

The analysis about the reasons of local garrison's rebellion events in Xinjiang in the initial period of Xinjiang Province

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Keywords: Officer's Report; Local Garrison in Xinjiang; Reasons of Rebellion Event.

Abstract. In the early period after Qing dynasty's government retook Xinjiang from invaders, there are many rebellion events happened in garrison army at this new province, causing serious consequences to the stability and political order at China western border. This paper will try to analyze reasons of these rebellion events based on the analysis of relative officer's report ,especially Liu Jing Tang's reports.

1. Introduction

Rebellion, it is one of the most terminate result of national violence organization abandon it's primary job. This happening means members of army abandon their rules and do not obey the command of former command system again. On the military history, rebellion isn't a rear phenomenon: broad-scale, organize rebellion always as the result of complex social conflict's developing and it's final burst out, just as the Uprising in 1918 of German Imperial Navy. Comparing with it, small-scale rebellions always may be initiated by many reasons: personal conflict of army's member, salary arrears , delay of duty's term, or many other reasons. In many circumstances, gangs and underground religions will become the catalyst of rebellion. In the years after Qing dynasty's government retook Xinjiang, many rebellion events happened in garrison force at this province, and these events made heavy impact to local rule order.

Because the deficiency of history research at this field, this paper will accumulate and analyze main history materials——such as local officer's reports——to describe these rebellion events objectively. And describe unstable functions in Xinjiang 's administrative and garrison system at that time..

2. Records about local garrison's rebellion events in early period of Xinjiang province's history

Since Qing dynasty's government built its rule at Xinjiang in middle 18th century, for keep the safe of west frontier and fortifying its control of these zones, it deployed qualities army include Manchu and Green Army in Xinjiang. These army garrisoned at south and north of Tianshan mountain, some of them are permanent garrison and the other shifted. At the time of Qianlong period, 'in North and south Tianshan area garrisoned more than nineteen thousand soldier ', and in the year forty-two of Qianlong period, the amount of farm-soldiers (these troop's duty not only on line of their duties, but they need to farm in these place to feed themselves) who farmed in Xinjiang is more than thirteen thousand and nine hundred. Comparing with the total population which just two million even in early 20th century at Xinjiang, it is a really awful number. But, after the uprising in 1860th , the invasion of Kokand's Yakub Beg and Russia Empire's 'interference', most of these garrison were defeated, collapsed or surrendered to enemy (such as He Buyun and his battallion surrender to Yakub Beg's invader), just a little of them survived when Zuo zongtang's Chinese expeditionary force retook Xinjiang in 1878. Therefore, for defending the Russia which had annexed Central Asian countries and Yi li, and keeping Xinjiang stability in long term, Zuo zongtang commanded many his seventy thousand army and dispersed them to defend many military fortresses in Xinjiang, and recruited many soldiers) form local dwellers (including soldiers form Manchu and Green army). Through a serious of elimination, reconstruction and conformation. Finally, in 1884, garrisons in Xinjiang

organized into the inner military system including Manchu and Green army. But until the early 20th century, when Xinjiang's local government began to organize their 'new force' by the demand of 'new policies of latter stage of Qing Dynasty', this force's main part was still organized by old green Army which originated from Zuo zongtang's West expeditionary force. Gelao brotherhood which played an important role of the Revolution of 1911 was infiltrated into Xinjiang by Zuo zongtang's force and developed in military system of Xinjiang.

Though these garrisons in Xinjiang have important duty to defend China's west frontier, but their organizational discipline can not be judged as 'good'. In the early period after Qing dynasty's government retook Xinjiang, rebellion events happened frequently. Many soldiers in garrisons murdered their commanders, escaped from army, even became bandits. By the law, Liu jingtang and other officers reported process and approaches about these rebellion events in their memorials to the throne. And there were also some memorials reporting other affairs referred these rebellion. In all of these officer memorials, Liu jingtang's memorials were most detailed because he had been assigned as the overseer and manager of Xinjiang's affairs after Qing government retook this new province.

