A Study on the Strategy of Modern Border Governance in the Qing Dynasty -- A Brief Discussion on the Governance Strategy of Zhao Erfeng during his tenure as the Resident Minister in Tibet

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Abstract. In the late Qing Dynasty, in order to consolidate the southwest border and resist the invasion of British colonizers. The central administrative group of the Qing Dynasty carried out a series of governance and business activities on the Xichuan border. In this series of activities, Zhao Erfeng, who was then the Minister of Border Affairs of Sichuan and Yunnan, was known as the "Zhao Butcher". He cruelly suppressed the national movement with iron and blood methods, and implemented strategies such as land reform and new policies, which greatly changed the form of border areas in Sichuan. This article aims to explore the development process of modern ethnic relations and border governance by exploring Zhao Erfeng's governance period, extracting the ruling ideas of Qing rulers towards ethnic border areas, and exploring the development process of modern ethnic relations and border governance.

Keywords: Qing Dynasty; Borderland; Zhao Erfeng; Ethnic relations.

1. The Changing Attitude of the Qing Court towards Zhao Erfeng's Border Policy

During the late Qing period, China was subjected to serious colonial aggression, and the British colonizers extended the poisonous hand of colonization to the Tibet area. Under the increasingly severe situation of the southwestern border exchange, the Qing rulers included the Chuanbian (also known as the Kham area) in the overall southwestern border defense plan, with the intention of ruling Tibet from the Chuan and stabilizing the Tibetan border. Because of the administrative mode of Tibet's unity of church and state, the monk who was in charge of Tibet's religious and administrative power fell to the British side, and at its instigation, the "Batang Incident" of killing the Qing ministers in Tibet took place in Tibet in 1905, and Zhao Erfeng and the then Governor-General of Sichuan, Ma Weiqi, led the troops out to pacify the situation, and the two carried out a "massacre" after the conquest of Batang. After the conquest of Batang, the two carried out a "massacre", and killed more than a hundred Huangjiao lamas in the river, and executed more than 30 living Buddhas and Tusi, after which Ma Weiqi returned to Sichuan to recuperate, Zhao Erfeng began to grasp the command of the Sichuan army and began its seven-year-long rule. In the Batang garrison, Zhao Erfeng began to implement high-pressure rule policy, not only burned the scriptures, melting the Buddha statue coinage, but also carried out reclamation, open up the land, trade, road construction, bridge, postal routes, and the rise of learning to educate the people of Chuanbian people with Confucian culture [1]. Zhao Erfeng in the reign of the Sichuan side of the 7 years, the land reclassification, the implementation of the new policy, the Sichuan side of the land of the Tusi by the original tie-up rule to "the military government, the supervision of the local responsibility" of the ChuanYunnan Minister of Border Affairs as a symbol of the central government direct jurisdiction to the stormy and shaky Qing dynasty played a dose of "renewed life". The system of the ministers in Tibet existed in the Yongyong period, and it was the first time that it was used.

