

**CRAFTING STABILITY IN SICHUAN: MIGRATION STRATEGIES AND
REGIONAL GOVERNANCE UNDER HONGWU (1368-1398)
AND KANGXI (1661-1722)**

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Abstract

This study explores the divergent migration policies of the Ming and Qing dynasties in Sichuan, a region grappling with severe population decline and land barrenness during the late Yuan and early Ming periods, as well as the late Ming and early Qing eras. The study compares the contrasting approaches of the Ming Dynasty under Hongwu and the Qing Dynasty under Kangxi, focusing on their strategies for managing population relocation and land reclamation. Under Hongwu, the Ming Dynasty adopted a strict and punitive approach to migration. The “Zhongdian Zhiguo” (strict governance) and the “Weisuo Zhidu” (guardhouse system) were implemented to relocate criminals and military personnel to Sichuan. These measures aimed to enforce order and control, reflecting Hongwu’s broader strategy of maintaining authority through coercion and rigorous oversight. In contrast, the Qing Dynasty under Kangxi favoured a more supportive and incentivising approach. The 1690 “Regulations on Naturalisation in Sichuan” offered land reclamation incentives to homeless individuals, promoting voluntary migration and integration. This policy sought to stabilise and develop Sichuan by encouraging settlement and land cultivation through positive reinforcement rather than punitive measures. The research provides a comparative analysis of these strategies, illustrating how the Ming Dynasty’s focus under Hongwu on control and punishment differed from the Qing Dynasty’s emphasis under Kangxi on support and incentives. This examination reveals the impact of differing governance ideologies on regional development and offers insights into the evolution of migration policies and their effects on Sichuan’s long-term stability and growth.

Keywords: Hongwu, Kangxi, Sichuan migration policies, Ming Dynasty Qing Dynasty

Introduction

Sichuan, a province in southwestern China, has historically been a region of both strategic and agricultural significance. Known as the "Land of Abundance" (*Tianfu Zhi Guo*), Sichuan's fertile plains and geographic location made it a vital asset for the stability and prosperity of imperial China. However, during the late Yuan and early Ming dynasties, as well as the late Ming and early Qing periods, Sichuan faced severe population decline and agricultural barrenness caused by prolonged warfare, rebellions, and natural disasters.

These challenges were particularly acute during the Yuan-Ming transition in the late 14th century and the Ming-Qing transition in the 17th century, when social and economic dislocation devastated the region. Sparse populations and untended farmlands weakened the local economy and tax base, rendering Sichuan a liability rather than an asset. This made the region a focal point for the migration policies of Emperor Hongwu¹ of the Ming Dynasty and Emperor Kangxi² of the Qing Dynasty. Understanding why these emperors prioritised Sichuan reveals how strategic and ideological considerations shaped their respective approaches to governance.

In 1381, after the Ming Dynasty defeated the remnants of the Mongol Empire and reconquered the southwest, Emperor Zhu Yuanzhang (Hongwu) received reports describing Sichuan as "a region populated largely by immigrants," as noted by historian James Lee.³ Recognising the importance of revitalising the region, Hongwu initiated migration policies designed to stabilise and develop Sichuan, laying the foundation for its future recovery. Similarly, Emperor Kangxi, a key figure of the Qing Dynasty, faced the challenge of restoring Sichuan after the turmoil of the late Ming period and the devastation of the Ming-Qing transition. His policies sought not only to repopulate the province but also to create conditions for long-term agricultural and economic stability.

During the Hongwu era, immigration policies were characterised by a strict and punitive approach to governance. These policies were deeply rooted in the Legalist philosophy of centralised control and harsh regulation. To restore order in Sichuan, Hongwu implemented the *Weisuo Zhidu* (guardhouse system), which combined military and administrative functions. Sichuan became a destination for exiled criminals, deposed officials, and military personnel.

In line with his broader strategy of "Zhongdian Zhiguo" (strict governance), Hongwu enforced mandatory relocations, whereby punished individuals and their families were forcibly settled in underpopulated regions like Sichuan. These policies were designed not only to stabilise the region but also to address labour shortages by compelling the relocated population to cultivate barren lands and contribute to local agricultural productivity. A detailed household registration system ensured tight control over the movements and activities of migrants, reflecting Hongwu's belief in the necessity of discipline and order as the foundation of governance.

In contrast, Emperor Kangxi adopted a markedly different approach to addressing Sichuan's demographic and agricultural challenges. Rooted in Confucian ideals of benevolent governance and the importance of harmonising state and society, Kangxi's migration policies prioritised voluntary participation and integration. His administration sought to attract settlers to Sichuan through positive incentives rather than coercion.

In 1690, the Qing government introduced the “Regulations on Naturalisation in Sichuan,” which offered land grants, tax exemptions, and financial support to individuals willing to reclaim wastelands and establish settlements in the province. This policy aimed to stabilise Sichuan’s economy by encouraging voluntary migration, fostering local development, and integrating new settlers into the regional community. Kangxi’s approach reflected the Qing dynasty’s emphasis on fostering loyalty and harmony through supportive governance rather than enforcing strict punitive measures.

The contrasting approaches of Hongwu and Kangxi to migration governance illustrate the influence of their respective ideological frameworks. Hongwu’s policies, grounded in Legalist principles, emphasised discipline, coercion, and centralised control as tools for achieving stability and productivity. In comparison, Kangxi’s policies, inspired by Confucian values, sought to promote social harmony, economic development, and voluntary participation.

While Hongwu’s stringent measures succeeded in quickly repopulating Sichuan and restoring order, they often imposed significant social and economic hardships on the relocated populations. Kangxi’s integrative policies, on the other hand, facilitated a more sustainable recovery by aligning the interests of settlers with the goals of the state, leading to greater regional stability and agricultural revival.

This research highlights the differing strategies of the Ming and Qing dynasties in addressing Sichuan’s population and agricultural challenges. By examining how Hongwu and Kangxi implemented migration policies and their subsequent impacts, it becomes evident that migration governance played a critical role in shaping Sichuan’s demographic and economic trajectory. The comparative analysis of the Ming Dynasty’s coercive measures and the Qing Dynasty’s supportive policies offers valuable insights into the evolution of migration governance in imperial China, illustrating how historical governance strategies continue to influence the region’s development.

Literature Review

During the Ming and Qing periods, various groups were relocated to Sichuan, each serving distinct purposes in addressing the province's demographic and agricultural challenges. These groups included criminals, military personnel, wealthy individuals, displaced commoners, and officials. In the Hongwu era, criminals and military personnel were forcibly moved under the "Weisuo Zhidu" system, a measure designed not only as punishment but also as a strategy to revitalise agricultural lands and strengthen border security. Conversely, during the Kangxi period, policies prioritised voluntary settlement, particularly targeting displaced populations such as scholars and administrators. This shift reflected the Qing government's focus on fostering social stability and economic integration.

