

SOCIAL CHANGES OF THE FRONTIER AREAS OF CHINA DURING THE CH'ING DYNASTY

By

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I. Foreword

Since the nineteenth century, the influences from Western civilization have triggered China proper a long process of social mutation. The shift of the social trend was in the direction of Westernization. Meanwhile, to cope with the territorial ambitions of the foreign powers, the Government of Ch'ing 清 Dynasty moved to tighten its grip over the frontiers, to encourage settlement, to establish provincial governments and to promote education. As a result, these areas have undergone a process of sinicization, with custom and mentality patterned after those of China proper. Thanks to the remarkable success of this policy, the border provinces in Northeastern China (Manchuria) and Taiwan 臺灣 became an integral part of the traditional Chinese society, joining China proper in custom and social mores. As for Sinkiang 新疆 province, it did not go so far in sinicization as Manchuria and Taiwan. However, this newly created province has developed a close relationship with China proper, and, thus, set itself apart from Tibet and Mongolia. This paper is an attempt to study the process of sinicization in Manchuria, Taiwan and Sinkiang with special reference to the differences of the social changes in frontier areas and China proper.

II. Manchuria

Manchuria was the largest immigration area in Modern China. Situated at the southern part of Manchuria, Liaotung 遼東 area, with a population of

three or four hundred thousand, was at a rather advanced stage of cultivation and development in the mid-Ming 明 Dynasty. Later on, with the rise of the Manchus, it was ravaged by the raging wars, and a considerable amount of its settlers deserted it. Its population was further reduced when the Manchus took control of the whole of China. At that time there began an exodus of the Manchu tribes. As a result, the Manchu regime was obliged to send droves of Han 漢 settlers to Manchuria in the early Ch'ing period. But it was done mostly as a measure of relief to those hard-hit Han nationals,⁽¹⁾ or as a means to strengthen border defence.⁽²⁾ The authorities still refused to drop the ban on free settlement of Han nationals in Manchuria. Nevertheless, Fengtien 奉天 and Kirin 吉林 provinces had a combined population of one million and five hundred thousand in the 1780s.⁽³⁾ The insurgencies of the Taiping 太平 and Nien 捻 rebellions, along with the drought in northern China and the flood of the Yellow River at the early period of Emperor Kwanghsu 光緒, drove flocks of refugees to Manchuria. Emigration to the theoretically banned place went on in an escalating proportion unseen in the past. When Russia repeatedly demonstrated her territorial ambition for Manchuria, the Military Governor of Heilungkiang 黑龍江, in an effort to counter Russian aggression, appealed to the Central Government to lift its ban on free settlement there. The Government of the Manchu regime decided in the 1860s to open Hulan 呼蘭 Plain to settlers, and later on set up Hulan district government to rule over it as the Han inhabitants grew to a considerable number.⁽⁴⁾ The eruption of the Sino-Japanese War brought the ban on settlement at the reaches of the Tungken

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- (1) The Ch'ing government permitted people of the northern provinces to settle in Manchuria in those years of serious famine as in 1679-1701, and 1743.
 - (2) The Ch'ing government also permitted people of the northern provinces to settle in Ningguta, Sanhsing, Tsitsihar of Manchuria in order to resist the Russians' invasion in Heilungkiang.
 - (3) The adult male population of Fengtien and Kirin in 1783 amounted to 939,710, so the total population would be 1,566,183 (if we take three adult males to be the equivalent of a family of five).
 - (4) Kuo T'ing-i 郭廷以, *Tung-pei ti K'ai-t'o 東北的開拓* (The Exploration of Manchuria), in *Pien-chiang wen-hua lun-chi 邊疆文化論集* (Collected Essays on Frontier Culture), Vol. 1, p. 54.

通肯 River to an end. Afterwards, the prefecture government of Hailun 海倫 was erected. After the Russo-Japanese War, the Manchu administration declared Helungkiang province open to settlement.

The lifting of the ban in Kirin province began with the reaches of the Laling 拉林 River in the 1860s. Itung 伊通 and Huatien 樺甸 at the upper reaches of the Sungari 松花 River were declared open in 1880s. The reaches of the Tumen 圖們 River were opened in 1881, after it was discovered that the Koreans stole into the areas for exploration. Soon to follow was the free access to the upper reaches of the Ussuri 烏蘇里 River in 1882. In the early twentieth century, nearly the whole Kirin province was free for the immigrants to settle. ⁽⁵⁾

The settlement by Han nationals in the of Liao 遼 River valley of Fengtien province began in the Ming Dynasty. On the west bank of Yalu 鴨綠 River, there were over one hundred thousand inhabitants in 1868. The Huifa 輝發 River valley was declared open to settlers in 1890s, followed by the Shingkai 新開 River valley in the late nineteenth century. ⁽⁶⁾ In fact, immigrants had been given free access to Manchuria since 1907 when three provincial governments were set up to rule over the expanse of the land, even without an official declaration to lift the ban. In 1911, its population reached fifteen million. ⁽⁷⁾ Between the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, the population growth rate in Kirin and Heilungkiang provinces was among the highest in China.

A fundamental change in the social mores in Manchuria took place in the late 19th century and the early 20th century as a result of the fact that Han nationals there outnumbered the local Manchus and other tribesmen. ⁽⁸⁾ The local

(5) Ibid., pp. 54-55.

(6) Ibid., p. 55.

