, I would be able to show my assumptions by these comparative studies’ resources. Like on the same event, what language or discourse Chinese use to describe or present situations in that specific period. And according to these, my following part will talk about what methods I apply to work with these limited materials.

1.4.2. Delimitation and Theoretical frame

This thesis is based on analysis of one main historical event Muslim rebellion in Xinjiang together with several parts of theoretical applications on racial-culturalism, nationalism, governmentality and further discussion on colonialism.

Unrest conflicts and rebellion in western China among the Muslims (including Hui) since Qing’s foundation actually derived from the Qing rulers’ governing thought on racial-culturalism. But as an ethnic group itself, Manchurian adopted this earlier racial thinking from ancient Chinese views on an ethnocentric framework that stressed on social cultural differences. This kind of narrow-minded ethnic thought were dominant value which are based on “barbarian” (yi or fan). The function of walls on borders like Great wall in Beijing (it is called Ming wall) is to keep “outside barbarian” out, and to keep “inside barbarian” in in order to cultivate and assimilate them. Besides, the distinction on border as geographical reason to name ethnic groups from foreign countries. We also have “shengfan” (raw barbarian) as an interesting signifier on primitive and uncultivated ethnic groups. The shengfan, literally means “raw barbarians” as Weiyuan explained “wei liangshannei shengfan...duobuhuoshi (there are raw barbarians who eat without fire cooking only inside Liang mountain)”11 and the shufan, which means “cooked barbarians” those who were tamed and submissive. Names for ethnic groups and races were given by Han Chinese also can come from appearances to clothes, from religion to food habits. Those are hidden signifiers of ethnocentric culture and use by Chinese since Confucian times. Out of date, rude and rough but these were quite feasible in feudal society which last and pass down by generations in a preserved agricultural land.

After Qing conquered Xinjiang and merged its border with this Islamic land, though Xinjiang still kept cultural independent, the idea of unification is buried deeply in Chinese rulers from all

11 Weiyuan, Vol11
dynasties since ancient times. With Qing’s three emperors’ endeavors with their successive modified nationalism, Qing finally paved its way on territory security and formed Chinese nationalism to legitimate its ruling on frontiers. This kind of unifying nationalism is especially important in states that have a high level of ethnic diversity, like the United States and China. The Qing rulers began to identify their empire as China which was the first showed up in the 10th century with initial meaning as “central state,” we can see the boasting of ethnocentric superior from the re-adaptation of this word.

Following the influence of Confucianism Datong (harmonious world), Qing furtherly put emphasized on its governmentality in Xinjiang to stabilize and unify its frontier while isolated the potential threat from Xinjiang by segregation policy. And these came from a mixed political consideration which combined islamophobia with frontier security issues because of intermittent wars with Zhungar/Dzungar Khanate (A.D 1634-1758). One dimension of Qing’s governmentality was to set up strict segregation policy in Xinjiang, which could be regarded as an echo to racial-culturalism but also derived from islamophobia. Islamophobia is socially reproduced prejudices and aversion to Islam and Muslims, as well as actions and practices that attacks, excludes or discriminates people on the basis that they are or are presumed to be Muslims and associated with Islam. The forbidden policies on intermarriage, Chinese language learning, and separated living areas were all dominant evidences to show discrimination and aversion on local Muslim; the other dimension was about the reform of Beg system in Xinjiang after Qing set colonial regions as the form of Tuntian (military farming). Governmentality as Foucault elaborates it has several crucial features: governing involves the harnessing and organizing of energies in any body—individual, mass, international—that might otherwise be anarchic, self-destructive, or simply unproductive. After Qing unified Xinjiang, the ruler implemented a policy called “yin su er zhi (to govern by different customs)”, which meant to govern ethnic regions according to their local customs so that Qing could avoid conflicts which originated from culture differences and strengthen the centralization and reduced or even eliminate the centrifugal tendencies that might cause rebellion.

---

12 Mattias Gardell, p12 and my translation
13 Foucault, “Politics and Reason”
2. Method selection and literature review

2.1. Methods and materials resources

The methods I apply to work with the materials will apply discourse analysis and fictional interview as its derived method.

2.1.1. Discourse analysis on materials—realities of the rebellion

People’s capacity for describing their interior realities or external conditions cannot be taken for granted, something which Wittgenstein pointed out half a century ago\(^\text{14}\). And it is pretty obviously that what people say in interviews, in writing, or in their daily interactions, can differ from what they really think. The way language is used doesn't so much reflect the speaker's inner, subjective world. A discourse is a social act. The focus on discourse means a concern with “talk and texts as parts of social practices.”\(^\text{15}\) A comparative study on materials by discourse analysis which aims at mirroring extra linguistic reality by finding patterns in empirical material. Qualitative approaches are given on this application so that we may emphasize the relation between utterances and underlying meanings or actual conditions. A certain person’s utterances, for example Qing emperor’s statements or General Zuo’s speech in debating on reconquest. Discourse analysis can provide us the same phenomenon’s several different descriptions by studying conversations, statements and other linguistic expressions. And they become the context of the account. The DA provides us chance to know the situations from all sides’ understandings and descriptions on a social event in that period.

2.1.2. Fictional interviews based on related figures

Aside from discourse analysis based on materials, the part of study also comprises a visual component that allows participants to express themselves creatively and vividly. It is a good way as qualitative research dimension to collect information outside a fixed pattern of doing research. According to my previous study on minorities’ issues in Xinjiang in China in the course. I designed a series of interviews which consist of eight interviewees’ conversations with one interviewer as field study so that we could get a three dimensional vision on symbolic interviewees which may involve with conflict. The aim of my mini-interview project here is to sorting out sample representatives from different aspects in a sample conflict environment, to show to people a primary

\(^\text{14}\) Mats Alvesson and Kaj Sköldberg, P229

\(^\text{15}\) Mats Alvesson and Kaj Sköldberg, P229
situation in China about ethnics’ issues in Qing. Here I want to use figures’ speeches or articles which are related with events and form a kind of 3D virtual interview on related figures in that period. That is to say I wish to exhibit a miniature of a Chinese social environment in the 19th century to display ruling class, communities and ethnic groups’ social status and discourses. By collecting archives or contexts on historical events so that I may reveal and explore the discourse of race in China in the 19th century. Fictional interview can show ethnic/racial prejudice, civilian’s living condition, Han and Manchu relation and relations with other ethnic groups during Qing dynasty in China across national territory, and even regional boundaries. For example, question on if “racial thought” as a ruling opinion and race as lineage during the 19th century, it gave the projection of kinship lineage ideas upon entire societies, which associated with the reforms of the late 19th century in Qing rule. We might get some clues from a virtual interview.

Fictional interviews are some series activities from material selections to do discourse analysis. It may read like interview depict but with normal quoting from primary archives. The aim of doing a virtual interview will be to present archives from sorted historical figures separately. By questions’ selecting and interviewer’s inquiring during the “interview”, I will present the related information which can be good for readers to get to understand more from “direct scene”. Thus quotes from the interview are real quotes according to historical figures’ speech, article or their books. It may have their personal objective views which can actually reveal the hidden messages from conflicts. Those who are presented in interviews, they can express what they think and I would define this interview as another derived way of doing discourse analysis. Discourse analysis, as we have previously discussed, makes it possible to trace connections between the visible and the hidden, the dominant and the institutions which regulate our daily lives. What matters most should be the precise ideologies which are buried inside their speech, evaluation or judgment to current situation, or even in their callings and angels on event’s description. It makes people to see how archives work through language choice, political view, literature, this expanded emotions behind the conceptualized notions like (emperor and kingdom, royal family’s dilemma, financial awkwardness with reformist persistent, etc.)

Discussion on primary materials

Primary archives I have selected are listed as below with concise descriptions:

_Xinjiang Manchu archives compiled version_ was published by Guangxi normal university in

---

16 Loomba, p47
2012 with China’s First archives’ contributions. It mainly writes about a period after the Qin Dynasty unified Xinjiang and built their governing institutions in other parts of Xinjiang and how the central government exercised sovereignty over border areas. There are multi-purpose documents written in Manchu emperor to consult reporting, Manchu emperors also used to write the decree awarded to the officials concerned. Thus, files saved in Manchu and the time span of 250 years. Its content is extremely rich content which covers a wide range including officials’ nominations, military affairs, civil affairs, justice, religion, nationality, finance, agriculture, animal husbandry, mining, trade, money, education, culture, health, geography, transportation, transport, engineering, diplomatic and major historical events, etc. Tongzhi emperor’s interview material will quote from this archive.

Lin zexu’s *Detailed discussion on ethnic groups’ lives in southern Xinjiang* was written in 1845 when he was dispatched there, Lin had played an important role in first opium war as high officer who nominated by Tongzhi emperor from Qing government but Lin became a scapegoat later for the losses due to Chinese imperial politics. As a punishment, he was exiled to the remote Ili region in Xinjiang. So he was the first Chinese scholar to record several aspects of Muslim culture in Xinjiang. And the second part collection of Lin zexu, which is a full version as his documentary and his selected essays should be presented to our readers to get solid facts based on my translation from ancient Chinese on the book. Another famous intellectual called Wei yuan with his *Shenwu ji (A record of the military achievements of the Qing emperors)* in 1842 should be used as supporting facts from Wei yuan’s interview. The historical meaning is as same as two masterpieces of Lin.

*The veritable record of the Qianlong emperor* is a valuable history chronicle for recording this specific emperor’s deeds in his life. Almost each emperor had one book (somewhat like encyclopedia) to note down what he had done during his ruling period according to historian in that times. In this article is quoted a lot from primary archives of Kangxi emperor’s and Qianlong emperor’s veritable record. These kind of materials’ original versions can be found in China’s First archives in Beijing, but also are available in provincial or city owned libraries in the form of copy version.

As a crucial figure in reconquest of Xinjiang, General Zuo zongtang and his *A collected biography of Zuo zongtang, 6th memorial* from Yuelu press in Changsha and published in 2008 is no doubt to be a key proof to record what he said in his debate with his opponent Li hongzhang, including his preparation to reconquer Xinjiang together with his national defense strategy in dealing with border issues in a declined empire.
Second resources could be Tarikhi āminiya in Chinese version by Mullā Musa Sayramī (1836-1917), which is called Yimide history. There is one printed edition and several manuscripts. And Shen weibin, a professor from university in Shanghai with his book Zhengzhi nüqiangren CiXi (Powerful woman on politics: Empress Dowager Cixi) and published by East China Normal University Press in 2016 is a new interpretation on a queen from that chaotic time with her dilemma and confusing emotion in royal Qing family. By his quotation from archives and my translation, we could have a glimpse of the royal family’s inside power conflict which led to decision making of the country.

2.2. Literature review on the previous studies

The contemporary British and the Russian commentators certainly provide us with their helpful visions from their perspectives as “outsiders”, but they may consider themselves on a strong sense of cultural prejudice and superiority. The British author, D.C Boulger wrote the first published book in 1878, right after the end of the Muslim state. And this is still the only book in English to take the subject comprehensively. It covers about the Muslim rebellion in 1864, the building up of the Muslim state and its way to govern the state by Yaqub Beg, and the regime's foreign relations, and to collapse of the Muslim state in 1877. But this book according to Hodong Kim, “...is now badly outdated and marred by numerous factual mistakes, including stereotyped judgments that distort historical reality to a considerable degree.”

Some important local historical sources as I mentioned, including Chinese version of Tarikhi āminiya by Mullā Mūsa Sayrāmī (1836-1917), Holy war in China—the Muslim rebellion and state in Chinese central Asia by Hodong Kim, and Dungan Revolt in Qing dynasty (1862–1877) by Wu wanshan, a history professor from Northwest University for Nationalities are quite helpful in collection historic views based on same events.

According to some Chinese historian, the analysis and judgment are not always reliable and objective. Some incidents in the rebellion or series rebellions were related to the whole country’s situation in the 19th century—anti-Qing government’s rule. Some of the events may have no particular relation with ethnic relations define the rebellion as ethnic/racial massacre. Some events like genocide of Qianlong’s order on Zhungar, which was quite important to be an explanation for long-term turmoil of conflict was refused to mention so much. Actually, judgments and conclusions about the upheavals and rebellions in that period can be quite different from social background,

---

17 Hodong Kim, p. XV
time, ethnic group's participation, ranges, religions and ethnic relations. Based on academic and scientific recommendations from history study in China, *Dungan Revolt (1862–1877) in Qing dynasty* by Wu wanshan, researches of Prof. Ma changshou and Ma shouqian from universities in China. These historians’ researching results are more helpful and reliable for us to get access to facts and representative views from China on these events.

My thesis gets some inspirations partially from Dr Dikötter’s book. Dikötter argues that, although a “discourse of race” didn’t appear in China until the late 19th century, antecedents of racial thinking go back to the earliest period of “Chinese civilization.” And the emergence of race as “type” during the 19th century can be found more prominently when we examine the materials and history on the Muslim rebellion. That is the main reason why I want to reveal this factor by taking the upheaval society with concentrated conflicts and rebellion as examples.
3. Uprising and rebellion in Tongzhi times

3.1. Narrating the core of events

3.1.1. Time to revenge—Discourse analysis on events

Riots and conflicts happened many times in Xinjiang during Qing dynasty. After revolt of the Altishahr Khojas, the situation in Xinjiang (previously named as East Turkestan) had become stable. The Zhungars’ attempt to expand their state eastwards brought them into conflict with the Khalkas, another Mongolian people, who were close allies of the Qing (this division who became ally of Qing to conquer Beijing in Ming’s falling). Before Qianlong emperor, Qing was gradually experiencing uprising in politics and economy by ruling this new country. Previous Qing’s emperors (Kangxi, Yongzheng) were trying to make peace by signing contracts or keeping a lineage relation by accepting tributes from subordinated ethnic groups in order to maintain the stability of frontiers. Regional fighting was carried on over hundred times intermittently until mid-18th centuries, when the Qianlong emperor launch a huge army and won the war to Zhungar and gave a shortcut to deal with these repeating betrayal rebellions. Some people like Nick Holdstock believes Qianlong emperor committed genocide on Zhungars while we have solid proof in West Mongolian history on the emperor’s deed: “Qianlong developed a stable policy of appeasement and strictly implement in the march, which won the hearts of local people”, but the fact was that around a million Zhungars died as a result. “bi ying quanxing jiaomie, bude gengliu yunie (must kill them all without any leftover evil)” “cideng zeiren, duan buyi shaoshi guxi (this kind of evil thieves, we can’t let them go)” The emperor was determined to remove potential threat “evil (zei)“ from the border frontier for it was disturbing indeed by long-term peace making with ethnic groups and betrayed by rising new political powers from them whom lived on the frontiers. But Qing intended not to expand its territory further because of high cost even though Qing’s relatively high GDP at that time.

3.1.2. Factors from China which lead to the revolt

The basic simple factor which contributed the revolt were: the weakness part of the Qing rule in Xinjiang in the 19th century after Opium war. The emperor was Tongzhi. The other regional

---

18 Nick Holdstock, p19
19 Qing gaozong shilu, vol.464 and my translation on archives
20 Note: Zei means thief literally, but when mentions intruders, Chinese would address them as evils from outside world.
regime’s uprising and their increasing demand on resources and politics position changed the whole situation in China before the revolt. In a description from one Qing official claimed “If the officials in Kashgharia are, so to speak, shepherds, the Muslim are sheep, Khoquad is a wolf and the Qirghiz, surrounding us, are like dogs. In the sixth (1826) and the tenth (1830) years of Daoguang, Khoquad invaded the frontier again, and the dogs, following the wolf, also devoured our sheep. Therefore, even the barking of the dogs is hard to trust22. There were signifiers in his description “dogs”, “sheep” and “wolf”, which referred to Kashgharia, the Muslim in Xinjiang and Khoquad, these vivid metaphors made the situation clear for us. Discourse operates above the level of grammar and semantics to “capture what happens when these language forms are played out in different social, political and cultural arenas23”. There were intense relations between borders of China and outside forces in later Qing dynasty.

Another factor can be from Qing rule which declined the later part of the 19th century: internal corruption like selling and buying the Beg titles in Xinjiang (for example, an official named Nayanceng24) and various unjust official exploitation on local people. Military defense faced the lack of fund and went weaker in arm force in defending against external invasions and internal revolts.

Here one should be addressed as the main direct reason of the revolt: the resentment against Qing from raising tax and auction official positions. The lack of finances had become hindrance for Qing military effectiveness that included lack of discipline, low morale, and deficiencies then the troops. “The Manchus, having lived quietly in cities for a hundred years, lost all their militancy and were physically weakened so much that they could not even pull the bows; ...Manchu officials neglected teaching soldiers how to use the bows. They dressed fashionably and led a debauched life.... On the top of these, the soldiers were starving since there was no food in Huiyuan Cheng (city). The horses were same starving...they could not gallop in deep snow. The Taranchis and the Tungans caught the Manchus stuck in snow and killed them.25” Related detailed map of Xinjiang is

---

21 Years are named by the emperor at that time. Daoguang emperor was before Tongzhi emperor.
22 This remark of Pichang who defended Yarkand during the invasion of Yusuf, was quoted in Wei Yuan’s Shengwuji, vol. 1, p.196-97
23 Simpson and Mayr, 2010:5
24 See also Kim, p26
25 Note 190 of Chapter one by Hodong Kim, p225
Lipman writes about this period from 1850s and 1860s, “Corruption and official malfeasance, overwhelming taxation, neglect of the military, and confiscation of food supplies by local troops continued to plague both Muslim and non-Muslim residents of Shaanxi and Gansu.” The officials didn’t care for the soldiers and that’s another reason for the fast spreading revolt which was quite successful all the way—the Manchus soldiers were reluctant to fight against the rebellion.

