

Civilizational Spread and Ethnic Fusion: Analysis of the Impact of Bureaucratization of Native Officers in Guizhou Region During Ming and Qing Dynasties

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Abstract

Bureaucratization of native officers is a major event in the history of Guizhou region, which went through the Ming and Qing dynasties. In fact, this process is also a province establishing process during which the civilizations of central plains and minority groups interacted and fused together, and the territory of Guizhou province was gradually settled. Bureaucratization of native officers in Guizhou is a systematic project which replaced the economic bases under different social systems in Guizhou with the advanced economic production relations under feudal landlord system in central plains using politics and military as the intervention precursor, economy and commerce as the penetration means, and cultural and educational integration as the auxiliary strategy. Bureaucratization of native officers significantly impacted Guizhou region's politics, ethnology, culture, economy and ecology. The purpose of this powerful top-down, center-periphery spread and dissemination of Han civilization to Guizhou region is the assimilation of civilization and the construction of a unified multi-ethnic country. It is exactly during the dynamic exchange, struggle and fusion between the Han civilization, which is representative of central dynasty, and Guizhou's local civilization that the unity in diversity ethnic structure is able to be achieved, and a uniform centripetal force is able to be formed.

Key words: Bureaucratization of native officers; Ethnic fusion; Civilizational spread

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INTRODUCTION

Before the Ming and Qing dynasties, central governments of various dynasties based their policy of governing Guizhou on the "loose control" Jimi system. After the establishment of the Ming dynasty, in order to prevent the repetition of history, i.e. Mongol Yuan's detour to Yunnan to take Southern Song dynasty by surprise, the rulers managed Guizhou as the strategic area for controlling southwest China, especially Yunnan. With the increasingly apparent shortcomings of the native chieftain system, the Ming dynasty's policy towards native chieftains also experienced a transition from appeasement to forced transformation. After the Qing dynasty entered and governed Guizhou, the characteristics of its policy towards native chieftains were closely related to the political and military situation of the time. The determinant factors for completion of bureaucratization of native officers during the Yongzheng period are the political needs of the imperial court, urgent frontier situation and Yongzheng monarch and his subjects' political character. Due to different subjective and objective conditions of Ming and Qing dynasties' bureaucratization of native officers, the initiative of bureaucratization, specific means taken and matters after bureaucratization differed. The impact of such a comprehensive, long-enduring regional restructuring is reflected mainly in the following aspects:

1. RECONSTRUCTION OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

Bureaucratization of native officers is the largest and longest enduring reformation in the history of Guizhou which combines political, economic, cultural and military aspects, it prompted drastic changes in all aspects of Guizhou, ended the history of separatist regime and vendetta by native chieftains, fully entering the administrative scope of the grand-unified country. The gradual deepening of the bureaucratization of native officers is also a process of Guizhou's gradual "assimilation with central plains" which is marked by the convergence of social structure and social control system. From the perspective of the stage of social development, the feudal serf society entered into the feudal landlord society; from the perspective of economic patterns, the feudal lord economy changed into the feudal landlord economy. This conforms to the trend of historical development, for the consolidation of multi-ethnic country; the development of common culture of Chinese nation is beneficial. However, due to what Guizhou mainly highlighted during the bureaucratization of native officers was military value, its economic significance was relatively minor, in other words, the construction of Guizhou province that accompanied the bureaucratization of native officers was not done under the conditions that the landlord system production relations had matured, requiring the construction of corresponding political superstructure. This determines that Guizhou should achieve a series of comprehensive "assimilation with central plains" catch-up process from the initial stage of beginning, which is Guizhou's intrinsic inferiority to the mainland. The reasons for the implementation of bureaucratization of native officers are not only the feudal central government's dissatisfaction with separation of powers by native chieftains, but also Tumu, Tushe's strong demand facing difficulty in social climbing due to blocked road to officialdom (Cheng, 2006). The bureaucratization of native officers in Guizhou in the Ming and Qing periods abolished native chieftains, this intermediate class, while retaining a considerable part of Tumu and Tushe. Such unthoroughness in extent not only illustrates the limitations of the bureaucratization, but also reflects the extent of superstructure the productive forces at that time can accommodate. For the central governments of the Ming and Qing dynasties, they still needed to borrow the remaining forces of native chieftains to some degree to achieve effective local governance, and Tumu, Tushe were also willing to show allegiance to the central governments, relying on the feudal central governments to defend their position, which were main reasons why native chieftain system still resided after the transformation.