The relocation of these groups was driven by specific motives. Criminals, for instance, were sent to Sichuan to serve as a steady workforce in reclaiming wastelands and constructing essential infrastructure. This practice aligned with Hongwu’s Legalist governance philosophy, which emphasised strict control and order through punitive measures. Military personnel, on the other hand, were strategically placed in Sichuan’s border areas to ensure regional security while contributing to agricultural development. Wealthy individuals were also targeted for

relocation to bolster the local economy. Their financial resources and investments were crucial in rebuilding commercial and agricultural activities, particularly during the early Ming period. Meanwhile, Kangxi recognised the value of administrators and scholars, viewing their presence as pivotal in organising communities and maintaining societal order. Their return was incentivised to attract ordinary settlers and create a stable environment for development.

Sichuan's designation as a destination for criminals can be attributed to its strategic location and the availability of underutilised lands. By establishing penal colonies, the Ming government sought to turn the province into a productive region while deterring criminal activities elsewhere in the empire. Moreover, the harsh conditions of exile served as a deterrent under Hongwu's strict governance, reflecting his broader statecraft objectives. In contrast, Kangxi's policies aimed at rebuilding Sichuan relied on incentives rather than coercion. For example, his "Regulations on Naturalisation in Sichuan" in 1690 offered land grants and tax exemptions to settlers willing to reclaim wastelands, ensuring their long-term settlement and integration.

To prevent new settlers from migrating out of Sichuan, both the Ming and Qing governments implemented stringent measures. During the Ming era, Hongwu utilised the household registration system, known as the "Hutie Zhidu," to bind individuals to specific locations. This system, complemented by the *lijia* system, imposed strict penalties for non-compliance, ensuring that relocated populations remained within their designated areas. In contrast, Kangxi adopted a more supportive approach, offering economic incentives and logistical support to settlers. For instance, local officials were tasked with providing a stable living environment, which included facilitating land reclamation and ensuring adequate resources for new settlers.

The exodus of Sichuan's original inhabitants can be traced back to prolonged wars, famines, and disease outbreaks during the Yuan-Ming transition. The region's socio-political instability, exacerbated by rebellions and Mongol invasions, compelled many to seek refuge in neighbouring provinces or areas with more stable governance. These conditions left Sichuan depopulated and its lands barren, necessitating intervention by successive dynasties. While Hongwu's approach relied on strict control and coercion to repopulate the province, Kangxi's policies favoured voluntary migration and the integration of skilled individuals to restore social and economic stability.

Therefore, the migration policies of the Ming and Qing dynasties toward Sichuan reflected differing governance philosophies and strategic priorities. Hongwu's emphasis on punitive measures and strict control aimed to address immediate demographic and security concerns, whereas Kangxi's integrative approach sought long-term stability and development. These policies collectively highlight the interplay between governance, migration, and regional recovery in Sichuan's historical context.

Sun Xiaofen provides a thorough examination of the migration patterns into Sichuan during the early Qing period. By leveraging historical documents, Sun highlights the diverse challenges faced by immigrants, such as geographical and administrative hurdles.⁴ However, to fully grasp the evolution of migration policies, a comparative analysis contrasting early Qing policies with those of later periods is necessary. This nuanced exploration would shed light on the changes in migration strategies over time and how these changes reflect broader political and ideological shifts. In examining the governing philosophies during the Ming and Qing eras, Wu Zhipeng's "Discuss Zhu Yuanzhang [Hongwu] Ruling with Severe Punishment"⁵ and Hu

Jie's "A Study on Hongwu's Zhu Yuanzhang [Hongwu] 'Thought and Practice of Severe Law'"⁶ focus on Hongwu's legal frameworks and governance principles, as well as Kangxi's administrative practices. These studies provide valuable insights into the ruling ideologies of the Ming and Qing dynasties. However, they often overlook how these ideologies specifically impacted migration strategies. Incorporating this perspective could enhance our understanding of how governance influenced migration policies and administrative practices.

The scholarly debate surrounding "Hu-Guang Fills Sichuan" reveals diverse interpretations of the term. Some scholars consider it to refer to migrations from the late Yuan through the early Ming and Qing dynasties, while others confine it to early Qing migrations.⁷ Regardless of these interpretations, it is evident that systematic relocations to Sichuan were a consistent feature of both the Ming and Qing dynasties. The migration policies of the Hongwu and Kangxi periods, marked by distinct governance ideologies, warrant a comparative analysis. Such an approach would highlight the specific characteristics and strategies of each period, providing a clearer understanding of the evolution of migration policies.

The period around 1127 also witnessed significant migration to Sichuan, involving various groups such as commoners, nobles, and displaced officials and soldiers. Historical records indicate that while some migrations were state directed to fulfil administrative needs, others were spontaneous responses to conflict and disasters.⁸ This differentiation is crucial for understanding the broader patterns and causes of migration during this era. Comprehensive works like "History of Chinese Immigration,"⁹ edited by Ge Jianxiong, and Tan Hong's "History of Bashu Immigration," offer valuable overviews of migration in China, detailing political, economic, and cultural factors from the pre-Qin period through the 1940s. Despite their contributions, these sources lack a comparative analysis of migration patterns across different historical periods. A focused examination of the migration trends during the Ming and Qing dynasties, particularly in relation to differing governance strategies, could further illuminate the complexities of migration policies and their historical contexts.

Overall, while existing literature provides a solid foundation for understanding migration into Sichuan, there remains a need for a more integrated and comparative approach. This study aims to bridge the gaps in historical analysis by examining the interplay between ruling ideologies and migration policies during the Hongwu and Kangxi periods. Specifically, it explores how Emperor Hongwu's Confucian-inspired agrarian policies prioritised population redistribution and agricultural self-sufficiency, contrasting with Emperor Kangxi's more pragmatic governance, which focused on economic stability and regional integration.

The proposed comparative approach is distinctive in its emphasis on analysing migration policies across different time periods, regions, and socio-political contexts. By drawing on a wide range of sources, including imperial edicts, contemporary writings, and archival documents, this study not only clarifies the ideological underpinnings of these policies but also examines their socio-economic outcomes. For instance, the research investigates the incentives provided to attract migrants under Hongwu's rule and the administrative strategies employed during Kangxi's reign to stabilise frontier regions. These examples underscore the cause-and-effect relationships between ruling ideologies and the evolution of migration patterns. Through this integrated methodology, the study contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of migration policies in historical Sichuan, addressing gaps in existing

scholarship and offering new insights into the dynamic interplay of ideology, governance, and population movement.

Thus, this study employs a comprehensive methodology, utilising documentary research, dialectical analysis, and case studies to investigate the differences in migration policies used to govern Sichuan during the Hongwu and Kangxi periods. The analysis focuses on the ruling ideologies of Emperor Hongwu and Kangxi, drawing on historical texts, contemporary writings, and scholarly research that document and examine population migration during their reigns.