(7) Ping-ti Ho, *The Studies on the population of China* (Harvard University Press, 1959). Ho figures that the population of Manchuria in 1904 was 17 million. The number quoted here was extracted from *Tung-san-sheng Cheng-lueh*, 東三省政略 (The Administration of the Manchuria provinces), edited by Hsu Shih-ch'ang 徐世昌, Vols. 6 & 8.

(8) In fact, Han population constituted the lion's share of the whole even in those Manchu-settled provinces, Kirin and Heilungkiang, the total of Manchus only amounted to one tenth of the number of Han Chinese.

dialects, customs and life styles were gradually replaced by the Han language and culture. Therefore, the common practices in Manchuria were largely modeled on those by the Han inhabitants in northern China. *Heilungkiang tung-chih kang-yao* 黑龍江通志綱要 stated in brief:

In the early Ch'ing Dynasty, the Manchu and the Mongol generally followed their traditional practices; they were learning horse-racing, archery and hunting. They were gallant and unaffected in nature, and made their living by tilling the land. The god they worshipped was called Shaman 薩滿, and hence the religious sect called Shaman Temple. Nowadays, with the growing number of the settlers, its social mores are similar to those in China proper. (9)

Hulan hsien-chih 呼蘭縣志 said in the same vein:

The language used in the Files of the Banner System from the early years of Ch'ien-lung 乾隆 to the end of Hsien-feng 咸豐 reign was the Manchu language. The official documents were also recorded in this language although the officials and soldiers in the Han banners spoke Chinese and hardly understood the Manchu language. After the reign of T'ung-chih 同治, both Mandarin Chinese and the Manchu language were adopted for documentation. However, during the mid-Kwanghsu 光緒 reign, the language in use was exclusively Mandarin Chinese. Lately, only one percent of the Manchus can understand their own language and one tenth have good command of the spoken language. (10)

Moreover, as to the rituals of weddings and funerals, it is so stated in the *Aigun hsien-chih* 瑗瑯縣志: "In recent years, these rituals have also been affected by those of the Chinese people and have gradually conformed to the latter." "Coffins are already prepared before death, and the requirement of filial piety

(9) Chin Liang 金梁, ed., *Heilungkiang t'ung-chih kang-yao* 黑龍江通志綱要 (Outline of Heilungkiang History), 1925, Cheng-wen pub. Co., reprinted, p. 43.

(10) Huang Wei-han 黃維翰, ed., *Hulan fu-chih* 呼蘭府志 (Gazetteer of Hulan prefecture), 1910, Cheng-wen pub. Co., p. 766.

is more important. In a word, the Manchu funeral rites are replaced by the Chinese ones."⁽¹¹⁾

By this time, the Manchus were assimilated to the Han Chinese not only in their customs and language but also in the organization of their society. Since it was the way of life for a family to live together in China, now the Manchu clan also placed more and more emphasis on the ideal of several generations under one roof. As stated in the *Hulan fu-chih* 呼蘭府志:

For the Manchus, it is now possible to have a hundred people living together, for several generations choose to stay in one house. All possessions/property belong to the whole family and are not divided and passed down to the younger generations according to the usual practice.⁽¹²⁾

This practice can also be found from the Gazetteer of Shuang-ch'eng 雙城 in its section on clans:

There is the Chang Wen-hsi 張文璽 clan which remain together for a hundred and twenty years with five generations while six generations of the Yao Yen-chu 姚彥珠 clan dwell together for a hundred years with family members totaling a hundred and twenty.⁽¹³⁾

In religious faith, the Manchus also gradually manifested characteristics of sinicization. The gods worshipped in the northern part of China were also worshipped by the residents in Manchuria. *Shen-yang hsien-chih* 瀋陽縣志 thus stated:

The masses began to worship gods. Those who wished to give thanks for God's providence and to pray for more blessings resorted to the God of Family. Kuan-ti 關帝 enjoyed the greatest number of followers, with the Goddess of Mercy ranking second.⁽¹⁴⁾

(11) Sun Jung-tu 孫蓉圖 et al. ed., *Aigun hsien-chih*, 瑗瑯縣志 (Gazetteer of Aigun District), 1920, Cheng-wen pub. Co., Book 2, p. 682.

(12) Huang Wei-han 黃維翰 ed., op. cit., p. 758.

(13) Kao Wen-yuan 高文垣 et al. ed., *Shuang-ch'eng hsien-chih*, 雙城縣志 (Gazetteer of Shuang-ch'eng District), 1926, Cheng-wen pub. Co., pp. 383-385.

(14) Chao Kung-yin 趙恭寅 et al. ed., *Shen-yang hsien-chih*, 瀋陽縣志 (Gazetteer of Shen-yang District), 1917, Cheng-wen pub. Co., p. 515.

Similar descriptions were found in *An-t'u hsien-chih* 安圖縣志:

The temples dedicated to the God of the Land, the God of the Mountain, the God of Pioneers, and the God of the Fair Fox could be found in every village. On the first and fifteenth of every lunar month, the village people offered to the god in an extremely pious manner wine, sacrifices and paper money in order to pray for blessings. ⁽¹⁵⁾

Except for the temple of the God of Pioneers, the worship of the "Lao-yeh-miao" 老爺廟, originated from the early times of the settlement in Manchuria, were similar to those in the northern part of China. From the available gazetteers of Manchuria, it is known that the popular temples were dedicated to Kuan-ti, the Goddess of Mercy, the God of the Land, and the God of the Mountains. The number of the local temples, mosques and Lamasaries decreased sharply. This reflects the sinicization of religious faith.