Nevertheless, the remnant local officials were only grade 1 Zhangguansi at highest, which equaled the most basic level establishment of the Yuan dynasty where

native chieftains were at their heyday, the jurisdiction and authority were also greatly reduced compared to the Yuan dynasty; the lowest local officials were Tubazong, Tuxunjian and the like; Tuxiancheng (local deputy governor) was appointed by the chief of the Zhangguansi, and Tuzhubu (local registrar) by the deputy chief of the Zhangguansi. These petty local officials have tiny area under their jurisdiction, with minimal power, and were not first level local authority, but were only underlings of migrant officials. At first, they were responsible for "reception and etiquette"¹. Later, they only took charge in the "collection of rents, food, taxes", and were "not allowed to interfere with civil-military affairs" (Zhang, et al., 1974), and furthermore, could not drive people on a large scale to carry out mergers and vendetta, this point is extremely important in the history of Guizhou. In the Ming dynasty, there were intense, frequent social conflicts in the Southwest ethnic areas, especially in Guizhou, some have made yearly statistics, "among the Ming dynasty's 276 years, the years in which warfare occurred in Guizhou total 145 years, which account for more than half the time of the Ming dynasty" (Liu, 2001). The end of the history of separatist regime and merger by native chieftains allowed the first ever grand unification in Guizhou. Since then, Guizhou implemented the political, economic and cultural policies consistent with the country, the central government decrees were unimpeded in Guizhou, which enhanced the unity of all ethnic groups, facilitated the exchanges among various ethnic groups, and accelerated political, economic and cultural development of all ethnic groups in Guizhou, and especially, provided a peaceful environment for the development of landlord economy.

The bureaucratization of native officers in Guizhou not only achieved "assimilation with the mainland" on an administrative institutional level, but also on a national psychological level. This is mainly due to the establishment of a new ethnical communication mechanism. That is, the intermediate link of native chieftains was no longer needed between the Liuguan (officials with limited tenure sent by the central government to govern former native chieftain territories) government and the minority civilians, the central government was no longer in indirect control over minority compatriots, the relationship between central and local governments no longer required maintenance by native chieftains, meanwhile, the development of landlord system production relations enabled farmers to dare to "put pressure on officials" (Zhong, Vol.7), and "dare to sue their masters" (Tian, et al., 2006) in order to protect their own interests, independent consciousness was awakening, dealing a heavy blow to the ideology under feudal lord system production relations. General public's sense of ethnic identity and national identity became the driving

¹ Guo Zi-zhang: "Commentary of Kaipingyue Xinjiang".

force maintaining national unity. Effective communication could be achieved between the government of the moving officers and the ethnic minority civilians, and minorities' understanding and recognition of Han system was ever deepening. On the basis of general public's strong sense of ethnic and national identities, the administrative system and the national mentality increasingly "assimilated with the mainland", allowing the relationship between Guizhou and central government to enter a new era, and enabling Guizhou citizens to more closely fuse into the big family of the Chinese nation.

2. INTEGRATION OF ETHNIC RELATIONS

Guizhou is a multi-ethnic province. The formation of an ethnic structure of living together, residing in concentrated communities went through a long process of evolution. In the Qin, Han to Tang, Song and Yuan dynasties, most of the Han people immigrated into Guizhou were assimilated with local ethnic minorities, just as Ai Bida et al.'s described that after a large number of Han people from Hubei, Hunan, Jiangzuo, Sichuan and other places moved into Guizhou, they must "speak Miao language and wear Miao costume, those married Miao people are called Bianmiao" (Ai, 1992), "when a Han person turns into a Miao person, it is termed Bianmiao" (Ai, Vol.20). In the Jiajing period, "Guizhou is filled with Miao people, the number of garrison is very sparse" (Xie, Vol.3). The bureaucratization of native officers, which began in the early Ming dynasty, gradually abolished the native chieftain system, under the control of moving officers, the privileges and prohibitions of the remnant small- and medium-sized Zhangguansi were also banned, and migration between ethnics was unrestricted. The implementation of measures such as military tillage, civilian tillage and commercial hoarding enabled the immigration of a large number of Han people into Guizhou by way of free migration, families of the moving officers, garrison reclamation, engaging in trade and joining the army, making the Han population soar. Due to the protection from the regime of moving officers, civilians were no longer persecuted and violated by native officials, no longer need to follow "Miao customs" by "speaking Miao language and wearing Miao costume", and could retain one's original ethnic lifestyle, own cultures and religious beliefs, the central plains' Han civilization and the civilization of ethnic minorities could coexist in a relatively peaceful environment. The exchange and fusion of these two great civilizations created the conditions for the formation of Guizhou's modern nation. Of course, since the Han civilization was in a strong position at that time, the main process of ethnic fusion was the hanization of various ethnic minorities in Guizhou by Han nationality. Lan Ding-yuan described