The research primarily relies on a combination of primary historical documents and secondary sources, ensuring a rigorous and multidimensional analysis. Key primary texts include *Ming History*, *Ming Shilu*, and *The Qing Shilu*. These primary sources, being original official records, offer invaluable insights into the governance, policies, and socio-political dynamics of the Hongwu and Kangxi periods. They provide direct evidence of the rulers' intentions and administrative decisions, forming the cornerstone of the study. The specificity and authenticity of these records make them essential for accurately reconstructing historical contexts.

In addition to primary documents, the study integrates significant monographs such as *History of Chinese Immigration* and *History of Bashu Immigration*. These works provide broader contextual frameworks for understanding regional migration trends and policies. They supplement the primary sources by situating migration policies within the larger narrative of Chinese history, thereby bridging the gap between official records and broader socio-historical interpretations.

Moreover, the research draws on relevant dissertations, including "A Test Analysis of Hongwu's Ideas and Policies of 'Heavy Dignity in Ruling the Country'" and "The Law of Identity and the Law of Migration in the Household Registration System of the Ming Dynasty." These scholarly works delve into the ideological and legal underpinnings of migration policies, offering detailed analyses of the philosophical and practical aspects of governance during the Ming period. By engaging with these dissertations, the study further refines its understanding of how ideological principles translated into tangible administrative actions and migration outcomes.

Research Methodology

This comprehensive use of both primary and secondary sources ensures a well-rounded understanding of the historical context and migration policies of the Ming and Qing dynasties. By combining official records, analytical monographs, and in-depth dissertations, the research not only reconstructs the specifics of the Hongwu and Kangxi periods but also situates them within a broader historical and intellectual framework. Such a layered approach enables the study to address critical questions about the formulation, implementation, and impact of migration policies, while also contributing to the historiographical discourse on Chinese migration governance.

Dialectical analysis will be used to critically examine the differences in governance and migration policies between the Hongwu and Kangxi eras in Sichuan. This method explores the interactions and contradictions between various factors and perspectives, such as the two rulers'

governance ideologies, migration policies, migration targets, government management of migration, officials' attitudes towards migration, and the size of the migrating population. The aim is to reveal how these elements shape and transform one another, highlighting the multifaceted dynamics of migration policies in these distinct historical periods.

To ensure clarity and depth, this analysis will focus on identifying and addressing the underlying causes of governance strategies and migration outcomes. For instance, the study will assess how Hongwu's Confucian-inspired principles and Kangxi's pragmatism influenced their approaches to migration, reflecting distinct responses to internal socio-political conditions and external pressures. Moreover, the examination of migration targets and population management will include an evaluation of the government's administrative capacity and its impact on the effectiveness of policy implementation.

By considering the attitudes of officials toward migration, the research incorporates a critical perspective on how individual and collective views within the bureaucracy influenced the execution of policies. For example, differences in how local officials under Hongwu and Kangxi approached the settlement and management of migrants will be analysed to reveal variations in policy outcomes. Furthermore, the study will evaluate the size and composition of migrating populations, examining whether migration policies were inclusive or exclusionary and how these policies shaped demographic changes in Sichuan.

This research will also investigate the dynamic relationships between each ruler's policies, uncovering how governance and migration approaches evolved in response to internal and external pressures. For example, changes in land allocation strategies, incentives for migrants, and the use of migration as a tool for frontier stabilisation will be critically assessed. This analysis will illuminate the distinct characteristics of each period's policies, the underlying ruling ideologies, and how these ideologies influenced the implementation and outcomes of migration strategies. Additionally, it will reveal how shifts in governance strategies reflect broader changes in political, economic, and social contexts.

By systematically comparing these elements, the study aims to provide a nuanced understanding of the complexities and effectiveness of migration policies during the Hongwu and Kangxi periods. This comparative approach will highlight the strengths and limitations of each ruler's policies, contributing to a deeper appreciation of how governance and migration intersected within the broader framework of Ming and Qing statecraft.

Differences Between Hongwu's and Kangxi's Ideology of Governing the Country

The concept of "An Bang Zhi Guo" (stabilising the country), which translates to the stability and peace of the state and societal harmony, has historically been a fundamental objective for rulers across China's ancient feudal dynasties.¹⁰ In the context of dynastic transitions, newly established regimes meticulously analysed the factors leading to the decline of their predecessors to avoid repeating past errors. This reflective process was crucial for crafting effective governance strategies. However, the specific policies and measures adopted by various Chinese dynasty rulers varied significantly, shaped by the distinct circumstances of their reigns and their individual experiences and education.

One illustrative case is the migration policy under Hongwu in 1368. Upon capturing Chengdu and asserting control over Sichuan in 1371, Hongwu implemented a series of administrative reforms.¹¹ He established Sichuan as a province, later reorganising it under the Provincial Administration Commission in 1376.¹² Hongwu believed that lax legal and disciplinary measures had contributed to the political instability and social unrest during the late Yuan Dynasty.¹³ Confronted with a fractured political landscape, lingering Mongol forces, deepening class conflicts, and the devastating aftermath of prolonged warfare—including widespread land degradation and significant population decline—he deliberately prioritised strict governance, legal centralisation, and rigorous regulations as the foundation of his administrative reforms and nation-building efforts. These measures were intended to restore order, strengthen authority, and promote long-term stability throughout the newly established Ming Dynasty, as emphasised by Yang Jing, who noted that from 1373 to 1397, the laws of the Ming Dynasty were amended several times, and the penalties were harsher than those of the Tang Dynasty's laws.¹⁴

In this context, the formulation and execution of migration policies were deeply intertwined with the ruling ideology. The Hongwu Emperor's approach to migration was not merely a response to the immediate needs of territorial consolidation but also a reflection of his broader governance philosophy, which emphasised strict control and order. His policies were designed to address both the immediate administrative needs and the broader socio-political objectives of stabilising and populating the region. Hongwu implemented policies to relocate people to Sichuan, build farmland irrigation projects, and reduce taxes, which restored and developed the socio-economy of the southwestern region and enabled Sichuan to experience a longer period of stability.¹⁵

Hongwu's measures illustrate how migration strategies were influenced by the ruler's efforts to rectify the perceived deficiencies of previous regimes and to strengthen the state apparatus. Such policies, therefore, not only aimed at population management but also served as instruments of broader statecraft, reflecting the rulers' overarching goals of political consolidation and societal harmony. Regarding the legal codes and regulations, according to the *Ming Shi*

“Emperor Hongwu initially drafted them in 1367, revised them in 1373, and perfected them in 1389. It was not until 1397 that they were formally promulgated throughout the empire. Over time, through careful deliberation, the legal system of the dynasty was finally established.盖太祖之于律令也，草创于吴元年，更定于洪武六年，整齐于二十二年，至三十年始颁行天下。日久而虑精，一代法始定。”¹⁶