Although in the late nineteenth century as well as in the early twentieth century the Manchus did show the signs of sinicization to a great extent, they still retained features found in the society of settlers. The ratio between the male and female inhabitants, was different than that in the northern part of China. Ho Ping-ti 何炳棣 in *The Population of China* states that the ratio between men and women in Tsinan 濟南 in 1837 was 111.5 to 100, and in Tsining 濟寧 was 115.7 to 100 in 1826⁽¹⁶⁾, while according to An-t'u district records, this ratio was 172.86 to 100 in 1928⁽¹⁷⁾ and in Chi-an 輯安 district was 145.38 to 100 in 1906.⁽¹⁸⁾ The latter two showed a greater proportion of male inhabitants. The general trend was that the later the census, the higher the proportion of the male. Considering the higher ratio of male inhabitants to female of An-t'u and Chi-an, compared with that of Tsinan and Tsining in the late nineteenth century, we see that the composition of the

(15) Chen Kuo-chun 陳國鈞 et al. ed., *An-t'u hsien-chih*, 安圖縣志 (Gazetteer of An-tu District), 1929, Cheng-wen pub. Co., p. 295.

(16) Ping-ti Ho, *The Studies of the Population of China*, p. 58.

(17) Chen Kuo-chun 陳國鈞 et al. ed., op. cit., p. 226.

(18) Wu Kuang-Kuo 吳光國 et al. ed., *Chi-an hsien hsiang-t'u chih* 輯安縣鄉土志 (Geography and History of Chi-an District), 1915, Cheng-wen pub. Co., p. 68.

population in Manchuria showed characteristics of a settler's society.

Another characteristic for this settler's society was that the average number of people per household is greater. According to the census in 1928, the average number of dwellers in a single house was 6.75 in Liaoning 遼寧, 5.73 in Hopei 河北, 5.34 in Shansi 山西, 5.78 in Shensi 陝西, and 5.04 in Chahar 察哈爾. The average figure for the whole country was only 4.9. ⁽¹⁹⁾

As far as the intellectual culture and educational system were concerned, as the Manchus established districts and prefectures in Manchuria, they also founded schools for the teachings of Confucius. Civil examinations were also held. In general, Liaoning was developed earlier than the other two provinces, and thus had a higher level of intellectual culture, a greater number of scholars succeeding in civil service examinations, and a larger influential upper class. Kirin and Heilungkiang seemed to be relatively backward as reported in *Hulan fu-chih*:

The military men in Heilungkiang were well known to the whole country. Since the establishment of the military forces, in Hulan alone there were numerous officers who earned the positions of tu-t'ung 都統 [lieutenant general] of the County and fu tu-t'ung 副都統 [deputy lieutenant general] of the County for their military merits. No wonder that intellectual culture was relegated to a subordinate status. As a result, the officers had to seek assistance from the merchants for documentation and correspondence because few of them were literate. ⁽²⁰⁾

This picture is confirmed in *Hua-chuan hsien-chih* (樺川縣志): "Educational institutions, established either by government or private sector, were found in

(19) Department of Statistics, Ministry of the Interior, ed., *Min-kuo shih-ch'i-nien hu-kou tiao-ch'a t'ung-chi pab-kao* 民國十七年戶口調查統計報告 (Reports of the Census in 1928), Book 1.

(20) Huang Wei-han 黃維翰 ed., op. cit., p. 511.

Ningguta 寧古塔, but not in Hua-ch'uan until 1912".⁽²¹⁾

Despite the fact that in this period Kirin and Heilungkiang lagged behind in intellectual activities and lacked an influential upper class, rapid development in these areas took place after the modern education system was introduced in the early twentieth century. In 1910, there were registered in Hulan district 51 modern schools with a total number of 2,569 students,⁽²²⁾ and in 1912 in Hua-chuan district 11 modern schools with 789 students.⁽²³⁾ This shows that the rapid development in those two provinces had changed their societies from a martial to a cultural centeredness.

III. Taiwan

Although migration to Taiwan by Han Chinese began at an early period, the structure of Taiwanese society, up to the early 19th century, showed strong signs of a migratory society. In 1811, the geographical distribution of the population was centered in the Chiayi region, which accounted for 42.09% of the entire population. The average number of residents per household in Tainan 臺南 district (Taiwan 臺灣) was 12.14, in Tanshui 淡水 sub-prefecture (including Hsinchu 新竹 and Taipei 臺北) was 8.47, and in Chiayi 嘉義 district 6.47.⁽²⁴⁾ These figures were much higher than that of Fukien 福建 province (excluding Taiwan) which had only 5.4 persons per family. After the Chu I-kwei's 朱一貴 rebellion in 1721, the ratio between men and women at Ta-p'u chuang 大埔庄 in Chiayi was 256:1. None of the children was under 15 years of age.⁽²⁵⁾ Therefore, we assume this area's women were

(21) Cheng Shih-ch'un 鄭士純 ed., *Hua-ch'uan hsien-chih* 樺川縣志 (Gazetteer of Hua-ch'uan District), 1928, Cheng-wen pub. Co., p. 373.

(22) Huang Wei-han ed., op. cit., p. 535.

(23) Cheng Shih-ch'un ed., op. cit., pp. 386-387.