In extant memorials Liu jingtang written in the period when he was the governor of Gansu province and managed affairs in Xinjiang, these memorials directly to rebellion events of Xinjiang's garrison: *The memorials about a Captain murder battalion commander and compel soldiers rebel and be eliminate soon after*, this memorial in 26th November, 11th year of Guangxu reported the rebellion event burst from the cavalry team which he transferred from Fukang to Urumqi. *The memorials about the completion of Jingji cavalry team was completed* in 6th March, 11th year of Guangxu, which reported local officer's post process of this rebellion event. *The report about Yili's bandits associated with local soldier and raiding were overwhelmed by defense army* which in same day, reported the event about some 'bandits' colluded with some local soldier and insurrection in Suiding town (A military fortress near frontier) at Yili area. *The report about Yili's Li word-after battalion rebel and murder officer*, 23rd June, 11th year of Guangxu, and *the memorials about the rebellion and escape of Liu wen he's new recruiters* in same day. *The memorials about Gu dexi associated with bandit and planned to rebel and be suppressed immediately*, 27th October, 11th year of Guangxu, about a soldier named Gu dexi's cabal. *The memorials of the wraparound situation of the garrison's rebel in Tarbagatay*, a report at 7th July in 13th year of Guangxu reported a heavy rebellion in this important city, and there were also two other reports about same event: *The memorials about rebel soldiers' surrender and disposition*, and *the memorials about the judgement and execution of rebel soldier*. The first report at 11th July, 13th year of Guangxu, and the second at 12th June in next year.

These officer's reports above mentioned totally related six rebellion events in less than four years (from 10th to 14th year of Guangxu, roughly equaled 1884-1888 A.D), average to more than once a year, and totally involved thousands soldier, and had very high frequency. But after 14th year of Guangxu (1884 A.C), there is no more record can be founded in Liu jingtang, Tao mu and other local officer's memorials about rebellion of Xinjiang's garrison.

3. The process and post-processing of every local garrison's rebellion events

The six rebellion events in early period at Xinjiang providence's history are all burst out at different sites. These sites include Urumqi, Yili (twice), Tarbagatay, Kurkara wusu and Kashghar. They are provincial capital, center of traffic and important fortress. Altogether, these places are all valuable to economy or country's defense.

The first event burst out at 15th, October, 10th of Guangxu (1884), in this month, a part of Jingji cavalry team leaved their former stationed place Fukang and marched to Dihua (today's Urumqi) by order, its captain Zhao Liangjing and sergeant Yang Yucheng of Later Shao (equal to a company in modern force) murdered the commander Wang Yulin of this troop unexpectedly in the night, and escaped to west with hundreds soldier in cavalry team. After the rebellion happened, two garrison force commanded by Tan Shanglian and Li Qiseng in vicinal area tried to pursuit and headed off this force immediately, and fought with them many times from 16th to 22nd October, after pay the high

price(Li Qiseng, General of cavalry troop died in battle by enemy's artillery fire, and killed or captured most of rebels, but there were also some rebels escaped and vanished successfully.

The second rebellion reported by Liu Jingtang and other officers had happened at 13th February, in next year(1885). In this day, major Dai Hongsheng, the commander of left battalion garrisoned at Kuitun reported a group of 'bandits' secretly associated with five hundred soldier in Qiangyong cavalry team and infantry guardian garrisoned in Yili, these soldier left their positions without order and disguised as Jijiang cavalry team which passed this place, robed Han merchants near Nanguan(a traffic hub not too distant to Yili city) and escaped to east in second day. When he received report about rebellion, General Jin shun organized some battalions force leaded by Captain Dai Hongsheng and Tan shanglian to block these rebel in Kuitun, and send some high motorized cavalry team to detour and surround them. In 18th, February, Ma Yukun's soldier make a fierce battle with rebel in Jing Hekou, eliminated and captured most of them, and chased them to Dong Jingzi after two days, destroyed the other 200 survivors.