During his reign, Hongwu publicly asserted, “I rule a chaotic world and must use severe criminal laws” to emphasise his commitment to restoring order through stringent legal measures.¹⁷ This proclamation underscored his adoption of the strict governance philosophy, which prioritised harsh laws to govern and stabilise the state. Emperor Hongwu's implementation of strict governance focused on punishing officials, including corrupt officials and landlords.¹⁸

Hongwu rose from humble beginnings, and his distrust of the elite, coupled with the challenges of ruling a vast empire, led him to emphasise rigid control. The philosophy of

“Zhongdian Zhiguo” (strict governance) was a direct reflection of his broader idea to secure long-term stability. Born into a poor family, Hongwu grew up experiencing oppression and exploitation by the landlord class and betrayal by his relatives. The emergence of Hongwu’s philosophy of ruling the country with strict governance is closely related to his tragic birth, his tortuous experiences, and the complexity of his character shaped on this basis.¹⁹ Through comprehensive legal codes and severe penalties, Hongwu sought to reduce corruption, control the bureaucracy, and maintain social order.

Under this philosophy, Hongwu established the “Da Ming Lu,” or the “Great Ming Code,” in 1397. This legal code was highly detailed, reflecting Hongwu’s desire for a system that left little room for ambiguity or individual interpretation. Laws were enforced strictly, and severe punishments, including public executions and exile, were commonplace. This harsh legalism was aimed at deterring disobedience and maintaining an orderly society. The code serves as a significant source for understanding not only Chinese history and law but also East Asian cultural interactions.²⁰

While “Zhongdian Zhiguo” (strict governance) ensured compliance and centralised authority, it also generated fear within the bureaucracy and society, as even minor infractions could result in severe consequences. However, from Hongwu’s perspective, the ends justified the means. The strict enforcement of laws was seen as essential to unifying and stabilising China after years of war and fragmentation. Hongwu’s policy of strict governance was indeed conducive to social stability and the development of production in certain aspects, consolidating the rule of the Ming Dynasty to a certain extent.²¹

Hongwu’s approach primarily targeted officials. Having personally witnessed the corruption and inefficiency of the Yuan Dynasty, he placed significant emphasis on the management and discipline of state officials. His reign was marked by several high-profile administrative cases, including the “Kongyin An” (empty seal case)²², the “Hu Weiyong An” (Hu Weiyong case)²³, and the “Lan Yu An” (Lan Yu case)²⁴, which resulted in numerous executions, widespread exile, and extensive military repercussions.

In sum, the philosophy of “Zhongdian Zhiguo” during Hongwu’s reign played a critical role in consolidating imperial power, securing the loyalty of the bureaucracy, and laying the foundation for the Ming Dynasty’s long-lasting stability. Hongwu’s policies were notably severe; he decreed those officials involved in bribery, along with those who accepted bribes and their families, be exiled to remote regions.²⁵ These measures reflect his broader strategy of using harsh penalties to eliminate corruption and enforce discipline, aiming to re-establish stability and integrity within the administration. His rigorous approach to governance was both a reaction to the instability of the Yuan Dynasty and a proactive attempt to prevent similar issues in his own regime. According to *Ming History*, Sichuan was designated as a place to receive exiled criminals in 1392.²⁶

The use of state-organised migration as a punitive measure during the Ming Dynasty reflects a strategic approach to population management and military strengthening. Specifically, Sichuan was designated as a destination for individuals from eighteen different regions who were sentenced to banishment. This practice highlights how migration policies were intertwined with broader state objectives, such as reinforcing national military forces. Such a

punitive immigration policy could also provide labour for economically backward regions, promote technological development, and facilitate population integration.²⁷

Hongwu's adoption of the "Weisuo Zhidu" (guardhouse system)²⁸ was a pivotal element of this strategy. Modelled after the military systems of the Sui and Tang dynasties, this system involved relocating soldiers from different regions to newly established guardhouses. Soldiers from southern regions were sent north, while those from the north were deployed south. This system not only bolstered military presence but also integrated soldiers' families into agricultural production at their new locations, aiming for self-sufficiency and stabilising the region. Thus, the guardhouse system represents a form of administration-directed migration aimed at enhancing military capabilities and promoting agricultural development. Emperor Hongwu attached particular importance to military construction and security, and the guardhouse system was conducive to concentrating military power in his hands.²⁹

In addition to military and administrative strategies, Hongwu grappled with widespread social instability, characterised by population flight and uncultivated lands. To address these issues and restore stability, he implemented a rigorous household registration system. In November 1370, the "Hutie Zhidu" (household register)³⁰ was introduced nationwide to standardise and monitor household registration. This was followed by the compilation of the "Huji Huangce" (yellow book of households)³¹ in 1381, a comprehensive record detailing the population and property of each family, which facilitated oversight of demographic and economic conditions.³²

Furthermore, in 1387, the Ming government instituted the "Lijia Zhi" (lijia system)³³ and the "Guanjin Zhi" (guanjin system)³⁴. Hongwu's harsh laws reflect a broader intent to stabilise society by compelling individuals to engage in fixed labour and production according to state directives. As Cao Shuji suggests, these measures effectively bound individuals to their localities, ensuring compliance with government regulations and contributing to social stability.³⁵

In contrast, Kangxi adopted a more moderate policy when faced with unrest in Sichuan and the devastation caused by war. He viewed Sichuan as a critical strategic base, integral to border stability and national security. "When the hearts of the people are content, the foundation of the nation is secured, and the borders will naturally be strong."³⁶ This statement highlights the vital connection between internal stability and external security. The well-being and satisfaction of the people form the cornerstone of national strength. When the administration successfully wins the trust and loyalty of its citizens, internal harmony and social cohesion naturally follow. This strong societal foundation ensures that the nation can withstand external threats, as a content and unified populace is more likely to defend the nation's interests.

This philosophy implies that governance fostering trust, fairness, and prosperity internally will result in a fortified and stable country, where even the borders are secure without excessive militarisation. Ultimately, a nation's strength comes not merely from military might but from the loyalty and well-being of its people. Kangxi prioritised appointing officials with the requisite talent and experience in frontier management, reflecting his strategic vision for Sichuan's role in the Qing Dynasty's territorial and administrative framework.³⁷

In the face of war, Sichuan's population sharply declined, and its economy suffered. Kangxi specifically instructed Yao Danyu, the governor of Sichuan, to appease the people and provide them with a stable living environment so they could live and work in peace.³⁸

When addressing land clearance following the migration of people from Huguang to Sichuan, Kangxi emphasised the principle of ensuring the people could live in peace. He advised Nian Genyao, the governor of Sichuan, to avoid disrupting the lives of residents during land reclamation.³⁹ This directive highlights a significant shift in governance approach compared to earlier policies.