The system of ministers in Tibet existed from the fifth year of the Yongzheng reign (1727) to 1912. In order to change the status quo of the original unity of religion and politics in Tibet, strengthen centralization, and place Tibet under the direct rule of the central government, in the 56th year of the Kangxi period, the Junggar tribe of the Mongol Mongols invaded Tibet to kill Lazang Khan and overthrow the aristocracy of the Heshuo tribe, which ruled Tibet and occupied it. At this time, the Qing Dynasty had basically completed the unification of the country, taking advantage of this good
opportunity, the Qing Dynasty to revitalize the Gelugpa Yellow Religion expelled Jungar as a slogan, sent troops to conquer on two occasions, spending a lot of manpower and material resources, and finally brought the Tibetan region into the scope of the central government's direct jurisdiction. Even so, the political situation in Tibet is still unstable, and the Qing government to implement the garen co-ruling also finally ended in failure, under the weighing, to ma lah, shengge as the first minister in Tibet, opened the minister in Tibet system. However, according to the evidence, it only has the right to supervise the local affairs of Tibet. In the Qianlong twelfth year (1747), to zhulmot nagi zaler attacked the county king as an opportunity, the central government of Tibet local administrative system reform, and finally established under the minister in Tibet and help the minister of each one of the customized. 1908 February, Zhao Erfeng took office as the minister of the Tibet, is still concurrently minister of the ChuanYunnan border affairs in the archery furnace (now Kanding) stationed in the army, change the set up of the archery furnace for the kanding province after the right set up the dengke and so on the house, this move This move greatly strengthened the Qing government's control over the Xikang area. At this time the Qing court to take a strong policy, asked him and the last minister in Tibet Lianyu common investigation of Tibetan conditions, the allocation of funds more than 600,000 taels of silver. The Kasha regime in Tibet sent officers to Tsamdo to mobilize Tibetan soldiers to prevent Zhao Erfeng from entering Tibet by force. In 1909, Zhao Erfeng defeated the Tibetan rebels attacking Batang and entered the Tibetan hinterland, Zhao Erfeng wrote a letter requesting to take advantage of the victory to pacify the whole territory of Tibet and implement the policy of changing religion and customs. At this time, the Qing government adopted a conservative policy of frontier governance to avoid intensification of the matter, and rejected Zhao Erfeng's policy of entering Tibet. The Zhao brothers emphasized that to secure Tibet, one must first secure Ba, focusing on the Chuanbian management policy, and in 1908, the Qing court's attitude towards Tibet was instead tough, and in the face of reprimands such as "to comply with the telegraphic decree to quickly enter Tibet, and if it is delayed again, it will be punished severely"[2], Zhao Erfeng hastened to say that he "should take the matter of Tibet as the most important thing, as the most important thing." "Erfeng has never shied away from difficulties and dangers". To June 21 and June 22, Zhao Erfeng and the Office of the military aircraft in the message to discuss the departure time and route, the relationship has eased. At the end of the Qing dynasty by the Sichuan side into Tibet has two routes north and south, the north road through the zhan on the tusi, dege tusi, thirty-nine tribal places into Tibet, the south road through the litang tusi, batang tusi boundaries, tsamudo place into Tibet. The Qing court suggested the north road into Tibet while Zhao Erfeng intended to enter Tibet on the south road. Finally, on August 6, Zhao Erfeng led his troops from Chengdu to Tibet. The difference between the Qing court and the Zhao brothers did not lie in the understanding of the importance of Anba, but in the fact that the ruling group of the Qing government, which was at the end of the feudal society, was in a state of collapse and corruption, did not have the time, environment, and financial and material resources to promote the traditional method of governance according to the traditional inlandization of the original border. The border governance policy of the Qing dynasty in Zhao Erfeng's period of power, from radical to calm. This was due to the gradual collapse of the traditional structure of feudal society and the gradual loss and decline of the centralized power of the Qing central government in the context of the times.