One thing needs to be noticed here as the lead of revolt—a rumor which spread that the governor was planning to genocide all the Hui in Xinjiang to prevent them from rebelling. The edict of Tongzhi Emperor, is needed to be mentioned here as its confirmation that there was such a rumor


27 Lipman 1997, p119

28 Hodong Kim, P4
which was widespread:

_The present disturbance by Muslim rebels in all parts of Xinjiang is lunched by absurd stories which fabricated by cunning people who fled from the interior region...by doubting their intentions and loyalties, after having spread a rumor that the Muslim would be killed and this scared them and made them join._

So when the Muslim in Kucha (Kuqa) heard the “news” from the Tungans, they had risen in uprisings and been against the emperor of China.

About where this Hui Muslim’s rumor came from, according to Chinese historians, the conflict was described as a “righteous uprising of peasants” fought against the “exploitative Qing ruling classes,” to fight against heavy taxes that the Qing exposed in Shanxi and Gansu provinces. A large portion of these taxes went to support the imperial armies’ battles against the Taiping militants. Civilian’s life was cornered and miserable, according to a Gansu gazetteer from the period stated that economic conditions were so bad “the people cried together, and considered it a blessing if they died young.”

3.1.3. Situation before uprisings in Xinjiang

In order to reconstruct the historical events and situations, I would form a virtual interview with some related figures during this period by my own translation according to Chinese archives. Here I “interview” Tongzhi emperor (1856-1875), Lin zexu (Qing official who had forceful opposed to the opium trade, which became a primary catalyst for the First Opium War (1848), Weiyuan (scholar in Qing dynasty, author of Shenwuj), Zuo zongtang (famous general and officer who contributed in Shangan Hui revolt and Xinjiang in Qing dynasty), and Mulla Musa ---local Muslim scholar and He was also the author of Tārīkh-i amniyya (“History of Peace”).

**Interview 1 Tongzhi emperor** (27 April 1856 – 12 January 1875)

**Question 1. Can you tell me something about border issues when you were the emperor in**

---

29 Wu, p286; Daqing lichao shilu, Tongzhi-3-8-guisi and my translation
30 Ma 1993,17; Li and Yu 1988,157,179; Shao and Han 1992,21,25,27,30,158-160 and my translation
31 Li and Yu, p157,1988; Shao and Han, p160,1992 and my translation
32 Kim 2004, p265-6
Tongzhi: I wanted to be a good emperor like my great grand grandfather Qianlong, that’s why I tried many westernized movements in politics to perform the reform. But I was in a wrong era, I also had to listen to that woman (Empress Dowager Cixi (1861–1889 and 1898–1908), you know who I am talking to, Cixi....but anyway, I tell you what I met. Our great Qing were no longer strong after the Opium war and Russian took this chance to broaden their border in Xinjiang. They didn’t bide the previous treaty and launched army even move people in Xinjiang. Secretly, fast and continuously...they force us to sign Treaty of Kulja (modern Yining) in September of 1851 so that these white barbarians/ghosts (bai gui) can do business in a wider range on border with duty free trade. They wanted to protect their merchants’ benefits in Xinjiang...then later they became more crazily in invading us and occupied Almaty and other areas which belongs to China. So called activities they had as “expedition”, “delegation”, all were illegal and it made ethnic groups annoyed even burnt their trading circle. But you know, I had no choice, I wanted to make peace by being soft. And later in April of 1858, they proposed to redistribute west borders and blackmailed us even threaten us in negotiations, there came Treaty of Tarbagatai. By this agreement, Russia gained about 350,000 square miles of territory at the expense of Chinese Xinjiang, and Lake Balkhash went from lying on the border to being entirely surrounded by Russia. I have two good officials who argue a lot on Xinjiang’s border issues on court, they are Zuo zongtang and Li hongzhang, I had been hesitating for a time to decide who I should listen to, but we did have lots of threatens from Japan, Russia and so on... I feel humble to meet my ancestors in heaven for I didn’t manage to govern this state well...

Question 2. Can you tell me what Uyghur’s situation is in Xinjiang during your time?

Tongzhi: Do you mean Hui jiang (Hui territory)? Oh, southern Xinjiang was always a problem, being attacked or harassed by other tribes from Kokand, we had to send army to crush them for peace. But they were very disturbing and annoying, it was not good for local’s economic growth.

Interview question: How did people in Xinjiang live according to your experience in later Qing dynasty? What do you think of the threats to Qing court?

Interviewee 2 and 3: Weiyuan and Lin zexu---they were both important Han officials in Qing

33 Xinjiang Manchu archives compiled version, p246 and my translation based on archives

34 Sha’e zai zhongyaxiya de jinzhan (the developing process of Russia in central Asia), vol 12, p640 and my translation

35 Wu shanyi, p177 and my translation on archive
court and they were good friends.

**Lin:** I was in Xinjiang from 1844 to 1845, it was very tough to live there for all ethnic groups. I wrote essays to the court: Zhanan road, eight cities, Muslim people are suffering and struggling to make a living there, I can’t see any people cooking on my road and they only take some cold food to supply themselves during the day. If there are some ripe fruits, they will take them to prevent from being hungry. They wear shabby clothes and walk with bare feet no matter it is summer or winter. And these kind of poor Muslims also have to pay all kind of taxes to local Beg. (cha’nanlu bachang huizi shengji duoshu jiannan, yantu weijian chuiyan, jinyi lengbing liangsanmei duyiri, yuyou sangshenguago chengshu, ji quyichongji. Qiyifu lanlvzhedu, wulun hanshu, shuaijie chizu benzou. Fangwen cideng qionghui, shangbei gaiguankan boke zhuibi yingchao gexiang puerqianwen.)

I would define Russian barbarian as a powerful threat to our frontier, they design well and are ambitious in swallowing our borders while British barbarian would attack China from the waters but with our tight defense, it should be fine; Russian can take our frontier from Yunnan in the south because of connected region, it is hard to defense and would be a potential problem (yu guan egu shiliqiangda, duoguihuabuzhi, zhishibuxiao.Yingyi you haidao fanzhongguoshinan, dan shanshouhaikou, zewuruwohe! E yi zebaowo bianjiang, nan keyou dianru, luluxiangtong, fangbushengfang, jianglai biyou dahanu)

**Weiyuan:** I have some similar things to say on Beg’s administration in Xinjiang. It is darkness in political situation. Local Begs increasingly distribute and charge people high taxes in the name of supplying the Qing officials, they ask for everything as supply like native products, furs and textiles, gold and jade, silk and cloth, taxes beyond taxes, they can name what they want to take...they just give out two tenths to imperial agent. They get more and it diverse from city to city, and General Ili is far away without evidences to check them out. It is worse in the area outside the pass, they ask for more including Muslim women, and slave people there. Local Muslim has buried hatred inside for a long time. (Boke jie gongguanweiming, lianpai huihu, rizengyueshen...tuchan, zhanqiu, jinyu, duanbu, fuwai zhifu, xusuochengshi, jiezhangjing, Boke fenfei, er yi shifenzhier feng banshidachen. Gecheng buxiangtongshu, you ju yilijiangjun yaoyuan, chiujujia, weifuzichu, er kouwaizhufang

---

36 Note: Lin had played an important role in first opium war but Lin became a scapegoat for the losses due to Chinese imperial politics. As a punishment, he was exiled to the remote Ili region in Xinjiang. His position was given to Qishan in September 1840. So he was the first Chinese scholar to record several aspects of Muslim culture in Xinjiang.

37 Primary source: Lin zexu,1845; Secondary source: Zhengzhongli liujingyuan, p1-6 and my translation

38 Linzexu ji xiace, zougao juan shiyi, p982 (The collection of Linzexu, vol.11 of memorials, p982) and my translation
Interviewee 4: Local Muslim Mulla Musa: Before the rebellion, we can’t stand any further. As time goes by, all kind of agents and officials come, same with violence events. Ordinary people cannot bear anymore and report to government officer, but the written complaint will return back and it brings more severe devastated consequences, those who are innocent will beat to death or nail on the wall. Those officials can do anything against reason and nature without thinking of having mercy on ordinary people and being loyal to the country. Only money, only for the money spend on buying titles or officials, matters most. ...they are secretly digging just like digging the root of the tree to destroy the land of Great Khan (Qing emperor). Those upright and integrity Beg were force to resign and retreat to live in lanes nameless, being forgotten by people. Ordinary people are forced to be homeless but the whip of tax demanding is waving above our heads, lots of people lost their family and kids under this merciless whip and go to other places outside hometown. How many people are suffering by lives like this and use a cup of water or a rope to finish their lives! People’s tears become river...we have to fight... (tamen xiangdou meiyou xiangguo lianmin baixing, zhongxin baoguo. Zhiyou qian, naxie wei maiguan huadiao de qian, caishi tamen zuiguanshin de dongxi. .... tamen xiang washugen yiyang an’andi huihuai zhuo weida kehade tianxia. Naxie zhengzhi lianjie de boke wanggongme beibixiai, tuijuyu jietou xiangwei, beirenmen manmandi yiwangle. Shuminmen beipo qingjiadangchan, keshi cuishui de bianze rengrang huiwuzai toushang, duoshaorenjia zai wuqing de bianzi xia qilizisan, lixiangbeijing, duoshaoren kuyushenghuo, yong yibeishui huo yigensheng jieshule ziji de yisheng! Renmende yanlei liuchengle he......)

Why do Qing govenment reconquest Xinjiang even it had limited finance in preparation?

Interviewee 5 General Zuo zongtang: We had a great policy debate over the Haifan (maritime defense) and Saifang (frontier defense) in 1875, and my opponent was Li Hongzhang, Li daren (respect title when mention higher officer) proposed to reduce the army in the west and to save and transfer the savings to maritime defense because he thought the main threaten of national security...
was from Japan...and it wasted lots of expense on guarding border vigilantly and use his soldiers for tuntian (military farming). I wrote a memorial on 12th April, 1875 to emperor to explain that the prime goal of the maritime was for trading profits but not the territory of China and its people, Xinjiang was our gate to central Asia and it linked to security of Mongolia and essential to security of Peking (Beijing). If we didn’t do anything and lost our frontier, it would be a shame to civilian and the state or even to previous great emperors’ endeavor. We also have invested a lot in Xinjiang for over one hundred years in conquering and guarding the border there.

3.2. Discussion on interviews

3.2.1. Problematic situation as background

From the above related figures virtual conversation with interviewer, we can get some basic factors as analysis of the background of the rebellion:

Opium War opened the door to China, the Western powers continued to erode throughout China's southeast coastal areas to establish colonial base, and forces gradually penetrated into the Yangtze River region and further expanded to the mainland. Meanwhile, as the Western powers invaded other Asian countries, this intensified trend also went to China’s border areas, especially in the northwest frontier region. 1870s, 80s, Northwest frontier regions in China had presented a dangerous situation. Ethnic separatists in the northwest frontier battled with each other in a chaos.

To guard national unity, Qing Dynasty finally made a decision by sending military forces to the

---

42. Qinding Pingding Shan-Gan Xinjiang huifei bangui, q.137,18r-20v and my translation

43. Zuo wenxianggong quanji (Zuo gao), q.46,32r-41r and my translation
Northwest to suppress the revolt and riots. Imperialists used ethnic separatists, obstruct and even interfered with the Qing government’s counter-insurgency activities. When it came to their colonial interests, they even could launch a military aggression and brought endless turmoil in Northwest China. The map\textsuperscript{44} above shows the full area of Qing control established in the early years of the empire, it nearly matched the vast territories of the Mongol dynasty. The green dotted area became effectively independent during late Qing times, while the brown dotted area was lost to foreign countries. Nepal and Burma were lost to Britain. Vietnam and Laos were taken into French Indo-China. As a result of two wars with Japan, China lost suzerainty over Korea and then Manchuria\textsuperscript{45}.

The first half of the 19th century, Russia desperately attempted to have their colonial expansion eastward to occupy central Asia, by taking control of Xinjiang to enter South Asia; the United Kingdom placed India as a base to plot its infiltration of the Xinjiang to become Britain’s commodity markets and raw materials, and through Xinjiang as a springboard to compete with Russia in Central Asia. Located in the northwest border of Xinjiang, its position has become increasingly important for both Britain and Russia as their key to central Asia. As the emperor in interview offered description “these white barbarians/ghosts can do business in a wider range on border with duty free trade. They wanted to protect their merchants’ benefits in Xinjiang...then later they became more crazily in invading us and occupied Almaty and other areas which belongs to China”.

This tide of resistance to Qing rule began in 1860s, just because of the background above. The Qing dynasty had been economically and militarily weakened by fighting the Opium Wars against foreign powers in eastern China. Just because the payments to colonists from Opium Wars according to those treaties, less funding for the Xinjiang authorities to maintain the governance, together with raising local taxes and selling official titles, those misrule and financial hardship create the uprising anti-Qing rule conflicts in the region\textsuperscript{46}.

3.2.2. **The uprising and rebellion**

The uprisings almost removed the Qing’s administrative unity in Xinjiang and once again a series of cities had been ruled by local Turkic elites. The main reason of Muslim’s uprising was tyranny administration of Qing. Qing nominated Ili General to govern Xinjiang and left local people there helpless. From Mulla’s description, we can see civilians there were suffering and hoping Qing

\textsuperscript{44} Source: map is from *A Map History of Modern China*, Catchpole, Heinemann (1976), p12

\textsuperscript{45} http://www.chinasage.info/dynastyqing.htm

\textsuperscript{46} Nick Holdstock, P24
court could do something but no one cared or were informed. “Ordinary people cannot bear anymore and report to government officer, but the written complaint will return back and it brings more severe devastated consequences”, this bloody consequences and people’s suppressed anger together with heavy tax finally led to uprising in Xinjiang, but later when the uprising was promising, in 1865 Kyrgyz forces took advantage of this chaotic time and invaded from the west, and quickly took Kashgar. The leading commander, Yaqub Beq, who led a force of Andijanis (present-day Uzbekistan), took control of the city and later conquered the rest of the region, with the exception of the Ili valley, which was under Russian control. He found a state which was short-lived by his unpopular rule.

3.2.3. Hesitation of reconquering

The Qing had made major investment in this region for hundreds of years, no matter it was before and after the rebellion. According to Tongzhi’s interview, in 1875, after the rebellion and uprising existed for a time. There were two kinds of views in Qing court about reconquering Xinjiang: Hai fang (naval defense) and Sai fang (frontier defense) some thought it wasn’t worth the expense.

Li Hongzhang, the leading person in self-strengthening movement in 1860s also with a higher official title of the Qing court, argued that Xinjiang was ‘useless’ as it had so few resources, and it would be better if the empire’s invested limited finances on naval defense (haifang)—“Jiang tingche zhixiang, ji junzuo haifang zhixiang”47 and let Yaqub Beg’s state be and make him as tribute local regime to Qing because Russian was tougher than his imagined enemy Japan at that time. While his opponent General Zuo zongtang, who argued that Xinjiang couldn’t slip to Russia, which was worth to keep Xinjiang as a buffer zone. “zi che fanli, ze wo tuicun er kou jinchi (if we remove our forts there in Xinjiang, we give up one inch in our frontier they who are our enemies will move in for inches)” If Qing lost Xinjiang without fighting back, once enemies invade they lost their natural barrier to defense and it was quite ashamed (chi) to lose the frontier without giving civilian a proper explanation, and it would lead to the collapse of naval defense also. His plans were approved by Empress Dowager Cixi and he was nominated as imperial commissioner and launched army to Xinjiang but with the expense he raised by himself.

47 Zuo zongtang, P178 and my translation
4. Analysis on historical events

4.1. Racism and violence in China in the 19th century

4.1.1. Cultural violence triangle in Xinjiang

Violence from the perspective of the receiver, if there is a sender, an actor who intends these consequences of violence, then we name it as direct violence; if not, about indirect or structural violence. Indirect violence comes from the social structure itself. Misery is one form of suffering, where is violence somewhere\(^{48}\). Before the rebellion of Muslim, civilians in Xinjiang had experienced long time suffering, two major forms of outer structural violence are well known from politics---Qing rule and economics: repression and exploitation. And behind all of this is cultural violence: from religion and ideology, in language and art. Xinjiang had become a miserable place for local people there and same to people in other regions in China in the ruling of declined Qing government. The rebellions had their background in these conditions.

What Qing government’s deeds formulated the definite outcomes — conflict and rebellion in western China among the Muslims (including Hui). But the ruler’s governing thought had played an initiative role in a deeper sense.

4.1.2. Perceptions on racial issues and Qing rule

4.1.2.1. “Interesting” names from clothes to food-from trifle divergence to bloody conflict

Han Chinese perception of race remained and embedded in an ethnocentric framework that stressed on social cultural differences. A kind of narrow-minded ethnic thought which are based on “outside barbarian” in opposite to “inside barbarian”. Besides, the distinction on border as geographical reason to name ethnic groups from foreign countries. We also have “shengfan” (raw barbarian) as an interesting signifier on primitive and uncultivated ethnic groups.

This embedded thought comes from ancient food custom (it doesn’t matter if ethnic groups are having raw food or not), there were times people having raw food and later gradually adopted cooking way. Food was a social signifier in ancient China. It contributed to the symbolic differentiation between social groups and circumscribed cultural identity. Table habits expressed degrees of cultural alienation. In most civilizations, the main distinction was between raw and cooked food. The transforming power of fire was a symbols of culture. There were two categories

\(^{48}\) Johan Galtung p2
of barbarians lived in China by Chinese notion. The shengfan, literally means “raw barbarians” and the shufan, which means “cooked barbarians”—those who were tamed and submissive. By taking Li in Hainan (an island in China) as an example, they had raw barbarians who was called wild Li and lived in dark forests of the center of island which was far from the civilized influence of the Han Chinese; while other cooked barbarian Li lived on the coastal area of the island and enjoyed the cultivation from Chinese civilization⁴⁹.

