action. Despite efforts by the Xunhua, Hezhou, and Xining Muslim militants to call for a general uprising, many Gansu Muslims remained aloof or actually opposed their coreligionists. Between the pacification of Gansu in 1872 and that of Hezhou in 1895, a number of Muslim leaders faced realistically the Qing capacity to control its peripheries. Adjusting to that capacity, most of them became Qing commanders or allies in order to preserve their local power and, as they thought, the very existence of their communities.

Poised on the frontier of cultural China, resisting or adjusting to the changes occurring in China, Gansu folk also struggled to remain themselves. Violence from their neighbors or their government often threatened their lives and property, so hatred and fear dominated their memories and their decisions in time of trouble. When Chen Jiaji killed eleven Old Teaching Muslims and displayed their heads at Xunhua, many Muslims felt compelled to act in self-defense and vengeful anger. Their poverty had not changed, nor had their harsh environment, but Qing pressure had grown more insistent, more "modern" in its demand for incorporation and in its enforcing power. The Muslim communities, too, had changed, for most of the *menhuan,* originating as revivalist Sufi institutions, had evolved into essentially conservative local solidarities, organized to preserve the community power and wealth of important lineages.

Neither Ma Anliang, the Qing cavalry commander, nor Ma Yonglin, the disrupter of social order, fits into the standard Qing categories of Muslim villainy. Neither was a "New Teaching bandit" or an anti-Qing state-building holy warrior. Ma Yonglin failed because his coalition of anti-Qing and anti-reformist Muslims could not organize widespread, protracted resistance to state power. Ma Anliang succeeded because he served the Qing loyally against some of his Muslim neighbors, bringing new weapons to frontier conflicts. His reward, like his father's, was local authority, albeit closely controlled by Qing officials, an authority that evolved into Gansu's unique system of Muslim warlordism in the twentieth century (see plate 17).[138] The "Ma family warlords" (Ch. *Majia junfa*) represent a new development in the Muslim worlds of northwest China, the modern nation-state's incorporative power expressed locally through cooptation of existing elites. That process is evident in the following narrations of the lives of four individual Gansu Sino-Muslims who followed very different paths, all of which led toward a closer relationship with New China.

138. That evolutionary process is summarized in Lipman, "Ethnicity and Politics."

5 / Strategies of Integration
Muslims in New China

MA FUXIANG (1876–1932) AND THE MUSLIM WARLORDS OF THE NEW CHINESE NATION

> Our Party [the Guomindang] takes the development of the weak and small and resistance to the strong and violent as our sole and most urgent task. This is even more true for those groups which are not of our kind [Ch. *fei wo zulei zhe*].[1] Now the peoples [*minzu*] of Mongolia and Tibet are closely related to us, and we have great affection for one another; our common existence and common honor already have a history of over a thousand years. . . . Mongolia and Tibet's life and death are China's life and death. China absolutely cannot cause Mongolia and Tibet to break away from China's territory, and Mongolia and Tibet cannot reject China to become independent. At this time, there is not a single nation on earth except China that will sincerely develop Mongolia and Tibet.[2]

Becoming a Warlord

Like the 1895 anti-Qing leader Ma Yonglin and many other young Hezhou Muslim men, Ma Qianling, a small merchant and farmer, fought against the Qing under Ma Zhan'ao. After the surrender in 1872 he received a Qing reward and prospered in trade, returning to the military life only briefly when he and Ma Zhan'ao had to drive out a remnant group of diehard Muslim rebels from the Hezhou hills in 1877. He had four sons with his three wives, one of whom was a convert to Islam, and he gave the boys auspicious Chinese names—Fucai (Happiness and Wealth), Fulu (Happiness and Emoluments), Fushou (Happi-

1. This phrase from the *Zuo zhuan* (4th cent. B.C.E.) appears in many accounts of Chinese attitudes toward other peoples and cultures. The original reads, "If [they are] not of our kind, their hearts must be different" (Ch. *Fei wo zulei qi xin bi yi*).

2. Ma Fuxiang, *Meng Zang,* 1–2.