when summarizing the hanization of various ethnic minorities in Guizhou that "civilization continued for a long time", "unripe Miao can be turned into ripe Miao", ripe Miao "can gradually become the Han people" (Lan, 1985).

Through the advocate in the Ming and Qing dynasties, the hanization of various ethnic minorities in Guizhou was greatly accelerated. From the currently available historical materials, the passive hanization of Guizhou's ethnic minorities began in the Ming dynasty's Zhengtong period, Sinan prefectural Zhangguansi in Guizhou stipulated: "bureaucratic or local officials, all men and women shall follow local customs, and ask for pardon." Saying:

Guizhou's bureaucratic or local officials or those marry under old customs are pardoned from sins, incrimination is also not allowed, from now on imperial court's laws and etiquettes shall be observed, and violation is prohibited (Memoir of Ming Dynasty, Vol.141, p.5).

The so-called "observation of imperial court's laws and etiquettes" required the ethnic minorities in Guizhou to abandon their own customs, and replace them by Han customs. This hanization process was further intensified in the Qing dynasty, after bureaucratization of native officers in the Yongzheng period, the ripe Miao and unripe Miao in Guizhou were all given a last name, and were generally said to be moved from other provinces, and assimilated with Miao, which was the results of the Qing dynasty local officials' implementation of "surrogate establishment of surname" policy.

The hanization-based ethnic fusion process was not merely the reflection of the central government's will; there was also no lack of minorities' initiative choice under the induction of political and economic interests. In the Qing dynasty, the intellectuals who attended the imperial examination generally referred their ancestors as Han who moved from other provinces and assimilated with Miao, in order to avoid ethnic discrimination (Tian, et al., 2006). The family trees of various ethnic minorities after bureaucratization of native officers could also be taken as an evidence, for instance, the analysis of a large number of folk genealogical trees collected from the Tujia habitation area in western Hunan, which was originally a native chieftain area, found that: (1) almost all of the genealogies were recorded only to twelve to fourteen generations; (2) almost all of the genealogies said their ancestors were moved from other places; (3) many genealogies almost said their ancestors came here with an imperial edict. If 20 years were taken as a generation, the twelfth and fourteenth generations written in the genealogies exactly coincided with the Yongzheng period where bureaucratization of native officers took place (Qu, 2009). The emphasis of non-aboriginality of ancestors in the family structure so as to make a clean break with the original native chieftains, and to prove and maintain the legitimacy of the family, were the main reasons for this phenomenon.

However, the process of ethnic fusion would and should not be a one-way hanization, the blend of Han civilization and minority civilization is a two-way interactive process. Since the Ming and Qing dynasties, with the bureaucratization of native officers, Gu-surnamed immigrants who entered Miaojiang in the southeast of Guizhou province fused with Miao ethnic, which is an example of the promotion of ethnic cultural fusion that effectively illustrates this point.

Zhenyuanhou Gu Cheng was appointed by the emperor to Guizhou province in the early Ming dynasty, and his descendants had been guarding Miao areas for generations, experiencing the entire development process of Guizhou's ethnic minority areas through the Ming and Qing dynasties. Gu-surnamed immigrant clan's entrance into Miao areas region had broken the isolation between Han and Miao in the Ming dynasty. The descendants of Gu Cheng began to fuse with Miao ethnic in its sixth-generation, i.e. since the sixth-generation immigrant Gu Liang-xiang. There is Gu Liang-xiang's grave in the Kaili Kaihuai country of Guizhou, the inscription on the grave reads:

Our ancestor Liang Xiang-gong, native of Zhu's Lane, Huating County, Jiangnan region, is the sixth-generation descendant of Xiaguogong Zhenyuanhou Gu Cheng, the first ancestor into Guizhou province ... stationed in Xianglu hill. He inherited the thousand family commander peerage, with a posthumous title of general Guangwei, and married a woman from Wang clan, who gave birth to the sixth-generation ancestor Gu Ji ... between the 7th-8th Year of Hongzhi era, due to military blunders and on fear of sanctions, ancestor absconded to Kaihuai with his identity concealed, and named himself "Bang Di" in Miao language ... married a Wen-surnamed Miao woman, who gave birth to sixth-generation ancestors Xiongbang, Songbang, Youbang, Jiaobang, Fukaishang, Kaihuai, Paiyang and Bazhai, these Gu-surnamed Miao people. Over the four hundred years, us Gu family ... although is divided into Han and Miao, is actually an integral, ethnic fusion begins from the origin (Yan, 1989).

Through the interracial marriage of the descendants of immigrants, the ethnic fusion established a blood kinship between Han and Miao people, dividing the Gu immigrant clan in southeast Guizhou into Han and Miao two ethnic groups at the sixth generation about one hundred and twenty years after settling in Guizhou, after over five hundred years of development, now the Gu immigrant descendants in southeast Guizhou are mainly distributed in the cities and counties like Kaili, Taijiang, Danzhai, Leishan and Huangping (Han, 2006).

The development and evolution Gu family is actually an epitome of ethnic fusion phenomenon emerged as a result of bureaucratization of native officers in Guizhou region since the Ming and Qing dynasties.

3. LOCAL CULTURAL CHANGES

Cultural change is a complex, dynamic historical process where multiple factors act in an intertwined way. Before

the bureaucratization of native officers, local culture in Guizhou region is a diverse, closed minority culture, i.e. the so-called "thousand island culture". Through the bureaucratization of native officers, this political and military process, the country fully incorporated Guizhou region into a unified administrative system, so that the military and administrative power of the country could directly access into the minority society within, institutionally broke the closed cultural space among ethnics, and created the conditions for the strong entrance of Han culture and its intermingle with various minority cultures in Guizhou, forming a local culture with unique regional characteristics. After the bureaucratization of native officers, the cultures of ethnic minorities continuously developed, but the leading force of cultural structure became the Han culture represented by Confucian culture. Wang Yangming, the master of the heart-mind theory, wrote a poem "Puppet Show in Longchang" which reads:

Encounters everywhere are like a show, why even bother to see
a puppet show at night, ephemeral prosperity comes faster than
the midnight, fame and wealth pull people long like a string
(Editorial Board of the General History of Guizhou, 2003).

Although this poem is the expression of the author's mind who sees through this world, he did see the puppet show in Longchang, which was a product of central plains culture that was introduced to Guizhou with the expansion of cultural exchange. This shows to some extent that driven by the country's strong executive power, the Han culture formed a strong attraction and demonstrativeness to minority areas, conscious imitation and learning of Han people's production modes, lifestyle and cultural customs became a dominated choice for various minority groups to step out of the margins and integrate into the mainstream society (Liu, 2004).

Such a change also hugely impacted native chieftains. Former native chieftains of Guizhou's Yongfeng prefecture "feared that the native inhabitants' learning of knowledge would provide inconvenience for their tyranny, and not allowed them to attend school" ("Guizhou Annals", Vol. 35). "Although there were schools, talents were not recommended to the imperial examinations (Zhong, 1962 copy)." After the bureaucratization of native officers, the Qing government extensively set up schools and free schools, especially the enlisting of talents through the imperial civil service examination system provided some people with the opportunity to study or enter the official career and engage in politics, which attracted a large number of intellectuals, and even part of the former native chieftains. For example, Long Shao-jian, the officer of Liangzhai Zhangguansi in Guizhou, inherited the title of native chieftain after his father's death. But he would rather participate in the imperial examination than being a native chieftain. "Han officials have a great future, while local officials have no chance for rank promotion; I hope

to be in the same precedence with Han people” (Guizhou Annals, Vol. 9).

With the passage of time, driven jointly by the national administrative power and the strength of civil society, the former native chieftain regions gradually completed the transition of predominance from the minority culture to the Han culture. The interaction between the central plains’ Han civilization represented by Confucian culture and the Buyi folk religion and culture in Qingyan town, which was known as the “Nanbi fortress”, is an epitome of local cultural changes in Guizhou.