Names for minorities were given by Han Chinese also can come from appearances and clothes. In Qing dynasty or it may be from earlier age, the labels to ethnic groups can reflect the prejudice and cultural superior from the rulers. In lots of historical texts, like Pak chiwŏn’s Chosŏn yŏnhaengnok (journey to Beijing), through his eyes, ethnic groups were depicted by him in a horrible way (what he depicted were based on Chinese thought on race):

_The Tibetans (Sŏban, Xifan 西番 in Chinese) were even more frightening and uglier. If they are in a group they looked wild and tough and instilled fear in strangers’ mind; the Muslims in Xinjiang (Hojea, Huizi 回子 in Chinese) are descendants of the ancient Uyghurs (Hoehŭl, Huigu 回鶻 in Chinese) and seemed yet wilder and more savage; the Tusi (土司) were not very different from the Tibetans or Uyghurs in their physical vigor..._

The term “racism” is often used in a loose and unreflective way to describe hostile or negative feelings of one ethnic group or “people” toward another and the actions resulting from such attitudes. But sometimes the antipathy of one group-centered prejudice and snobbery that seem to constitute an almost universal human failing⁵⁰. And differences were “noted” within each group as well, like the distinctions in Li in Hainan, this had similarity with Columbus distinguished between “canibales” and “indios”—the former were represented as violent and brutish (like Chinese raw barbarian) and the latter as gentle and civil⁵¹. (See Chinese cooked barbarian.)

These kind of sayings which mingled with ethical and ethnic categories are embedded even in ordinary people’s mind and can cause conceptual difficulties for people’s acceptance in different races, this difficulty in understanding each other especially will show up when daily conflict comes, it is usually trifle thing with few words (like the origin of Guangdong Shaoguan’s bloody conflict in 2009), then words are used to show negative feelings, so comes fury which is buried in both groups.

---

⁴⁹ Frank Dikötter, p9
⁵⁰ George M. Fredrickson, p1
⁵¹ Loomba, p109
Where is this fury and negative feelings from? Living and being transplanted by these words’ usages for over hundreds or even thousands of years, words for skin color, languages’ discrimination, regional priority, etc. How can we say Chinese didn’t have prejudice and ethnocentric emotions on ethnic groups? We would furtherly explore these questions which has existed for a long time.

4.1.2.2. The interaction between the ruler and ethnic groups

Despite military conquest in conquering inside barbarian. All dynasties’ ruler considered a kind of collective concept—cultural universalism. Widely accepted thought is believed that the world was named “great community”\(^{52}\) (datong): the ruling elite, dominated by the assumption of its cultural superiority, and any kind of cultural pluralism should be subordinated under this precondition, those who didn’t follow Chinese way can be interpreted as “barbarians”. That is to say, the concept of barbarians and Xia (Huaxia, means Han Chinese) is the basic foundation and yardstick for those ruling classes. This may not be a distinctive view in racial thought but we can see a trend of potential racial thought by emphasizing superior culture. A theory of “by using Chinese ways to transform the barbarians”—come and transform (laihua)\(^ {53}\). Rulers insisted on unification for the state and acknowledged inner barbarians and Chinese were one family but with differences and also had lower and upper positions. But the interaction also could be changed on cultural factors. The main duty for central dynasties in ancient China was to transform and cultivate those marginal “barbarians” into devoted subjects of Tianchao (heavenly kingdom) instead of applying forces to conquer the regions and kill them off. That’s why rulers from central imperial court had contradictory minds: one hand, to fulfill the aim to maintain benefits for ruling class and realize the unification situation for the country, those as rulers should keep a form of liege relationship in a gentle way, which meant to never give up the frontiers, we can see these from tribute system, the political meaning of paying tribute to an imperial court lies in to insure the subordinate position of being ruled class and to make sure their loyalties to central imperial court; while on the other hand, the rulers always had vigilance and distrust on ethnic groups because of geographical barriers and differences in cultural modes\(^ {54}\).

As a general rule, the ruling class would tend to apply limited regional autonomy on the

\(^{52}\) One of the concepts from Confucius in Spring and Autumn period (722–481 BC)

\(^{53}\) Frank Dikötter1992, p12

\(^{54}\) Xu dipeng, p129 and my translation
frontiers as long as there were no threats to the regime. That is how these terms come “yinsu erzhi (to govern bases on different customs)”, “zhengjiao fenli (to separate politics from religion)”, “fen er zhizhi (Separated ruling)”, Qing ruler issued Regulation of Xinjiang (Huijiang zelie,1814) which manifested their principles on Muslim in Xinjiang in a classic and official way, just followed by these key notes.

4.2. Ethnic groups’ leaders in gambling game with the royal power

As for ethnic groups, their intentions were basically divided into two: to maintain their national social systems and living styles, leeching on to central regimes; the admiration and recognition to the Chinese culture may lead ethnic groups’ rulers get closer to Han Chinese so that they can try to apply Xia (Han Chinese culture) to transform barbarians’ thoughts. When central courts went declined in ruling powers, stronger ethnic group from marginal zones would choose a chance to invade the inner-land so that they could have possibilities to become the successive central royal power. The influences from central courts to ethnic groups can be concluded as: assimilation in culture—it was believed by ruler from central court that barbarian could be culturally absorbed, to become Chinese. So they adopted ways like conferring titles of nobility on ethnic groups’ rulers and elites to encourage them to study Chinese culture in order to let them adopt a way to civilize themselves; central coordination from the central regime may also use for nominating leaders, rulers or elites from ethnic groups as local officers to directly manage local civil affairs, while central court would play an indirect role as osmosis. That is called “royal power stops at counties (Huang quan zhiyu xian)\(^55\): beneath this structure of ruling, upper class as rulers in ethnic groups had close relations and interactions with royal court, but large majority from lower class in ethnic groups only got close link with rulers from their own groups, and kept distance with central courts. That’s why ordinary civilians would have no idea on central royal court, central regime, nation and other related concepts. For those ethnic groups’ rulers, they considered their relation with central courts as gambling relations: they were obedient officers and subjects when central power was strong, while they could be chaotic resources and rebellists when central power war weak. Ethnic groups that conquered and ruled China include the Jin (1115-1234), the Mongols (1280-1368) and the Manchus (1644-1911), they all followed patterns as we discuss above. But there was something a bit different needed to be noticed in Xinjiang on ethnic assimilation:

\(^{55}\) Yangshu and Caowei and my translation
4.3. **Racism in administration of the Qing government**

In Chinese history, the feudal ruling group prefer to address uncivilized and semi-civilized area as “huawei zhidi (enclaves beyond civilization)” and local residents called “Fan (barbarians)”. By taking Taiwanese as example, the local residents of Taiwan agricultural society who live in the mountains called “shengfan (raw barbarian/savage)” or “yefan (wild barbarian/savage)”; to those who live in the plains called” cooked barbarian ”or” tufan (aborigine)”\(^{56}\). Qing rulers inherited and maintained this discourse of discrimination and furtherly conveyed this idea in public rule: *shanru fan jie zhe zhan*\(^{57}\)(to those who transpass willingly into barbarian borders: chop-off the heads!).

“What are the distinguishing features of an overtly racist regime that would distinguish it from the general run of ethnically pluralistic societies in which racial prejudice contributes significantly to social stratification? First, there is an official ideology that is explicitly racist. Second, this sense of radical difference and alienation is most clearly and dramatically expressed in laws forbidding interracial marriage. Third, social segregation is mandated by law and not merely the product of custom or private acts of discrimination that are tolerated by the state. Fourth, to the extent that the policy is formally holding public office or even exercising the franchise. Fifth, the access that they have to resources and economic opportunities is so limited that most of those in the stigmatized category are either kept in poverty or deliberately impoverished.\(^{58}\) This ideal type of an “overtly racist regime” applies quite well to the Qing rule in Xinjiang.

4.3.1. **Segregation policy in Qing rule in Xinjiang**

After Qing’s armies entered Shanhai pass in 1644, shortly after the conquest of the central plains, the troops marched to the west, began a series of military action on unifying Xinjiang. After the Kangxi emperor, Yongzheng emperor and Qianlong emperor, these three successive emperors’ endeavors, Qing had conquered Zhunghar and Hui and unified Xinjiang Tianshan Mountains in 1759. After the Qing Dynasty unified Xinjiang, from military, administration, economy, culture and other aspects, Qing took a series of measures to strengthen its domination in the region and imposed strict segregation system in the region at the same time.

Here we can see a key emotion behind these severe rules in Qing rule, that is xenophobia—a term invented by the ancient Greeks to describe a reflexive feelings of hostility to the stranger or

---

\(^{56}\) Dengbiquan, p95 and my translation

\(^{57}\) DaQing lü lie, Guan lü (regulations on pass), 220 and my translation

\(^{58}\) George M. Fredrickson, p100
other. It may be a starting point upon which racism can be structured, but it is not the thing itself\textsuperscript{59}. After years of fighting, emperors knew quite well how tough and devastated frontier’s problem could be and they would like to ensure this problem could be under controlled. Sever rules in Xinjiang is perfect example to show the anxiety and xenophobia especially islamphobia from rulers. For one way, rules can stop chaos and conflict from the beginning, for the other way, rules can make ruling class feel safe when entering this new territory.

Generally speaking, apartheid origins mainly due to the isolated location or situation, such as the isolated population, together with the ethnic, racial, religious and other factors, and with law or community’s order, custom etc. Xinjiang was comparatively isolated in the region and the use of public facilities resulting in unequal treatment of certain occupations, such as monopoly, dominated the voting, the ban of intermarriage. These are all possible form of apartheid. Xinjiang in Qing Dynasty, Qing rulers especially in their territory where Uyghur gathered region\textsuperscript{60} imposed segregation system. It was clearly intended to separate Xinjiang people from contacting with other ethnic groups, particularly with Han Chinese. This policy severely and artificially cut off the tie between Xinjiang and Chinese inner land and ensured local ethnic groups’ loyalties to Qing rule together with establishing the absolute ruling for Qing in this region.

Qing Dynasty unified Xinjiang from 1759 to 1884. And it built up Xinjiang province after this 125 year. In that period, it implemented segregation policy in Xinjiang. To do further explorations and analysis in this policy of this period can make it possible for us to understand current issues in China as a traced origin.

4.3.2. Segregation on administration in Xinjiang

Before Qing unified Xinjiang, the old local public administrative system was Beg. Beg became the synonym of official in Xinjiang, where formerly it had been a general term designating the nobles. Beg, this word was showing the influence on Xinjiang from Islamic world, as Arabic word “Emir”, as Persian “Mirza” and it may mix on the usage in central Asia. After Ming dynasty, among those ethnic groups who settled down in Xinjiang and central Asia like Uyghur and Uzbeks, Beg

\textsuperscript{59} Ibid, p6

\textsuperscript{60} Note from author: In Qing dynasty, they didn’t have the concept as modern concept on minorities as Chinese PRC government, they considered five ethnic groups: Manchurian, Mongolian, Han, Hui and Tibetan. They called nowadays Uyghur as Chan Hui (winded Hui, which Uyghur disliked it and it was named by the way they did with their winded hat), or west Hui; to nowadays Hui Muslim as Han Hui. All together were called Hui. In this thesis, we mean Hui mainly as Uyghur according to Qing period. Hui jiang (Hui territory) was the name which was used by Qing rulers. Later when Xinjiang was unified by Qing, it was named from Hui jiang as Xinjiang (new territory)
was the name for local officials. And there were over 30 kinds of Beg with different titles. It had existed as a form of characteristic culture in local administration. Ethnoculture are regarded as innate, indelible, and unchangeable that a racist attitude or ideology can be said to exist. It finds its clearest expression when the kind of ethnic differences that are firmly rooted in language, customs, and kinship are overridden in the name of an imagined collective based on pigmentation... 

61 Beg was a kind of hereditary official system, that is to say, if a father died then sons would have the title in turn from elder brother to youngest son and the jurisdiction of the place is their hereditary land.

Beg had existed for a long time which was earlier before Qing conquered Xinjiang. Beg system played an important and positive role in controlling and ruling East Turkestan and enabled the stability in local society. Meanwhile, it led to a kind of separated states in which all local regimes in Xinjiang could not recognize each other or unify with each other. So it also actually formed an isolated situation in Xinjiang where lots of local people in Xinjiang only knew about Beg but never heard of Qing’s court. They as local people there had vague impression about nationalism and those Beg cheated the government and civilians later which became one reason lead to the rebellion. That’s why Beg system was abolished after 1884 since Xinjiang was founded as a province in China.

Ruler’s distrust and vigilance on elites in Uyghur and Hui were very clear. Those stationed ministers who were nominated by Qing government had more power than Beg. And Beg could not become religious leader “ahong”, vice versa. Islamophobia is socially reproduced prejudices and aversion to Islam and Muslims, as well as actions and practices that attacks, excludes or discriminates people on the basis that they are or are presumed to be Muslims and associated with Islam. In the imperial edict of Daoguang emperor: “Huizi dang ahong, zhizhun nianxi jingdian, buzuhn ganyu gongshi. Qi ahong zidi you dangchai ji chongdang bokezhe, yi buzun jian ahong” (those who are Muslim religious leaders can only read and practice their texts instead of being officials and interfering public issues. Those who are the sons of local religious leaders can be Beg but not religious leaders at the same time.) The relation of religion and political position was quite clearly separated. By this policy, Qing could weaken the value and power of Beg in local prefectures and limited Beg who were religious leaders to make sure “it also expressed itself in the

61 George M. Fredrickson, p6

62 Gardell, p12 and my translation

63 Wei yuan, Shengwuji vol 4 and my translation
practices, institutions, and structures that a sense of deep difference justifies or validates. The discrimination or ignorance from Qing ruling to the Muslim’s religious choice in life (they were almost all Muslims at that time) verified Qing’s attitude on this Islamic world—Islamic religion must be separated from politics. Racism, therefore, is more than theorizing about human differences or thinking badly of a group over which one has no control.

4.3.3. Cultural segregation—the key racial discrimination

On cultural aspect, Qing government was imposing apartheid rules like the forbidden marriage between Uyghur and Han; to forbid Muslim study Chinese; no obligation to keep long braid (Qing male civilian’s distinctive hair style); Han Chinese and Uyghur lived separately in their Han cities or Hui cities.

Intermarriage is a very practical and important way in ethnic assimilation and cultural communication in ancient China. In order to stabilize its rule, Qing strictly prohibited the marriage between Uyghur and Han, roughly cut the lineage from Han and Uyghur Muslim and stopped the natural way in cultural communication and ethnic assimilation. From the national consciousness, although Huijiang were incorporated into Qing political landscape, its culture did not follow naturally incorporated into the main body of the central plains culture of the territory, only limited to become the subordinated civilians to Qing. Culture and even religion can become essentialized to the point that they can serve as a functional equivalent of biological racism. Most of the minorities throughout the world that are victimized by discrimination or violence appear to be differentiated from their oppressors more by authentic cultural or religious differences than by race in genetic sense... In all or most of these cases, religion is the most salient difference between persecutors and persecuted. In social scientific terminology, the differences are thus ethnic, yes, but primarily ethnoreligious rather than ethnoracial. And ethnoreligious maybe more durable. Qing rulers needed to make sure the Muslims in Xinjiang was under controlled and securely “in its place” and this was the theme of all policies’ implement. Qing strictly prohibited local Muslim not only in having contact with Chinese culture but also in learning Chinese culture. For example, eight banner

---

64 George M. Fredrickson, p6
65 Ibid, p6
66 Regulations on Xinjiang, 1843 and my translation
67 George M. Fredrickson, p145
68 Ibid, p147
soldiers together with Manchurian and Mongolian officials in Xinjiang were prohibited to learn Chinese language, and the same kind of restrictions to Han soldiers’ families and farming business people to learn Chinese. There is an antique which the Qing government made a Beg’s official imprint for one region in Xinjiang in Qianlong’s times (1761). It was inscribed in Uyghur, Manchu and Mongolian but no Chinese characters on. When Beg went to central court for political missions, they were asked to avoid marching to Han’s living area and Mongolian’s region in the North, and emperor would meet them in Chengde where Mongolian lived in order to avoid Han Chinese culture. On the contrary, those descendants of Beg who learnt Manchurian would be given relevant award. But in central government in Beijing, see the photo I took below, it is Yonghe Temple’s board in Beijing. From left to right: Manchu, Tibetan, Chinese, and Mongolian. No Uyghur or Hui Muslim language on it.

Though Han Chinese were forced to keep braid in Chinese regions in Qing, only few higher ranked Beg and people of merit together with their descendants could keep braid. Ordinary Uyghur were not privileged enough to keep it; it was a kind of bonus to the elites in Xinjiang. Although this belonged to so called “to govern by different customs (yin su erzhi)”, it would draw distinctive attention among ethnic groups in Xinjiang---a typical sign to tell people “You are different from us.” Culturalism is to describe an inability or unwillingness to tolerate cultural differences, but if assimilation were genuinely on offer. Then it will be categorized as racism69. Manchurian culturalism was applied differently by keeping braid on both Han Chinese (“braid or head!”) in the first 200 ruling years and Muslim’s case by so called “to govern by different customs” as a rhetoric saying.