2. The hesitant attitude of the Qing court towards handling the border Tibet conflict

In July of the 34th year of the Guangxu reign (1908), Zhao Erfeng set off for Tibet, and his attitude towards Tibetan affairs underwent a significant change from before. Since May, the Zhao brothers have repeatedly submitted statements to the central rulers of the Qing court, stating that the reform of Tibetan affairs can only be carried out gradually after the effective management of the Sichuan border, once again reflecting their governance philosophy of ensuring peace in Tibet. In August, when Zhao Erfeng submitted to the Military Aircraft Department for discussion on the Tibetan strategy, he clearly proposed that the central government should send heavy troops to Xizang to deal with the declaration of war by the local government of Tibet, and then the effect was to appease the naturalization with
grace. Zhao Erfeng believed that although the British and Indian colonialists had the heart to invade Xizang at this time, the British and Indian influence on the local government of Xizang was limited at present, which was not enough to control the whole political situation of Xizang. Although the local government of Xizang headed by the Dalai Lama is arrogant, its dark and exploitative rule has made the lower class, especially the serf class, full of complaints, and its military strength can not match the heavy forces of the Qing Dynasty for the time being. Compared to the previous criticism from the Qing court that Zhao Erfeng led his army to Tibet, Zhao Erfeng politely refused. Now that Zhao Erfeng has requested the Qing court to send a heavy army to Tibet for a battle, the Qing court has hesitated to avoid exacerbating the conflict between the border and Tibet. Through Zhao Erfeng’s exploration of interaction with the central government of the Qing Dynasty when he was the minister of border affairs in Sichuan and Yunnan, we can find that the central government's ingenious attitude towards local affairs in Xizang in the late Qing Dynasty ranged from radical entry into Tibet to steady border fixing, which included both the influence factors of invasion by foreign powers and the consideration and thinking of the central rulers of the Qing Dynasty on the current situation of internal and external troubles. The prudent policy of governing Tibet was the correct decision made by the Qing government after multiple considerations. At the local level, Zhao Erfeng is also carrying out his own plan step by step. On the one hand, he used Dege troops to urge Dege Chieftain to return to the local community, weaken the influence and control of the Xizang government in the chieftain succession system, and consolidate the border administrative system. On the other hand, they also reprimanded Tibetan and Han officials from various regions, using both firmness and softness to promote border stability. However, the Qing government did not interfere with this, and even took a supportive attitude. Its attitude towards Xizang's local government was mainly stable in the later stage, but it also took a supportive approach to the local confrontation of local officials, with a delicate and balanced attitude.

3. Discussion on the New Deal and the Division of Administrative Divisions in Xizang

During the continuous confrontation between the border and Tibetan armies, the Qing government always maintained the illusion of apparent stability, and the western advance of the border army under Zhao Erfeng's command and the return of the Dege chieftain intensified the dissatisfaction of the Xizang local government with the Tibetan government and the central government. Under the dual conflict between the Dalai Lama and the local government of Xizang, the central ruler of the Qing Dynasty once again weighed the issue of Xizang reform, rejected Zhao Erfeng's proposal to fight in Xizang, and began to support his policy of "peace before peace". It can be said that the Batang Incident was a setback encountered by the central decision-making group of the Qing Dynasty in transforming traditional policies on border governance, but it further highlighted the importance of border management. In the first year of Xuantong (1909), with the successive deaths of Empress Dowager Cixi and Emperor Guangxu, the highest decision-makers of the Qing court gradually tended to be conservative in their strategies for governing border Tibet.

In the first lunar month, Zhao Erfeng stepped down as the Minister of Affairs in Tibet, but still served as the Minister of Border Affairs in Sichuan and Yunnan, stationed at the border of Batang, and stationed troops in the important area of Chamudo. Although the local government of Xizang successfully prevented Zhao Erfeng from leading his army into Tibet, in the wave of the "New Deal at the end of the Qing Dynasty", the new army with new training and significantly improved combat effectiveness was escorted by Zhao Erfeng's frontier army to the border with Tibet. [3] After Zhao Erfeng's desire to enter Tibet and prepare for border planning was denied by the central government, he vigorously operated the Sichuan border area, intending to establish provinces and absorb land through the Sichuan border area, and firmly integrate it into the central management territory, in order to "protect the Sichuan and consolidate the Tibet, and maintain stability while consolidating the border." Zhao Erfeng himself presented the "Six Matters for Border Planning" shortly after leaving the country, which initially showed his idea of managing the Sichuan border and establishing a province. Afterwards, Zhao Erfeng repeatedly proposed to the Qing court the proposal of
"establishing a province of Xikang to aid Tibet." In October of the first year of Xuantong (1909), Zhao Erfeng, while escorting the new army into Tibet, discussed with his elder brother Zhao Erxun and jointly submitted a request to the court to establish a province along the Sichuan border, in order to achieve the ultimate goal of establishing a province to strengthen the border and stabilize Tibet.

