

## 「以屯易民」再議： 從藍山縣寧溪所軍戶談起

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清代廢除衛所制度，將衛所軍戶與屯田歸併或改設州縣加以管理。從山東邊海衛所裁併後的里甲編制，可以了解這些衛所在裁撤之後，或獨立立社，或維持舊有屯名、以附里附甲形式編入一般鄉社之下，總之都與民戶、民里形成一定的區隔。雍正七年（1729）清廷頒布的屯田私有化政策，並不具任何強制性，相反的，由於屯地丁銀常被專款專用，為了足額徵收，地方政府不得不依據屯田舊籍、利用舊屯戶以達成催徵任務，有些地方甚至禁止非屯戶購買屯田。這些都使得屯、民分立的現象一直延續到民國初年仍持續存在。

湖南藍山縣的興寧一戶與福建東山島的關永茂戶，過去常被認為是在衛所歸併州縣後，失去戶籍的軍戶為取得民籍、經向州縣立案、朋合而立之戶；本文則以為二者皆不過是「附籍軍戶」以原本購自民戶之產，另行向州縣申請立戶，藉以獲取額外的戶籍，俾能更快的融入州縣體制。至於「衛所軍戶」，除部分被解散回籍者外，大多在清廷下令編審軍戶之後，即已取得戶籍，隨屯田編入鄉里組織之中。只是他們的戶籍，有些地方已視之為民籍，有些地方仍以軍籍、衛籍視之，有些地方則與藍山一樣，稱之為屯戶、屯籍。明代衛所屯田、屯戶入清以後的民化過程，因地因勢多有不同，需要更多細部資料的分析。

關鍵詞：衛所、歸併州縣、附籍軍戶、屯田民化、里甲編制

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## Reconsidering the Process of Transferring Military-Colony Households to Commoner Households during the Ming-Qing Transition, based on the Ningxi Battalion of Lanshan County

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After the Qing government abolished the garrison system, military households and military colonies under garrisons were either transferred to the civil jurisdictions of departments and counties, or managed as newly established civil jurisdictions. After the reorganization of local administrative units (*lijia* 里甲) in coastal Shandong after the garrisons were dissolved, we find that these military households and colonies were either organized as new civil administrative units (*she* 社), or merged into the existing administrative system as “attached units,” while still keeping their military-colony name. In other words, the demarcation between commoner households and military ones still existed to some degree. The policy to privatize military colonies declared in 1729 was not compulsory. On the contrary, while the head and the land taxes collected from military households and colonies were usually designated for specific purposes, in order to collect the full amount, local governments had no choice but to follow previous registration records, collecting them from previous registered military-colony households. In some places, non-military-colony households were not permitted to purchase military lands. Therefore, the demarcation between military-colony households and commoner households persisted until the early Republican

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period.

Scholars who have studied the Xingningyi (興寧一) household in Lanshan County, Hunan, and the Guangyongmao (關永茂) household in Dongshan Island, Fujian, have claimed that, after the administration of garrisons was transferred to civil jurisdictions, military households who lost their registered status applied to the local government (county or department) as a new household under civilian registration. In this paper, I argue that both of these were military households that were already under local civil registration. Based on the properties they had bought from other commoner households, they applied as new commoner households under the local government, expecting that this additional household status could integrate them more smoothly into the local administrative system. As for those military households in the garrisons, except for those who were sent back to their hometowns, before the Qing government ordered a review of the registration of military households, most had been locally registered, and incorporated into local civil administrative units with their military colonies. However, their registered households were regarded as commoner households in some places, but military households or garrison households in other places. In the case of Lanshan and some other places, they were termed as military-colony households. In sum, the transfer of military households and military colonies into local civil administration during the Ming-Qing transition was a process that varied place by place, requiring further detailed study of the historical records.

**Keyword:** garrison system, transferring into civil jurisdictions, military households attached to civil registration, privatization of military colonies, *lijia* system