Besides, Qing rulers built up lots of Han cities in main cities in Xinjiang like Kashgar, Hotan (Hetian), Aksu, Kucha (Kuqa) so that Manchurian and Han officials and soldiers could live in. While local people could only live in Hui city, and both of them were strictly prohibited to have contact. There is a substantial gray area between racism and “culturalism”. Culture can be reconstructed by the changing of history and variable in time and space. But culture can be reified

---

69 George M. Fredrickson, p6
and essentialized to the point where it becomes the functional equivalent of race.\textsuperscript{70}

Depending on the circumstances of the dominant group, and what uses, if any, it has for the subalterns, the logic of racism can shift from inclusionary (Manchu, Mongol, Chinese) to exclusionary (the Muslim) and vice versa.\textsuperscript{71} While race can also be described as what happens when ethnicity is deemed essential or indelible and made hierarchical\textsuperscript{72}. By the time Qing unified Xinjiang, Uyghur’s social consciousness has formed by Muslim religion as their dominant ideology, their value, ethics and codes of conduct were deeply influenced by Islamic thoughts, and socio-cultural practices was very different from Chinese central regions. In view of this situation, the Qing government should take measures to facilitate the contacts and integration between Xinjiang and inner-land, but for the need to maintain Manchu rule, they implemented segregation in the field of culture in prohibiting intermarriage, language and cultural learning, which undoubtedly strengthened the influence of Islam on local people, thus severely limiting their chances of integrating with Han Chinese culture together with the chance to receive infiltration on recognition of the nation. What Qing had done by segregation policies on culture and other aspect of social life also played a negative role in national identification and let local Muslim felt a kind of culture depression. And this kind of negative feeling would form ultranationalism which furtherly affected ethnic assimilation. Even till now, the southern region of Xinjiang is still more influenced by the Islamic Central Asia - Turkic Circle Effect and isolates themselves from even to other parts of Xinjiang. All these aspects above gave a better understanding of the unrest rebellions in the 19th century, those rebellions which origin from special culture in Xingjiang with its religious and geographical atmosphere as background.

4.4. **Discussion on segregation policy in Xinjiang**

Frank Dikötter believes racism existed omnipresent in China in 19th century. Though here I can’t say I fully agree with him but what Qing had implemented in Xinjiang was undeniable truth. The use of allegedly deep-seated cultural differences as a justification for hostility and discrimination against newcomers from the third world in several European countries has led to allegations of a new “cultural racism”. Cultural determinism also can be seen from the Qing rule

\textsuperscript{70} Ibid, p7

\textsuperscript{71} Ibid, p10

\textsuperscript{72} George M. Fredrickson, p859-975

\textsuperscript{73} George M. Fredrickson, p4
on ethnic groups in China. Ancient phenomenon of tribalism or xenophobic the kind of group prejudice based on culture, region, or simply a sense of family or kinship\textsuperscript{74}. They are as below:

On politics, Qing rulers couldn't show much trust on Muslim in Xinjiang by using their Beg system while weakened and centralized its power. They witnessed Beg and upper class of Islamic intellectuals’ contribution in exiling Yaqub Beg but they knew too well also on lessons from previous revolts of the Altishahr Khojas in 1757 together with many other times border conflicts in history. In order to ensure Qing’s rule in Xinjiang, Beg system as nomination of local officials was just a temporary policy and it had been abolished after Xinjiang became a province in 1884 when Qing took back the power.

On cultural sense, in local life, they set clear line among Manchu, Mongols and Chinese and isolated Muslim. Here we can have contrast ponder when we observe Qing’s relation with another ethnic group Mongol. Due to geographical proximity, lifestyle, language, religion and other aspects, between the Manchus and Mongols had formed a close link. Manchu upper class was very clear that in the process of conquest and domination of the central plains, they must unify with the Mongols. Before Qing’s army entered pass, there were marriages between Mongolia and Manchu, this intermarriage had become its national alliance policy. For example, according to the Qing Dynasty royal genealogy Yudie\textsuperscript{75} (jade pamphlet) records: Marriages between Manchu and Mongolian altogether were 595 times, including Manchuria Ge Ge (Manchurian princess) for 432 people and Manchu nobility men married Mongol princes for 163 people. Intermarriage lasted 300 years, during this process, lots of accompanies and servants who were Manchu, Mongolian and Han Chinese moved to settle down in the border areas, together with their convergence of different ethnic cultures. The played a remarkable but positive significance which was good for national integration. But we take intermarriage as one sample, all the intermarriages between Muslim and Han were banned\textsuperscript{76}. This undoubtedly isolated Muslims in Xinjiang and violated natural assimilation.

By studying Manchurian, Qing rule could invite local Beg and elites into the imagined community, no matter how difficult in practice they can finally be assimilated in a natural way—naturalization. All this could be realized through language acquisition (at least it can be an initial

\textsuperscript{74} Ibid, p5

\textsuperscript{75} Yudie (1661-1921), “yu” means jade, “die” is a kind of folded pamphlet. This is the Qing royal family tree as their marital record. There are over 2600 yudie which are preserved in First Historic Archives of China, Beijing.

\textsuperscript{76} Yanshu and Caowei and my translation
step). This also could also furtherly form an ideologies of class—those who were intellectuals and noble people in their community could be cultivated first.

Some scholars like G.M Fredrickson thinks such ethnic discrimination should not be labeled racist---was an ideology or worldview that would persuasively justify such practices.\(^77\) I will lay my argument as: Qing rule in Xinjiang was the prelude of racial discrimination with strong influence from traditional ancient Chinese thinking on ethnics or race. They just roughly adopted ancient thought without developing Han Chinese thought in a modern sense. To force people live in separate areas of the same city and encourage people to learn a single predominant language—Manchurian and to forbid their chances to contact or learn Han culture or even to the policy on Beg (those who were Beg couldn’t be religious leader at the same time). At least, according to Qing rule in Xinjing, they didn’t provide fertile soil for ethnic intolerance. They used uniformity and homogeneity to initiate resistance to cultural pluralism and exacerbated the heterophobia after Qing conquered Xinjiang. That is to say, the Qing rulers with their sense of cultural superior roughly controlled Muslims in Xinjiang without thinking of the momentous social, economic, and political change. Just showing the rulers’ ethnocentric attitude by borrowing their understanding from Han Chinese culture and regarded Muslim as barbarians in remote area from conquered land. And as the last feudal imperial state and with its achievement like the establishment of Xinjiang province, these ruling thought together with its injustice understanding would definitely pass onto those successive governments, because ordinary people’s minds were brainwashed also by this deep rooted habitual thinking.

There is one belief needed to be additional mentioned here: the exclusionist approach in incompatibility between Chinese and the barbarian. In one passage from Mencius (372-289BC?), he wrote “I have heard of men using the doctrines of our great land to change barbarians, but I have never heard of any being changed by barbarians.\(^78\)” Barbarians will eventually change by adopting Chinese way. Rulers in all dynasties buried this similar thought in minds and coordinated the relations with inner barbarians.

Ethnological discourse in the early to mid-nineteenth century focused more than before one the question of whether human beings were “of one-blood,” the Qing’s imperial expansion was being labeled with “civilizing mission” and peace making.\(^79\) Racism is always nationally specific. It

\(^{77}\) George M. Fredrickson, P25

\(^{78}\) Translation from Legge, Classics,2, pp253-4

\(^{79}\) George M. Fredrickson, P66
invariably becomes enmeshed with searches for national identity and cohesion that vary with the historical experience of each country. The fact of the matter is that nationalism thinks in terms of historical destinies, while racism dreams of eternal contaminations, transmitted from the origins of time through an endless sequence of loathsome copulation: outside history. From the contrast differences, Qing rulers’ political ideas on ethnic groups were mainly from their displaying nationalism instead of pure racism but we can see strong sense of prejudice and discrimination by all other social forbidden rules. Racism manifests itself, not across national boundaries but within them. Racism justify not so much foreign wars as domestic repression and domination.

4.5. Nationalism and National identity

4.5.1. The changing borders with changing Chinese national identity

4.5.1.1. The concept of border and the idea of unification in ancient China

Border crisis, was always a challenge which central regime faced in all Chinese dynasties in historical evolution. Since the Great wall from Qin dynasty, it has formed so called “the border” in correspondent with regimes from central regions and it had separated, Han Chinese which are living in central region, with other ethnics (called foreign barbarians according to rulers from ancient times). Hence it formed a long term situation where Han Chinese were living inside the Great wall and ethnic groups lived outside the wall (changcheng neiwai). This pattern determines the dynasties must face how to deal with the frontier among minorities in order to achieve “national unification” issue. Thus, border issues, in essence, is the national question.

The idea of unification is buried deeply in Chinese rulers from all dynasties. It is a sense of nationalism and common Chinese culture and this history can stretch back thousands of years. This kind of unifying nationalism is especially important to states that have a high level of ethnic diversity, like the United States and China (which has 55 ethnic groups besides the Han as majority)

After Manchurian took the regime and found the Qing dynasty, the border issues became more problematic. So called northwestern frontiers, it included Qinghai, Gansu, Xinjiang and west of Inner Mongolia in nowadays. These vace regions concentrate multi-culture, multi-religion, languages and all the other factors which may lead to potential conflicts in politics, economy, resources and so on. In late Qing dynasty, there was new challenge in northwest of China on

---

80 Benedict Anderson, P149
81 Benedict Anderson, P150
frontier: British and Russian intended to separate those areas in the way of helping puppet regime, especially in Xinjiang, where is a place full of upheaval conflicts which origin from local religious and cultural factors. Britain, Russia and other powers attempted to encroach on Chinese border areas, especially in the northwest frontier, thus exacerbating the chaos and strife in northwest, which forced the Qing government to take a series of effective measures to prevent the Northwestern frontier from being separated from China.

4.5.1.2. The unification thought and Confucianism in identifying Qing’s territory

What it called “unification”, zhongwaiyijia or neiwaiyijia in Chinese, both meaning literally as “interior and exterior as one family”. In Manchu, they say uherilembi, which means to unite. In the context of Qianlong emperor’s statements and poems, he emphasized his political thoughts by word’s choice as Zhongwaiyijia, which was used repeatedly to describe united together under Qing rule on both the inner Mongols (Khorchin, Kharachin, Tümet, Chahar) and outer, or Eastern Mongols (Khalkha).83 When, following the first pacification of Zhungharia in 1755, the Qianlong emperor met with the newly submitted four Oirat (Western Mongol) leaders in Chengde. He expressed his delight again with the phrase neiwai yijia.85 Besides, the emperor used “one family” also to refer to the inclusion of Tibet into the Qing empire;86 a similar, though not identical, sentiment is observed in a 1759 memorial to the emperor on the incorporation of Zhunghar lands into the realm: “Before the distantly radiating virtue and power of my sacred lord, the western marches have been pacified and the steppes, mountains, and rivers of the Zhunghar Mongols have been unified with the territory of China (dulimbai gurun in Manchurian).”87 The Qing identified

---

82 This part has more translation based on archives.
83 Qing gaozong shilu, vol.1464 (The veritable record of the Qianlong emperor) and my translation
84 Note: in some spelling Zhungar can be Zungar, Zhungharia as Zungharia.
85 Qing gaozong shilu, vol.593 (The veritable record of the Qianlong emperor) and my translation
86 Qing gaozong shilu, vol.592 (The veritable record of the Qianlong emperor) and my translation
87 Note: The translation of the Manchu term for “nation” here demands explanation. In the Chinese inscription, the word is chao, which means “court,” or in this case, more accurately, means “dynasty.” But the Manchu word gurun is much less clear in this respect, typically meaning “country” or “kingdom,” though “dynasty” (as in Ming gurun) was possible, too. Gurun could also be used in expressions (such as Manju gurun), where the “country” referred to was not a geographical entity but an ethno-cultural grouping of people, in a sense close to the meaning of “tribe” or “nation.” When combined with boo, means “house”, the expression gurun boo provided an equivalent to the Chinese guojia, “state” or “country.” See Zhao also.
88 The original reads:” endurengge ejen erdemu horon goro selgiyebuhe de erei onggolo wargijase be necihiyeme toktobufi jun gar monggo tala. Alin bira de dulimbai gurun-i nirugan dangse de uherilebuhe.” First historical Achieves, Beijing: Qianlong chao
their state as Zhongguo, the term for "China" in modern Chinese and referred to it as "dulimbai Gurun" in Manchu. The Qianlong Emperor explicitly commemorated the Qing conquest of the Zhungars as having added new territory\(^{89}\) "Xinjiang" (Xin means new and jiang means territory in Chinese) to "China", defining China as a multi-ethnic state, rejecting the idea that China only meant Han areas in "China proper", meaning that according to the Qing, both Han and non-Han peoples were part of “China”, which included Xinjiang which the Qing conquered from the Zhungars. After the Qing were done conquering Zhungaria in 1759, they proclaimed that the new land which formerly belonged to the Zhungars, was now absorbed into “China” (Dulimbai Gurun) in a Manchu language memorial. The Qing expounded on their ideology to convey the idea of "unification" of the different peoples to their state. Xinjiang people were not allowed to be called foreigners (yi) under the Qing\(^{90}\).

**Confucius factors in naming the cities**

Actually, the Manchu Qianlong Emperor rejected the views of Han officials who said Xinjiang was not part of China and that he should not conquer it, he put forth the view that China was multi-ethnic and did not just refer to Han. Han migration to Xinjiang was permitted by Qianlong Emperor, who also gave Chinese names to cities to replace their Mongol names, instituting civil service exams in the area, and implementing the county and prefecture Chinese style administrative system, by promoting Han migration to Xinjiang to solidify Qing control was supported by numerous Manchu officials under Qianlong. A proposal was written in *The Imperial Gazetteer of the Western Regions* (*Xiyu tuzhi*) to use state-funded schools to promote Confucianism among Muslims in Xinjiang by Fuheng and his team of Manchu officials and the Qianlong Emperor. Confucian names were given to towns and cities in Xinjiang by the Qianlong Emperor, like “Dihua” for Urumqi in 1760 and Changji, Fengqing, Fukang, Huifu, and Suilai for other cities in Xinjiang, Qianlong also implemented Chinese style prefectures, towns, and counties in a portion of the region\(^{91}\).

The national identification had experienced three great emperors of Qing dynasty and finally formed a systematic view which could influenced to contemporary China.

\(^{89}\) Regulations for Xinjiang (*Huijiang zelie*), vol 3, 1814 and my translation

\(^{90}\) *Qing gaozong shilu*, vol648 (The veritable record of the Qianlong emperor) and my translation

\(^{91}\) Zhao gang, p 11-8
4.5.2. **The concept of “China”**

It is undeniable truth of Qing’s influence on later governments on the concept of nation together with geographical and ethnic entity. Where do this concept “China” come from? And what way did that concept work in the formation of modern Chinese national identity? The interesting discovery to analysis Qing rule with their changing concept of nationalism would give us a better answer. Qing dynasty, as the last imperial dynasty in China, provided a nation with Han and non-Han peoples from the 17th century to the 20th century and gave modern Chinese national identity a multi-ethnic state with a vast territory.

4.5.2.1. **A changing concept by borders**

Distinctive concept by border before Qing dynasty: Earlier before Qing became a new descended dynasty, China as the official Ming (A.D 1368-A. D 1644) understanding was only referring to China proper and to the Han people. And the border of Ming dynasty as its territory was comparatively smaller than nowadays China. The inner Asian territories added to China before the end of the 18th century—Manchurian, Mongolia, Xinjiang, Tibet, and the neighboring areas, all of these were not considered part of China, somewhat like Korea, Vietnam and other states, tribute countries. In Manchu records, the earliest references to the Han people was using the term nikan, and the Ming empire was called nikan gurun (the state of the Han) or nikan i daiming i gurun (the state of the Han’s Great Ming). Early Manchu rulers simply adopted the Ming view, taking China as equivalent to both Ming empire and to the Han group. In 1627, Hong taiji (Huang taiji), the second Manchu ruler, tried to discuss the border issue with the Ming court. In an official letter, he indicated that the Shanhai Guan pass serve as the legal boundary between the Manchu state and the China. Once Qing crashed Ming’s regime, this attitude had to change.

4.5.2.2. **Equating Qing with China**

After occupying Beijing, the Qing rulers began to identify and signify their new empire as “China” in a broader sense. This word was first showed up in 10th century with initial meaning as “central state” but it referred to no specific ethnicity or particular location. This vague notion had

---

92 Ming huidian, p571-87, 1989; Qian mu, p101-26,1980 and my translation
93 Kyū Meshū tō—Tenchu kunden,1975 and my translation
94 Li guangtao, p 106 and my translation
95 Yu shengwu Pp. 1-11,1981 and my translation
been used alternatively in Han, Tang, Song, and Ming dynasty. These dynasties clearly treated the titles interchangeable and as referring to the same concept “central state”. By the Ming, China was commonly used as the state’s official title on edicts and other official documents. Whenever a non-Han group overthrew the rulers of the central country (Zhongguo) then China came to mean a mixture of the Han and non-Han groups. When the dynasty was founded by Han persons, as was the case with the Ming, the term simply referred to the land of the Han. For example, in Yuan dynasty, rulers classified non-Han people and Han people clearly with the concept of China, but this would not weaken their own ethnic identity. A clearly identification of Qing with “China” showed in a 1656 edict issued by the Qing court. It was about the territorial dispute with Mongolia: “Those barbarians (fanyi) who paid tribute to Mongolia during the Ming should be administered by Mongolia. While those barbarians submitting to the former Ming court should be subjects of China”. From that time, the term China was frequently seen in a large amount of official and private documents in both Chinese and Manchu languages, we can see this from edicts to treaties to one emperor’s edict in 1710 concerning the border with Korea and the Qing, the Kangxi emperor wrote: “changbaishan fayuan de heilongjiang quan shu Zhongguo (The Hongtong River, which flows from the Changbai mountains...belongs entirely to China). We also can find in both Manchu and Russian versions of the treaties with foreign countries signed in late 17th century, Qing was clearly using China and with the word in both Manchu and Russian languages in the famous Treaty of Nerchinsk in 1689, which stated and settled a long existing territorial dispute between the Qing empire and Russia.