In summary, the contrasting approaches of Hongwu and Kangxi towards migration and regional management are evident. Under Hongwu's reign, migration was heavily regulated, with strict restrictions preventing individuals from relocating freely. Moreover, Hongwu employed migration as a punitive measure, designating Sichuan as a region for exiling prisoners. This policy reflected his broader strategy of using severe laws to manage and stabilise the state.

In contrast, during Kangxi's reign, the focus shifted towards restoring and stabilising Sichuan's population. His approach emphasised the well-being and stability of the populace as the foundation for effective governance. While Hongwu's policies were rooted in stringent control and punitive measures, Kangxi sought to foster stability and improve the quality of life for his people as a primary strategy for governance.

DIFFERENCES IN MIGRATION TARGETS

The Hongwu Emperor strengthened the administration of Sichuan and the southwestern frontier by implementing the *Weisuo Zhidu* (Weisuo system), a military-administrative mechanism designed to consolidate imperial authority and ensure border security. According to *Ming History*, Hongwu established a large number of *Weisuo* along strategically significant transportation routes and border areas. Each *Weisuo* was composed of soldiers, captives, and individuals serving punishments.⁴⁰ These units functioned not only as military garrisons but also as settlements tasked with maintaining order and cultivating undeveloped land.

The total number of migrants and guards stationed along the border of Sichuan in the early Ming Dynasty was approximately 480,000.⁴¹ This substantial migration initiative targeted specific groups, including deposed officials, criminals, and soldiers, who were systematically relocated to reinforce frontier stability. During Hongwu's reign, criminals were not merely punished through relocation but were also tasked with agricultural and infrastructural development in underpopulated regions.

Additionally, local Ming Dynasty officials actively advocated for the relocation of certain populations to Sichuan, emphasising the region's administrative and economic needs. Their rationale was to bolster the population and stimulate land development in a province that suffered from inadequate local tax revenue. For example, in 1387, Guo Shuwen, the district magistrate of Deyang Xian, reported to Emperor Hongwu that Sichuan Province was sparsely populated, transportation networks were underdeveloped, and much of the land lay fallow. In

his report, Guo Shuwen proposed relocating criminals to Sichuan to address these issues by engaging them in agricultural cultivation and settlement building.⁴²

In response, Emperor Hongwu implemented forced relocation policies, targeting criminals and their families for resettlement in Sichuan. This policy aligned with Hongwu's broader strategy of using migration as both a punitive measure and a tool for economic and social development. By transforming punished criminals into settlers, the emperor aimed to rehabilitate the land and integrate these individuals into productive roles within society.

These differing approaches to migration under the Ming and Qing dynasties highlight the evolving priorities and strategies of imperial governance in addressing regional and administrative challenges. Hongwu's initiative reflects his strategic use of migration to achieve multiple objectives: enhancing economic productivity, strengthening frontier defences, and reinforcing centralised administrative control. The *Weisuo* system exemplifies how migration policies were intricately tied to the broader goals of state-building and territorial management in Ming China.

In 1646, Wang Zuntan, the deputy royal inspector, began persuading the indigenous Sichuanese who had fled to other provinces to return to Sichuan.⁴³ In 1664, Zhang Dedi, the governor of Sichuan, suggested to Kangxi that the governor of each province inspect and register the Sichuanese living within their jurisdiction and pass on their details to the governor of Sichuan. If these Sichuanese living outside the province had money, officials would give them passes and urge them to return to Sichuan as soon as possible. If they lacked the fare to return, the officials in Sichuan would arrange for vehicles or boats to transport them back.⁴⁴

In 1667, Zhang Dedi proposed to Emperor Kangxi the resettlement of surrendered soldiers and their families from other provinces to Sichuan.⁴⁵ This recommendation was part of a broader strategy to stabilise the region and enhance its economic and defensive capacity. By relocating soldiers and their families, Zhang Dedi aimed to address Sichuan's ongoing population deficit while reinforcing its role as a strategic frontier province. This policy not only provided employment and livelihood opportunities for the resettled families but also bolstered the region's security by establishing a reliable population base that could contribute to both local governance and defence.

In 1668, recognising the persistent challenges of underpopulation and low tax revenues in Sichuan, Zhang Dedi further recommended the relocation of individuals without fixed jobs or industries from other provinces to Sichuan.⁴⁶ This initiative was intended to inject labour into the local economy, stimulate agricultural and industrial development, and strengthen the tax base. By targeting unemployed or underemployed individuals, Zhang Dedi's plan sought to address socio-economic disparities across provinces while simultaneously fostering regional growth in Sichuan.

These proposals reflect the Qing government's pragmatic approach to managing migration and population redistribution during Kangxi's reign. By prioritising the transfer of human resources to underdeveloped regions, Zhang Dedi's recommendations underscored the dual objectives of alleviating population pressures in more populated provinces and promoting economic and social integration in frontier areas like Sichuan. This approach highlights the Qing administration's broader commitment to regional development and the strategic use of migration as a tool for addressing administrative and economic challenges.

In 1685, Yao Danyu, the newly appointed governor of Sichuan, reiterated to Kangxi that recalling even a single family of administrators or scholars to Sichuan would have the same impact as relocating several families. His reasoning was based on the influential role these figures held in Qing society. As trusted leaders, administrators and scholars provided stability and opportunity. Their return would signal safety and favourable conditions for settlement, encouraging ordinary people to migrate voluntarily without the need for ruler intervention. Administrators could organise communities, while scholars upheld cultural and moral standards, making the region more attractive for resettlement. Their presence would naturally attract others, making the relocation of one family as effective as moving many.⁴⁷

It is evident that Kangxi organised migration primarily for the indigenous inhabitants of Sichuan who had fled to other provinces, the surrendered officials and soldiers of the Ming Dynasty, and members of the general public without stable employment or industries. During Kangxi's reign, the Qing government prioritised the mandatory migration of Sichuan's grassroots administrators and scholars who had fled to other provinces, focusing on their return to Sichuan. As Tan Hong argues, while the Qing government was working to recruit fugitive Sichuanese back to Sichuan, it also gradually expanded the scope of emigration and encouraged people from other provinces to move into the region.⁴⁸

In summary, Hongwu forcibly relocated a diverse range of individuals, including wealthy landowners, corrupt officials, criminals, and ordinary citizens, to Sichuan and other provinces. This immigration policy was driven by multiple objectives, such as stabilising underpopulated regions, strengthening administrative control, and redistributing human resources to enhance agricultural and economic productivity. Wealthy individuals were often targeted to invest in and develop the local economy, while corrupt officials and criminals were relocated as a form of punishment and rehabilitation. Ordinary people, on the other hand, were moved to alleviate population pressures in more densely populated areas and to populate frontier regions.

