

AGOSTINO SEPE

BACK WHEN THE GATES WERE OPEN: THE SETTLER RECRUITMENT POLICY IN EARLY QING MANCHURIA

For most of Qing domination over China (1644–1911), the Manchu rulers harboured a negative attitude toward Han people’s migration to the dynasty’s motherland.¹ Beginning from early Kangxi era, the court made every effort to control the phenomena and

AGOSTINO SEPE, PhD – University for Foreigners of Siena, Department of Humanities Studies; email: agostino.sepe@unistrasi.it; ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0009-3751-034X>.

¹ The term Manchuria refers to a geographic area roughly corresponding to present day Northeast China (*dongbei* 東北, *dongsansheng* 東三省, *dongbei san sheng* 東北三省), which is nowadays divided, as the Chinese nomenclature suggests, into three provinces: Fengtian (Liaoning), Jilin and Heilongjiang. Such tripartition dates back to 1683, when an Eight Banner General Headquarters was set in Aihūn, Chinese Aihui 璦琿, present day Heihe, Heilongjiang province. Before that, Manchuria was partitioned in only two sub-regions, a southern one (Fengtian or Shengjing) and a northern one (Jilin 吉林/Ningguta 寧古塔). The two territories were separated by the so-called “Willow Palisade” (see, among the others, Yang Shusen 1978, Edmonds 1979). Because of the presence of the barrier and the different policies by which the two parts of Manchuria were governed, the northern one was also referred to as *bianwai* 邊外, “[the area] outside the palisade”, and the southern one as *guanwai* 關外, “[the area] outside Shanhai Pass”. The Shanhai Pass, *Shanhai guan* 山海關, a fortification placed at the eastern end of the Great Wall, separated Manchuria from “China proper”, or “inner land”, *neidi* 內地. In Qing era, up to Yongzheng times (1723–1735), immigration to the northern part of Manchuria was strictly forbidden (see Yang Yulian et al. 1991, 162–65; Tong Dong et al. 2006, 1455–57; Guan Donggui 1972; Sepe 2022). Thus, in early Qing times, the changing immigration policies mainly addressed southern Manchuria.

to base the region's development on the Eight Banners'² members (mostly Manchu).³ Despite never officially prohibiting Chinese immigration, the Kangxi emperor relocated many Beijing bannermen to Manchuria, increased the number of Manchuria's banner garrisons, and, more importantly, allocated more than 80% of the region's arable land to the Banners (*Qing shilu* 4:1105, 4:1150). Later, in 1740, the Qianlong emperor issued an official ban which formally forbade Chinese civilians to settle in Manchuria and by which the remaining virgin lands of the region were entirely assigned to Eight Banner households (*Qing shilu* 10:687–91) – it is thus from this moment that the phenomenon of “illegally trespassing to the East of the Pass”, the very well known *chuang guandong* 闖關東, began.⁴

However, before all this, in Shunzhi era (1644–1661) and in the first years of Kangxi, the situation was totally different. After the defeat of the Ming and the capture of Beijing in 1644, the vast majority of the Qing state's population moved to the newly-conquered capital, its surroundings, and the North China Plain, *zhongyuan* 中原, leaving Manchuria nearly uninhabited and its vast, fertile lands unattended. Beginning in 1653 and for fifteen years, in an attempt at repopulating Manchuria and at restoring its land economy, the Manchu rulers actively encouraged Chinese immigration. Material resources were granted to the settlers to work the land (in most cases, taxes would be collected three years after the settling [*Shengjing tongzhi* 1736, juan 23: 2]⁵); most interestingly, official positions would be conferred to those who managed to recruit a certain number of settlers to the place. In other words, the “chief recruiters”, *zhaotou* 招頭, would have been in charge of the people they brought to the region. The two parts of the program were respectively known as “Regulation for People Recruitment and Land Reclamation in Liaodong”, *Liaodong zhaomin kaiken ling* 遼東招民開墾令, and “Regulation for the Bestowing of Administrative Offices to People Recruiters in Liaodong”, *Liaodong zhaomin shouguan li* 遼東招民授官例.