4.5.2.3. Qianlong emperor’s ideal concept on China

In 1735, after Qianlong became the new generation emperor after Yongzheng emperor, the identification of Qing with China was more clear than before. After his conquering to Zhungar, Qing added the northwestern Xinjiang in its atlas so that Qianlong was full of proud and said “guanmen yixi, wanyou yuli, xiru bantu...yi genggububiantong zhongguozhidi, xi wei wo Daqing

---

96. Li guoxiang 1991 and my translation
97. Qian Zhongshu, p1486-89,1986 and my translation
98. Da Qing Shizu Zhanghuangdi shilu, 1964:103.10b-11a: see Zhao also
99. Note: now as Songhua River, in Heilongjiang province
100. Jiu Manzhou dang (The old Manchu archives)1969 and my translation
101. Wang tieya, Vol 1 and my translation
chenpu, jizhiwangdie shiweiyouzhi shengshi\textsuperscript{102} (the westward of the pass, over ten thousand miles, all are in our territory...based on unchangeable principle on border concept, these lands are all ours and it was the unprecedented.)” In his poem “Foreigners appreciate only military power...Thus, they submit to us whole-heartedly and dare not to despise China once we display our hunting techniques to them\textsuperscript{103}” By Zhao gang’s rephrase of archives, “foreigners” refer to outside barbarian and “appreciate”, “submit” just showed Qing’s superior in this empire’s power. Similarly, two edicts from the Qianlong period dealing with a military post on the Qing border with Korea treat the terms as synonyms. The first stressed that the post was “within the territory of China (Zhongguo jienei),” while the second proclaimed that it was “within the territory of our dynasty (wochao jienei)\textsuperscript{104}. Finaly, we can see from an 1883 memorial text “Vietnam has informed China of its treaty with France in the hope that our dynasty will mediate between the two\textsuperscript{105} and get a conclusion: in the late of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, Qing rulers’ understanding on Qing and China was synonyms. Since then, the process of formation in national identity was completed.

4.5.2.4. Redefining China as a multi-ethnic entity

On the historical archives above, we found that the Qing court had written the word China with the Manchu term nikan gurun (the state of the Han people) before 1644, which meant and borrowed Ming’s concept of the state---a single ethnic state. But right after Ming’s fall, when Qing became the successor and governor of the state, the Manchu rulers began using Dulimbai gurun\textsuperscript{106} (the central country, Zhongguo in Chinese) to address their new state. By the shifting of rule’s identity, the country’s national identity had changed clearly and respectively in order to match their rule and the ruler’s concept of China.

The view of China as originally exists in Confucian thoughts as a Confucian cultural community was adopted by the Qing political domain. One of the famous Confucian thoughts is Datong (Great harmony--an ideal of perfect society) The definition as a central state for Qing empire could provide Qing empire’s territorial domain, which meant that inner Asia, a previous non-Confucian territory within the Qing empire, became part of the territory of China. In

\textsuperscript{102} Qing gaozong lu, vol 599, p203 and my translation
\textsuperscript{103} Qianlong emperor (the complete collection of Qianlong’s essays and poems) vol.10 and my translation
\textsuperscript{104} Ming Qing shiliao jiabian, p665,690 and my translation
\textsuperscript{105} Qingji waijiao shiliao, p131 and my translation
\textsuperscript{106} Treaty of Nerchinsk 1689 in Manchu version, p368-9 and my translation
Yongzheng emperor’s famous tract *Dayi juemilu* (A Record of Rightness to Dispel Confusion), he emphasized this point: “Since our dynasty began to rule China, the Mongols and other tribes living in extremely remote regions have been integrated into our territory. This is the expansion of China’s territory (Zhongguo zhi jiangtu kaituo guangyuan) 107” A similar can be found from the section of geographical studies (Yudi kao) in Huangchao wenxian tongkao (A Comprehensive Study of the Qing Imperial Documents), an imperial work edited in the 1750s. As this book emphasizes that the concept and scope of China may vary from time to time and the changes were based on dynastic territories. In this book, it makes quite clear that China’s territory was not just the provinces in previous China but all Inner Asia under the Qing. In 1750s, some of Han officials strongly objected the Qing’s conquest to the northwest, where Xinjiang was finally named. According to Millward, these Han officials argued that this remote region had never belonged to China108, while Qianlong added to an article to celebrate the Qing triumph over Zunghars a distinction between the Qing and all previous dynasties109. The aim of rules’ redefined on China which was not only legitimated their own rule but also paved the way for their famous banner armies to conquer so that they incorporated a wider range of ethnic peoples into their reign.

From Kangxi (Treaty of Nerchinsk), Yongzheng (Dayi juemilu), and Qianlong’s views, we found that the view of China had been defined more and more clearly in a systematic way, which were well defined and varied by the rulers. China was no longer the name of Han alone. There was not a single Chinese language in all archives and archives in Qing dynasty but three: Chinese, Manchu, and Mongol.

In 1750s, the Qing won its war against the Zhunghars and conquered Xinjiang (called Huijiang in Chinese), and this was the result of ruler’s view in territory’s expansion. “The mountains and rivers of Zhungar Mongolia have been completely integrated into the territory of China”110 (Jungar Monggo tala, alin bira de Dulimbai gurun-i nirugan dangse de uherilebuhe). Late in the 18th century gazetteers (difang zhi) edited by Manchu officials like Chunyuan’s *Xiyu zongzhi* (A General Gazetteer of the Western Region) also show the definition of China had been redefined. Chunyuan categorized Xinjiang as part of China by “To the south of Kengertula (a Russian town on the border

107 Yongzheng emperor, a record of rightness to dispel confusion No4, p5; as trans, in Elliott, 2001:347
108 Millward, James,1998
109 Qianlong Emperor,1993 and my translation
110 Qianlong Emperor,1993; Elliott, p503, 2001
with Xinjiang) is the territory of China (yinian ji Zhongguo dijie). Here comes a map of the Qing Dynasty in 1820. (Includes provincial boundaries and the boundaries of modern China for reference.) Provinces are in yellow, military governorates and protectorates are in light yellow, tributary states are in orange. The vast territory of this oriental empire was as below:

![Empire of the Great Qing](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Qing_Dynasty_1820.png)

To those who were previously as inhabitants and had existed as a tributary state in Xinjiang and Tibet, they were no longer to be considered as barbarians. For example, in 1787, Bayansan, a Shannxi governor who mentioned a Tibetan mission as a “barbarian mission” (yishi) in a memorial sent to the Qianlong emperor (monarchy 8 October 1735 – 7 February 1799). While the emperor replied him with some ambiguous but rough way as “Because Tibet has long been incorporated into our territory, it is completely different from Russia, which submits to your country only in name. Thus, we can’t see the Tibetans as foreign barbarians (wai yi), unlike the Russians.”

About the definition of Chinese in Qing’s concept, we can have a clue from the important archive Treaty of Nerchinsk in 1689. One of the reasons for Kangxi emperor signed this treaty was his desire to

---

111 Translation from Zhao, 2006; Xiyutuzhi (Illustrated treatise on the imperial Western territories)

112 Quote from Pryaltonian, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Qing_Dynasty_1820.png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Qing_Dynasty_1820.png)

113 DaQing Gaozong Chunhuangdi shilu, (The veritable record of the Qianlong emperor) Vol.3 and my translation
prevent his Mongolian subjects fleeing to Russia\textsuperscript{114}. Its Manchu version used Dulimbai gurun i niyalma, the Manchu translation of Chinese, to refer to the Mongols: “(Both countries agree to cease) seeking repatriation of those who crossed the border into the other country, whether of Chinese now in Russia or of Russians now in China” (Ne Dulimbai gurun de bisire Oros i niyalma, Oros gurun de bisire Dulimbai gurun i niyalma be ishunde niyalma be ishunde gaire be nakafi uthai bibume). The Chinese version wrote: “(The Qing court) no longer requests that Russia return the Chinese (Zhongguo ren) who have fled in Russia (prior to signing the treaty)” (congqian...Eluosi suoyou Zhongguo zhiren renliu bubibubi qianfan)\textsuperscript{115}

4.5.3. Discussion on Qing dynasty’s national identification

4.5.3.1. Qing’s nationalism

Nationalism is primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent\textsuperscript{116}.

The Qing rulers had changed the view of China as unique to the Han people and defined a new definition of China as a multiethnic entity that incorporated non-Han groups in Inner Asia. This redefinition played a significant role in defining even current conflict issues in China to Chinese people. And from these successive and systematic political views of Qing’s great rulers, the concept of border, national identity, unification have their clues to trace.

As for Inner Asia, especially the regions which share borders with other countries like Russia, the late Qing court maintained the previous rulers’ thought on China as a country with multiethnic state. In the Chinese version of a treaty with Russia signed in 1881, the Qing court described Yili and Kashgar in Xinjiang as part of China: “The Yili region of China (Zhongguo Yili difang) is bounded by Russian territory...Both countries will send officials to define the border between the Ferganah region of Russia and the western region of China’s Kashgar (Zhongguo Kashig’er)”\textsuperscript{117}

Late in 1911, in its edict of abdication, the Qing court still reaffirmed the view of China as a multi-ethnic entity: “We welcome the establishment of a great Chinese republic that integrates all of the territories where dwell the five ethnic groups. That is, Manchus, Han, Mongols, Muslims, and

\textsuperscript{114} Perdue, p271,1998

\textsuperscript{115} Da Qing shengzu Renhuangdi shilu, p1936 and my translation

\textsuperscript{116} Ernest Gellner, P1

\textsuperscript{117} Wang Tieya, p382-83 and my translation
Tibetans” (he Man Han Meng Hui Zang wuzu wanquan lingtu wei yi da Zhonghua Minguo)\textsuperscript{118}

Even though the Qing court had to pass the regime to new government, the articulation of the Qing still transferred us a clear concept: both Han and non-Han Chinese would now join a new republic era together.

Between the 19\textsuperscript{th} century and early of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, Han Chinese and Manchu elites and intellectuals, like Gongzizhen, Wei yuan and other famous writers and literati, played an important role in spreading the Qing’s political view on China. They concerned a lot on frontier issues during Daoguang emperor and Xianfeng emperor’s period (1821-1860). All their ideas repeatedly expressed Qianlong emperor’s view on China and these ideas together with Han Chinese started to pour into Xinjiang after Qianlong conquered Xinjiang. Qianlong’s Xinjiang policy included allowing Han people immigrate there; established many areas as towns, counties, and prefectures; changed the Mongols names of many local cities into Chinese\textsuperscript{119}. Besides, the Qing from Qianlong period called for civil service checking to be offered in Xinjiang in the hope of pushing Xinjiang into the national bureaucracy, as a good way to be cultivated for civilized people in the Great Qing\textsuperscript{120}. All of these played very important roles in consolidating Qing rule in Xinjiang.

A nation is a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture\textsuperscript{121}. There is a basic contradictory line in Chinese imperial rulers’ thoughts about how to define so called “a nation” if we compare this ideology with western world in the same time. “...if enough inhabitants of the Isle of Wight wanted to be a Wightian nation, there would be one.”\textsuperscript{122}\textsuperscript{123} Nation-build is required by consciousness-raising and to insist on consciousness or choice as the criterion of nationhood is insensibly to subordinate the complex and multiple ways in which human beings define and redefine themselves as members of groups, to a single option: the choice of belonging to a ‘nation’ or ‘nationality’\textsuperscript{122}. But what Qing’s ruling in Xinjiang before and after the rebellion suppressed local Muslims’ chance to

\textsuperscript{118} Note: this edict was issued at the moment when control over China was passed to Yuan shikai. (The collected archives on the history of the Republic of China); my translation from this edict

\textsuperscript{119} Author note: in 1760, the Qianlong gave Urumchi the rather Chinese name as Dihua. Many towns in Xinjiang, even city gates, were given similar Chinese names---Changji, Suilai, Fukang,Huifu and so on. See Xiyu tuzhi p10:1a,2b,1965

\textsuperscript{120} Xiyu tuzhi, p36.4b.10b and my translation

\textsuperscript{121} See E.J. Hobsbawm, p5: Joseph Stalin,1912.

\textsuperscript{122} Ibid, p8

\textsuperscript{123} Ibid, p8
manifest their community of culture or even to communicate with other cultures. Xinjiang was as
diverse as the area was ethnically and linguistically, and segmented as its geography and historical
tradition. The series of segregation polices based on culture and economy, let Muslim lose their
identity in new nation and push them to those other nations on border areas but actually this would
let them get lost also. We can see this from the bankruptcy of Yaqub Beg’s regime.

“Nation as a natural, God-given way of classifying men, as an inherent...polical destiny, are a
myth; nationalism, which sometimes takes pre-existing cultures and turns them into nations,
sometimes invents them, and often obliterates pre-existing cultures: that is a reality." Nations and
their associated factors must be valued in terms of political, language, technical, administrative,
economic and other conditions as measuring requirements. If we use these listed factors as yardstick
to analyze Xinjiang. The conclusion is quite clear. Did they really originate from China, or share
same language, practice same or similar religion or adopt same social norm? Before Xinjiang was
unified, inhabitants there already formed their mature social norm with their own religion, which
from lots of senses, the primitive thoughts of civilians were quite different from central China and
Han Chinese. Though the notions of the nation were quite vague to people, according to
Hobsbawm125, there are three things are quite clear in defining a nation among ordinary peoples:

First, official ideologies of states and movements are not guides to what it is in the minds of
even the most loyal citizens or supporters. The beginning of the rebellion didn’t aim to build up a
new nation but showed Muslim’s discontent and desperate social situation. We cannot have any
proof to show that Turkic Muslim wanted to establish an independent state, at least not the
beginning, the grievance is the reason to explain why they joined in the revolt and fought together
with Hui Muslim. As soon as they launched the spreading revolt, Muslim in every city of Xinjiang
followed by these footsteps.

Second, and more specifically, we cannot assume that for most people national identification-
when it exists-excludes or is always or ever superior to, the remainder of the set of identifications
which constitute the social being. Actually, it is always combined with identifications of another
kind, that is to say, Qing’s segregation and special treatments in politics, administration, social life
became a stimulation to inhabitants and reminded them of their social identity. In every sense, Qing
rule showed priorities and superior on Muslim’s culture, religion and language. By the time Qing
unified Xinjiang, Uyghur’s social consciousness has formed by Muslim religion as their dominant

---

124 Gellner, p48-9
125 E.J. Hobsbawm, p11
ideology, their value, ethics and codes of conduct were deeply influenced by Islamic thoughts, and socio-cultural practices was very different from Chinese central regions. To forbid contacting Han culture or keeping braid and encouragement on studying Manchurian...For the rulers, it seemed to work well in ruling a new territory by suppressing them; but as for those who were subordinated by these policies, the consequence would only lead to a worse potential conflict. That is so called “where there is a suppression, there is a revolt.” The original response of civilian would be silent but with hidden anger, as accumulated anger together with identity crisis, this would ultimately lead to a conflict.

Thirdly, national identification and what it is believed to imply, can change and shift in time, even in the course of quite short periods. From the first three generations of Qing emperors’ successive ruling thoughts, the idea of Qing’s nationalism had changed and shifted in time but served well for ruling on the nation and ethnic groups.

4.5.3.2. Language, ethnicity and nationalism

Three criteria which allowed a people to be firmly classed as a nation, always provided it was sufficiently large to pass the threshold. The first was its historic association with a current state or one with a fairly lengthy and recent past. The second criterion was the existence of a long-established cultural elite, possessing a written national literary and administrative vernacular. The third criterion, it must unfortunately be said, was a proved capacity for conquest. \(^{126}\)

That world would be unified even linguistically. A single world language, no doubt coexisting with national languages reduced to domestic and sentimental role of dialects. \(^{127}\) For a relevant quotation from President Grant’s Inaugural, see E.J.Hobsbawm, The Age of Capital 1848-1875 (London 1975), epigraphs to ch.3 but this process of assimilation should be offered with total equality. To those who come from smaller communities to accept or approach a larger state’s ideology doesn’t necessary link to abandon their old loyalties and sentiments, but this can be concluded as attraction to other cultures. Meanwhile. The geographically and socially mobile might be quite ready to do so. \(^{128}\) Otherwise, if smaller communities find no award from assimilation or the assimilation process is full of prejudice or superior, it won’t be successful.

\(^{126}\) Ibid, p37-8

\(^{127}\) Ibid, p39

\(^{128}\) Ibid, p39
Interaction of language and ethnicity had been neglected by Qing rule, at least they didn’t have an international thought to keep pace with international modernity in the 19th century. But Qing rulers’ intentions were quite clear to be processed as this: to cut off contact between the Muslim and Han Chinese in order to guarantee the stability of their huge empire. That means, the outcome of unification between Muslim and Han Chinese would lead a severe threat and even strike to Qing ruling. Once they forbid language communication between ruled classes like Muslim and Han Chinese, there would have less possibilities for revolts. However, as ruling class, Qing rulers must have a tough time in balancing this complicated situation: to advocate their nationalism but to isolate ethnic groups, to stop natural ethnic assimilation but to bear hatred seed among ruled classes. The marks or identifiers usually associated with ethnicity are language, religion, customs, and physical characteristics (inborn or acquired) One or more (sometimes all) may serve as sources of ethnic divisiveness; any one of them can provoke disdain, discrimination, or violence on the part of another group that does not share the trait or traits that have come to define ethnic otherness.