The third burst in 1st May at 11th year of Guangxu(1885), in this night, soldiers of word li in green-flag army "caused a disturbance for their salary", and killed their commander Duan Yunyang. And shot commander Liu Hongfa in the battle with his personal guards but he didn't die. After the rebellion, these soldier evacuated to Daxigou and Guozigou, combined with local 'bandits' and join them. Thence, these former soldier became a dangerous robber corp, frequently struck army's convey, even burned out the food transport station, local officers for which they could do nothing.

Next rebellion burst out after just six days, Liu wenhe, the chief commander of Tarbagatay and vice general of Suilai battalion lead 200 recruits marched to Toutai of Kurkara wusu in this day. In the night, these recruits uprising unexpectedly, burned out local relay, captured the horses and run away to west. By local government's order, garrison near Kurkara wusu intercepted and seized these rebel recruits, as the result, most of them were arrested at last.

The fifth rebellion happened in 23th September in 11th year of Guangxu(1885), by the report of Dong Fuxiang, the general of west four cities' cavalry and infantry in south Xinjiang, this event initiated by a 'stragglers and disbanded soldiers' whose family name is Zhang, he is a former soldier of Songwu army (one of west expedition force in 1878). This secret associated with Gu dexi and other soldiers who serviced in Dingyuan left wing and garrisoned at Kashghar, founded by check committee member. Officer of this troop gathered urgently after known this, but there still have more than 20 soldiers escaped from their camp, and be arrested next day.

The last rebellion event burst out in 27th June, 13th of Guangxu (1887). In this day, more than one thousand soldier belonged in right, middle and left battalion garrisoned at Suijing city of Tarbagatay rebelled in the same time. They killed their battalion's commander, struck local cannon troop (because they tried to capture their cannon), and attacked the head quarters in Tarbagatay, but were repulsed by the reinforcement of The eight banner army and Green army's cavalry team. In next day, local officers come into rebel's battle field and promised amnesty to them. rebel soldiers dismissed and returned to their camp. This event had been suppressed at last.

The measure Qing dynasty's government took to dispose these rebellion events was just like the way they disposed others. That was so called 'suppress and amnesty'. According to Liu jingtang and other officer's memorials, after rebellion bursted out, commander of near district garrison will report to their superior immediately and assemble their force to suppress the rebellion. In case, they also kept high level alert about every omens of rebellion in peacetime. If found it, they will take preventive measures in time. When rebellion's extent became too large and organized, local officers will assemble advanced force to defeat them and dispatch Yamen's runner, village militiamen of other irregular military to arrest the remnants. By the complete superiority of government army, rebels always were suppressed and arrested in few days, and only a little survivors can escape and become 'bandits'.

But, if the value of suppression became obvious too high or suppression itself became too difficult, amnesty might after all be accepted as a possible option. In the event of Jingji cavalry team's rebel in 10th year of Guangxu, cavalry team's general Li qiseng, who was in charge of catching up rebels had try to 'order his soldier require rebels to promise to pardon them who abandon

weapon and horse and surrender, tried to dismiss rebels, but he didn't successful because he was killed by artillery fired by Zhao liangjing, leader of these rebels. In the great rebellion at Tarbagatay, for the weakness of suppression, local government send officers to compromise with rebels. After the negotiation in both of them, rebels back to camp and stopped this rebellion.

