

Relations between Bannerman and Chinese in the Manchu City of Hangzhou, 1644–1795

Ever since 1645, when it had the remnant troops of the Southern Ming to quell, the Qing dynasty deployed a garrison at Hangzhou. At its maximum, the strength of this force exceeded 5,000 men. As the southern terminus of the Grand Canal, Hangzhou was a strategic point in the shipment of food and other supplies from Jiangnan 江南 to Peking. The troops guarded this economic artery, while the city's commercial prosperity represented an additional source of income for the garrison.

Qing imperial rule was based on the Eight Banners. As the Bannermen were the foundation of dynastic control, their economic privileges had to be protected. Local support for the Hangzhou garrison did not only take the form of subventions from the land tax (*diding yin* 地丁銀). In addition, the local authorities collected rent on horse pasturage land on the garrison's behalf, while the salt administration office raised interest income for it by placing funds with merchants. Meanwhile, the Bannermen's expenses mounted, what with salary supplements "for nourishing integrity," food and fodder allocations, wedding and funeral expenses grants, living allowances for widows and orphans, and appropriations for administrative costs.

The central government dismissed the Chinese Bannermen from service to alleviate the economic problems of the Banner system, but it was also adding budgetary items in favor of the Manchu Bannermen to protect the material interests of the latter.

In the meantime, the Manchu emphasis on mounted archery had come up against the environmental constraints of the Hangzhou area, where horse-raising was not easy. Training in artillery skills gradually replaced training in mounted archery. Already in the Shunzhi and Kangxi periods, artillery battalions composed of Chinese Bannermen, along with the Red Robe Artillery Unit (*Hongyi dapao* 紅衣大砲), had played an important role in the subjugation of Jiangnan. Under Qianlong, however, the Chinese Bannermen were turned out of the Eight Banners, leaving the major firearms under the control of the Manchu- and Mongol-dominated Red Robe Artillery—a fine example of Qianlong’s “Manchu Way” in action.

Recent scholarship has investigated ethnic identity in Qing China from the viewpoint of ideology and consciousness. The present author, by contrast, adopts a legal perspective. As the state’s legal code, the *Da Qing lili* 大清律例 (Statutes and supplementary articles of the Great Qing) applied to the entire realm, but the judicial treatment of Chinese and Manchus was not the same in practice. In the early Qing, more Chinese than Manchus were sentenced according to the severe *guanggun li* 光棍例 (supplementary article on scoundrels) for collective offences. This study

uses cases in which members of the Hangzhou garrison were involved in robbery of civilians, taking women by force (during the Revolt of the Three Feudatories), and affrays to show how the Qing dynasty upheld Manchu judicial privileges.