² *Baqi* 八旗, the traditional Manchu institution established by the Jurchen leader Nurhaci at the beginning of 1600s. As he conquered and reunited Jurchen and Tungus tribes, Nurhaci rearranged the population into sections called banners, which combined civil and military functions. Although later Mongol and Chinese banners were instituted, the banners were still perceived as the most characteristic Manchu institution and were the symbol of the Manchu identity until the collapse of Qing dynasty.

³ Mongol and, more importantly, Chinese bannermen were present in Qing Manchuria. Even in times when plain civilians' immigration to Manchuria was forbidden, many Chinese were allowed to join the local Chinese Banners and to settle in the place, see Ding Yizhuang et al. (2004). However, it has been demonstrated that the vast majority of bannermen living in the region were Manchu, see Zhang Jie (2009).

⁴ “Guan”, or the “Pass”, refers to Shanhaiguan 山海關, eastern termination of the Great Wall which traditionally separated proper China from the outer world to the Northeast. Going east of it meant trespassing into the then forbidden lands of Manchuria.

⁵ *San nian qi ke*, 三年起科

The attempt was very short-lived. In 1668, Kangxi abolished the policy. For nearly one century, research on the topic, mostly carried out by Chinese scholars, has focused on the termination of the policy but neglected its implementation. If we look at the history of Manchuria in the first half of Qing dynasty, the reason for this is not hard to find. For one and a half centuries, the Chinese made their way into the region and gradually colonized it while the rulers struggled to keep them out. Scholars saw the beginning of such a “prohibition policy”, *fengjin zhengce* 封禁政策, in the decision of revoking the incentives to immigration, thus they concentrated their efforts on the rationales of such decision.⁶ The cessation of the recruitment policy is indeed one major turning point in the history of Qing Manchuria. Nonetheless, looking at how the policy was implemented is also worthwhile. In Qing sources, the growth of the population and cultivated land in the period when the recruitment program was in force is relatively well documented, whereas only one case of conferring a bureaucratic title on a settler recruiter is reported.⁷ This issue casts doubt on the real intentions of the sovereigns. If we suppose that the regulation was fully applied only once because the rulers were reluctant to implement it in the first place, then the importance of its abolishment in 1668 would be diminished dramatically, since it would then just have been making official something that was already happening – *not* conferring titles based on people recruitment; on the other hand, if the rulers were willing to implement the recruitment program and it was other circumstances that made it very hard to apply the rule, to the point that it was done only once in spite of the rulers’ will (as it has been suggested⁸), then the abolition would still be the crucial event it was always deemed to have been.

This paper has two main goals. First, I will explore the possibility that the regulation was applied in two, maybe three cases other than the one explicitly mentioned in the

⁶ The ample historiographical debate on the causes of abrogation of the Regulations began in the 1940s and some contributions were published in very recent years. Among many other studies, see Inaba Iwakichi (1915), Wu Xiyong (1941), Xiao Yishan (1942, 1943), Guan Donggui (1972), Zhang Jie (1994), Diao Shuren (1998), Zhang Shizun (2003). The issue is mentioned in some western studies such as Lee (1970, 78–79), Isett (2007, 33–a34). In a paper published in 2021, I discussed in detail the points of view of previous studies on the topic and drew the conclusion that the main cause of the ceasing of the recruitment program was the clash between the interests of civilians and bannermen and the fact that the court favored the latter. I found evidence showing that such was the state of affairs already in the years around 1668.

⁷ According to the same sources, only this element of the regulation was abolished in 1668, while settling and land clearing were still allowed and, according to some, still encouraged, see Zhang Jie (1994). It should be noted, however, that revoking the incentives for the recruiters certainly had a great impact on the immigration policy as a whole.

⁸ Zhang Shizun (2003, 102–9) argues that in early Qing times, northern China was also undergoing a process of post-war reconstruction, the demographic pressure was low and thus very few people were motivated to migrate to the cold, distant Manchuria.

sources; second, based on other aspects of the policies by which the Qing addressed the region in those years, I will try to provide an overall analysis of this brief, peculiar period in which Chinese immigrants were, at least on paper, welcome to Manchuria.