By implementing such measures, Hongwu sought to address both immediate governance challenges and long-term development goals. The relocation of diverse social groups reflects his broader strategy of using migration as a tool for consolidating imperial authority, fostering economic growth, and maintaining social order. These policies not only reshaped the demographic landscape of provinces like Sichuan but also exemplified the Ming dynasty's approach to integrating migration into statecraft.

This immigration policy was carried out under legal constraints, restricting the freedom of movement for these individuals. The forced relocation reflected Hongwu's strengthened control over power.⁴⁹ In contrast, Kangxi focused on repatriating indigenous Sichuan residents who had fled and resettling displaced persons from various regions back into Sichuan. Migration under Kangxi began as a court-led initiative and later evolved into a combination of state and private efforts.⁵⁰

Kangxi's targeting of the general public aimed to restore Sichuan's population as quickly as possible. While Hongwu's migration policies were characterised by a broad and punitive scope, Kangxi's approach focused on the strategic restoration of Sichuan's population and stability.

Differences in Migration Policy

Confronted with a sharp population decline and barren lands in Sichuan, both the Ming and Qing governments employed migration policies to address these challenges, though their approaches and effectiveness varied significantly across the Hongwu and Kangxi periods.

Local histories and genealogies from the early Ming Dynasty provide detailed accounts of government-organised migration efforts. For example, Gao Xian, a high-ranking official from Macheng, was tasked by the government to lead settlers to Dianjiang Xian during the Hongwu period.⁵¹ Similarly, the people from Xiaogan Xiang in Macheng Xian, Huangzhou Fu, Hunan Province, were directed to migrate to Sichuan in the early years of Hongwu's reign. This migration aimed to bolster Sichuan's population and aid in its development.⁵² The government's strategy involved sending soldiers to escort these migrants to Sichuan, reflecting a belief that these settlers could enhance the region's moral and social standards.

Sichuan folklore also sheds light on the nature of these migrations. The term "Jie Shou" (go to the toilet), which translates to "Untie Hands," is believed to have originated from this period. It describes a situation where people from Hubei and Hunan, resettled in Sichuan, had their hands tied by officials to prevent escape. If a displaced person needed to go to the toilet, they had to request that the escorting soldiers untie them. This term reflects the extent to which these migrations were controlled and the degree to which migrants were compelled to relocate by government order. Chen Shisong argues that "Jie Shou" (go to the toilet) arose from the context of forced migration and is a product of the emperor's absolute power. Forced migration occurred during Hongwu's reign, while the conditions for such policies did not exist during Kangxi's reign.⁵³

In addition to these measures, Hongwu implemented a stringent household registration system to regulate migration. In 1368, Hongwu decreed that all war refugees must gather and subsequently return to their designated areas when ordered by the state.⁵⁴ This policy aimed to manage population movements and ensure that displaced individuals contributed to the economic and social rebuilding of their assigned regions.

In 1383, Hongwu decreed that people could not move about freely and that neighbours must become acquainted with each other. Anyone who did not work and harboured outsiders would be forcibly relocated to a remote area.⁵⁵ The measures implemented by Hongwu were designed to control and stabilise the population by confining people to specific areas, preventing unrestricted movement, and mitigating potential social unrest. These policies reflect a broader intent to maintain order and manage demographic shifts within the empire.

In contrast, during Kangxi's reign, a different approach was adopted to address the issue of repopulating Sichuan. The efforts of Li Bingzhi, the district magistrate of Qijiang Xian, exemplify Kangxi's commitment to humanitarian aid during this period. Known for his dedication and compassion, Li Bingzhi used his salary to support homeless individuals and families. His proactive measures helped reunite several hundred families from various parts of the country with their native regions.⁵⁶ This case underscores Kangxi's emphasis not only on managing migration but also on addressing the welfare of displaced individuals in a more empathetic manner.

In 1649, Emperor Shunzhi promulgated an order for land reclamation, stipulating that throughout the country, all homeless people—regardless of their place of origin or social status—would be recruited by the state for resettlement. Local officials were tasked with verifying deserted fields without owners, and governors were responsible for assigning these fields to homeless individuals, granting them as permanent estates.⁵⁷

In 1690, Kangxi, building on the policies introduced by Emperor Shunzhi, implemented the “Regulations on Naturalisation in Sichuan.” This policy stipulated that any homeless individual willing to move to Sichuan to reclaim wasteland would be granted permanent ownership of that land by the government.⁵⁸ This initiative aimed to incentivise the reclamation and settlement of underdeveloped areas in Sichuan.

The contrasting approaches of Emperor Hongwu and Kangxi towards migration in Sichuan reveal significant differences in their strategies and attitudes. Emperor Hongwu imposed rigorous measures to manage migration, often employing punitive policies and maintaining tight oversight to ensure compliance with government directives. This approach reflected a broader tendency to restrict movement and enforce stringent administrative controls.

In contrast, the Qing Dynasty, particularly under Kangxi, adopted a more moderate and facilitative stance. The Qing government focused on incentivising land reclamation and rapidly resettling displaced individuals. By offering permanent property rights to those who undertook land reclamation, the Qing administration sought to encourage the settlement and development of Sichuan in a way that aligned with its broader goals of stabilising and expanding the region. This policy aimed not only to increase the population but also to integrate immigrants into the local economy through land ownership and agricultural production. As Xie Wanli argues, migration during Hongwu’s reign had clear political and economic intentions with a compulsory nature. After the end of Hongwu’s reign, migration gradually became more voluntary.⁵⁹

Ultimately, Hongwu focused on restricting movement, enforcing order, and maintaining a stringent, controlling attitude towards migration, emphasising a return to original places and strict regulation. In contrast, Kangxi adopted a more inclusive and supportive approach to repopulation and social stability, reflecting a shift towards more humane and strategic governance.

Conclusion

In summary, Hongwu forcibly relocated a diverse range of individuals, including wealthy landowners, corrupt officials, criminals, and ordinary citizens, to Sichuan and other provinces. This immigration policy was driven by multiple objectives, such as stabilising underpopulated regions, strengthening administrative control, and redistributing human resources to enhance agricultural and economic productivity. Wealthy individuals were often targeted to invest in and develop the local economy, while corrupt officials and criminals were relocated as a form of punishment and rehabilitation. Ordinary people, on the other hand, were moved to alleviate population pressures in more densely populated areas and to populate frontier regions.

By implementing such measures, Hongwu sought to address both immediate governance challenges and long-term development goals. The relocation of diverse social

groups reflects his broader strategy of using migration as a tool for consolidating imperial authority, fostering economic growth, and maintaining social order. These policies not only reshaped the demographic landscape of provinces like Sichuan but also exemplified the Ming dynasty's approach to integrating migration into statecraft.

