

Imperial China's Last Classical Academies

Social Change in the Lower Yangzi, 1864–1911

BARRY C. KEENAN



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Cover: A historical reconstruction of student rooms at Southern Quintessence Academy (Nanjing shuyuan) in Jiangyin town, Jiangsu province (photo by Barry C. Keenan, December 1982)

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Abbreviations

FWGD	<i>Fuwu gongdu</i>
FZ	<i>fuzhi</i>
JDSL	<i>Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan</i>
JJZZ	<i>Jingji zazhu</i>
JSJYGB	<i>Jiangsu jiaoyu gongbao</i>
JSJYZH	<i>Jiangsu jiaoyu zonghui</i>
JSXW	<i>Jiangsu xuewu gongdu</i>
JYXZZZ	<i>Jiangyin xianzhi xuzhi</i>
QDZJ	<i>Qingdai zhuanji congkan</i>
QSG	<i>Qingshi gao</i>
SHSTZG	<i>Shanghai shi tongzhi guan qikan</i>
XZ	<i>Xianzhi</i>
YFTXJ	<i>Yifeng tang wen xu ji</i>
ZWDCD	<i>Zhongwen da cidian</i>
ZWZQJ	<i>Zeng Wenzheng gong (Guofan) quanji</i>

Foreword

In her now classic study of the Tongzhi period (1862–1874) published more than thirty-five years ago, Mary Wright showed how the Qing government and its regional viceroys restored Confucian political order to the war-torn provinces of the Yangzi Valley after the defeat of the Taipings.¹ By her account the Tongzhi Restoration rested upon dual cultural foundations: the resumption of civil service examinations and the opening of local academies. Barry Keenan's finely scaled rendering of the Confucian educational revival in the Yangzi delta not only takes us beyond the Tongzhi Restoration down to the Xinhai Revolution; his book also draws us into those very institutions—Nanjing's Zhongshan Academy, Jiangyin's Southern Quintessence Academy, and so forth—whence reform and revolution emerged.

One major consequence of the Taiping Rebellion, once the conflict was over, was the release of "the pent-up aspirations of a wartime generation with commercial capital and managerial skills" (18). Some of these scholars (*shi*), who were not official degree-holding gentry (*shen*), had found a place for themselves as private secretaries in the "tent governments" (*mu-fu*) of Zeng Guofan (1811–1872), Li Hongzhang (1823–1901), Zuo Zongtang (1812–1885), and other governors or governors-general who led the Restoration in the provinces.² Most *shi*, however, were ready to serve at the local level as faculty members of the new academies that mushroomed in southern Jiangsu from 1862 to 1900.

As Keenan emphasizes, two different kinds of academies flourished. One, which was initially favored by Zeng Guofan, was seen

¹ Mary Clabaugh Wright, *The Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism: The T'ung-chih Restoration, 1862–1874* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957).

² Kenneth E. Folsom, *Friends, Guests, and Colleagues: The Mu-fu System in the Late Ch'ing Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968); Jonathan Porter, *Tseng Kuo-fan's Private Bureaucracy* (Berkeley: Center for Chinese Studies, University of California, 1972).

as a training institution for the new postbellum elite of self-strengtheners. Zeng was committed to founding local academies because he believed that training scholars to pass the state examinations and serve as government officials was the best way to abet a restoration of Confucian rule. Early on, therefore, Zeng stressed recruiting practically minded teachers and appointing academy directors who could teach the eight-legged (*bagu*) style of examination prose.

In contrast, the second sort of academy eschewed examination preparation. Favored by more conservatively oriented officials such as Woren (d. 1871), these schools were to be ethical communities staffed by elite teachers who could develop moral talent by their own virtuous example.

The gap between these two different pedagogical models was initially bridged by Zeng Guofan himself. Zeng's aspiration to promote the functional training of administrators was matched by his admiration for ethicists such as Tang Jian, who had been promoting a recommitment to Cheng-Zhu Confucianism within his Beijing coterie since the early 1840s. Much has been made by other historians of Zeng Guofan's xavierian self-discipline, and especially of his keeping a diary in order to check bad habits and cultivate good behavior.³ Keenan shows that this intense practice of Neo-Confucianism was part of a "parallel promotion of material and moral rearmament" (35) in Zeng Guofan's circle, as well as a desirable habit to be imposed upon students in the academies that Zeng and others sponsored after 1864.