Previous research evaluated the results of the recruiting policy mainly based on statistical data about population, *hukou zhi* 戶口志, and cultivated land extension, *tianfu zhi* 田賦志, reported in gazetteers, *difang zhi* 地方志, from various localities of Manchuria. For the purpose of this essay, it is crucial to trace back the careers of Manchuria's cadres; in this respect, other sections of the gazetteers not taken into account in previous studies, such as "records on the officials", *zhiguan zhi* 職官志, "records on eminent figures", *renwu zhi* 人物志, "accounts on illustrious officials", *minghuan* 名宦, provide valuable information. In some cases, I also resorted to sources from other provinces, more specifically, the gazetteers of the place of birth of the functionaries appointed to Manchuria.

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The part of the text of the Regulations relevant to the topic of this study reads as follows:

順治十年十一月，初設遼陽府，遼陽、海城二縣。其錦州、寧遠、廣寧、沙後四城尚屬左領所轄。是年定例，遼東招民開墾，至百名者文授知縣[···]所招民每名口給月糧一斗，每地一晌給種六升，每百名給牛二十隻。

In the 11th month of the 10th year of Shunzhi, the Prefecture of Liaoyang⁹ and two districts, Liaoyang and Haicheng, were established. The four centers of Jinzhou, Ningyuan, Guangning and Shahou, however, were still governed by a Zuoling.¹⁰ This year, the following regulations for the repopulation and land reclamation in Liaodong were issued: those who recruited [to the place] one hundred people would be conferred the civil position of District Magistrate... The recruits will be granted one *dou*¹¹ of crops each monthly, six *shengs*¹² of seeds each *shang*¹³ of land and twenty oxen every hundred persons (*Shengjing tongzhi*, 1736, juan 23: 1).

Apart from the incentives both for the settlers and the recruiters, one more crucial piece of information is conveyed in the source. In order to implement the recruiting program, a Chinese-fashioned administrative system, *zhouxian zhi* 州縣制, was founded in Manchuria which would be specifically in charge of the new civilian settlers, *minren* 民人, and was supposed to operate separately from the local Eight Banner authorities, which were in charge of the bannermen, *qiren* 旗人. From then on, the carrying out of

⁹ In 1657, the prefecture was moved to Shenyang and renamed Fengtian 奉天, "to serve Heaven".

¹⁰ 佐領, Manchu *niru ejen*, a low-ranking banner commander.

¹¹ A unit of measurement, roughly ten liters (Wilkinson 2012, 555–56)

¹² Approximately one liter (Wilkinson 2012, 556).

¹³ About 3,700 square meters (Wilkinson 2012, 557).

the recruiting policy would be closely related to the development of this new branch of the local government.

Let us now turn to the only documented case of conferral of an official post according to the Regulations:

順治十一年，浙江人陳達德招徠民戶一百四十家，以功署遼陽縣事。到任二月故。奉旨：著其子瞻遠知縣事。

In the 11th year of Shunzhi, Chen Dade, from Zhejiang Province, recruited 140 civilian families to Liaoyang. By virtue of this contribution, he was entrusted with the administration of the district. After just two months, however, he died. It was then ordered that his position was inherited by his son, Chen Zhanyuan. (*Liaoyang zhou zhi*, juan 12: 2)

Among the scholars who studied the topic, only Zhang Shizun acknowledges that Chen Dade is the only Magistrate appointed according to the Regulations mentioned in Qing sources. Other researchers, such as Guan Donggui 1972 and Diao Shuren 1998, state that the case of Chen Dade is “one example” of the fulfillment of the procedure. Not very concerned about the problem that Chen is the *only* example, these and other specialists just take for granted the regular application of one part of the regulation – the conferral of official positions – based on the evidence for the implementation of the other part – the material incentives for the settlers. Ironically, it was them who, when dealing with the abrogation of the norm, carefully distinguished the two different rules and pointed out that only the latter was abolished.

