

BEYOND THE PASS

Economy, Ethnicity, and Empire in Qing Central Asia,

1759-1864



JAMES A. MILLWARD

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In his attempt to cross Xinjiang's Taklamakan Desert in 1895, Sven Hedin found his men to be more of a liability than an asset. When sandstorms threatened and water grew low, he forged ahead while they lost hope, drank camel urine, and died in the sand.

My experience in writing this book could not have been more different—all the way, I have been borne along by the help and encouragement of others. This was especially the case in China, where I conducted the bulk of the research for this book in 1990 while affiliated with the Institute for Qing History Studies at People's University in Beijing. I was extremely fortunate in having as my advisors Cheng Chongde and Hua Li, who on that and subsequent occasions have shared with me their deep knowledge of the Qing frontiers, steered me to the important literature, and introduced me to other scholars in the field of Xinjiang history. The sheaves of letters they wrote gained me a warm welcome among their colleagues in Mongolia, Ningxia, Gansu, and Xinjiang as well as around Beijing, and thus made this book possible. I am thankful as well to Dai Yi and Ma Ruheng at Renda and to Ma Dazheng and the staff of the Zhongguo Bianjiang Shidi Yanjiu Zhongxin for similar help.

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Melissa Macauley, Nancy Park, Steven Shutt, and Paola Zamperini made even the Renda dorm feel homey—a considerably more difficult task—and taught me a great deal of history in the process.

While I made my first written reconnaissances of the material I brought back from China in a dissertation for Stanford University, the guidance of Albert Dien, Harold Kahn, and Lyman Van Slyke kept me on track. Hal Kahn's thoughts have been particularly helpful in explaining to me what I was writing about; passages in his letters often described my work better than I could myself, and not a few terms first employed by him have found their way into my vocabulary. Pamela Crossley, Mark Elliott, James Hevia, Jonathan Lipman, Toby Meyer, Celia Millward, Sue Naquin, Peter Perdue, Evelyn Rawski, and Morris Rossabi have carefully read, corrected, and commented on all or portions of this book in various drafts. Their comments have been of great help, though I have probably implemented too few of their suggestions. I have also profited from discussions with Dorothy Borei, Alison Futrell and the Rome/Qing comparative imperialism seminar at Arizona, Kato Naoshi, Laura Newby, Shinmen Yasushi, Sugiwaru Jun, and Nakami Tatsuo. My editors at Stanford University Press, Pamela MacFarland Holway and Stacey Lynn, and my copy editor, Erin Milnes, have been both sharp-eyed and pleasant to work with. Muriel Bell offered support and encouragement for this project from its inception, for which I extend my gratitude. Others, too, have made important contributions to this project, whether they know it or not: Kahar Barat, Carol Benedict, Philippe Forêt, Giu Renquan, Jake Haselkorn, John Olsen, Caroline Reeves, Joan and Daniel Sax, Jan Stuart, Kaneko Tamio, Hoyt Cleaveland Tillman, Mike Winter-Rousset, and Dick Wang. Meera and Sushma Sikka have kept me sustained at key stages with (aptly named) gobi paratha.

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Two extended seminars have added vastly to my understanding of Xinjiang

and the Qing dynasty. The first, a conference and field expedition in Xinjiang organized in 1992 by the Center for Research on Chinese Frontier History and Geography (Beijing) and the Sven Hedin Foundation (Sweden), gave me the chance to travel some of Altishahr's desert roads myself. The second, a month-long summer institute on the Qing palace at Chengde, sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities and held on the campus of the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor in 1994, first brought many of the issues discussed in this book into focus for me. I hope the organizers of both events will find in this book some sign that their efforts have paid off.

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J. M.

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"This is a strikingly original, thoroughly researched study of the conquest and administration of the vast region of Xinjiang under the Qing empire. It is an outstanding work that deserves wide attention from all readers interested in modern Chinese history. Millward opens a field almost completely unexplored in Western scholarship and presents new conclusions that reshape our vision of modern China."

—Peter C. Perdue,
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Beyond the Pass examines the fiscal and ethnic policies that underlay Qing imperial control over Xinjiang, a Central Asian region that now comprises the westernmost sixth of the People's Republic of China. By focusing on a region of the Qing empire beyond the borders of China proper, and by treating the empire not as a Chinese dynasty but in its broader context as an Inner Asian political entity, this innovative study fills a gap in Western-language historiography of late imperial China.

As analysis of the revenue available to Qing garrisons in Xinjiang reveals, imperial control over the region in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries depended upon sizeable yearly subsidies from China. In an effort to satisfy criticism of their expansion into

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