Although mid-Qing academies (*shuyuan*) were strictly under directors of study, they were traditionally identified with the local gentry—an identification that was reinforced by the widespread revival of "statecraft" (*jingshi*) thinking during the 1850s and 1860s. Keenan is one of the first historians to emphasize how strongly officials like Zuo Zongtang and Zeng Guofan distrusted the self-interested local gentry and how the two viceroys tended to identify county-level academies with the private interests of an expanding southern elite. Consequently, they favored keeping the highest-level *shuyuan* under strict official control funded by the public purse. At the Southern Quintessence Academy in Jiangyin, private funds were rejected in favor of the provincial director of education's support, and at Zhongshan Academy in Jinling (Nanjing), expenses were covered

³ See, for example, Hellmut Wilhelm, "Chinese Confucianism on the Eve of the Great Encounter," in *Changing Japanese Attitudes toward Modernization*, ed. Marius B. Jansen (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), pp. 282–310.

by the circuit intendant's office. Both academies refused to offer classes in *bagu* examination prose and instead required monthly essay contests richly rewarded with cash and wine prizes. The contests were used to keep only the very best students, whose tenures were not fixed.

A major contribution of Keenan's study of Jiangsu academies is the further revelation that a number of the most elite colleges were primarily founded to reinvigorate a syncretic classical learning in order to stem the tide of Westernization and commercialization emanating from the treaty ports. This was especially evident in the case of the Southern Quintessence Academy, which was modeled upon Ruan Yuan's (1764–1849) residential academies in Guangdong and Zhejiang. Under the influence of Director Huang Yizhou's "revitalized classical pedagogy" from 1885 to 1898, students at Southern Quintessence "master[ed] a non-vocational curriculum" in order to return to the moral concerns of Cheng-Zhu learning (76). Ceremonially honoring the spirits of Zheng Xuan (127–200) and Zhu Xi (1130–1200), the students and professors deliberately narrowed the distance between Han and Song learning, so that the originally quite separate coteries of Ruan Yuan and Woren "were becoming increasingly conceived to be within the same spectrum of opinion" (85).

The post-Taiping revival of classical learning in the lower Yangtze valley's academies included tremendous publishing efforts, such as Wang Xianqian's (1842–1918) compendium of classical commentaries, the *Huangqing jingjie xubian* (1,430 vols.), continuing the effort started by Ruan Yuan and his students in the 1820s in Guangdong. The scholars who helped put such compilations together were unusually gifted literati who evolved into the brilliant "national learning" intellectuals of the Republican period. Keenan cites the example of a list of 119 Southern Quintessence alumni, of which 24 were singled out in 1958 by Hu Shi as being nationally prominent intellectuals, including a number of leading classicists.

Yet most of the Jiangsu academies' graduates ultimately constituted a deeply discontented elite. The price of the Tongzhi Restoration leaders' avid passion for academies was thus "the social problem of how to meet the employment needs of a steadily increasing local educated elite" (28). Keenan's finding that the very success of the late-nineteenth-century Tongzhi Restoration guaranteed the social restlessness of the early-twentieth-century reform movement, moreover, accompanies the observation that while the classically oriented academies produced a small number of brilliant intellectuals active in the Republican period, these were not the local elites that eventually led the 1911 Revolution.

Instead, there was a major shift in elite academic formation after 1894–1895, with fundamental changes from the top down in curriculum and pedagogy. Under the influence of Viceroy Zhang Zhidong's (1837–1909) yamen in Wuhan, elite schools such as Zhengmeng Academy began relating moral principles to political issues on the one hand, while promoting military drills, social sciences, engineering, and Western language instruction on the other.

Keenan dates the pivotal turning point from neoclassical to Sino-Western education to 1901, when the public academy in each provincial capital became a university-level institution (*da xuetang*), when prefectural academies were made middle schools, and when county-level academies became elementary schools. At that same moment, "the generation who staffed the revival of classical academies passed from the scene" (104). In their place, members of the new lower Yangzi educated elite founded new schools under local bureaus of education and then went on after 1906 to become official members of new Offices to Encourage Education (*Quanxue suo*), gaining seven-button bureaucratic rank as educational managers with the complete endorsement of the imperial government.