Let us now proceed to the inquiry on the careers of Manchuria’s magistrates. A method that can help determine whether the officials obtained their posts by reason of the settlers they recruited would be to check the demographic data in the gazetteers and see if three years after the appointment of the functionaries there was a conspicuous demographic increase (100 or above), since the population was censused three years after they settled, when the taxes were collected for the first time; then one should see if the possibility that the magistrates got their offices through conventional channels, such as the Imperial Examination, *keju* 科舉, promotions, transferrals, etc. can be envisaged. This kind of information can be searched for in the gazetteers of the official’s birthplace. In some lucky cases, when a magistrate’s biography is available, one can look for mentions of their merits in terms of settler recruitment. Biographies can be found both in gazetteers of the place where the magistrates were in office and in that of their birthplace.

Using this procedure, I was able to collect some relevant data, which I summarize in table 1.

Table 1. Careers of the recruiting magistrates

Name	Birthplace	District of appointment	Time in office	Data found in the gazetteer of the magistrate's birthplace	Estimated no. of recruits whereby the magistrate might have obtained the post ¹⁴
Wang Yi 王宸	Shanxi, Qinyuan	Haicheng	1661–1664	Before being promoted to Haicheng Magistrate, he had been an education assistant in Yuanqu and a teacher in Yuci. ¹⁵	Unknown
Li Yipeng 李翼鹏	Zhili, Dacheng	Chengde	1665–1670	He gained himself a position in the secondary ranking list of the Capital Examination in 1645 (which implies that his qualification was higher than the ordinary <i>juren</i>). He took the post of Magistrate of Xining 西寧, in Guangdong. Then he was promoted to magistrate of Chengde. ¹⁶	154 ¹⁷
Duo Hong'an 多宏安	Zhili, Fucheng	Chengde		With the title of <i>bagong</i> , he came first in the capital's confirmation exams and was invested with the position of Magistrate of Lingshan, Guangdong. He was later promoted to Magistrate of Chengde. ¹⁸	Unknown

¹⁴ The unit of measurement used by the sources for the demographic data is *ding* 丁, i.e., the individuals capable of working the land, generally adult males, based on whose number part of the land taxes were collected. The *ding*-per-population ratio varied greatly depending on the settlers' provenance plus other factors. Moreover, increases in the quantities of *ding* include not only newly arrived people, but also the natural growth of the population. However, such calculations and statistical details are not essential for the purpose of this paper. The main concerns here are to ascertain that the civil population was growing due to immigration, a fact that the available data do confirm, and, most importantly, verify that the authorities were actually working on this front.

¹⁵ *Qinyuan xian zhi*, juan 6: 12.

¹⁶ *Dacheng xian zhi*, juan 5: 6.

¹⁷ *Shengjing tongzhi*, Kangxi 23rd year edition, juan 27: 2–7.

¹⁸ *Fucheng xian zhi*, juan 17: 13; juan 19: 13.

Feng Zao 馮璪	Zhili, Shulu	Gaiping	1665–1669	Selected to enter the Academy in 1656. No further relevant information is found. ¹⁹	At least 237 ²⁰
Yang Fengding 楊鳳鼎	Fujian, Minxian	Gaiping	1669–1671	No relevant information found. ²¹	126 ²²
Guo Maotai 郭茂泰	Shaanxi, Jingyang	Jinxian	1667–1670	After finishing his term in Jinxian, he was promoted to clerk of the Board of Revenue. ²³	Unknown
Li Ruqin 李如瑾	Huguang, Huanggang	Guangning	1667–1668	Later promoted to Magistrate of Shengliang district. ²⁴	Unknown
Yan Fengzi 顏鳳姿	Fujian, Jinjiang	Guangning	1668–1674	He obtained the qualification of <i>juven</i> in 1650. In charge of the office of Comptroller at the Linzhao prefecture, he was then transferred to Guangning with the position of Magistrate. ²⁵	Unknown