When rebellion had been suppressed, Qing government's military and policy system in Xinjiang always will make some further disposition after ending those rebellions, punishing the leaders and elites of rebels. Law of Qing dynasty is very severe to rebels by the regulation in *statutes and precedents of the Qing Dynasty*, all the chief and collusion must be put them to death by dismembering body 'include chief and accessory criminals.' Murdered commander, attacked other government army, escaped and become bandit, these action were all belonging to the law. But if a soldier just escaped from his force, will be judge as deserter. By the clause 'deserter in military action' of *statutes and precedents of the Qing Dynasty*, 'If government army's soldier sneak back to home or escape to other place in military action, punish by flogging one hundred times, and send them retire to army, but if it happened again, will be hanged.' The disposition of the rebellion event in October, 10th year of Guangxu by Liu jingtang is a typical case: The chief criminal, captain Zhao liangjing was judged to put death by dismembering body because rebel and murder, other thirty men who also considered as chief all be beheaded, and forty-one soldier be regarded as threatened casually of 'understandable', but local government still can't trust them, so punished by flogging and send back to their native land.

Although, just like most regulations in *statutes and precedents of the Qing Dynasty*, actually, officers who in charge of these case will keep some elasticity, in stead of executing by the word strictly. A typical example is the disposition for rebellion event which burst out in 13th of Guangxu at Tarbagatay. As the punish of rebellion, the two military officers who provoked and led the rebellion only beheaded instead of put death by dismembering body. It's reason possibly might be the result of government officer's promise of amnesty. violating this promise will damage local government's credit and evoke more rebellions. But most punishment of these events very severe overall, because rebellion of army will make heavy damage to the order of Qing dynasty's rule.

4. Analysis about the reasons of Xinjiang garrison's rebellion

At the early period of Xinjiang province's history, this place is just recovering from the heavy damage of the war, order of society being in reconstructing. it's looks like Xinjiang will have a long term of peace and stable. But the fact is on the contrary. In the next few years after the establishment of Xinjiang province, except bandit's robbery and raiding, the rebellion events' burst out in local garrison very frequently, on the first-rate in whole country. In this time, only Hunan province rough equipped to Xinjiang in this field because it have to accept large number of soldier who retired after the establishment of Xinjiang province, local military system began to be reconstructed by the model of east provinces. Army in Xinjiang divided to two individual systems: Eight banner army and Green army, and all rebel troops belonged to Green army system, and Manchu soldiers always play the role of keeping stable and suppressing rebellion in these events. A example is the rebellion in Tarbagatay at 13th of Guangxu, in that day, soldier of Eight banner army repulsed rebel's attack to cannon troop, as result, they prevent the increase of rebellion successfully.

Of course, this phenomenon was not weird—as the main part of Qing empires' force, Green army is only a feudal mercenary, they were great different to Eight banner army which have many privileges on policy and economy field, and can transform the job from parents to child. According to the law, Green army succeed the military household system from Ming dynasty, only recruited its soldier from military households. But in the fact, just like Mao Haijian's analysis, with the debacle of military system and frequent war in late Qing dynasty, there were many 'ghosts' in the list of name in Green army system in peace time. If in emergency situation, commanders (they also have the power to recruit new soldier) of Green army will hired some 'temporary man' such as rogues, beggars or other unemployed men to make up the number. And after the war of The Taiping Heaven Kingdom and Nian Army, many irregular army, especially so called 'Valley soldiers' including Songwu army or

Zeng Guofan's Hunan army all classified as government army of Qing dynasty, which let the organization of Qing's army become more Complex. And because of the habit of despising to military and importance to literate from Song and Ming dynasty, people who if have a good job(that is so called 'officer, farmer, worker and merchant'), they will never not join army as a common soldier. In Pre-modern society, because of the nation-state not formed yet, soldiers always have no loyalty to their country, and they are more impossible become loyalist to regime and dynasty like Eight banner army's soldier who have many privilege. The only one goal of most soldiers to join army is soldier's payment and provision, especially ration and free uniform.