Qing rulers kept Muslim in Xinjiang away from Han Chinese culture but reinforced Manchurian study while keeping them from Mongolian and Manchurian. We can hardly deny that people speaking mutually languages who live side by side will identify themselves as speakers of one, they built up Han and Muslim cities in Xinjiang also to separate ordinary people’s living areas and banned the contact with Han and Muslim...these had provoked accumulated negative emotions among all communities. All we can see this policy and ruling thought were like reading new era in an anachronistic way. But just because of this segregation, it formed people in Xinjiang their proto-nationalism based on language and cultural differences. Local Beg and elites who share same language created a community which can be made to coincide with a particular territorial state area and vernacular zone, plus previous long existed Beg system by Qing’s adapted administration, they formed an intercommunication circle without national entity as Qing’s imperial nation. If it was not Yaqub Beg’s invade, we would be unsure about the later outcome of these uprisings in Xinjiang. That was also the reason why Qing started to advocate Chinese study right after the foundation of Xinjiang as a province in 1884. It was noticed that a comparative isolated jar could not provide stability in ruling and Qing needed to apply a common language’s education to stabilize its further rule, just because it is not naturally evolved so it was constructed, and especially when

129 Lin xian’en, p150 and my translation
130 George M. Fredrickson, p140
131 Ibid, p51
force into print...for a large territory as China with multicultural and ethnic groups, a common language’s usage will strongly lay the base of central administration. Earlier before the rebellion, Qing advocated elites or Beg’s sons to study Manchurian instead of Chinese, this deed had a potential intend to overlook and erase Chinese culture and led new territorial inhabitants to ruler’s ethnicity but the background and long entity in the form of Han Chinese culture in central China made officials or culture-language of rulers and elites usually turn to actual language (Chinese) via public education and other administrative mechanisms. “No doubt Mandarin tied together as Chinese empire many of whose peoples could not understand each other’s language, but it did not do so directly through language, but through the administration of a centralized empire which happened to operate through a common set of ideographs and a means of elite communication.”

Ethnicity, in ordinary usage this is almost always connected in some unspecified way with common origin and descent, from which the common characteristics of the members of an ethnic group are allegedly derived. According to political scientist Donald L. Horowitz, ethnicity “is based on a myth of collective ancestry, which usually carries with it traits believed to be innate...” But Qing rulers persistently advocated Han Chinese “Datong (harmonious unification)” as their way to include themselves in the multi-ethnicity state while erasing other subordinate ethnic groups’ ethnicity. And this changing and ethnocentric nationalism would no doubt become another blasting fuse of potential riots and conflicts so that it can naturally pass on contemporary China where we can find clear clue of the origin to ongoing conflicts in Xinjiang, as same prototype as racial prelude as I mentioned.

4.6. **Governmentality in Xinjiang in the 19th century**

4.6.1. **Beg system and Segregation policy in Qing rule**

Here I would say Qing’s governmentality was not as well structured as modern governance compared with governments in other rising and industrialized countries in the world. It had the trend of transitional governmentality in ruling the country but still kept strong influence of monarchy.

---

132 E.J. Hobsbawm, p62
133 Ibid, P62
134 Ibid, p63
135 Donald L. Horowitz, p52
Governmentality as Foucault elaborates, it has several crucial features: governing involves the harnessing and organizing of energies in any body—individual, mass, international—that might otherwise be anarchic, self-destructive, or simply unproductive. Before Qing unified Xinjiang, the old local public administrative system was Beg. Beg became the synonym of official in Xinjiang, where formerly it had been a general term designating the nobles and it was a hereditary system which had not productive function in ruling the region in a promising way.

After Qing unified Xinjiang, the ruler implemented a policy called “yin su er zhi (to govern by different customs)”, it meant to govern ethnic regions according to their local customs so that Qing could avoid conflicts which originated from culture differences and strengthen the centralization and reduced or even eliminate the centrifugal tendencies that might cause rebellion. There some major reforms on Beg in local government in order to make this kind of fundamental administrative system work better. First, the abolition of the Beg’s hereditary system, the court started to appoint Beg. Second, the election’s standards emphasized on loyalty to the Qing government, and it would prefer those who had done meritorious service or win the military medals in the war and those who had been conferred with the rank of nobility. Third, the implementation of avoidance system, those were high and intermediate Beg should avoid to govern their own cities, the lower Beg should avoid to govern their own villages. Fourth, the development of grade and distribution of imprints. Beg’s grades were ranging from the third grade to the seventh grade. Fifth, all the cities in the local system Beg were managed by stationed ministers who had the rights to supervise all the cities and even intervened directly in civil affairs and stationed ministers decided to demote and promote Beg. Through these series of reforms, Qing government successfully weakened the power of local people and built up a well-structured Beg system.136 In addition, all grades of Beg were only served for their respective office areas and they could not be promoted to work in central or inner regions.137

The study of the technologies of power cannot be carried out without taking analysis of the political rationality as its foundation. There are two points of governmentality:138 first, the term representation; government defines a discursive field in which exercising power is “rationalized”. A political rationality is not pure, neutral knowledge which simply “re-present” the governing reality. Through agencies, procedures, institution, legal forms etc., those are intended to enable us to govern the objects and subjects of a political rationality. That is to say, governmentality can be interpreted

---

136 Regulations of Xinjiang, 1843 and my translation
137 Ibid, 1843
138 Michel Foucault, 1988
as the way governments try to put the citizen into the exhibitions of governmental policies so that they can be governed. It may also be understood as the organized practices from the government on rationalization, techniques on subjects. Qing government’s special redefinition on Beg system based on Regulations of Xinjiang just can show the practice on how to govern civilian and Xinjiang after they unified Xinjiang. Even the later abolishment of Beg system after Xinjiang became a province of China also manifested a political rationality. Both of them declared necessities for stability in ruling.

Far from being restricted to rule, law, or other visible and accountable powers, governmentality works through a range of invisible and non-accountable social powers. Huijiang zelie (Regulations of Xinjiang, 1815) was a classic law to clarify regulations involving political, economic, religious, military, and other important national jurisdiction regulations on Xinjiang. It defined Beg system in Qing’s vision and established a “junzheng heyi, yijun tongzheng (military and political unity, to govern political system by military)” this primary thought and advocated “zhengjiao fenli (politics and religion must be separated)”. Through these points in governing Xinjiang were “not a matter of imposing laws on men, but rather of disposing things, that is to say, to employ tactics rather than laws, and if need be to use the laws as tactic.” By this way, this system limited or decreased the chances for local officials and people to contact and understand inner land in China while keeping Xinjiang in a sealed way. “Those who are Beg cannot be...”.

Meanwhile, Foucault’s theory on governmentality provides us a wider range of understanding on power and its implements include the forms of social control in disciplinary institutions (for example, schools, institutions, etc.), as well as the forms of knowledge. After many years’ efforts, Zuo was successful on the proposal of establishment of Xinjiang province in 1882 and together with extra two years’ preparations, Xinjiang finally became province and was belonged to China’s territory. Qing’s power can manifest itself positively by producing knowledge, like Zuo argued “if we wish to change people in Xinjiang’s customs and assimilate them to our Chinese way, we must found free schools and make the Muslim children Chinese books”, and these certain discourses that get internalized by individuals and guide the behavior of populations. Students in schools were also given Chinese names and this leads to more efficient forms of social control, as a good example of how knowledge enables individuals to govern themselves.

139 Ibid, 1988
140 Michel Foucault, p95, 1991
141 Zuo, 2008 and my translation
All Qing’s governmentality had been crystallized by hierarchical new settings of administrative system like Beg, also gave the new territory a wider range on social form and knowledge fields and generated invisible power to govern civilians. It formed gradual changing forms of political rationality and ruling tactics which catered for Qing rule and declared by specific law regulation to standardize its governmentality in a concrete way. The effect and influence were enormous so that we can find lots of similarities in contemporary China.

4.6.2. Muslim state and its ruling structure—a mutant form of governmentality

Zuo Zongtang wrote that Yaqub Beg’s soldiers had modern western weapons but fought timidly: “The Andijani chieftain Yaqub Beg has fairly good firearms. He has foreign rifles and foreign guns, including cannon using explosive shells [Kai huapao]; but his are not as good nor as effective as those in the possession of our government forces. His men are not good marksmen, and when repulsed they simply ran away.”

By analysis about this regime’s ruling structure, some people will argue that the collapse of this state is not the outcome of Qing’s reconquest and a simple military confrontation. (Here we have divergence from Chinese historical views). The regime had its limitations in governing the state and same with the weakness of Yaqub Beg’s government. Apparently, there was not administration units for this regime and Yaqub Beg didn’t institute a well-defined administrative apparatus, directed by high official, he took in charge of most important matters of this state by his own.

The reason of forming a state and Yaqub Beg called himself “Muhammad Yaqub Beg”, which is distinctive different from Hui’s rebellion. They want to be closer to their ethnic origin outside China and seek for their meaning and identity including some Hui Muslim joined him like Bai yanhu (1829? -1882, one of the leaders in Dungan revolt). In Foucault’s own words: “we need to see things not in terms of the replacement of a society of sovereignty by a disciplinary society and the subsequent replacement of a disciplinary society by a society of government; in reality one has a triangle, sovereignty-discipline-government, ...” Apparently, Yaqub Beg was not a good governor to know how to govern himself, how to govern others, let alone to harness people to accept to be governed.

142 John King Fairbank, Kwang-Ching Liu, Denis Crispin Twitchett, p241
143 Wu, p192 and my translation
144 Foucault, “Governmentality,” p102
145 Ibid, p87
4.6.3. The discussion on nationalism in governmentality

4.6.3.1. Muslim in Xinjiang’s fighting against Yaqub Beg’s invade

Yaqub seized Kashgaria first, where extended from the capital Kashgar in south-western Xinjiang, and his Turkic Kokandi Andijani Uzbek forces declared a war against Chinese Muslim rebels (Dungsans) under Tuo Ming (Muslim name as Daud Khalifa) during the 1862–1877 Dungan revolt both due to the fear of them engaging in a land grab and because as followers of the Muslim Shafi school of thought, they could not be allies to Beg’s Hanafi forces. Yaqub Beg enlisted non-Muslim Han Chinese militia under Xu Xuegong in order to fight against the Chinese Muslims\(^{146}\). Yaqub Beg had 1,500 Han Chinese militia with his Turkic forces attacking Dungsans in Urumchi\(^{147}\) (Urumchi south mountain local militia). The following year, in 1871, the Han Chinese militia switched sides and then joined the Dungsans’ uprising army in a revolt against the Turkic forces\(^{148}\) but Tuo Ming’s forces were defeated by Yaqub Beg, who planned to conquer Dzungaria and intended to seize all Dungan territory\(^{149}\). Tuo ming as a religious leader (ahong) together with Xu Xuegong wrote an important page for Muslim in Xinjiang who devoted themselves in fighting against intruders on this part of history. As an uprising army’s leader and a religious leader, Tuo Ming was also a strong-will leader in fighting against Qing decayed ruling while protecting his ethnic group’s arguing point by replying Qing’s amnesty. In his letter to emperor, he pointed out the reason of Muslim uprising was “upheaval of officials from Qing (guanli jibian)” and later Qing ruler replied him in serious and careful way by “upheaval of corrupted officials will definitely be investigated and punished severely but we can’t sit there and let revolts spread to every city, if you can think it over and retreat before the great army comes, we will offer a better chance for you. (guanli jibian, jianglai gudang chamingyanban, er gehuimu juchengbianluan, qineng zhizhibuwen? Tangneng yu dabingweidaozhixian, yuxian fanzheng, shangke wangkaiyimian.\(^{150}\)” when facing Yaqub Beg’s so called “holy war”, Tuoming could shift his army to fight against intruders. This is unforgettable right decision though he once gave out Urumqi to Yakub Beg\(^{151}\). But there were also

\(^{146}\) James A. Millward, p. 120
\(^{147}\) Wu, p221 and my translation
\(^{148}\) Kim, p. 96; Wu, p221
\(^{149}\) Cyril E. Black, Louis Dupree, Elizabeth Endicott-West, Eden Naby, p. 45
\(^{150}\) Fanglüe, vol 197, p17-8
\(^{151}\) Wu, p247 and my translation
some traitors from Hui Muslim like Ma rende, Bai yanhu who rebelled from their religious faith and liked to become those who offered help and being used by Yaqub Beg’s invade.\textsuperscript{152}

There are basically two approaches on this subject: the primordialist and the constructivist\textsuperscript{153}. The primordialist school views ethnic identity as a “given” or “natural” phenomenon.\textsuperscript{154} In this perspective, an ethnic group like Muslim constitutes the kinship network in which human individuals are born to be members of it, so does their religion. Group members, the group territory and objective cultural elements such as language, race, religion, custom, tradition, food, dress and music.\textsuperscript{155} There was no doubt that Xinjiang had longer history which involved with central Asia and southern Xinjiang where preserved stronger traditional and ethnic identity. So did Hui Muslim who were mainly in Gansu and Shaanxi. Along with these objective cultural markers, there are subjective markers which include the psychological aspect of self and group-related feelings of identity.\textsuperscript{156} And this perspective can explain why there were some groups of Muslim rebellists like Bai yanhu who were named as “traitor” from Chinese historian, joined Yaqub Beg’s regime. They might share same cultural perspectives as language, race, religion, custom..., which were hard to be assimilated by political power while the sense of seeking ethnicity identity could be magnified as long as there were tyrannical administrations. The second approach, that of the constructivist contends that ethnic identity is socially constructed and is the product of processes that are embedded in human actions or choices. To constructivists, what really matters is that people define themselves as culturally and physically distinct from others. Rather than shared descent, appropriate political actions mobilize ethnic factors into a group formation, which explains on some leaders of uprising who were Uyghur and Hui Muslim joined the regime (at least some had followed Yaqub Beg at beginning). While Qing rule ignored the fact that much of the tradition is invented, the latter constructivists like some leaders neglected the emotional power of ethnicity (before they noticed that Yaqub Beg’s regime was following anther kind of tyrannical rule and let them lost their identity by massacres). They may have no cultural and physical link with Chinese but the power of ethnicity let local Uyghur finally joined the fights to anti-Yaqub Beg’s invade. Ethnicity is not a static phenomenon. The boundaries of an ethnic group are shaped and negotiated in relation to change.

\textsuperscript{152} A brief history of Xinjiang, p184 and my translation
\textsuperscript{153} Approaches adopted from Urmila Phadnis and Raj at Ganguly, 2001
\textsuperscript{154} Quoted in Urmila Phadnis and Rajat Ganguly, Ibid, p.23
\textsuperscript{155} Quoted in Urmila Phadnis and Rajat Ganguly, No.2, p.23
\textsuperscript{156} Rex, John, and Mason David Eds.
social, political and economic contexts\(^\text{157}\).

Nationalism sentiment, according to Ernest Gellner is the feeling of anger aroused by the violation of the principle, or the feeling of satisfaction aroused by its fulfillment...one particular form of the violation of the national principle to which nationalist sentiment is quite particularly sensitive: if the rulers of the political unit belong to a nation other than that of the majority of the ruled\(^\text{158}\)...this can occur either through the incorporation of the national territory in a larger empire, or by the local domination of an alien group. National sentiment is a double-edged sword to civilian in Xinjiang or to Qing government. National sentiment had played an important role in fighting with intruding force and tyranny regime for Muslim in Xinjiang.

4.6.3.2. Religion and nationalism in the Muslim state

Dru Gladney in his case study on Hui Muslims in China argues that the ethnic identity of Muslims is inseparably in identifying with an Islamic tradition and so it is “more than an ethnic identity; it is ethno-religious.\(^\text{159}\)” Therefore, religion is not only a system of faith for Uyghur Muslims but also a form to preserve their historical traditions and culture.

After Yaqub Beg found the state, he gave himself the title “Athalik Ghazi” (Champion Father of the Faithful), “Yaqub Beg, calling all true Mussulmans to his standard, and avowing himself then, as always, Athalik Ghazi, Champion Father of the Faithful, defeated the remnants of the Buddhist Chinese; crushed the Mahommedan Chinese\(^\text{160}\).” We can see his intention to crush ethnic identity of “Chinese Muslim” by nominating himself as a mighty religious father so that he could rule this new Islamic world from both religion and politics.

Yaqub entered into relations and signed treaties with the Russian Empire and Great Britain, but when he tried to get their support against China he failed by borrowing powers to separate China. There are evidences to show that Yaqub Beg was disliked by his Turkic Muslim subjects by burdening them with heavy taxes and suppressing them to a harsh version of Islamic Sharia law\(^\text{161}\).

\(^{157}\) Smith, Joanne N., p155

\(^{158}\) Ernest Gellner, p1

\(^{159}\) Gladney, Dru G, p118.

\(^{160}\) The Spectator, Vol 51, p1607

\(^{161}\) Note: a kind of Islamic law which has suspicious of violating human rights and carry out outside China nowadays. See Linda Benson, Ingvar Svanberg, p. 19
But local politics and economy had been destroyed a lot by his rule. It was written by Zuo Zongtang that "when Andijanis are tyrannical to their people; government troops should comfort them with benevolence. When Andijanis are greedy in bullying and extorting from the people; government troops should rectify and adjust governance to show generous". Yaqub Beg’s rule was devastating to Ili region in Xinjiang so that Qing had to change Urumqi as new center later. One of the local Kashgaris, a warrior and a chieftain's son, commented “During the Chinese rule there was everything; there is nothing now.”. The local Uyghurs of Altishahr came to view Yaqub Beg as a Kokandi foreigner and his Kokandi associates behaved ruthlessly to the local Uyghurs, an anti-Yaqub Beg poem was written by the Uyghur:

From Peking the Chinese came, like stars in the heaven.
The Andijanis rose and fled, like pigs in the forest.
They came in vain and left in vain, the Andijanis!
They went away scared and languidly, the Andijanis!
Every day they took a virgin, and
They went hunting for beauties.
They played with the dancing boys,
Which the Holy Law has forbidden.

During the course of the rebellion, after the Qing military and officials were killed or forced out of the land, a functioning independent Muslim state was formed, with very specific application of Muslim Shariah law, including prohibitions on drinking and restrictions on women. This appeal to Islam gained the regime a measure of legitimacy, but Kim suggests the application of Islamic principles also repelled much of the population, some of whom eventually actually welcomed the return of the Chinese. Islam worked as an appeal to expel the Chinese, but was limited in enabling a stable, secure state. Once the mass slaughters of the Chinese inhabitants were completed and the common enemy removed, the Turkic-speakers often turned against the Tungans, and even the various Turkic tribes engaged in internecine conflict over lands, leadership positions, and taxes. The Islamic cement cracked. Yaqub Beg’s regime made extensive efforts to gain international legitimacy, gaining recognition from Great Britain and Russia, including the negotiation of trade agreements with each side.