In the second year of Xuantong (1910), the Military Aircraft Department gave a negative reply to the appeal of Zhao Erfeng and Zhao Erxun to establish a province in Sichuan. The reason was that the people in Xizang were unstable because of the Dalai Lama's flight, and the social situation was turbulent; The second reason is that the Qing court itself was unable to provide funding for the establishment of the Sichuan Border Construction Province due to the huge compensation paid to the foreign powers. Taking into account the situation along the Sichuan border, it is necessary to establish a first level administrative district under the jurisdiction of Sichuan Province. In the third year of Xuantong (1911), the Revolution of 1911 broke out, and the Qing government was at the end of its tether. Zigong, in the south of Sichuan Province, had already announced the "uprising" on September 25 of that year, establishing the first county government led by the Chinese Revolutionary League. The situation within the national and provincial-level administrative regions was turbulent. The Qing court appointed Zhao Erfeng as the Governor General of Sichuan in the hope of stabilizing the situation in Sichuan. Although Zhao Erfeng had the great talent and strategy to establish a province, it was no longer possible due to the ups and downs of the Qing court.

4. Zhao Erfeng's contribution to the position of Minister of Border Affairs of Sichuan and Yunnan

Zhao Erfeng made significant contributions to the local civilization and enlightenment during his tenure as the Minister of Border Affairs of Sichuan and Yunnan, and influenced the "barbarian" ethnic groups in the border areas through the method of Confucian education. Not only did they establish new schools, but they also installed power lines, opened roads, taught the people how to cultivate, and implemented reforms in marriage customs. Guided by Confucian ethics and morals, they helped promote ethnic integration and alleviate ethnic conflicts by supporting Han Tibetan intermarriage and other means. [4] Through marriage reform, not only did it promote the flexible governance of the Qing court, but it also played a leading role in the modernization of customs in the Sichuan border. In 1986, Mr. Feng Youzhi wrote "Annotations on the History of Xikang", which reflected that "although Zhao Erfeng had only been in power for 7 years, due to his inspiring spirit and determination to manage the border, although his time was short, he made many achievements, stirring up the dormant border like a stagnant water for thousands of years, and bringing about a hundred new stories." After conducting oral investigations among various temple monks and representatives in the Ganzi region, the positive image description of Zhao Erfeng still accounts for a large proportion. Although he had a tough style and bloody methods in the process of governing Tibet, it cannot be denied that he made significant contributions to border development and governance.

5. Exploring the Strategy of Border Economic Activities from the Perspective of Historical Materialism

In the Tang Dynasty, Sichuan tea was transported into Xizang through the Ancient Tea Horse Road. During the reign of Emperor Kangxi of the Qing Dynasty, the private border tea trade gained legal status, and the Qing government then levied taxes at the customs. In the Sino British Meeting on the Renewal of the Agreement between Tibet and India in 1893, because of its unequal terms, Indian tea sold well in Xizang, greatly encroaching on the Sichuan tea market. Sichuan Tea is at a disadvantage when facing competition from Indian tea. "The entry of roasted tea into Tibet is a major commercial commodity in Sichuan Province. In recent years, due to poor harvesting and excessive mixing of counterfeit tea, its marketing has long declined. However, due to poor business conditions and the belief that Sichuan tea is favored by Tibetan tea, Sichuan tea merchants are confident and fearless.
Nowadays, Indian tea is difficult to stop due to its adherence to trade agreements, and the tax-free road for roasted tea is fast. The transportation of roasted tea is difficult and the cost is heavy, causing Sichuan people to lose millions of tea profits every year.". [5] So Zhao Erfeng teamed up with tea merchants from Yazhou (now in Qionglai City, Ya'an City, which is the main black and green tea production area in Sichuan Province) to raise funds and establish a company to seek profit. In October of the first year of Xuantong (1909), Guo Shicai was sent from Tibet to India for investigation. In August of the second year of Xuantong (1910), Shangban Biancha Co., Ltd. officially established a branch office in Yazhou City and issued its articles of association, which included five branch offices. On the one hand, Zhao Erfeng organized private tea merchants to compete for profits with printed tea through the establishment of a company, but on the other hand, he agreed to increase the number of tea merchants in the border of Sichuan and Dengke to extract a second tax of gold and silver from tea merchants. These tea taxes have to some extent compensated for the insufficient development funds in the Sichuan border region, and also promoted the new establishment of schools and road construction in the Sichuan border region. In addition, when Indian rupees poured into Xizang, Zhao Erfeng and Sichuan Governor Xi Liang imitated Indian rupees to make Tibetan dollars in Sichuan, in order to rectify the current situation of the confusion of actual value caused by the inferior coin casting materials of Tibetan coins in the late Qing Dynasty. In order to ensure the liquidity of the Tibetan yuan, the two of them changed the face value multiple times and made auxiliary coins worth 10 million copper yuan, which were sent to circulation shops outside the border for exchange. During this process, due to the historical background of internal and external troubles in the late Qing Dynasty, and the actual environment in which local Han Du Fu held real power, Zhao Erfeng and Xi Liang fully organized and ruled the production and circulation of Tibetan yuan. Their actions can be said to ensure local people's livelihoods, promote the economic development of Sichuan, Yunnan, and Tibet, greatly improve local productivity, and most importantly, improve infrastructure through economic development. The economic foundation accumulated by Zhao Erfeng played a foundational role in the later governance and revitalization of Tibet.