(24) Kuo-chi Lee 李國祁, *Chung-kuo hsien-tai-hua ti ch'ü-yü yen-chiu: Min-Che-T'ai ti-ch'ü, 1860-1916* 中國現代化的區域研究：閩浙臺地區，1860-1916 (Modernization in China, 1860-1916: A Regional Study of Social, Political and Economic Change in Fukien, Chekiang and Taiwan), Taipei, Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1982, p. 86.

(25) *Taiwan sheng t'ung-chih-kao* 臺灣省通志稿 (Draft of Gazetteer of Taiwan Province), Vol.2, Population, p.170.

outnumbered by men in the early 18th century. The presence of a characteristic migratory society in a period of exploration is evident. According to a Japanese survey in 1905, the ratio between male and female migrating to Taiwan from the mainland after 1895 was 19:1. Moreover, young men from 20 to 39 years of age accounted for 66% of the total. The ratio was much higher than the 12:1 ratio registered for the Chinese community of Singapore in 1850.

Taking figures on population growth, we also find that Taiwanese society exhibited a strongly migratory character in early 19th century. The population growth rate of 1810 in Ko-ma-lan sub-prefecture was as high as 29.1%. By 1851, it was 1.5%.⁽²⁶⁾ Fukien province's average growth rate from 1819-1857 was only 0.51%. From this we can conclude that the Ko-ma-lan area was still undergoing rapid development and large scale immigration at this time.

During the early 19th century, the pattern of social bonds and relationships in Taiwan was different from that of the mainland provinces. In the first place, since most of the immigrants into Taiwan were single young men, and since very few colonists took their family or clan with them across the Taiwan Straits, family relations were not as important as in the mainland provinces. On the other hand, social bonds based on common places of origin were very strong. There was a difference in the settlement patterns of the Hakka, mostly from Kwangtung and South Fukien. The early immigrants were mostly from South Fukien, and so they settled in the plain areas, while the Hakka, who came later, had to move into the upland areas. In the areas settled by the South Fukienese, local customs mostly followed those of Ch'uanchow 泉州 and Chang-chow 漳州; in the areas settled by the Hakka, those of Eastern Kwangtung 廣東 prevailed. South Fukienese were good businessmen, and readily adapted to influences from the outside; the Hakka mostly engaged in farming and, while they exhibited strong solidarity with each other, they were more conservative and would often adopt a defensive attitude

(26) *Ibid.*, pp. 149-150.

toward external stimuli. The immigrants in general were set off from each other by their different places of origin and they all discriminated against each other, so that armed conflicts often resulted. Also, in religious matters, the immigrants took the guardian deities of their home towns with them to Taiwan, and so the chief deities worshipped in the various communities differed according to the origins of the settlers. Different "worshipping communities", clearly delineated from each other, were formed. The temples dedicated to these gods were not only the community centers of the colonial villages of that time, but also the places where the villagers gathered to tackle matters of common concern. Indeed, the public good and solidarity of the villages were strengthened through communal worshipping activities, such as various kinds of religious festivals (pai-pai 拜拜, chien-chiao 建醮), pilgrimages etc. The strong sense of localism, centering around one's place of origin, and being apparent in the Taiwanese society of that period, was expressed mainly in these kinds of religious activities, and was maintained and even strengthened by them over long periods.

Because the number of young men was large and that of women small, marriage was a difficult problem. The following customs grew up: marriage on the basis of wealth, selection of the husbands by the fewer young women and great differences in age between husbands and wives. There occurred the even purchase of abducted girls for marriage, and there were men in their forties or fifties without a family of their own. Also, since it was difficult to found a family, and since workers were precious in an immigrant society lacking manpower, the custom of adopting sons was widespread. The custom of adopting girls, which became widespread later on, probably derives at least partly from this practice. These factors, the large number of young men unable to establish their own family, the immigrants came from various backgrounds and included people with a criminal records in their home towns, and other lawless elements prevailed, all contributed to spread of gambling and the serious problem of the lo-han chiao 羅漢腳 (footpads). Secret

societies were popular. The society was plagued by problem of rebellion and gang feuding.

Considering the social structure of Taiwan at this time, we find that the leading class of Taiwanese society was different from that of the inner provinces of China. In Taiwan, the leading class consisted mostly of local strongmen with a martial spirit, and not so much of intellectuals or gentry with a high cultural level. Of course, a society in a wild and uncultivated area being opened up needs leaders who are martially inclined and courageous, willing to take risks and stand hardships, and able to form the vanguard for the immigrants and unite the masses, much more than it needs effeminate scholars. In the Biographies in Lien Heng's 連橫 General History of Taiwan, the actions of many such strongmen are recorded for this period: Wu Sha 吳沙 in the I-Lan 宜蘭 area, Lin Ch'eng-tsu 林成祖 in Ta-chia 大甲, Chiang Hsiu-luan 姜秀鑾 in Hsin-chu, etc. Even the ancestors of the two Lin clans, of Wu-feng 霧峯 and Pan-ch'iao 板橋 belonged to this type.