162 John King Fairbank, p.221 and my adjusted translation based on Chinese text
163 Demetrius Charles de Kavanagh Boulger, p18
164 Kim, p90, citing Muhammad A’lam in his Tadhkira-i Hazji Padishah
However, very few modern national movements are actually based on a strong ethnic consciousness, though they often invent one once they have got going, in the form of racism. After Yaqub Beg seized Aksu from Chinese Muslim forces and forced them to go to north of the Tian Shan mountains, he processed series of massacres upon the Chinese Muslims (Tunganis) and everywhere he had been he would grab lots of resources including women and young boys as “gifts”. Later most of the Muslim uprising armies from Urumqi, Turpan, and Hami in central and southern Xinjiang like Aksu and to the north-east part in Xinjiang, were defeated by this illiterate, tricky and greedy Yakub Beg. An Asian state like China, negative ethnicity is virtually always irrelevant to proto-nationalism, and the ethnic-racial homogeneity of one’s own ‘nationality’ is taken for granted, and same as China, ethnic differences have played a rather small part in the genesis of modern nationalism.

Religion is a paradoxical cement for proto-nationalism, and indeed for modern nationalism, which has usually (at least in its more crusading phases) treated it with considerable reserve as a force which could challenge the ‘nation’s’ monopoly claim to its members’ loyalty. Yaqub Beg’s regime, in any case genuinely tribal religions normally operate on too small a scale for modern nationalities, and resist much broadening out. That’s potential reason why Yaqub Beg’s regime collapsed. This only can impose limits on religio-ethnic identification which distinguishes the people from only some neighboring people. So on this sense, religion is not a necessary mark of proto-nationality but showing its backwardness in international background as modern nationalism.

Yaqub Beg’s regime in fact could not sustain a military force large enough to resist consistent Qing pressure; at least, it could not do so with the resources available to it in Turkestan. The need for good relations with the Ottoman sultan were not merely political and ideological, but above all military. Yaqub Beg needed the weapons, funds, and trained officers the sultan could provide. Maintaining his army of 40,000 put a terrible tax burden on a population estimated at about one million. Still, Ottoman training and Russian and British arms did not give Yaqub Beg a reliable

---

165 E.J. Hobsbawm, P65
166 Wu, p221 and my translation
167 E.J. Hobsbawm, P66-7
168 E.J. Hobsbawm, P68
169 E.J. Hobsbawm, P69
170 E.J. Hobsbawm, P71
army. During the Qing assault, the Tungan units often surrendered or fled before battle began, and other units abandoned their garrisons to flee deeper into Kashgharia.

Yaqub Beg’s regime made extensive efforts to gain international legitimacy, gaining recognition from Great Britain and Russia, including the negotiation of trade agreements. There were very extensive contacts between the new Muslim state and the Ottoman Empire. Yaqub Beg’s state agreed to accept Ottoman as its suzerainty in return for weapons, uniforms, advisers, and even some troops.

One real addition to our knowledge of the military aspects of the Qing campaign to crush the revolt is the revelation that Yaqub Beg ordered his forces not to open fire on the Qing even if delaying fire and required withdrawal in the face of attack. This order, according to the author, appears in several of the Muslim sources, but not at all in the Chinese sources. That would explain why traditional accounts of the suppression of the rebellion have not mentioned such an order. Kim notes the few explanations for this odd order, but finds them unconvincing and speculates that Yaqub Beg hoped to reach an agreement with the Qing court for the independence of his regime. He himself died during the campaign, possibly from poison but leaving little fighting before the Qing fully recovered the land and made it a centrally administered province of the Qing realm. A local rebelled regime, to the ruler of the nation, for example, his “independent state”, is a violation on Qing’s nationalism; while Qing’s segregation treatment as its form and legitimacy of governmentality in politics, culture, economy and so on was also a form of violation to inhabitants in Xinjiang. Nationalism arises with state and rulers as preconditions and it is a theory of political legitimacy, which requires that ethnic boundaries within a given state---a contingency already formally excluded by the principle in its general formulation---should not separate the power-holders from the rest. All these newly founded regime or political government need the legitimated forms (regulations, laws, international recognition and so on) to acknowledge their existences.

4.6.4. The Qing government’s ruling structure in Xinjiang

Linfan Yuan and Zongli yamen---echo racial thought in Qing’s ruling

LifanYuan (The Court of Colonial Affairs) was governmental bureau which was established in the 17th century by Qing dynasty to especially handle relations with the peoples and civil administration from Inner Asia. The administrative procedures were fixed in 1697 with the promulgations of the Lifanyuan zeli -----“regulations of the Court of Colonial Affairs”. The Court of

171 Gellner, p1
Colonial Affairs administered the ennoblement of natives, their tributes, border disputes, officials, military and justice, household registers, taxes, economy, courier stations, trade and religion\textsuperscript{172}. It signified the growing interest of China in Central Asia. The royal court appointed governors to supervise Chinese territory in Central Asia and Tibet, granted permits to merchants to trade in these areas, took charge of Russian students and traders who came to China, and supervised the Russian religious mission in Beijing.

In 1861, the responsibility for handling Russian affairs was taken over by a newly created foreign office, which was called the Zongli yamen (Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Qing Dynasty).

**Qing’s governance in Xinjiang before and after the rebellion**

Based on the early Qing Dynasty’s unification, the Qing government reunified Xinjiang, it laid heavy emphasis on political administration on northern Xinjiang instead of southern part and decided to focus more on the northern part of Xinjiang around Tiansha’s governance, particularly in the northwestern region where is near the border areas like Yili region in order to consolidate and strengthen the Northwest frontier. They implemented the military government management system and established of Ili, Urumqi, Tarbaghatai, Kashgar as the four factions of administrated stations to control the Tianshan Mountains, among which the most important minister was the Yili General.

“Where Urumqi, Barkol, all Manchurian, Solun, Chahar and green flag officers, all are listening to Ili General’s dispatches. Hui section is same with Ili, from Yarkand, Kashgar as well as officers and soldiers who station in Hami, are also listened by General\textsuperscript{173}. Thus, the Qing government also set up with the political and military stress on northern Xinjiang and founded the system “to govern southern Xinjiang by northern part.” So did farming policy (tuntian\textsuperscript{174})

After Qing reconquered Xinjiang and found it as a province of China in 1884, Qing reinforced a series of measures in administration, military, economy, culture and other aspects to make sure its

\textsuperscript{172} Chen qiangyi,1992, Note: “Lifanyuan 理藩院” Translation of terms, as far as possible, according to Charles O. Hucker (1985), *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford, Ca.: Stanford University Press), otherwise also according to H. S. Brunnert, V. V. Hagelstrom (1912), *Present Day Political Organization of China* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh).

\textsuperscript{173} (Imperially endorsed) Military annual of pacification of the Zhunghars, 1770 and my translation

\textsuperscript{174} Author note: tuntian (“tun” is to store, “tian” mean field) can show strong color as colonialism in ruling Xinjiang. It formed as agro-colonies, mostly in border regions and used to serve or supply the inhabitants and Chinese colonists with agricultural products. But again, Han Chinese were forbidden to enter these areas till 1832. Some of these colonies were of purely civilian character (mintun, yingtian), but most of them were staffed with military personnel (juntun 軍屯). This colonial way had been adopted since Han dynasty in China.
The Dungan revolt was initiated by Yaqub Beg from 1864-1878 which led to the killing of original Han Chinese and Chinese Hui Muslims in Xinjiang. The recovering and reconstruction programs were initiated by the Qing which resulted in the Chinese government helped Uyghurs migrate from southern Xinjiang to other areas of the province also migrated more Han and Hui into Xinjiang. As Zuo zongtang and first governor of Xinjiang Liu Jintang strongly recommended Xinjiang as a province which located the capital city as Dihua (modern Urumqi), where is in the northern Tianshan Mountains to determine the new political stress as northern Xinjiang again. These measures completed Xinjiang’s unity, to some extent, resisted the invasion of foreign invaders; improved the pattern of economic development in Xinjiang, to achieve a stabilized system by taking Northern Xinjiang as ruling center of Xinjiang; developed a large number of oasis towns as ethnic pattern and optimized resources partly. But Tuntian caused imbalanced regional development, “ruling Xinjiang with northern part Xinjiang” brought made ethnic structure and ethnic policy became unreasonable which resulted in a risk of ethnic conflict in South even till now. All these rulings made a sequence of pitfalls so that Xinjiang has not been able to converge itself with inner land in politics, economy, military, cultures and so many other areas. On the contrary, the policy made Xinjiang maintain its individuality and a state of being isolated in a quite deep degree. Local ethnic groups have been in a kind of marginal situation to the Qing’s imperial nation. All of these have become a hidden danger which can be found in later period like modern China and contemporary China.

4.7. Further discussion on colonialism and nationalism in Xinjiang

After Qianlong emperor unified Xinjiang, he approved to migrate non-Muslim to Xinjiang, partly because of heavy loss in population during wartime, but also this moving had its respective political strategic meaning to Qing and influenced local Xinjiang’s social life.

In Kashaghar and Yarkand of Xinjiang, the Qing government had constructed separated forts outside the walls, but near the Muslim town, to accommodate its colonial officials and soldiers as well as merchants (mostly non-Turkic and non-Muslim peoples); In Kucha they built the fort inside the city itself and then erected the walls designed to separate the living quarters of the local Muslims from the non-Muslim outsiders who served the Qing’s administration. Qing carried out series of foundation of military forts and draw distinctive lines between Han Chinese and Muslim by “Hui city” and “Han city”, the sequence by these was enormous and serious to ethnic assimilation and to social hierarchy even to nowadays Xinjiang. “There is not much differences in
Urumqi. We don’t go their living area, so do they... While Qing tried to build up Han city (Manchurian were there also) to demonstrate their ethnic identities and show priority on Muslim, these would be a double edged sword to separate this region into pieces and actually into two groups: Non-Muslim and Muslim in Xinjiang (including Hui and Uyghur). Han Chinese from inner-land were forbidden to enter tuntian regions in Xinjiang, it also became the hindrance of the quick development in economy of Xinjiang. By adapted Beg system and Junfu zhi (military and government system, mainly Manchurian as nominated military officers) in politics and military in Xinjiang, these would spread the seeds of distrust and discontent between non-Muslim and Muslim. Non-Muslim came from central China and didn’t know or care to know much about Xinjiang and Muslim religion together with its culture; Muslim civilian and Beg had not good impression on them either plus divided living area; in colonies, the native intelligentsia played such a crucial role in forging nationalists consciousness because they were bilingual (Beg in Xinjiang seemed to be multi-lingual) and had access “to the models of nationalism”... Qing rulers just noticed this positive perspective in earlier governance before the rebellion and incorporated with local Beg by language education to pacify situation in Xinjiang. Later Qing abolished Beg system and reinforced language education in whole Xinjiang after 1884. It borrowed language this factor to form more fundamental to develop national consciousness...these all in Qing rule appeared to have strong color of colonialism.

Colonialism and imperialism are usually inseparable. Because it might already have been inhabitants living in those places where colonies were established. As Loomba mentioned the process of “forming a community” in the new land necessarily meant unforming or re-forming the communities the communities that existed there already, and involved a wide range of practices including trade, plunder, negotiation, warfare, genocide, enslavement and rebellions. Here we have almost all these features in Qing’s ruling and conquest in Xinjiang since 1750s. Colonialism can be defined as the conquest and control of other people’s land and goods. Meanwhile, the emerge of Yaqub Beg’s regime with its governing and activities can also be defined as colonialism. In most places, the original inhabitants, who logically grouped themselves into separate cultural

175 Interviewee 6 from field study of my course’s assignment Jan,14 of HT2016.
176 Lin xian’en, p233 and my translation
177 Loomba, p189; B. Anderson, p116, 1991
178 Loomba, p1-2
179 Loomba, p2
units (i.e. ethnicities)\textsuperscript{180}, thus even later the forces or assimilation would push them in to be politically and socially marginalized from the new centers of power, this dispossessed power also distance original people from new founded colonized land. In the eyes of power-holder, these barbarians were uncivilized, backward, violence and mysterious with their religion. They should be reformed in order to be cultivated as civilized citizens of heaven kingdom. So we also can address uprising in Dungan revolt in Xinjiang is anti-colonial movements instead of “anti-Qing rule” as Chinese historian preferred. Anti-colonial movements in the form of uprising also represented the common interests of all those people of a colonized land. Superficially, we can get background of conflicts which origin from “corrupted Qing rule and suppression” but it becomes quite evidently to consider this chaotic society as a miniature of colonial world. It is different from other conflicts which coexisted in China at the same time because of its complexities in religion, language, ethnicity, natural territory, culture in this region.

It is hard to calculate the population proportion in Xinjiang after Qianlong emperor advocated moving inner land civilian to Xinjiang but we can see the migration policy had set up in Qing dynasty, the change in proportion of population in Xinjiang as consequence of hundreds of years’ contribution can be found in contemporary demographic statistics as below\textsuperscript{181}:

\begin{table}[!h]
\centering
\caption{Changing Ethnic Composition in Xinjiang 1949, 1995 and 2002}

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
Ethnic groups & 1949 & 1995 & 2002 \\
\hline
Han & 7\% & 38\% & 40.61\% \\
Uyghurs & 75\% & 48\% & 47\% \\
Kazak & 10\% & 7\% & 5\% \\
Kirkiz & 2\% & 1\% & 1\% \\
Hui & 3\% & 4\% & 4\% \\
Mongolian & 1\% & 1\% & 1\% \\
Others & 2\% & 1\% & 1\% \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

The Han, constituting only 7 per cent in 1949 and comprised 40.61 per cent in 2002. This might threaten the Uyghur group identity. But it’s not a concern to those who have the label as majority. Hence those related problematic aspects in social life can be imagined like language as hindrance in job-seeking, consistence in education (bilingual), social communication in media and publications,

\textsuperscript{180} Loomba, p8

\textsuperscript{181} Source: Jin yunhui, 1998, quoted in Wang yuankang, Sep.2001; Abanti Bhattacharya, p13
religion practice and religious public. Xinjiang is an important strategic region both in its location and its resource potential. Economically, the fabled silk road passes through the resource-rich region of Xinjiang. The country was separated by both Qing’s separating policies from inside and foreign forces from borders and outside China but after full consideration and heat debate in Qing court, by the trend of consistent colonial ruling, Qing would never give up Xinjiang and add it in its territory in 1884, but Uyghur’s growing nationalism since the 19th century has challenged the colonial land where Qing ruled, and nationalism as a cultural construct with enables the colonized to posit their difference and autonomy.\(^{182}\)

\(^{182}\) Loomba, p190: citing from Partha Chatterjee
5. **Conclusion**

**A promising hub for flourish society and bloody conflicts**

The Xinjiang region has become rendezvous point of various branches of Turkic people such as the Uyghurs, Kazaks, Kyrgyz, Tatars and Uzbeks. The Uyghurs comprised the single most numerous ethnic group in Xinjiang based on common Turkic ancestry and rich Uyghur language. Located on the famous Silk Road, Uyghurs played an important role in cultural exchanges between the East and the West, and developed a unique culture and civilization of their own\(^{183}\). Xinjiang has strategic significance as a frontier of China or the passage way and hub for economic and cultural exchanges between the East and the West.

It concentrates multi-ethnic groups with respectively multi-religion. Before Islam was introduced into Xinjiang, there had already been believers in Zoroastrianism (around the 4\(^{th}\) century), Buddhism (around the 1\(^{st}\) century B.C., Buddhism, born in India, and was introduced into Xinjiang through Kashmir\(^{184}\)), Taoism (around the 5\(^{th}\) century), Manichaeism and Nestorianism. These religious faiths had spread to Xinjiang along the Silk Road and thrived together with the local primitive religions. Before the foreign religions were introduced into Xinjiang, the ancient residents there believed in native primitive religions and the Shamanism evolved therefrom. Even today, some minority peoples in Xinjiang still accustom to some of the concepts and customs which characterize and derive of these beliefs on different levels. After the introduction of Islam, the coexistence of diverse religions continued to be in Xinjiang, some may be joined later by Protestantism and Catholicism\(^{185}\). Xinjiang has always been a region where a number of religions coexisted. And because of long-term coexistence of religious identities, according to some contemporary Uyghur intellectuals, Xinjiang had formed the idea of Uyghur nationalism or Turk nationalism after the Manchu conquest of East Turkistan in 1759. Uyghur poets such as Shair Akhun, Khislat Kashgari, Turdy Garibi and Abduraim Nizari rose to prominence, and Uyghur writers, in protest of the years of Manchu and Chinese oppression, developed a literature of social protest\(^{186}\). While Qing ignored Uyghur culture but addressed them as ancient thinking on “shengfan (raw barbarians)” and took serious measures to assimilate them roughly. Taking *yi* or *fan* as rulers’

\(^{183}\) See Linda Benson, 1999, 18 (3) 277-279

\(^{184}\) Note: Before the 15\(^{th}\) century the people in the Tarim basin area, who were essentially Buddhists, were referred to as Uyghurs.

\(^{185}\) [http://www.china-embassy.org/eng/zt/zfbps/t36560.htm](http://www.china-embassy.org/eng/zt/zfbps/t36560.htm) and my translation

\(^{186}\) Olson, James S., p.345
view on ethnic groups played very negative role in unifying ethnic groups in China.