Both emperors regarded the migration of the population as a key measure to address these challenges. However, their policies and approaches differed significantly. Hongwu employed a rigorous and punitive approach to migration. His policies, including “Zhongdian Zhiguo” (strict governance) and “Weisuo Zhidu” (guardhouse system), designated Sichuan as a site for resettling criminals and military personnel. His methods were characterised by stringent control and military enforcement, reflecting a broader strategy of imposing order and discipline through coercion. Under Hongwu's reign, migrants were subjected to coercive measures, including enforced relocations by government soldiers and a stringent household registration system to control their movements. In contrast, Emperor Kangxi adopted a more conciliatory and incentive-driven approach. Kangxi's policies focused on integrating indigenous Sichuanese populations, grassroots administrators, and exiled scholars into Sichuan society. By offering preferential incentives and facilitating land reclamation, the Qing administration sought to stabilise and develop the region in a more supportive manner. Kangxi favoured a more lenient and supportive approach, with fewer restrictions on migration and an emphasis on voluntary resettlement and land reclamation. These contrasting policies and management strategies reflect the distinct governance ideologies of Hongwu and Kangxi, each tailored to the specific conditions and challenges of their times. Hongwu's approach was rooted in strict control and punishment, while Kangxi's strategy emphasised integration and incentivisation, showcasing the evolution of governance in response to demographic and agricultural challenges.

Acknowledgement

The author(s) would like to express their sincere gratitude to the anonymous reviewers for their thoughtful and constructive feedback. Their insightful comments and suggestions have been invaluable in enhancing the quality and clarity of this article.

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Received: 16 October 2024

Reviewed: 13 November 2024

Accepted: 30 November 2024

Notes

¹ The Hongwu Emperor (r. January 23, 1368 – June 24, 1398), also known by his temple name as Emperor Taizu of Ming and by his personal name Zhu Yuanzhang and courtesy name Guorui was the founder of the Ming dynasty

and ruled from 1368 to 1398. See Charles Hucker, *The Ming Dynasty: Its Origins and Evolving Institutions*, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2021, p. 15.

² The Kangxi Emperor (r. February 4, 1661 – December 20, 1722), also known by his temple name as Emperor Shengzu of Qing and by his personal name Xuanye, was the fourth emperor of the Qing dynasty and the second Qing emperor to govern over China proper. With a reign lasting 61 years, he holds the record as the longest-reigning emperor in Chinese history and is one of the longest-reigning rulers globally. He is widely regarded as one of China's greatest emperors. See William T. Rowe, *China's Last Empire: The Great Qing*, Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2010, p. 63.

³ James Lee, "The Legacy of Immigration in Southwest China, 1250-1850", *Annales de Demographie Historique*, Vol.1, 1982, p. 279.

⁴ Sun Xiaofen, *Qingdai Qianqi de Yimin Tian Sichuan (Immigration Filling Sichuan in the Early Qing Dynasty)* 清代前期的移民填四川, Chengdu: Sichuan University Press, 1997, p. 37.

⁵ For further details please refer to Wu Zhipeng, *Lun Zhu Yuanzhang Zhongdian Zhiguo (Discuss Zhu Yuanzhang Ruling with Severe Punishment)* 论朱元璋重典治国, M.A Thesis, Soochow University, 2013.

⁶ For further details please refer to Hu Jie, *Zhu Yuanzhang Zhongdian Zhiguo Falu Sixiang Ji Shijian Tanxi (A Study on Zhu Yuanzhang's Thought and practice of sever law)* 朱元璋重典治国法律思想及实践探析, M.A Thesis, South-Central University for Nationalities, 2009.

⁷ Sun Xiaofen, *Qingdai Qianqi de Yimin Tian Sichuan (Immigration Filling Sichuan in the Early Qing Dynasty)* 清代前期的移民填四川, p.6.

⁸ Tan Hong, *Bashu Yimin Shi (History of Bashu Immigration)* 巴蜀移民史, Chengdu: Bashu Publishing House, 2006, p.161.

⁹ For further details please refer to Ge Jianxiong, *Zhongguo Yimin Shi (History of Chinese Immigration)* 中国移民史, Fuzhou: Fujian People's Publishing House, 1997.

¹⁰ Confucian scholars like Mencius and Xunzi addressed the concept of "An Bang" (stabilising the country) by advocating for moral leadership and benevolent governance as key pillars of effective rule. In contrast, Legalist thinkers such as Han Feizi focused on "Zhi Guo" (governing the state), emphasising strict laws and order as essential tools for maintaining stability within the state. Please see Lau, D. C., *Mencius*, London: Penguin Books, 1970 examines Confucian principles of governance and Burton Watson, *Han Feizi: Basic Writings*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2003 delves into Legalist approaches to statecraft.

¹¹ In the Ming and Qing dynasties, Chengdu was not only the provincial capital of Sichuan, but also a key player in bringing centralization to Southwest China and ruling this region. Please see He Yimin, *Chengdu Jianshi (A Brief History of Chengdu)* 成都简史, Chengdu: Sichuan People's Publishing House, 2018, p. 266.

¹² It was an important administrative body in the Ming Dynasty, particularly during its establishment in 1371. It was set up in Sichuan, with Chengdu as the capital, following the Ming conquest of the region from the Mongol-led Yuan Dynasty. As a provincial administrative institution designed to extend the Ming imperial government's reach into local governance, ensure effective control over the region, and maintain political and economic stability, especially in the crucial frontier province of Sichuan. It served as a crucial organ for consolidating Ming authority in the southwestern regions of China. Please see Guo Hong and Jin Runcheng, *Zhongguo Xingzheng Quhua Tongshi Ming dai Juan (A General History of the Administrative Divisions of China: Ming Dynasty Volume)* 中国行政区划通史明代卷, Shanghai: Fudan University Press, 2017, p. 99.