Aside from the above-mentioned ones, another reason why local strongmen became the power elite of the immigrant society of Taiwan was that they were also the ones with large capital resources. Most of them were landlords or successful businessmen. Their leading role was based on the combination of chivalry and wealth. Another circumstance that is explained by the immigrant character of Taiwanese society in which local strongmen held sway, is the fact that, up to the Chia-ch'ing 嘉慶 period, the examination system had indifferent results here. Examinations were started in Taiwan in 1686, and in the next year, following the precedents of Kansu 甘肅 and Ninghsia 寧夏 a quota of one or two per examination was reserved for Taiwanese candidates in the Provincial Examination of Fukien. From 1739 on provision was also made in the Metropolitan Examination, whereby a fixed proportion of Taiwanese candidates for this examination (one out of ten) was selected. However, during the Ch'ien-lung and Chia-ch'ing periods, only two persons from Taiwan obtained the Chin-shih 進士 degree. We can conclude from

this that interest in gaining merit and fame and high rank through the examination system was not great in Taiwan, and that the examination system was not very developed there. This can be explained by the fact that traditional Chinese society was not yet flourishing on Taiwan and that the scholar-official class had not yet established its dominant influence on the island. The Taiwan society was still in the stage of an immigrant society set up in wild areas and ruled by local strongmen. The transformation of Taiwan society—from an immigrant society to an intelligentsia-dominated society—took place in the late 19th century. The transformation was similar to that of Manchuria. And it could be regarded as a process of assimilation with continental cultural traditions. The whole process of change was modelled after the social pattern of the southern provinces of mainland China. This social transformational pattern came into existence primarily through factors of both natural and man-made kinds. In view of the natural element, the majority of the settlers in Taiwan came from South Fukien and the Hakka area of Kwangtung. These settlers naturally carried with them customs and rites of their place of origin. As a matter of fact, their social structures became branches of those of their mother-land. This explained why the different area of settlement were set against one another. Although these social structures were incompatible in their minor traditions, they shared the mainstream of social, and cultural tradition. Groups of different origins still had a great many elements in common. Chinese society shows many identifiable common characteristics. Through resettlement and migration, these common characteristics took root and eventually flourished in Taiwan.

Clanism was the foremost force in the promotion of Taiwan's social assimilation with mainland China. The successful development of clanism at its initial stage should be attributed to Cheng Ch'eng-kung 鄭成功 (Koxinga). The exodus of Cheng and his troops from mainland to Taiwan was a premeditated massive act of migration, in sharp contrast to the individual small scale migration of later times. According to historical

documents, six of the ten main surnames found in Taiwan belonged to those who accompanied Cheng in his settlement plan. Fukien and Kwangtung were areas where different clans flocked. As shown in Wang Sung-hsing's study, as early as 1805, ancestral temples were found in the western part of Taiwan. Also in the chapter on population in the Draft Gazetteer of Taiwan province, Ch'en Shou-ch'in 陳紹馨 showed that feuding since 1864 had changed in nature—from geographical-oriented to kinship-oriented.⁽²⁷⁾ Evidently, thus, by the second half of the 19th century, the clan system had been firmly established, the patterns of social integration had begun to change, and the kinship considerations had replaced considerations of geographical origin. Since the kinship consideration is one of the outstanding characteristics of the Chinese culture, the change in the social integration in Taiwan had unmistakably followed the pattern that developed in mainland China. In other words, the transformation manifested the growth of Chinese culture on the island.

Religious belief was another important natural element in the process of cultural assimilation with the mainland. Early settlers had different objects of worship according to their place of origin. However, when they had settled in Taiwan long enough, they became more and more identified with the indigenous culture.

The barrier arising from geographical diversity broke down. As this happened, they began to worship the same gods, getting closer to the religious belief of mainland China. The change in religious conviction can be seen in the common worship of Matsu 媽祖 (Goddess of the sea) and the T'u-ti-kung 土地公 (Gods of land).⁽²⁸⁾ The worshipping of Matsu is closely related to the fact that the immigrants came to Taiwan by sea. They arrived in Taiwan amid dangerous storms and it was natural for them to worship Matsu as an

(27) *Ibid.*, pp. 129-131.

(28) Several societies without regional linkage appeared already in Changhua Plain in the 1850s-1870s, see Chia-ming Hsu 許嘉明, "Territorial Organization of Hoklorized Hakka in the Changhua Plain", *Bulletin*, Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, No. 36, Autumn 1973.

expression of gratitude. The T'u-ti-kung are local gods of land commonly worshipped in many provinces throughout mainland China. They were commonly honored by the peasant population. Their popularity in Taiwan manifested the strong tendency toward social and religious integration. In addition, there are other gods such as Yü-huang ta-ti 玉皇大帝 (or Tien-kung 天公) and Kuan-yin 觀音 (the Goddess of Mercy) whose popularity also contributed significantly to the sinicization of the immigrant society in Taiwan during the last years of the 19th century.

The third natural factor was the economic prosperity and subsequent population mobility in Northern Taiwan. After the 1860's, the export business of tea and camphor blossomed. This economic prosperity brought Taiwan's economic center to the northern part. And the better standard of living created a social milieu congenial to cultural development and material life. At that time there was little Western influence on the life style of the immigrant society which tended to adopt the cultural and material life-style of various provinces on mainland China. This greatly accelerated the rapid integration of the immigrant society in Taiwan. At the time, it was a common phenomenon for the well-to-do to import bricks and other construction materials from mainland China for building their houses. In addition, economic prosperity in Northern Taiwan created more urban areas and brought about population mobility. Both phenomena had destructive effects on the geographical-oriented social structure.