Compared with the average standard of whole nation's soldier, life in Green army garrisoned in Xinjiang was worse. Because the terrible economy situation, finance in Xinjiang at late Qing rely on the payment from inland provinces seriously. In the fourth of Guangxu, Zhuo sheng army which garrisoned in Urumchi's salary was assumed by Shanxi and Shanxi(the other province in east) half-and -half. And Songwu army was all paid by Hunan. Because of the long supply line and difficulty in transporting, and the trivial of bureaucracy, these pays always can't be paid in schedule. The two army referred before all be owed large number of pays in 3rd and 4th of Guangxu, as result, in 1st, February, 6th of Guangxu, Zuo Zongtang immediately send two memorials: *The memories to the throne for request his majesty order inner land provinces transport pay of West army immediately* and *The memories to the throne for please Jiangsu and Zhejiang transport pay of Zeng Guofan's hunan army immediately*. And in 26th November, 10th of Guangxu, Liu jingtang reported the lack of soldier's pay in his *The memories to the throne for the lack of soldier's pay and request haste the transport of it*, 21th January, 12rd of Guangxu, he demanded treasure department supply again for local government paid the owed pay in *The memories to the throne for request relieve department supply soldier's pay to Gansu province because the owed pays can not pay off*, *The memories to the throne for request his majesty order departments pay off all the owed pays of West expeditionary army* in 4th December, and *The memories to the throne for request more extension of leave to accumulate money for pay off the owed soldier's pay* in 1st August, at next year.

Add to the frost, corruption in local government and army aggravated the delay of soldier's pay In 26th January, 6th of Guangxu, Zuo Zongtang pointed out in his *the report of investigate and dispose about Xiao Zhaoyuan, the committee in charge of purchase and transport army's provision's delay and corrupt in his work*, Xiao zhaoyuan, the participated general at Lingzhou battalion in Lanzhou who was in charge of transport army's provision to Xinjiang took illegal income more than 74000 liang (equal to 3700 kilogram) of silver by receive grease, make false account, waste 19000 liang of silver in purchase food, and more than 264 thousand jin(equal to 132 ton) army's transport delayed by his crime. And this case was just one of the most obvious cases in Qing dynasty's corrupted logistics system. And in Liu jingtang's *the reply of the accuse about the facts of the corruption of soldier's pay by high level commanders and relative committees in Beijing*, he said officers such as Zhang xi and Wu zhenggang swallowed too much soldier's pay, as result, 'The army Jian and Wei receive pay more than 100 thousand liang of silver, but they never paid any money and provision to their soldier, by the previous case of cavalry team's disruption, local officers requested 100 thousand liang of silver for special pay which should be remitted to Liangzhou by commercial firm, but by the investigation of Tie shan, there only 400 thousand liang received.' After the parasites' steal and corruption, soldier's pay which not enough at beginning become less and less, so it is not unexpected that soldiers can not get their money and provision in time.

By the owe and delay of soldier's pay, soldiers who retired form army can not receive enough dismissal wage. As it's result, they're very difficult to live, even can not go home because they don't have enough traveling expenses to leave Xingjiang. So they have no choice but join robbers. The 'rogue soldier Zhang' who be referred by Liu jingtang's *The report about Gu dexi associated with bandit and plan to rebel and be suppressed immediately* is one of these former soldiers who can't back to home. And the word 'Li' battalion garrisoned in Yili also be transferred to robber and raid army's supply covey after their rebellion.

As a crew of 'serve for food' mercenaries, the hard in live by the arrears of soldier's pay will destroy soldier's morale in Green Army completely, 'cause trouble for pay' become a normal

behavior in the force. If commander make a mistake in the disposing, rebellion will burst out. In every rebellion events, soldier's pay always play a core role. We can find much 'cause trouble for pay' or similar describe in Liu Jingtang's report. Such as *The report about Yili's Li word-after battalion rebel and murder officer* or *The report about Yili's bandits associated with local soldier and raiding be overwhelm by defense army*. After every rebellion resulted by soldier's pay, Xinjiang government will demand inland provinces and central government allocate funds as soon as possible for pay out the overdraft and comfort local soldiers.