Ban Lin-gui, the native chieftain of Qingyan, was rewarded by the Ming government for his military exploit in the late Ming dynasty’s “Rebellion of She and An”, and later was appointed as Tushoubei (local garrison) of Qingyan, which was hereditary. Afterwards, the Bans worked elaborately and established their dominance in Qingyan town. After massive bureaucratization of native officers in Guizhou during the Qing Yongzheng period, the influence of Qingyan Bans chieftain was gradually weakened. During the Daoguang reign, the Han gentry, whose forces surged via acquiring wealth by engaging in business, and via securing official positions by studying, disputed with Bans chieftain around “Wenchang and Zuni (ancestral mud)”, that was, the Han gentry required the Bans chieftain to move the Zuni out of the Wenchang Pavilion according to the emperor’s edict and was engaged in a fierce battle with the them. After several unsuccessful negotiations, both sides resorted to the lawsuit. In April in Year 4 of Daoguang reign, Bao Taizun of Guiyang prefecture, on the grounds of the imperial edict, pronounced that the Bans “blasphemed Wenchang, and should be heavily punished”, yet on account of their “ignorance”, they would be free from accountability, but from then on, the Bans chieftain could no longer enter the Wenchang Pavilion. Qingyan gentry, who represented Confucianism, took to the political stage since then, and built Zhao Caizhang centenarian archway and Zhao Lilun centenarian archway, these two memorial archways in the 19th and 23rd years of Daoguang period, respectively. This marks an iconic transition in cultural ecology in Qingyan, i.e. the transition of local cultural dominance from Buyi folk religions, which relied on the native chieftain authority, to the Confucian culture, which was representative of Han civilization. This shift reflects the penetration of native officer bureaucratization policy into the grassroots political power in the Qing dynasty, which is also an epitome of local cultural changes in Guizhou (Chen, 2007).

4. DEVELOPMENT OF LANDLORD ECONOMY

The development of landlord economy needs the backing of the regime. In the central plains’ Han civilization

region, this process had been completed in the Qin and Han era. Major local officials like Tian, Yang, An and Song in Guizhou region all had no power to complete the unification of Guizhou, so as to promote and protect the development of landlord economy. On the contrary, they became the shackles of landlord economic development. Only by destroying the lord class they represented, can the feudal landlords in Guizhou emerge as an independent class, and can the feudal landlord economy be developed. This task can only be achieved with the support of the central government which was the chief representative of the country’s landlord class. For this reason, the central government’s native officer bureaucratization movement, which utilized state power to repeal the feudal lord economy in ethnic minority areas to protect the development of landlord economy, received positive support from the emerging landlord class.

The impact of native officer bureaucratization on Guizhou’s economy was huge and comprehensive, landlord-based economic production relations developed rapidly. Absurd bans before the bureaucratization of native officers, such as “growing of rice is forbidden for civilians” were abolished, farmers were free to cultivate the lands and raise the crops, build farmlands by improving the soil, and develop crop production according to local conditions. After the Ming Yongle era, “Miao areas” paddy fields in east Guizhou were named as “Tangtian”, “Jingtian”, “Lengshuitian” and “Yaodaitian” (Tian, et al., 2006), farmers could cultivate a large number of paddy fields with different names according to different natural conditions, which reflected the improvement of enthusiasm for production. After entering the Qing dynasty, changes in the economic production modes were more obvious, taking the Miao group in central Guizhou as an example, after the bureaucratization of native officers, the local production modes changed from the “slash-and-bum cultivation” to the traditional way of farming represented by cattle, plows, hoes and sickles. Production organization also gradually changed from the periodical alternation with the seasonal changes in Miao calendar into a more stable form of stockaded village. Structures of production means and living customs started to keep up with the mainland (Li, 2001).

In addition, cotton, sericulture and other economic crops also developed rapidly everywhere, which were strongly advocated by the government.

The advocate of sericulture in Guizhou province has proven to work, sericulture should be practiced deliberately in each prefecture and county taking into account the local climates (*Memoir of Qing Dynasty*, pp.16-18).

Cotton and ramie are grown extensively in Guizhou province in recent years, Renhuai and other places also rear silkworms, producing several tens of thousands of cocoons, pongee weaving has been started; other places start to pattern after Renhuai, getting to know looms (*Memoir of Qing Dynasty*, p.25).