Those cities and areas which are mentioned in Xinjiang, like Urumqi, Aksu, Kashaghar, or Yarkand (Shache in Xinjiang now) may still be potential conflict center. Xinjiang has a long unrest history of violence conflicts: in 2009, over 200 people were killed in Urumqi in series of riots; in 2010, an attack happened in Aksu city, killing 7 people and wounding 14 others after bloody ethnic rioting shook the area a year ago; in 2013, 15 police officers and community workers had been killed and six suspects shot dead in a clash in Kashgar; In 2014 Shache (Yarkand) was broadcast on news about terrorist attack with 37 people dead (Han Chinese were 35 and Uyghur were 2 people)...The research can explained in a way how and why we have these more frequent conflicts in Xinjiang. By this research, I present and analyze an upheaval in later 19th century which concentrated problematic situation and contained all factors in a conflict field. By taking this event as a miniature to explain hidden elements which led to unrest uprising, riots and rebellion in that special period.

**Racism and segregation from politics to social life in the 19th century’s Xinjiang**

As Tu Weiming argues, the idea of a cultural core area, thus, remained potent and continuous in Chinese consciousness\(^{187}\). Something is always buried deeply in people’s thought and this would be a yardstick and module to policy making and governmentality of a government. Taking ancient thought of barbarian was negative in ruling multi-ethnic group state. Some historians even argue this “shengfan” opinion on ethnic group caused border issues in ancient China. It basically isolated ethnic groups with central China even they were within the territory, as we read in Qing history “Riben bingchuan di Taiwan deng’an, yu shengfan xunxi. (Japanese military troops debarked on Taiwan and provoked with raw barbarians.)\(^{188}\) Where there is a trend to overvalue a core culture, there would have unbalance and prejudice notions on other cultures. Hence culture mixes with religion, language, ethnic groups will bring complexity on special social issues. With Qing rulers’ understanding on ancient classic Chinese thoughts, their way of treating ethnic groups which had no lineage with them were far from justice and friendly. From political administration, military, to regulations and law in social life, there were strong influences of racial prejudice and cultural racism in Qing’s policy in ruling Xinjiang. Culture differences were not assimilated but magnified by hostile justification and discrimination and ancient phenomenon of tribalism and xenophobic can

\(^{187}\) Note: Professor Tu is currently working on a number of projects related to Confucian humanism and Confucian ethics (http://tuweiming.net/)

\(^{188}\) Qing history. Tongzhi emperor vol 2
be found on Qing ruling including distrust on Muslim in Xinjiang. There were clear lines among
Manchu, Mongols and Chinese in local Xinjiang to isolate Muslim and these became the leads of
social conflicts in the later 19th century. Cultural racism together with Rulers’ unification thinking
on border or frontier are two powerful compatible weapons to rule the country stable and integrated
while weakening those potential forces which can be threatens to this imperial court. Muslim in
west of China (both Uyghur and Hui) were suffered a lot by massacres or even genocide from the
process of unification and these painful shared experiences would become a collective memory
which pass on later generations, thus this formed a perpetual wound and negative ethnic sentiment
which are buried deeply in people’s minds. The analysis on racism and segregation in Qing dynasty
brings people an access to understand the origin of violence and conflicts in Xinjiang from culture
and social perspective.

Qing’s nationalism as a label of great power chauvinism

Culture concept defines conceptual boundary of Chinese state and the transition from one kind
of high culture to the other is visible outwardly as the coming of nationalism. Qing had done lots
of works with their adapted racial thoughts on religion, ethnicity...which they believed to adopt
nationalism and modernity took in consideration. This transitional nationalism was a glory to this
last feudal empire and the formed nationalism pass on to even successive governments. This was a
satisfaction to those who were ruling class to present how capable the strong culture could be in
cultivating subordinated culture and ethnic groups, as they usually said so “to follow the trend and
flow of history (shun ying lishi chaoliu)” in Chinese academic texts and political rhetoric now. But
apparently, these reforms which consist of the Chinese nationalism were tough accesses and
journeys for those were being “cultivated, separated, ignored and discriminated”. The explanation
of changing nationalism of my thesis is a good way to show people, how this thought is formed and
where they are now, they are in people’s minds, political principles, and in the reasons of bloody
conflicts. Roughly separated treatment showed negative more than positive, it became the pitfall of
rebellion in later Qing dynasty or even to nowadays conflict in China. Our planet also contains
room for a certain number of independent or autonomous political units...the satisfaction of some
spells the frustration of others...their unwillingness to suffer such fates may make the peaceful
implementation of the nationalist principle difficult.

Qing’s governmentality before and after rebellion

189 E.J. Hobsbawm, P136
190 Ibid, p2
Despite there were undeniable positive parts to Xinjiang under Qing rule, for example, to develop agriculture and recover local economy after war and violence conflict; to unify Xinjiang as an integrated administrative unit so that it could be offered a consistent development in merging into modern society; to build up formal public education system and maintain traditional customs by “governing separately”, etc.

The reason of uprisings and rebellion in the later 19th century were mainly from Qing’s society who had severe problem on cultural cleavage between Uyghur elites and civilian in Xinjiang and its ruling problems in Qing’s governmentality. In agrarian societies, no state has an interest in promoting cultural homogeneity at this social level. The state was interested in extracting taxes, maintaining the peace, and has no interest in promoting lateral communication between its subject communities. To Qing’s interest, this would be more like exploitation based on cultural imperialism more than ethnics’ assimilation, the efforts of one culture or another to dominate and expand to fill out a political unit.

According to understanding from Qing ruling class, there were misdeeds in administration which caused civilian’s uprisings. However, this explanation was far from innocence and facts behind this. It was definitely not just from social exploitation and oppression like Qing rule in other regions in China but mixed with discrimination and injustice on religion, culture, language and ethnicity identification. The Muslim rebellion and the foundation of an independent state had an enormous impact to China. As an ethnic group of China, Qing built second ethnic origin regime in China also the last feudal empire in Chinese history and it didn’t take ethnic groups’ sensitivities in the process of ethnics’ assimilation into account and roughly push Muslim to merge and subordinate into Chinese nationalism while isolated them as marginal community in their predominant living region. The direct cause of uprising and rebellion were racial thinking as core ruling ideas which spread and present in every policy making and implementation in Qing. The reason of making final decision to reconquest Xinjiang was because of previous strategic investment (on military, politics, and culture infiltration) and territory/border/frontier securities more than so called “national sentiment and brotherhood emotions between central China and ethnic groups in Xinjiang.” Qing rule before and after rebellion had distinctive features as

---

191 E.J. Hobsbawm, p10

192 Ibid, p10

193 Ibid, p12

194 Note: we can find this kind of tone in describing reconquest of Xinjiang in Chinese history materials.
colonial administration so that we can find some international similarities from outside China in the
19th century while it also kept primitive racial discrimination on ethnic groups after Qing rulers
became dominate ruling class in China.

Religious differences in Xinjiang thus became (often rather confusedly) an index and metaphor
for racial, cultural and ethnic differences195. Beside this natural differences, racial stereotypes also
can be found in later 19th century in Xinjiang in the form of colonialism and discrimination thoughts
as “barbarians” in rulers’ opinion. Racial culturalism, expansive Chinese nationalism together with
tighten governmentality became powerful weapons to rule Xinjiang and brought suffocation to local
Muslim. Qing set up series of policies in ruling this multi-ethnic and multi-cultural land and left
strong influences to successive governments even if Qing as feudal empire was eradicated in 1912.
This thesis has explored lots of issues by taking a short 14 years’ historical event as a prototype to
analysis all related perspectives on concentrated conflicts. By this researching conclusion, I wish to
bring more inspiration to people and hopefully to help people get more indications from currently
ongoing conflict. History will go back and forth but truths always live inside it.

---

195 Loomba, p106
Timeline of related events

- **History of Xinjiang in Qing dynasty**

  Capital of Xinjiang was Ili (c. 1762-1871) and Ürümqi/Urumqi (1884-1912)

  Established 1759

  Dungan revolt 1862-1877

  Conversion into province 1884

  Disestablished 1912

- **Last three imperial dynasties**

  Yuan dynasty 1271–1368: Mongolian dynasty

  Ming dynasty 1368–1644

  Qing dynasty 1644–1911:

  - **Key emperors in this thesis**

    Kangxi Emperor (1662-1722), Yongzheng Empeor (1723-1735), Qianlong Emperor (1736-1969), Tongzhi Emperor (1862-1875), Guangxu Emperor (1875-1908)

  - **Events and figures in Qing dynasty**

    1835 Dowager Empress Cixi born

    1839 First Opium War

    1842 Treaty of Nanjing; Signing of Treaty of Nanjing; First Opium War

    1850 -1864 Taiping Rebellion

    1857-1860 Second Opium War

    1875 Emperor Guangxu became ruler

    1893 Mao Zedong born at Shaoshan Hunan

    1894 Japanese naval attack
References

Alvesson, Mats (2009), 1956-Reflexive methodology: new vistas for qualitative research, Los Angeles; London: Sage


Bhattacharya, Abanti, Conceptualizing Uyghur Separatism in Chinese Nationalism, Strategic Analysis, 27:3, 357-381, DOI: 10.1080/09700160308450095


Demetrius, Charles de Kavanagh Boulger (1878), The life of Yakoob Beg: Athalik ghazi, and Badaulet; Ameer of Kashgar, London: W. H. ALLEN & CO.

Dikötter, Frank (2015), The Discourse of Race in Modern China, 1st ed; New York: Oxford University Press


Elliott, Mark (2001), The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China, Stanford university press


Gardell, Mattias (2010), Islamofobi, Leopard, Stockholm, 2010


Gellner, Ernst (2009), Nations and Nationalism, (Second Edition), Kindle Books


Hobsbawm, Eric (2012), Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality, Cambridge University Press,


Horowitz Donald L. (1985), Ethnic Groups in Conflict, University of California press, Berkeley

Jin yunhui (1998), A general Survey of Economic and Social Development in Xinjiang, Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region Statistics Bureau, Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe,


Smith, Joanne N. (2002), Making Culture Matter: Symbolic, Spatial and Social Boundaries Between Uyghurs and Han Chinese, Asian Ethnicity. September, 3 (2) 155


The Spectator, Volume 51. London: John Campbell, 1 Wellington Street, Strand. 1878

Treaty of Saint Petersburg in Chinese version¹⁹⁶ (1881), First Historical Archives, Beijing


Urmila Phadnis and Raj at Ganguly (2001), Ethnicity and Nation building in South Asia.1989, Sage Publications; New Delhi. (For other views on primordialist school see, Clifford Geertz, Primordial Ties. In John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith Eds., Ethnicity, Oxford University

¹⁹⁶ Note: It is called Ili tiaoyue (Ili treaty)in Chinese.

Zhao gang (2006), Reinventing China Imperial Qing Ideology and the Rise of Modern Chinese National Identity in the Early Twentieth Century, Modern China, vol 32, No.1

Chinese Reference 197


大清高宗淳皇帝实录 DaQing Gaozong Chunhuangdi shilu (1964), (The veritable record of the Qianlong emperor), vol.30, Taipei: Huawen shuju.

大清律历(道光年本) DaQing lüli (Great Qing Legal Code) (Version 1872) --- the part about Hui Muslim (e-version http://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&res=6315&remap=gb)

大清圣祖仁皇帝实录 Da Qing shengzu Renhuangdi shilu (1964), (The veritable record of the Kangxi emperor), vol.6 , Taipei: Huawen shuju.

大清世祖章皇帝实录 DaQing Shizu Zhanghuangdi shilu (1964), (The veritable record of the Shunzhi emperor), vol.3, Taipei: Huawen shuju.

Deng Biquan (compiled with footnotes) (2004), 陈瑸诗文集 Chenbin shiwenji (Chen Bin poetry collection), Renminribao chubanshe (People’s daily press)

《回疆则例》道光二十三年（1843 年）理藩院刊刻 Huijiang zelie (1843)(Regulations on Xinjiang) Daoguang version, Lifanyuan, First historical Achieves, Beijing


Lin zexu (1845), 新疆南路拜城回民生计篇 Xiangyi Xinjiang nanlu bacheng huimin shengjipian (Detailed discussion on ethnic groups’ lives in southern Xinjiang)

Li guantao (1959), 明清档案存甄选集初记 Ming Qing dang’an cunzhen xuanji chuji (The first volume of the collected archives of the Ming-Qing period). Taipei: Institute for History and Language. Academica Sinica.

Lin xian’en (1988), Qingchao zai Xinjiang de Han Hui geli zhengce (Segregation policy on Han Chinese and Uyghur of Xinjiang in Qing dynasty), Commercial press: Taipei

Li guoxiang (1991), 明实录类纂·涉外史料卷 Ming shilu leizuan, shewai shiliao juan (Collection of source materials on foreign affairs from the veritable records of the Ming dynasty). Wuhan:

197 Note: those with Chinese characters are primary Chinese archives (with italic pinyin as pronunciation of Chinese character); Chubanshe means press or publishing house; Chinese archives or materials in English are from my translation
林则徐下 Linzexu ji xiace, zougao juan shiyi 左稿卷十一(1965) (The second part collection of Linzexu, vol.11 of memorials, Zhongshan university History department, Zhonghua shuju

Li Fanwen and Yu Chengui (1988), Xibe Huimin qiyi yanjiu ziliao hui bian (A compendium of research on the Righteous Uprising of the Hui in northwest China). Ningxia

Ma Changshou (1993), Tongzhi nianjian Shaanxi Huimin qiyi lishi diaocha jilu (A record of investigations into the history of Shaanxi Hui during the Tongzhi period/Shan Gan Muslim Sedition), Xi’an: Shaanxi People's chubanshe (Publishing House)

Ma Shouqian (1986), Qing chao tongzhi nianjian beijing huimin zhiwei kanggan douzhen shulue (A brief history on Hui people's self-defense to Qing in Northern Xinjiang during Tongzhi period), History and geography in Northwest China, vol.1.

明汇典 Ming huidian(The collection of the Ming institutions) Beijing: Zhonghua shuju,
明史料甲编 Ming Qing shiliao jiabian (1972), (The collection of the Ming and Qing period’s archives), Institute for History and Language, Academia Sinica, Taibei

Mulla Musa (2008), Yimide history (1908) vol 1, Beijing: Minzu chubanshe

Qia mu (1980), 读明初开国诸臣诗文集 Du Mingchu kaiguo zhuchen shiwenji (Reading on the poems and writings by the officials who contributed to the establishment of the Ming empire). In Zhongguo xueshu sixiangshi lun cong (Collection of essays on Chinese thought and scholarship). Vol.6. Taibei: Dongda tushu chuban gongsi

Qianlong emperor (1993), 乾隆朝满文朱批奏 Qianlong chao Manwen zhupi zouzhe No.308, Seksen, QL24.8.4, First historical Archives, Beijing

Qianlong emperor (1993), 乾隆御制诗文全集 Qianlong yuzhi shiwen quanj, (The Complete collection of Qianlong’s essays and poems) vols. 10, Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe

Qian Zhongshu (1986), 管锥编 Guanzhui bian (Collection of notes). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju

清代新疆滿文檔案汇编 Qingdai Xinjiang Manwen dang’an huibian (2012) (Xinjiang Manchu archives compiled version), Guangxi normal university, China’s First archives, Beijing

清高宗实录 Qing gaozong shilu (1986), vol.197, vol.464(The veritable record of the Qianlong emperor) (钦定)平定準噶爾方略(Qinding) Pingding Zhungar fanglüe (Imperially endorsed) Military annual of pacification of the Zhunghars, 1770, Zhonghua shuju

清高宗实录 Qing gaozong shilu (1986), (The veritable record of the Qianlong emperor) (e-version is also available) vol. 592-3, vol. 648, vol.1464, Zhonghua shuju

清季外交史料 Qingji waijiao shiliao (1964) (The diplomatic archives of the late Qing), Wenhai
Sha’e zai zhongyaxiya de jinzhan (1960), vol12. The developing process of Russia in central Asia (Chinese version), Collections of Engels, Collected works of Mark and Engels, vol 12, Renmin chubanshe (People’s press)

Shao Hongmo and Han Min (1992), Shanxi huimin qiyi (History of the Shaanxi Hui Uprising), Xi’an: Shaanxi People’s Publishing House

Shen weibin (2016), 《政治女强人慈禧》Zhengzhi nüqiangren CiXi (Powerful woman on politics: Empress Dowager Cixi), East China Normal University Press

Yixin (compiled) (1968), Qinding Pingding Shan-Gan Xinjiang huifei fanglüe（An imperially commissioned military history of the pacification of the rebels in Shanxi, Gansu and Xinjiang）vols320. Chengwen Chubanshe repr., Taipei

Wang Tieya (1957), 中外旧约章 Zhongwai jiu yuezhang huibian (Collection of Chinese treaties with foreign countries). Beijing: Sanlian shudian

Wang yuankang (2001), Toward a Synthesis of the Theories of Peripheral Nationalism, Asian Ethnicity, 2:2, Sep

Wei Yuan (1984), Shengwu ji 圣武记 1842 (A record of the military achievements of the Qing emperors), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju

Wu shanyi (1991),《清代西北回民起义研究》Qingdai xibei huimin qiyi yanjiu(Study on the Hui’s uprising in northwestern China in Qing Dynasty), Lanzhou university

Xu dipeng (2009),《当代民族主义与边疆安全》Dangdai muzu zhuyi yu bianjiang anquan (Nationalism and border security in contemporary China), Beijing: Minzu chubanshe

Yangshu and Caowei (2009), On Qing’s segregation system in Xinjiang, the institute of Qing history of China Renmin university

Yongzheng emperor (1983), 大义觉迷录 Dayi juemilu (A record of rightness to dispel confusion) p3-169 in Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan lishi yanjiusuo (History Institute of the Academia Sinica)


Zuo zongtang (2008), 左宗棠全集·奏稿六 Zuo zongtang zhuan, zougao liu (A collected biography of Zuo zongtang, 6th memorial), Yuelu shushe, Changsha