The full implications of the "irrepressible organization taking place among Jiangsu's local educated elite" (96) between 1906 and 1911 are open to dispute, but what Keenan makes clear in this fascinating study of cultural revival, social ascent, and political turmoil at the end of the Qing is that the unintended consequence of the Tongzhi Restoration was a swelling of the ranks of the local educated elite. That profusion in turn accounted for much of the agitation leading up to the Revolution of 1911. As Keenan shows, there were numerous instances of financial malfeasance, of pettifoggery, and of administrative abuse on the part of the local gentry running Jiangsu's academies, while peasants and townsmen rioted against the taxes imposed to support the new schools and disaffected students went on strike to keep their elite academies from being transformed into training schools for primary- or middle-school teachers. It was no accident, in the end, that so many Nationalist and Communist revolutionaries, including Mao Zedong himself, came out of the very normal schools into which many of these central China academies evolved.

Frederic Wakeman, Jr.
Berkeley, 1994

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One such archive was at the rural site of the former Southern Quintessence Academy—now proudly managed by the high school in its place. The academy-site town of Jiangyin, Jiangsu had suffered Ming loyalist massacre in its history but maintained a high level of cultural development in the Qing period. Several modern-day literati from that town but living abroad were unusually generous with their personal materials and with my inquiries: Yi T'ung Wang of Pittsburgh; Richard Y.C. Yin of Washington, D.C.; Chu Djang of New York City; and Boyle (Baoyu) Huang of Toronto.

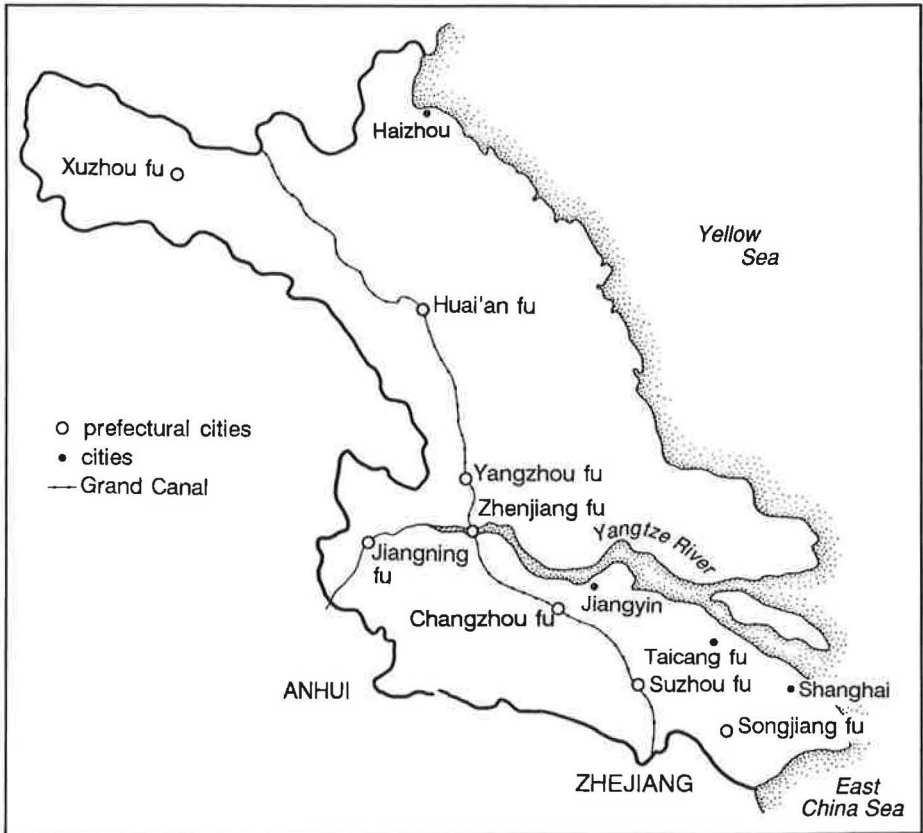
At the inception of this study there were several accomplished historians who had been close to where my research was headed and who provided invaluable guidance: Mary Backus Rankin, Abe Hiroshi, Wang Shu-huai, and Marianne Bastid.

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Jiangsu



SOURCE: Adapted from David Faure, *The Rural Economy of Kiangsu Province, 1870-1911* (Hong Kong: Institute of Chinese Studies, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1978), p. 366.

Introduction

The Taiping Revolutionary Movement was suppressed by forces loyal to the Manchu Qing dynasty in 1864. The suppression was a bloodletting, spread out over fourteen years from 1850 to 1864, as violent as the anger directed at the local social elite by the Taiping peasant movement itself. Like the Civil War in the United States, the victory was uncontested in China, but it left the nation a demanding agenda of economic, social, and political reconstruction.