Unfortunately, however, these data are very limited. In most cases, the numbers of settlers the magistrates might have recruited the year they were appointed is unknown. Gazetteers from early Qing Manchuria are sadly famous for their sketchiness, most of them do not report demographic data for every year, but only of the year in which they were compiled; as for the magistrates' qualifications, in Shunzhi and early Kangxi times, the candidates' credentials, mostly *gongsheng* and *juven*, granted eligibility for the rank of magistrate (*Da Qing Kangxi huidian*: 297–98), and in several cases, the sources plainly state that the cadre was promoted to his post in Liaoning, leading to think that these officials obtained their position in Manchuria through ordinary procedures.

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¹⁹ *Shulu xian zhi*, juan 9: 12.

²⁰ *Gaiping xian zhi*, juan xia: 2–5.

²¹ *Fuzhou fu zhi*, juan 44: 5.

²² *Gaiping xian zhi*, juan xia: 2–5.

²³ *Jingyang xian zhi*, juan 6: 6.

²⁴ *Huanggang xian zhi*, juan 6: 31.

²⁵ *Jinjiang xian zhi*, juan 36: 18

Nevertheless, with the very same method, three very interesting cases can be found, namely those of the magistrates Kong Yuhui, Hu Yueying and He Jinxu.

Up to 1662, in the whole territory of Manchuria, only Liaoyang and Haicheng were available for settlers and their recruiters. From 1662 to 1664, however, several new civil jurisdictions were founded, namely Jinxian, Ningyuan, and Guangning west of river Liao, Gaiping, Chengde, Tieling, and Kaiyuan to the east of the stream (see figure 1).

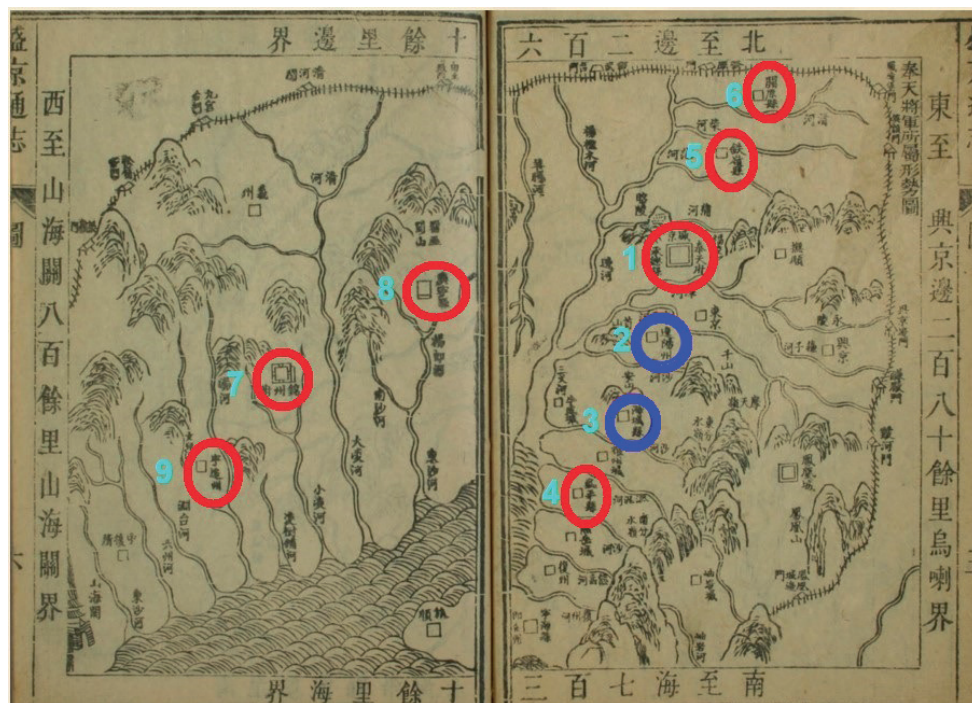


Figure 1. The original map from *Shengjing tongzhi*, Qianlong 1st year edition, *tu*: 5. Districts founded in 1657 are marked blue, those added between 1662 and 1664 are marked red: 1. Chengde, 2. Liaoyang, 3. Haicheng, 4. Gaiping, 5. Tieling, 6. Kaiyuan, 7. Jinxian, 8. Guangning, 9. Ningyuan