6. Ethnic Integration and Conflict Alleviation in the Modern Sichuan Border Region

The border policy of the Qing Dynasty can be reflected in the governance form of the Li Fan Yuan as the main body, supplemented by officials dispatched from the central government to ethnic minority areas such as the Ili General and the Minister in Tibet. However, in the later period, the centralization of the Qing government was weakened, and local real power was transferred to the hands of Han governors. During the 276 year reign of the Qing Dynasty, it was recorded that the Emperor Kangxi had made three expeditions against Gardan's foreign forces, and there were also stories of ethnic friendly exchanges between the 5th Dalai Lama, the 6th Panchen Lama and other local political and religious leaders in Xizang who made pilgrimages to Beijing. In the process of communication between the local Xizang in modern times and the central government of the Qing Dynasty, the 13th Dalai Lama Tudeng Gyatso went to Beijing in the 34th year of Guangxu (1908) to pay a visit to Emperor Guangxu and Empress Dowager Cixi, and retained the royal gift of a faluo as evidence of friendship between the central government and local political and religious leaders. It can be said that 1908 was a good and bad year for the relationship between the central government and Xizang in the Qing Dynasty. There were both friendly exchanges and bloody events. Taking the Batang area as an example, Bai Shangwen's "Ba'an County Annals" [6] detailed the social and economic conditions of the Batang area at that time, including detailed records of Han Tibetan intermarriage and some communication behaviors between local Han officials and Tibetan chieftains. In Chen Quzen's book "A Dream of Gentiana Field Dust", it is recorded that he entered Tibet with the army in 1909. The book mainly records his love story with Tibetan woman Xiyuan, which can be regarded as a microcosm of the relationship between the Han and Tibetan ethnic groups at that time. It can be considered that in the modern border ethnic relations of the Qing Dynasty, the overall relationship was harmonious. Although there were some bloody incidents interspersed, they were only wars launched by the ruling class for their own interests, and could not reflect the social orientation of the people as the main body.
7. Conclusion

At the end of the Qing Dynasty, the Qing government faced internal and external troubles, and was on the verge of collapse. China had already become a semi colonial and semi feudal society. In this context, by exploring the governance strategies of Zhao Erfeng during his reign in border affairs and the central government's attitude towards border areas and ethnic relations, it can be concluded that the modern border governance strategies of the Qing Dynasty were relatively stable, and the main reason for their formation was the political situation of internal and external troubles at that time. During Zhao Erfeng's term as the minister of border affairs of Sichuan and Yunnan, some exhibitions in the border area were effectively pacified. Through the vigorous development of culture and education, transportation, posts and telecommunications, the local infrastructure was improved, providing a good social environment for local development, and providing a useful reference for the later Republican government to further develop Xizang and the border areas of Sichuan. Everything they did was conducive to social progress.

References