After 1864 national priorities focused upon rebuilding the institutions of the central government. In the period preceding the seismic political shock of defeat by Japan in 1894–95, education was singled out for expansion at the village, county, and provincial levels. In Jiangsu province, for example, where Taiping destruction was heavy, local officials took the initiative in restoring former academies and then in expanding the number of academies as well as public charitable schools. County magistrates, prefects, and subprefects were given credit in official gazetteers for establishing almost all of the new academies. It is clear, however, that gentry contributions were also important in allowing these officials to maintain the lasting endowments in land or the interest-bearing accounts in pawnbroker-banks used for the annual academy budgets.¹

Local elite activism in education involved local gentry and expanded in the mid-nineteenth century in part because of the national suppression of the Taiping Revolutionary Movement.² Local defense associations had enhanced the power of the local elite in the Lower Yangzi by the end of the Taiping suppression, and the

¹ Okubo Eiko, "Shindai kosetsu chihō no shoin to shakai," 239–246; Benjamin Elman, "Imperial Politics and Confucian Societies in Late Imperial China," 392–402; idem, *From Philosophy to Philology*, 119–130.

² Mary Rankin, John K. Fairbank, and Albert Feuerwerker, "Introduction: Perspectives on Modern China's History," in *The Cambridge History of China*, ed. John Fairbank and Albert Feuerwerker, 13:53–59.

reconstruction agencies set up after the war opened many new opportunities for local elite leadership.³ Financial support came from the special *lijin* tax exacted on goods traded. This commercial tax began in Jiangsu, because of the need for revenue to finance the war and reconstruction, and gradually spread throughout the country. Initially volunteered by merchants, the tax was used in Jiangsu for the thirty years after 1869 primarily to cover local provincial expenses.⁴

Even before the outbreak of the Taiping Revolutionary Movement, Lower Yangzi society experienced a level of gentry management unusual in China. By the end of the eighteenth century commercialization of sections of the region had created the need for local public service activities. These activities often involved the collaboration of merchants⁵ and were carried out by the Lower Yangzi educated gentry with the sanction of the state. Because financial exigency prevented the Qing state from expanding local government to meet the new local needs created by the steady urbanization, commercialization, and rising population densities of the eighteenth century,⁶ the gentry naturally increased their role in the local management of public services. In the coming nineteenth century, gentry management was poised to expand as repeated crises rendered the official bureaucracy increasingly unable to address local needs.

The financial necessity for some collaboration between officials and gentry in founding and maintaining Qing academies provided all academies some independence from complete official control and thus prevented excessive political domination of these institutions. Academy directors were not classified as officials, and, once appointed, they worked of necessity within the realities of the local society in which they lived. Much local variation resulted, even in enrollments—which might vary from a minimum of ten students to just over a hundred. At any given time, the quality of an academy depended upon the financial support from official and private sources in the region and upon the reputation and energy of the chosen academy director.⁷

³ Philip Kuhn, *Rebellion and Its Enemies in Late Imperial China*, 211–225.

⁴ Susan Mann, *Local Merchants and the Chinese Bureaucracy, 1750–1950*, 108.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 21–25; Joseph Esherick and Mary Rankin, *Chinese Local Elites and Patterns of Dominance*, 330–334.

⁶ Rankin, Fairbank, and Feuerwerker, "Introduction," 50–53. See also Mary Rankin, "The Origins of a Chinese Public Sphere: Local Elites and Community in Late Imperial China," *Études Chinoises* 9.2 (Autumn 1990): 3–35, 54–58.

⁷ Alexander Woodside, "State, Scholars, and Orthodoxy: The Ch'ing Academies, 1736–1839," in *Orthodoxy in Late Imperial China*, ed. Kwang-ching Liu, 166–171.

Post-Taiping Academies and Public Charitable Schools in the Lower Yangzi

Renewal of Confucian scholarship and the revival of educational institutions were basic policies of the imperial restoration in the Tongzhi (1862–1874) reign.¹ In the populous and culturally advanced Lower Yangzi region, these policies fostered a revival of classical academies that lasted from 1862 to 1900. The rationale for the restoration's revival of Confucian education was not the Qing court's blind reassertion of the old order after the defeat of the Taiping Revolutionary Movement. Rather, the revival of Confucian education sought to address critical social demands created by war-time dislocation and to correct certain undesired side effects of other postwar policies.