In fact, the sole decision of expanding the civil administration shows that the Qing court was indeed intent on repopulating Manchuria by means of encouraging immigration and that the non-banner population had begun to increase. In Reardon-Anderson's words, "the number of tax offices installed in an area indicates the extent to which the court expected local agriculture to develop" (2005, 39). Other sources account for significant population growth in certain areas of southern Manchuria, especially Jinzhou (Jinxian) and the coastal tract to the south-west of river Liao – the latter area was even

overpopulated (*Qing shilu* 4: 133). It can therefore be inferred that the installment of the new civil offices, especially those in northern and eastern Liaoning, also aimed at better distributing the migrant inflow on the whole territory. Therefore, recruiting settlers to these places would have been a crucial task. The three cases I analyse below are all related to these localities.

In 1665, Kong Yuhui took his office of Magistrate in Kaiyuan. The gazetteer of Kaiyuan reports the reasons of his dismissal that same year:

孔育檜，山東曲阜縣，至聖裔。由錦縣調任開原，於康熙四年正月到任。其時招民尚未到縣，始經一月，遂坐錦縣事，降大名府東明縣縣丞。

Kong Yuhui, from Qufu, Shandong, a descendant of Confucius. He was transferred from Jiinxian to Kaiyuan where he took his post in the 1st month of the 4th year of Kangxi. At that time, the people he was supposed to have recruited had not yet arrived to Kaiyuan, and after a month, he was accused of inappropriate conduct while serving in Jiinxian and demoted to deputy magistrate of Dongming County, Daming Prefecture. (*Kaiyuan xian zhi*, juan xia: 1)

The case of Kong Yuhui is a peculiar, indirect example of implementation of the Regulations. Judging by the literal meaning of the passage above, if not a bestowal of an office by virtue of the recruitment of a certain amount of people to the place, Kong's demotion is at the very least due to his failure, which also shows how concerned the court was about the effective implementation of the recruitment policy.

Kaiyuan and Tieling were by far the coldest and most inhospitable localities of Liaoning. Yet He Jinxu and Hu Yueying successfully brought considerable numbers of people to the two areas thus making an outstanding contribution to repopulate and develop the two places. Below is some information about them taken from their biographies and other mentions in various gazetteers.

何金序，字青綸。[...]。開原知縣。兵部督捕主事。

He Jinxu, private name Qingguan.... Magistrate of Kaiyuan District. Clerk at the Investigation and Prosecution Department of the Board of War. (*Dantu xian zhi*, juan 7: 75)

何金序，字符玉，號青綸。原籍江南丹徒縣人，後移直隸昌平州中。清順治甲午副榜。康熙四年選授開原知縣。蒞任之日城邑邱墟，居民寥寥，僑居石塔寺。是歲九月奉新例，招民一千四百戶，流徙入籍者五百戶。時民無生計，即捐俸米數百石分給之，保全者甚眾。[...]建先師廟及山川、風雲、雷雨、社稷諸壇。居恒講學勸農，興工通商，使四民各安其業。至於縣署，僅茅屋數椽，而已顏其堂曰：“澄心常謂：‘凡事減一分，民受一分之益’。不願以不急者擾吾民。”

He Jinxu, private name Fuyu, pseudonym Qingguan, from Dantu district, Jiangnan. He later moved to Changping District, Zhili Province. In the *jiawu* year of the Shunzhi era of the Qing Dynasty (1654), he entered the secondary ranking list of the provincial examinations. In the 4th year of Kangxi (1665) he was invested with the office of Magistrate of Kaiyuan district.