In the 5th year of Yongzheng (1727), the north shore area of Hongshui river which originally belonged to Guangxi's Sicheng prefecture (now Guangxi's Lingyun county) that was under the jurisdiction of Cen chieftain, and Anlong, Ceheng, Zhenfeng, Luodian and Wangmo counties where Buyi population was large were all zoned into Guizhou. Before the bureaucratization of native officers, feudal lord economy dominated the economic structure within the places that were under the jurisdiction of Cen chieftain. The vast majority of land belonged to the feudal lords, and only a small portion of lands was owned by feudal landlords and farmers. With the continuous growth of population, farmers began reclamation of wasteland. The lands newly reclaimed were owned by the farmers, which can be freely traded, so they were called "private lands". The emergence of "private lands" allowed the farmers to have private ownership of land, the gradual commercialization of lands and the reassignment of land ownership prompted rural class differentiation, hence a few people became a new emerging class of landlord. The increasing development of landlord economy, and frequent activities of foreign commercial capital (in the Kangxi, Yongzheng period, there had already been Huguang Guild Hall in Xingyi prefecture), prompted economic decline of native chieftains, who began to sell their lands, changes in the economic status of native chieftains brought fierce hierarchical changes, "Official Records of Southern Guizhou" reads:

Native Tuguan officials in the Ming dynasty dealt with people's lives and properties tyrannically, harming Miao people; today the dismissal of native chieftains is announced! And they made trades with Han people using the land taxes collected (Luo, 1992).

In recent years, Tumu headmen became increasingly impoverished, they sold private lands and grainfields to the Han people, and defrauded Miao people, there were some Han people who increased rents, but those wanted to forcibly occupy the lands were not few as well, not only in Xingyi prefecture, but also in upstream prefectures (Luo, 1992).

Some native chieftains became impoverished and sold the lands to the immigrants, which marked the increasing decline of feudal lord economy — the economic base of the native chieftain system.

Wei Yuan, a progressive thinker in the Qing dynasty, commented on this issue as:

If there was no reformation, there would doubtlessly be a huge change in Miao; if the change was small, the reformation would be small-scaled; if the change was big, the reformation would be large-scaled; small-scale reformation makes small improvement, and large-scale reformation big improvement. a momentary wound, a long period of peace and happiness (Wei, 1984).

After the bureaucratization, Guizhou's industrial and mineral industry, as well as commerce also developed rapidly. Dading prefecture of Guizhou was located in northwest Guizhou, which was formerly ruled by two Yi native chieftains, Shuixi and Wusa, the prefecture had

limited production of lead. Before the bureaucratization, An Xiaoliang, a magistrate of Wusa, voiced objection to the exploitation of mineral reserves within his own territory:

According to the magistrate of Wusa military and civilian government, over around two hundred years, once the transformation of exploitation is heard, no immigrants followed (Memoir of Ming Dynasty, pp.14-15).

In the 21st year (1682) and 23rd year (1684) of Kangxi era, Yang Yong, the inspector of Guizhou said:

Guizhou does not have copper and lead deposits, the affiliated prefectures and counties have large Miao population and small Han population, who are not skilled in making money. Traders from distant lands continue to flow in Guizhou, purchases are done, but there is no way for collection, so founding can hardly be achieved (Yang, Vol.4).

Guizhou province does not have pure copper, lead and tin deposits, and no longer has any investor (Yang, Vol.7).

After the bureaucratization, Guizhou's lead mining occupied a pivotal position in the entire country (Wen, 2007). In the 7th year of Yongzheng era (1729), Ortai, the governor of Yunnan, Guizhou and Guangxi said that Mazongling plant in Dading prefecture could produce 1 million kilograms of lead annually; Daji plant could produce 1.56 million kilograms of lead; Shazhu plant could produce two to three hundred thousand kilograms of lead; and Zuozi plant about 1 million kilograms of lead (Edicts of Emperor Shizongxian, Vol.15), Dading prefecture had become the country's largest production base of lead in the Yongzheng period.