In addition to this, because of its feudalism essence, most of its officers in Qing dynasty's army are promoted from common soldier. They didn't accepted any regular education and some of them even are illiterates. So, they always don't know how to lead a army and also very corrupt, so that the relation between soldiers and officers in army always in gravely tense, and always initiated conflict. In his *the report of the disposition to deserters in Jingji cavalry team*, Liu Jingtang declaimed the reason of cavalry team's rebel was Captain Zhao liangjing, Sarge Yang yucheng and other soldiers could not tolerate their commander Wang yulin's curl behaviour again. When rebellion happened, there always some dissatisfied soldier who didn't join the rebellion escape in chaos, which also one of its results. Furthermore, when Xinjiang province just established, there have many soldiers and officers in local army reorganized from Zeng Guofan's Hunan army, in The war of Taiping Heaven Kingdom, rulers of Qing dynasty usually use recommendation (high level officers commend have power write commendation letter and promote his underlings to higher position) for rewarding contributed soldiers and officers. As it result, many number in Hunan army be commend after the war. The rate of recommendation more than twenty per cent become a normal behavior. Because the high position in Green army system is very limited, many people who are high officer in theory and law have to assume the position of basic soldier or low level officer in poverty border area. They're all immersed in desperate because the hopeless of promotion and the low salary which even can not keep their family member's life. We will not surprised of the hopeless fact had further deepened the military's despair.

Above all, there is other point must be mentioned: Gelao brotherhood, the giant underground organization which infiltrated into Xinjiang with Hunan army. This organization 'originate from Sichuan province, bonded by unemployed rogues who contracted to help each other in emergency. When the war began, Bao Chao's force recruited many people from Sichuan, and they pulled the organization into Hunan army.' In the later period of Hunan army's history, Gelao brotherhood was spread into its every corner. The brotherhood not only leaded many conflicts for retire money when Zeng Guofan's Hunan army dismissed, but also initiated many uprisings in Hunan. And brotherhood's predecessor, the 'Sichuan Guolu', also regarded as unstable friction in Sichuan and Chongqing in a long time. For lonely and relines soldiers, the existence of Gelao brotherhood became a important way to combine thier underground together, and also laid the foundation to large-extensive rebellion. Though local government refused to recognize Gelao brotherhood's active in Xinjiang, or called it 'underground party' or 'bandits' in general terms, however, this organization had always existed in Xinjiang until the revolution in 1911. Until Yang zengxiin, the ruler in Xinjiang in early period of China republic use the way both hard and soft to combine bribe and threat, the brotherhood finally was separated and eliminated in this province.

5. Conclusion

Just like most other army's rebellion events in other area or other time in Qing dynasty, rebellion events which burst in early period of Xinjiang province's history also are the fatal result of intensification of its own contradictions of the constantly falling Qing dynasty. These rebellion generally don't have any polity goal or application, but was initiated by the owe of soldier's pay, the corruption and unfairness in Green army, and the activity of Gelao brotherhood which spread into Xinjiang by Hunan army.

At early period of Xinjiang province's establishment, because of the bad situation of local economy, Too much soldier's pay and severances of West expeditionary amry didn't paid off in long

time, purveyance from inner land provinces also intermittent came from the depressing economy of Qing Dynasty , soldiers in local garrison force can not keep a good live standard, so their discipline always scattered, and rebellions were frequent .After 1886, many soldiers were retired from swerve and became farmer and citizens. Economy also reviewed in ‘the renaissance of Tongzhi and Guangxu’, and rebellion events didn’t happen again after middle period of Guangxu. But the reactionary nature of fading regime of Qing Dynasty resulted these events didn’t ,and can not be eliminated. They still existed until the early 20th century, and become the one of important reasons which let Qing Dynasty toward extinction and Xingjiang’s army became a member of the revolution in 1911.

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