Moreover, people in the urban area were more readily exposed to new concepts and ideas than people in the rural area. Exactly because of the liberal receptive character of these urban people, the urban area became a center for disseminating new ideas and information, with assimilative force to pool together different segments of the Chinese nationals. Settlers migrating to this area at that time were tremendously instrumental in the cohesion of national character and the cultural assimilation to China proper. During the early Kwang-hsu reign, executive leaders like Shen Pao-cheng 沈葆楨 and Liu

Ming-chuan 劉銘傳 considered northern Taiwan as the political center of the island. The reason was self-evident: northern Taiwan had almost completed its social transformation and was a relatively open society.

The external factor making possible Taiwan's cultural assimilation to the tradition of China proper was the systematic introduction of educational and cultural institutions by Cheng Ch'eng-kung following his settlement in Taiwan. After Taiwan was incorporated into China proper under the imperial rule of the Ch'ing Dynasty, Taiwan was divided administratively into towns, cities and counties. This administrative pattern was identical with that of China proper. More significantly, this administrative pattern had great impact on the later development of Taiwan. Along with the establishment of cities and counties, Taiwan adopted the traditional civil examination system. The application of this testing system implied that the cultural and educational institutions from China proper were deeply rooted in Taiwan. In other words, the civil examination on classical subjects had become established by the early 19th century. For this reason, educational enterprise was able to grow at a rapid rate, reaching its zenith of development in the late 19th century.⁽²⁹⁾ If the successful development of the traditional institutions of education could be construed as an indicator of Taiwan's cultural assimilation with the tradition of China proper then Taiwan actually experienced the most impressive far-reaching process of cultural and social assimilation with China proper toward the end of the 19th century.

The greatest influence that a flourishing system of civil examination in Taiwan exerted on the society was the establishment of the intelligentsia and the gentry, which replaced the well-to-do families as the leading class of the society. However, the intelligentsia and the gentry differed from those on

(29) Of the 37 schools, until 1893 in Taiwan, 14 were founded during the Hsien-feng to Kwang-hsu period, constituting 37.84% of the total. The number of Taiwanese students succeeded in acquiring titles of chü-jen and chin-shih during this period also reached its highest stage, unprecedently constituting 72.41% of the sum. Both of above figures indicated the educational growth in Taiwan.

mainland China in that relatively few of them were sent to other regions outside of Taiwan to assume administrative duties. A great number of them served in their own hometowns. They became the local leading class by supporting enterprises aimed at promoting the welfare of the local people as well as by founding schools. Among those whose names remain known today for their merits in this field are Cheng Yung-hsi 鄭用錫 brothers in Hsinchu, Chen Wei-yin 陳維英 and Huang Ching 黃敬 in Taipei, Chen Chen-yao 陳震曜 and Liu Ssu-hsun 劉思勳 in Tainan, and Chiu Feng-chia 丘逢甲 in Changhua.

The change in the power structure in the Taiwanese society from the powerful well-to-do families to the intelligentsia and the gentry took place at different times for different clans. For instance, the Lin Family in Panch'iao established itself in the circle in the 1850s, the Lin Family in Wufeng in the 1860s, the Lin Family in Chiayi in the early years of the 19th century. In spite of the temporal differences, generally speaking, as late as in the 1890s the leading class had assumed its final shape.

The changes in the society in Taiwan were also reflected in its concept of values. At that time, the establishment of moral standards based on those of the mainland was closely connected with the practice of local governments improving the customs through setting up temples. For instance, Temple of Kuan-ti and Temple of the City Guardian 城隍廟 were instrumental in disseminating the moral concepts of loyalty, filial piety, kindness and justice. Moreover, the head administrators in charge of the affairs in Taiwan, such as Yao Ying 姚瑩, Hsu Tsung-kan 徐宗幹, Shen Pao-cheng, were of tremendous help in implementing these measures. In brief, the local Taiwan government activated the transformation of its society by various means. On the other hand, it encouraged development of education and culture to rid the society of its emphasis on military prowess and established an intelligentsia class to bring about a change in the social structure of power. They praised the good of the common people, and put up temples to change the customs for the better.

Therefore, Taiwan's success in modelling itself on Mainland China was the result of long years of proper measures by prominent administrators.

Another contribution of the administrators of Taiwan in the Ch'ing dynasty was to open up the mountain areas and to appease the aborigines. Such measures were rather successful, especially in the 1870s. Through this decade, the eastern areas were gradually developed; the aborigines were assimilated harmoniously to the Han people and thus incorporated into the Chinese culture, which by now finally spread all over the island.

IV. Sinkiang

Despite the fact that Sinkiang had long been a part of the Ch'ing's territory, it was not until the suppression of the insurrection of the Moslem followers by Tso Tsung-t'ang 左宗棠 in the 1870s that the Han people began settling in the area on a large scale. Because Tso pursued persistently the policy of settlement by the soldiers as well as civilians, the inhabitants of Sinkiang increased sharply within a short period. In the early years of the 19th century, based on the accounts of *Sinkiang t'u-chih* 新疆圖志 edited by Yuan Ta-hua 袁大化, the number of immigrants who came from outside Sinkiang province was well above that of the native people in the three regions of Tihua 迪化 (Urumchi 烏魯木齊), Hami 哈密 and Chitai 奇台. In Hami 哈密, settlers outnumbered natives 370.86 to one. In Tarbagatai 塔爾巴哈台, and Suiting 綏定, the outsiders, though not equal in number, still represented about 47% of all inhabitants⁽³⁰⁾. On the whole, the Han immigrants at this time centered around Tihua, Chensi 鎮西, Ili 伊犁 and Tarbagatai in the northern Sinkiang. To be more exact, Ili and Tarbagatai were more densely populated than Tihua and Chensi.