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- ¹⁹ Zhang Yang, Shixi Zhu Yuanzhang de “Zhongdain Zhiguo” Sixiang he Zhengce (An Analysis of Zhu Yuanzhang’s Ideas and Policies of Ruling the Country with Heavy Codes) 试析朱元璋的“重典治国”思想和政策, M.A Thesis, China University of Political Science and Law, 2009, pp.7-8.
- ²⁰ Jiang Yonglin (trans), *Da Ming Lu (The Great Ming Code)* 大明律, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014, p. xxxiii.
- ²¹ Zhang Yang, Shixi Zhuyuanzhang de “Zhongdain Zhiguo” Sixiang he Zhengce (An Analysis of Zhu Yuanzhang’s Ideas and Policies of Ruling the Country with Heavy Codes) 试析朱元璋的“重典治国”思想和政策, p. 24.
- ²² The “Kongyin An” (Empty Seal Case) was a major legal scandal during the Hongwu reign of the Ming dynasty. It involved local officials affixing official seals to blank documents, allowing them to manipulate or falsify information later. This practice was discovered to be widespread and was seen as a serious act of fraud and corruption. In response, Emperor Hongwu launched a harsh crackdown, executing or exiling many officials involved. The case reflects his strict legalistic approach to governance, aimed at controlling bureaucratic misconduct and enforcing order in his administration.
- ²³ The “Hu Weiyong Case” was a major political purge during Emperor Hongwu’s reign in the Ming dynasty. Hu Weiyong, the prime minister, was accused of treason, corruption, and conspiring to overthrow the emperor in 1380. In response, Emperor Hongwu ordered Hu’s execution, leading to a large-scale purge of thousands of officials. The case also resulted in the abolition of the prime minister’s position, as Hongwu sought to centralize power and prevent any official from gaining too much influence. It reflects the emperor’s deep mistrust of his bureaucracy and his authoritarian approach to governance.
- ²⁴ The “Lan Yu Case” was a major political purge during Emperor Hongwu’s reign in 1393, targeting General Lan Yu, a key military leader accused of treason and plotting to overthrow the emperor. Lan Yu, along with his family and associates, was executed, resulting in the deaths of over 15,000 people. This case highlights Emperor Hongwu’s growing paranoia and his efforts to eliminate any potential threats to his rule, even from trusted military leaders. It underscores his strict and authoritarian approach to governance.
- ²⁵ Zhang Tingyu, *Mingshi (Ming History)* 明史, Vol. 93, p. 2288.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 2301.
- ²⁷ Liu Min, “Zhongdain Zhishi” Shijiao Xia de Mingdai Liuxing Yanjiu (A study of the Ming Dynasty’s banishment to the border from the perspective of “ruling the world with severe laws”) “重典治世”视角下的明代流刑研究, M.A Thesis, Heilongjiang University, 2024, p. 71.
- ²⁸ The “guardhouse system” is a system combining soldiers and farmers created by Emperor Hongwu. Please see Zhang Tingyu, *Mingshi (Ming History)* 明史, Vol. 77, p.1877.
- ²⁹ Wang Lin, “Mingchao Weihu Guojia Anquan de Sixiang yu Shijian (A Study on the Thinking and Practice of Safeguarding National Security in the Ming Dynasty) 明朝维护国家安全的思想与实践”, *National Security Forum*, No. 4, 2023, p. 9.
- ³⁰ The “Household Sticker System” is an act of population and economic census conducted by the state. The government counted the number of people, houses, land, servants, and even cattle in each household, and when it was done, it was signed by both the government and the household being surveyed. After signing, the government and the surveyed households would sign the census and hand it over in duplicate to the government and the people for safekeeping.
- ³¹ The “Yellow Book of Households” was a document that recorded the population and property of each family in the country and through which the government kept track of the population of the country.
- ³² Gao Fei, Mingchao Huji Zhidu Zhong de Shenfenfa yu Qianxi Fa (The Law of Identity and the Law of Migration in the Household Registration System of the Ming Dynasty) 明朝户籍制度中的身份法与迁徙法, M.A Thesis, China University of Political Science and Law, 2003, p. 9.
- ³³ The “Lijia Zhi” organized people into mutual guaranteed groups to restrict unauthorized movement.
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- ³⁵ Ge Jianxiong, Cao Shuji, and Wu Songdi, *Zhongguo Yiminshi Mingchao (History of Chinese Immigration Ming Dynasty)* 中国移民史明朝, Fuzhou: Fujian People’s Publishing House, 1997, pp. 8-9.
- ³⁶ Zhang Qin, *Kangxi Zhengyao (A Book on Governance by Kangxi Emperor)* 康熙政要, Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou Ancient Books Publishing House, 2015, p. 21.
- ³⁷ Qing Shengzu, *Qing Shengzu Ren Huangdi Shilu (The Veritable Records of Emperor Shengzu of the Qing Dynasty)* 清圣祖仁皇帝实录, Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1985, Vol. 88, p. 115.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol.122, p. 288.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol.293, p. 385.
- ⁴⁰ Zhang Tingyu, *Mingshi (Ming History)* 明史, Vol. 90, p.2193.
- ⁴¹ Tan Hong, *Bashu Yimin Shi (History of Bashu Immigration)* 巴蜀移民史, p. 401.

- ⁴² Ming Taizu, *Ming Taizu Shilu (The Veritable Records of Emperor Hongwu of the Qing Dynasty)* 明太祖皇帝实录, Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, 1962, Vol.181, p. 2733.
- ⁴³ Chang Mingxiu, Yang Canfang, and Tan Guanghu, *Jiaqing Shichuan Tongzhi (History of Sichuan Written During the Jiaqing Period)* 嘉庆四川通志, Chengdu: Bashu Publishing House, 1984, Vol.115, p.3564.
- ⁴⁴ Cai Yurong, *Kangxi Sichuan Zongzhi (History of Sichuan Written During the Kangxi Period)* 康熙四川总志, Chengdu: Library Sichuan University, 1673, Vol.10, p.17.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 25.
- ⁴⁶ Xu Zhongshu, *Ming Qing Shiliao Bingbian (A Compilation of Historical Materials From the Ming and Qing Dynasties)* 明清史料丙编, Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, 1930, Vol.10. p.1000.
- ⁴⁷ Zhao Erxun, *Qingshi Gao (Draft history of Qing Dynasty)* 清史稿, Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1977, Vol. 274, p. 10049.
- ⁴⁸ Tan Hong, *Bashu Yimin Shi (History of Bashu Immigration)* 巴蜀移民史, p. 476.
- ⁴⁹ Ge Jianxiong, Cao Shuji, and Wu Songdi, *Zhongguo Yiminshi Mingchao (History of Chinese Immigration Ming Dynasty)* 中国移民史明朝, p. 6.
- ⁵⁰ Wang Wentao, “Yimin Tuchuan Minjian Shehui Zhenghe dui Chongqing Chengzhenhua de Suzao--yi Qingdai ‘Huguang Tian Sichuan’ Weili (Study on the Influence of Civil Society Integration of Immigrants on the Urbanization of Chongqing ——A Case Study of ‘Huguang filling Sichuan’ Population Migration in the Qing Dynasty 移民徙川民间社会整合对重庆城镇化的塑造—以清代“湖广填四川”为例”, *Guizhou Ethnic Studies* Vol. 44, No. 6, p. 200.
- ⁵¹ Tan Hong, *Bashu Yimin Shi (History of Bashu Immigration)* 巴蜀移民史, p. 285.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 444.
- ⁵³ Chen Shisong, “‘Jieshou’ de Chuanshuo yu Mingqing ‘Huguang Tian Sichuan’ (The legend of ‘going to the toilet’ and the Ming and Qing dynasties ‘filling Sichuan with Huguang’) ‘解手’ 的传说与明清 ‘湖广填四川’”, *Forum on Chinese Culture*, No. 3, 2003, p. 151.
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