When he took office, the territory was abandoned, there was nothing but rubble, the very few people dwelt near the Stone Pagoda. From the 9th lunar month of that year, according to the new regulations, he had fourteen hundred families transferred to the district, and another five hundred refugee families were registered as civilian residents. The new settlers had no means of livelihood at that time, so He Jinxu distributed great quantities of rice from the officials' stipends, saving the life of many.... He built a temple of Confucius and the altars of the Mounts and the Waters, of the Wind and the Clouds, of the Thunder and the Rain, and of the Earth and Nourishment. He constantly promoted education, agriculture, public works and commerce, guaranteeing stability for the various social classes and economic sectors. As for the administrative buildings, they were only a few thatched huts inside which there was the inscription: "Men with a pure heart often preach: 'every penny saved is a penny earned for the people.'" I will not cause trouble to my people for matters of little importance. (*Kaiyuan xian zhi*, 1857, *juan* 6: 10-11; *Fengtian tongzhi*, *juan* 141: 8-9)

胡藥嬰，直隸贊皇人，康熙三年除授，十三年升承德縣知縣。Hu Yueying, from Zhanhuang, Zhili province. In the 3rd year of Kangxi is appointed as Magistrate of the district. In the 13th year is promoted to Magistrate of Chengde district. (*Tieling xian zhi*, 1st ed., *juan* xia: 5)

胡樂嬰，直隸贊皇人，康熙三年鐵嶺初設縣治，樂嬰為首任知縣。時民戶甚少，惟駐防旗籍壯丁千餘家，乃廣招徠，代籌生計，始有繁盛氣象。

Hu Yueying: from Zhanhuang, Zhili province. In the 3rd year of Kangxi, the district administration was established in Tieling and Hu was its first magistrate. At the time, the civil population was extremely scarce, there were only a thousand families from the Banners. Hu recruited people from many places, made sure they had a means of subsistence and only then did the district begin to prosper. (*Fengtian tongzhi*, *juan* 141: 9)

The two magistrates' accomplishments in settler recruitment were remarkable. It was thanks to them that the two remote, desolate places began to flourish. The two men met the criteria to obtain their positions based on the Regulations, since according to the gazetteers, three years after they took office, approximately 700 families of settlers were censused both in Tieling and in Kaiyuan. During their decade-long period in office, they both managed to recruit about 2,000 immigrant families.²⁶ In addition, it would seem that the office of District Magistrate was their first official appointment, they were not promoted or transferred to Manchuria. Lastly, because of their success with respect to recruitment, they were later promoted to higher-ranking positions.²⁷ Thus, the odds that they were assigned the magistrate posts based on the Regulation are surely the highest.

²⁶ For the amounts of settlers recruited by He Jinxu and Hu Yueying see, respectively, *Kaiyuan xian zhi*, *juan* xia: 4-5, *Tieling xian zhi*, 2nd ed., *juan* xia: 1-2.

²⁷ Hu Yueying was promoted to Magistrate of Chengde. Chengde district was in Shenyang, which had been the Qing state's capital before Beijing. Most of the officials of "capital districts" (*jingxian* 京縣), including magistrates, ranked higher than those of ordinary districts, *waixian* 外縣. He Jinxu was

However, we are still far from being able to demonstrate that this was actually the case. The fact that they recruited a number of people allowing them to be appointed as per the Regulation does not necessarily mean that really happened – nor do any of the other criteria analysed here. Therefore, basically, with the available data, all that can be done is show that those elements that lead us to think that other officials are unlikely to have been appointed according to the Regulation do not apply to these two cases. Furthermore, the verbs used in the sources indicating the appointment, *chushou* 除授 and *xuanshou* 選授, are commonly used for the ordinary selection of functionaries.

Nevertheless, what is crucial to this essay is that the two magistrates successfully recruited vast numbers of people to settle in Manchuria and were praised, promoted, and later celebrated in the historical records for doing so. This unequivocally clarifies that the Qing court was actually determined to repopulate Manchuria by means of encouraging Chinese immigration and that the Regulation, even if not regularly, or not in full compliance with the text as originally issued, was in fact being implemented.