Since relatively few migrated to southern Sinkiang, northern Sinkiang

(30) According to *Sinkiang tu chih* 新疆圖志 (An Illustrated Gazetteer of Sinkiang), Wenhai Book Co., Book 3, pp. 1588-1636. The ratio between the people from other provinces and the Sinkiang natives was 370.86 to 1 in Hami, 180.26 to 1 in Chitai, 159.03 to 1 in Urumchi, 93.89 to 1 in Tarbagatai, and 90.09 to 1 in Suiting.

showed a much greater degree of cultural assimilation to China proper from the 1870s to the early part of 20th century. However, on account of the difference in language and religious belief and on account of the short time span of immigration, such a phenomenon of culture assimilation was not so obvious and permeating as in Manchuria and Taiwan.

Tso Tsung-t'ang realized only too well that the difficulty of the assimilation of Sinkiang to the rest of China lay in the cultural opposition between the local inhabitants and the outsiders, so he made up his mind to begin with education. He hired with tempting salaries teachers from other provinces to teach in many public schools he established. He also set up publishing companies to print books for the courses offered in these schools such as the *Three-Character Classic* 三字經, the *Thousand-Character Classic* 千字文 and the *Book of Hundred Family Names* 百家姓. He intended to familiarize the local inhabitants with the Han language through elementary schools so that they might later be able to read and adopt Chinese civilization⁽³¹⁾. Nevertheless the Moslem people were reluctant to send their children to such schools because of religious belief. Hence when Liu Chin-t'ang 劉錦棠 took charge of Sinkiang, he not only increased the number of schools but also declared promotive measures which granted the Moslem people privileges in the civil examination. He also made it a rule that any person that could understand a classical work would be granted an official position.⁽³²⁾ Such a policy was maintained by his successors.

In 1906, the Ch'ing government established a Commissioner of Education in Sinkiang, and appointed Tu T'ung 杜彤 as the first Commissioner. By this time the system of civil examination had been abolished, and in its place modern schools were set up. In Tihua, an institute for higher education was founded; in every prefecture and district, two levels of elementary educa-

(31) Chou K'un-t'ien 周昆田, *Ch'ing-tai ti Sinkiang* 清代的新疆 (Sinkiang in the Ch'ing Dynasty), in *Sin-kiang yen-chiu* 新疆研究 (A Study of Sinkiang), Taipei, 1964, p. 87.

(32) *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88.

tional institutions were established. In order to train future teachers, there set up a normal school whose students graduated after a year of study and then were sent to various places to teach. Naturally they were well paid. Later, the students who graduated from the local public schools entered this normal school, and were subsequently assigned to various regions as teachers. Thus in the early 20th century, there were 620 elementary schools in various parts of Sinkiang, with a total of 16,000 students. There were also professional schools for law and administration, for policemen, for army and for the Russian language. To these schools a normal school was always affiliated. The students in these schools exceeded 900, not a negligible contribution to the assimilation of Sinkiang to China proper. ⁽³³⁾

As to the degree of assimilation in various parts of Sinkiang, it was known from the account of *Sinkiang chih-kao* 新疆志稿 that:

1. Tihua: "Ever since the expedition marched into Sinkiang, the soldiers from Hunan 湖南 province carried with them seeds to be planted on this land. Following them were the people from Tientsin 天津. As a result, we were able to find stretches of farmland with densely grown plants." ⁽³⁴⁾

2. Hami: "In the beginning of the 1870s, the expedition started westward again, with which the merchants from Tientsin travelled at the danger of being exposed to enemies and natural disasters. Therefore many of them, though of a humble origin, later became dignitaries because of the expedition. All at once, the people in the neighborhood of Tientsin, attracted by the fortune in sight, joined the 'gold rush', which was also known as joining the expedition'." ⁽³⁵⁾

3. Changchi 昌吉: "Three races mingled in this area, however it was mostly the Han people who were merchants and tillers. Because of the immense

(33) Ibid., p. 88.

(34) Chung Kuang-sheng 鍾廣生, *Sinkiang chih-kao* 新疆志稿 (Draft of Gazetteer of Sinkiang), 1930, Taipei, Hsueh-sheng Book Co., p. 49.

(35) Ibid., p. 133.

land with a sparse population, there only pedlars but not entrepreneurs.”⁽³⁶⁾

4. Sulai 綏來: “There were four races living in this area with the Han race being the greatest in number. Its custom was similar to that of Ch’angchi with emphasis on the agriculture and education. A school was established with a handful of students. In contrast, there were only 300 families who engaged in trade. Most of them were immigrants, the largest number of which came from Tientsin.”⁽³⁷⁾

5. Chensi: “The inhabitants all came from Shensi 陝西 and Kansu. Although their customs were not similar, it was not far-fetched to say that most of them were decent and well-bred people. They toiled on the farm land but did not value fancy clothes and delicious food very much. Their way of hoarding grains was also reminiscent of the people in Shensi province.”⁽³⁸⁾

Because the Hunan people constituted the largest part of the immigrants in Sinkiang at that period, with Hopei 河北, Shansi 山西, Shensi and Kansu the second, a noteworthy phenomenon existed in its assimilation process, viz, the secret organizations, which were so popular in the Hunan army, and were also popular in many parts of Sinkiang. Consequently, in the early years of the Republic, the union of the revolutionaries and the members of the secret organizations caused great unrest in many places.⁽³⁹⁾

Seen from the power structure of the society, the Hunan people stood prominently in the foreground as the leading class of the society in the northern Sinkiang. This undoubtedly on the one hand was due to being backed by political power; on the other hand to their being largest part in the 400,000 immigrants.⁽⁴⁰⁾ The people from Hopei and Shansi provinces played the leading

(36) Sung Po-lu 宋伯魯, *Sinkiang chien-chih-chih* 新疆建置志 (The Establishment of Sinkiang), 1914, Taipei, Hsueh-sheng Book Co., p. 41.