One policy generating undesired side effects was the sale of offices. After the Taiping suppression and up to 1911, some two-thirds of all officials with titles of appointment in China received their posts without following the regular route of the examinations.² Magistrates, in turn, passed along the expense of many of these purchased offices by selling lucrative yamen clerkships under their control.³

In the 1860s traditional leadership patterns in Jiangsu province were further affected because the wartime contributions of Jiangsu gentry to the central government caused the court to raise the quota

¹ Mary Wright, *The Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism: The T'ung-Chih Restoration, 1862–1874*, 130.

² This figure was only about 50 percent before the Taiping Revolutionary Movement. See Marianne Bastid-Bruguère, "Currents of Social Change," in *The Cambridge History of China*, ed. John F. Fairbank and Kwang-ching Liu, vol. 11, pt. 2, p. 538; Chang Chung-li, *The Chinese Gentry*, 116–137; Esherick and Rankin, *Local Elites*, 331–332.

³ Kwang-ching Liu, "The Ch'ing Restoration," in *The Cambridge History of China*, ed. John K. Fairbank, vol. 10, pt. 1, p. 479.

CHAPTER TWO

The Governor-general's Academy

Jiangning city was the most important political center in the Lower Yangzi. From here the office of the Liangjiang governor-general oversaw institutions serving Jiangxi province, Anhui province, and Jiangsu province.¹ Zeng Guofan became governor-general with the defeat of the Taipings in July 1864 and by December had restored the *juren* provincial examinations in Jiangning city.² Indeed, Zeng's views on how academies fit into the recovery of Jiangsu's devastated countryside and into the restoration of national strength more generally had an important impact on the expansion of education in the Lower Yangzi from 1864 until his death in 1872.

Jiangsu Restoration Officials and Academies

Once on the job in Jiangning Zeng Guofan immediately set about restoring the 1723 official academy in town, as well as other academies throughout the region. In a private letter to Wu Tingdong (H. Zhuru, 1793–1873), a long-time confidant, Zeng worried about what techniques officials could use to make educated and talented persons feel respected in the restoration. Regarding academies, Zeng stated a position more consistent with the administrative needs of recovery than with his personal commitment to the value of Neo-Confucian self-cultivation. He believed average academies were a step along the road to recruitment of government officials, and he wrote his friend that directors of academies must have as their first priority a commitment to teaching the eight-legged essay and poetry.³

¹ Each province had had its own governor since Jiangsu separated from Anhui in 1667, ending the Qing political division called Jiangnan province. The governor-general retained some oversight functions for all three. See Arthur W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644–1912)*, 920–921.

² *Ibid.*, 754.

³ See Zeng Guofan, "Fu Wu Zhuru shilang," in *ZWZQJ* 33:15900–3.

CHAPTER THREE

A Flagship Restoration Academy for Shanghai

Shanghai city in the Yangzi River delta was different from Jiangning city some four hundred miles upriver. Unlike the continuous sustaining influence of official sponsorship of Jiangning academies, Shanghai had long felt the pull away from official direction that was a reality of the commercial activity of the port. While Jiangning's higher education excelled at the elite level after 1864 but county-level academies had more financial difficulties, in the Shanghai area county-level academies mushroomed. Elite higher education came more slowly to Shanghai, with one major exception. In 1864 the Daotai with jurisdiction over Shanghai expressed the need to establish one new first-class classical academy, and by 1865 Longmen Academy was functioning.

Longmen Academy in the Tongzhi Restoration

In the previous century in commercially vibrant Osaka in Japan, a regional academy named Kaitokudo (Cherish Virtue Hall) taught Confucian virtue in a way its merchant-intellectual clientele found relevant.¹ In the Shanghai economic and social environment, a long-term blurring of lines between merchant and gentry had indeed been accelerated by a new interest in Western commerce and technology that arrived as part of the suppression of the Taipings. Would the newly founded regional academy in Shanghai reflect important local merchant interests? Largely because the fourteen-year war of suppression had been fought in the Middle and Lower Yangzi provinces, Shanghai had become a national center of Western knowledge and its propagation. Western arsenals and troops were based there

¹ Tetsuo Najita, *Visions of Virtue in Tokugawa Japan*, 11–15.