CONCLUSIONS

As stated above, this essay focuses on the implementation of the 1653 Regulation for Settler Recruiting in Liaodong, by which the Qing court encouraged Chinese colonization of Manchuria, rather than on the rationale behind the policy's development and abolishment. The latter issue is ultimately more important, especially if viewed from the broader perspective of the history of annexation and opening of Manchuria to Chinese civilians. However, previous research has analyzed and debated this problem rather thoroughly – I also contributed a study which offers a new viewpoint on the matter; the application of the policy, on the other hand, has been taken for granted and therefore neglected by scholars. The fact that in Qing sources there is only one explicit mention of the policy's implementation makes it all the more important to investigate also this aspect, in order to determine if and how the recruitment program was actually being conducted. Regretfully, despite the innovative approach and the new sources taken into consideration, the results of this inquiry are not totally satisfying, since it seems impossible to prove beyond any doubt that there were any other cases of bestowal of a bureaucratic position based on the number of settlers recruited other than the one explicitly mentioned in the sources. Nevertheless, this research has examined important related elements, such as the development of the civil administrative structure in charge

promoted to clerk at the Board of War. This office, too, was superior to that of an ordinary district's magistrate. See *Da Qing Kangxi huidian*: 186–92.

of governing the settlers, the effort to distribute the settlers as evenly as possible in the region, the praising of those who managed to recruit people, and the punishing of those who failed the task. These actions clearly show the intentions, on part of the Qing court, to actually implement the recruitment program aiming at repopulating Manchuria by encouraging Chinese immigration. In those 15 years, Chinese people were indeed more than welcome in the Manchu rulers' motherland.

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BACK WHEN THE GATES WERE OPEN:
THE SETTLER RECRUITMENT POLICY IN EARLY QING MANCHURIA

Summary

During the first two centuries of their rule over China, the Qing sovereigns either strictly controlled or even forbade Chinese migration to Manchuria (present day Northeast China). Yet in the early years of the dynasty, for a very brief period (1653–1668), the rulers not only allowed Chinese immigration to their motherland, but actively encouraged it by establishing various incentives for

settlers and settler recruiters. However, only one case of the full application of such regulations is documented in the sources, suggesting that either the court and the authorities were reluctant to implement the policy or that there were other obstacles. Previous research on this topic only focused on the launching and termination of the settler recruitment program. This paper will inquire into the process of its implementation, so to be able to better evaluate the importance of such policies and interpret the rulers' attitude toward the migratory phenomenon in this phase.

Keywords: Qing Manchuria; settlers; recruiters; civil administration; District Magistrates; Kong Yuhui; He Jinxu; Hu Yueying

KIEDY BRAMY BYŁY OTWARTE:
POLITYKA REKRUTACJI OSADNIKÓW WE WCZESNEJ MANCZURII QING

Streszczenie

W ciągu pierwszych dwóch stuleci panowania nad Chinami władcy Qing albo ściśle kontrolowali, albo wręcz zakazywali chińskiej migracji do Mandżurii (dzisiejsze północno-wschodnie Chiny). Jednak we wczesnych latach dynastii, przez bardzo krótki okres (1653–1668), władcy nie tylko zezwalali na chińską imigrację do swojej ojczyzny, ale aktywnie zachęcali do niej, kusząc osadników i urzędników rekrutujących osadników. Jednak tylko jeden przypadek pełnego zastosowania takich przepisów jest udokumentowany w źródłach, co sugeruje, że albo sąd i władze niechętnie wdrażały tę politykę, albo istniały inne przeszkody. Wcześniejsze badania na ten temat koncentrowały się jedynie na zainicjowaniu i zakończeniu programu rekrutacji osadników, natomiast niniejszy artykuł opisuje proces jego implementacji, aby móc lepiej ocenić znaczenie takiej polityki i zinterpretować stosunek władców do zjawiska migracji na tym etapie.

Słowa kluczowe: Qing Manchuria; osadnicy; urzędnicy rekrutujący; administracja cywilna; magistraty okręgowe; Kong Yuhui; He Jinxu; Hu Yueying