(37) *Ibid.*, p. 44.

(38) *Ibid.*, p. 73.

(39) As for the influence of secret societies in Sinkiang and their relations with the revolutionaries, see Chang Ta-chun 張大軍, *Sinkiang feng-pao ch'i-shih-nien*, 新疆風暴七十年 (The Stormy Seventy Years of Sinkiang), Lan-hsi 蘭溪 Pub. Co., 1980, Book 1, pp. 39-56.

(40) Hsu Chung-hao 許崇灝, ed., *Sinkiang chih-lueh* 新疆誌略 (A Brief Record of Sinkiang), Shanghai, Cheng-chung Book Co., 1947, p. 47.

role in commerce while the people from Shensi and Kansu were the leaders in the middle and lower class.

With the establishment of administrative units as province and counties, the po-ko 伯克 system disappeared. The status of the Moslem religious leaders also declined with this development. However, with the lack of a well developed intellectual class, the progress of assimilation had not attained a high level and remained on the road of evolution.

Unfortunately in the early years of the Republic, this progress of assimilation appeared rather regressive on account of the changes in politics. This was because after Yang Tseng-hsin 楊增新 came to power, with the aim of the tight control of Sinkiang for his own benefit, he adopted the policy of ruling the Moslem people by the Moslem people 以回治回. Hence, he stopped the people of the China proper from immigrating to Sinkiang for settlement. As for the immigrants already there, especially those from Hunan, he deliberately put pressure on them in order to force them to leave Sinkiang. This rendered futile the effort throughout the previous 70 years. This was not only a misfortune afflicted on Sinkiang but also on all of China. It can be proved from this that there exists an inseparable relationship between the social changes and politics.

V. Conclusion

From the above discussion, it may be asserted that in the late 19th and the early 20th centuries, the changes in the provinces of Manchuria, Taiwan and Sinkiang can indeed be called "cultural assimilation to China proper". Such an assimilation at its root was merely the fact that the Chinese people came to settle in these provinces. The longer they settled, and the greater the number of settlers increased, the closer these changes in these societies were to their proto-type culture of the China proper. This is why it attained complete success in Manchuria and Taiwan, but failed in Sinkiang.

Seen from another angle, the success of such an assimilation hinged also

on the number of the original local inhabitants and the degree of development of their own culture and on the similarity between their culture and the intruding culture. Generally speaking, the society changes for reasons of practicality and in the direction of a superior type of culture. Compared with the local culture in the three areas mentioned above, the Chinese culture obviously was the superior one. Thus without other factors of interference, the society under concern naturally developed the process of assimilation. What is more, under the impact of western powers, the central government as well as the local governments with their capable officials expedited and strengthened this process, seeing that part of the frontier territory was already lost to the western countries and fearing that much more might continue to be lost. As a result, while under the western impact, many provinces in China proper, especially those along the sea coast, became more and more westernized; the frontier regions of Manchuria, Taiwan and Sinkiang turned closer to China, with the changes in their societies in the direction of assimilation to China proper.

「清代邊疆地區的社會變遷」

中文提要

李 國 祁

本文討論在清代，特別是清代後期，亦即十九世紀後期至廿世紀初期，東三省、臺灣及新疆三地區的社會變遷，此種變遷是因漢人前往移民而造成，故在變遷的取向上是取向於中國本部諸省，故其變遷可稱之為“內地化”。就三地區的個別情況言，東三省在清代前期滿人大批入關，漢人則漸前往移墾，在十九世紀後期廿世紀初期由於俄日的侵略，清廷終於開放全境，而漢人大批湧往，乃得完成其內地化作用，一切社會情況與華北相同。臺灣在清代的內地化作用產生較晚，其移民潮在十八世紀，至十九世紀後期，由於列強的覬覦，清政府的積極經營，其由移墾社會轉向文治社會的內地化作用加劇，至割讓日本前，亦完成其內地化作用，因之其社會情況多似閩南及粵東。新疆的內地化作用發生最晚，至左宗棠平回後，漢人方大批前往移墾，至清代覆亡時，北疆不少城市如哈密、迪化、奇台等漢居民在人數上已超過土著居民，其內地化甚為急劇。而南疆（回疆）則漢人移入者少，內地化尚在發軔階段。惜民國建立以後，由於楊增新以回治回的政策，使此略具基礎之內地化作用又復遭受摧毀。

由上所述，可知清代邊疆的社會變遷與其本部十八省不同，在本部諸省因壓力衝擊開始急劇轉變時，東三省、臺灣、新疆卻因內地化關係，對中國本部產生向心力作用，故迄今我國仍能保有這些地區。