5. REFLECTIONS ON ECOLOGICAL IMPACTS

Rock desertification is a major feature of Guizhou's ecological environment, and a major weakness restricting Guizhou's economic development as well. The issue of rock desertification has long existed in Guizhou, in the Ming dynasty, there had already been the records that "natural conditions are harsh for grain sowing, locals can only feed on by cultivating the mountain"² Its formation is not only associated with the lithology, geography, natural climate and other reasons, but is also closely related to human activities. Before the bureaucratization in the Qing Yongzheng period, Guizhou still had tracts of undeveloped forests, the human activities had limited impact on rock desertification (Han, 2006), and it was mainly natural factors that were at work in the formation of rock desertification phenomenon. After the bureaucratization by the Yongzheng dynasty, population and quantity of lands increased sharply in Guizhou, coupled with mine exploration in western, northwestern

² Jiajing "Annals of Guizhou Customs".

and southern Guizhou, these ecologically fragile zones suffered unprecedented damage, Yongzheng period thus becomes an important period in which human factors began to affect rock desertification in Guizhou. The reason why such things happen is inseparable from the characteristics of Guizhou region's ecosystem. Ecological culture in Guizhou is inlaid repeatedly; there are different ethnic cultures at different levels on the same hill. Such fragmentation of ecological culture leads to miniaturization of local authorities, however, because the existing big and small native chieftains undertook different tributary responsibilities to the central government, such as white waxes, paints, raw lacquer, tea, there was an inevitable need for effective maintenance of local ecological environment. That was, the miniaturization and diversification of native chieftain system exactly adapted to the diversity of native chieftains' tributary missions, which reduced the central government's expense for maintaining ecological structure to a large extent, it could be said that the native chieftain system and the ecological maintenance were interdependent. The bureaucratization of native officers broke the balance of such ecosystem. What was introduced vigorously accompanied by the Han civilization was the central plains' farming culture. "Because facing the Han nationality's farming culture, the vast majority of western Chinese minorities in history often did not absorb the high production technology of the farming culture to develop forestry and animal husbandry, and instead turned themselves into farmers; they lost their awareness of forestry and animal husbandry, and headed toward the road of agriculture. However, from the perspective of resources and environment and optimal allocation of industries, the westward progression of farming civilization in China's history was not entirely in line with the natural development tendency of things. After the development of productive forces to a certain extent, there would be nothing advanced and backward between the agriculture and the forestry and animal husbandry, and 'adaptation' equals advanced" (Lan, 2001).

The impact of bureaucratization of native officers on the ecological environment in Guizhou region should have a turning point, before which the introduction of Han farming civilization was obviously effective, considerably changing the backwardness of Guizhou region, and achieving leapfrog development on the road of "assimilation with the central plains". However, once the strong spread of Han farming civilization was unconstrained, the traditional minority civilization and its living space under forestry and animal husbandry production modes which adapted to local conditions would be greatly reduced, which is an important cause of ecological deterioration in Guizhou province.

CONCLUSION

The movement of bureaucratization of native officers is a powerful top-down, center-periphery spread and dissemination of central plains civilization to remote areas, which objectively reflects the southeastward migration of the center of Chinese civilization, and makes Guizhou region become one of China's logistic bases for dealing with foreign aggression. The purpose of this movement is the assimilation of civilization and the construction of a unified multi-ethnic country (Sun, 2007). In response to such spread and dissemination, the attitudes of former native chieftain regions in Guizhou, which are disadvantaged in terms of civilization development, depend on the specific ways during the implementation process of bureaucratization of native officers. It is exactly during the dynamic exchange, acculturation, struggle and fusion between the Han civilization, which is representative of central dynasty, and the peripheral local civilization that the unity in diversity ethnic structure is able to be achieved, and a uniform centripetal force is able to be formed. The fusion and absorption between civilizations must undergo a longer period of hardships and even repeated running-ins. During the running-in period, the content and system of alien civilizations shall not only go through the selection, modification and transformation by local civilization, but shall also be converted according to the linguistic traditions and values related to the local civilization. This is the underlying cause of repeated twists and turns in bureaucratization of native officers in Guizhou during the Ming and Qing dynasties. During the Ming and Qing era, driven by the impulse of grand unification, the central plains' civilization which was in a strong position attempted to completely replace the peripheral civilization with a uniform powerful civilization ignoring the rationality of the existence of peripheral civilization, history has proved that this is not advisable. Conversely, as situation requires, the central dynasty with a grand unified structure reserved some space for self-expression of the local forces, such flexibility in policy and ideology is beneficial to the implementation and penetration of dynastic system and ideology, and helps promoting the stability of the new order and Guizhou locals' recognition of the central dynasty.

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