The Founding of a New Provincewide Academy in 1884

In 1884 the collaboration of Zuo Zongtang (1832–1885) and Huang Tifang (Z. Shulan, 1832–1899) in founding an exceptional classical academy reflected their shared frustration with ineffective reforms and incompetence since the suppression of the Taipings in 1864. Huang had been made the Jiangsu provincial director of education in 1880, after some fifteen years as a leader of critical dissent of national policy and personages from his post in the Hanlin Academy in Beijing. He had helped lead the Qingliu movement, which formed in the 1870s when normal *qingyi* (pure discussion) disagreements within the bureaucracy swelled into a campaign of dissent.¹ It was Huang Tifang who proposed the new academy, and he secured the strong endorsement of Zuo Zongtang, who was the governor-general of the Liangjiang provinces following 1881.²

¹ Qingliu partisans attacked bureaucratic corruption and were responsible for removing four presidents of boards in Beijing. Huang Tifang himself was indicted in 1878 for denouncing the maladministration of famine relief in North China. He was protected from prosecution by his influential Qingliu, and native Manchu, friend, Baoting. See Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 48, 348–349; Mary Rankin, “Public Opinion and Political Power: *Qingyi* in Late Nineteenth-Century China,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 41.3 (1982):453–454, 463; Lloyd Eastman, *Throne and Mandarins: China's Search for a Policy during the Sino-French Controversy, 1880–1885*, 1–29; John E. Schrecker, “The Reform Movement of 1898 and the *Qingyi* Reform as Opposition,” in *Reform in Nineteenth-Century China*, ed. John E. Schrecker and Paul Cohen, 289–306; Tang Zhijun, *Wuxu bianfa shi*, 334–344.

² Six stone inscriptions remain at the academy site along the Yangzi River. They are cited as steles when they have not been found in published form or vary from a later printed version. See Huang Tifang, “Nanjing shuyuan bei ji,” stele inscriptions; Zuo Zongtang, “Jiang tang,” stele inscription, rpt. in *Nanjing*, vol. 35 (1935), n.p., and in Yang Shulin, ed., *Zuo Wenxiang gong chuan ji*, as “Nanjing shuyuan ti e bawei” (Inscription for Southern Quintessence Academy) (Taipei: Wenhai, 1979), 6:2633.

CHAPTER FIVE

Lower Yangzi Education Transformed, 1896–1906

The trauma of national defeat by Japan in 1894–1895 had an important effect on the educated local elite in the Lower Yangzi. For nearly two generations, the revival of academies and public charitable schools in Jiangsu had expanded the opportunities and initiative of the educated elite in localities throughout the province. The Japanese military blow in 1895 stunned the centralized government and forced it to release its control over many national institutions.¹ Inspired, in part, by the need for radical change after the Japanese defeat, decentralizing reform initiatives were begun in 1896 but were viciously repressed after the Hundred Days of Reform in 1898. Despite national-level repression, however, regional officials and local elites were impelled of necessity to expand their range of activities as the crisis caused the discontinuation of many central government functions—until the New Policies attempted to reimpose them in 1901.

The birth of the first municipal government in Shanghai, for example, resulted from the inability of Qing officials, after the war with Japan began in 1894, to carry out long-standing projects already under way, such as widening narrow streets to increase public safety. The 1894–1895 war diverted the time and resources of national officials in charge, with the result that by default and for the first time local figures organized and ran the new city council.²

¹ See Philippe Aries, "Introduction," in *A History of Private Life*, vol. 3: *Passions of the Renaissance*, ed. Roger Chartier, 9–9, for developments in early modern Europe in which the relationship of state power to localities posed similar problems. See also William Rowe, "The Public Sphere in Modern China," *Modern China* 16.3 (July 1990): 323–323.

² SHSTZG 2:4, 1213–1215. Mark Elvin points out that the organization of the new city council owed a debt to the foreign-run municipal council of the International Settlement. See Elvin, "The Administration of Shanghai, 1905–1915," in *The Chinese City between Two Walls*, ed. G. William Skinner, 246.

Power and Conflict: Jiangsu's Local Educated Elite, 1906–1911

The unprecedented formation of community and privately funded public schools from 1901 to 1906 in Jiangsu province was managed by the swollen local educated elite generated largely by the expansion of local education in Jiangsu after 1864. But local conflicts and abuses abounded in the five years after 1906. The lack of firm centralized controls over proliferating local institutions generated confusion and increased local dissatisfaction. The extraction of the provincial directors of education from each province in 1906, in particular, invited conflicts among sections of provinces and between different social status groups, while setting up competition for inadequate resources that had previously been resolved according to the ground rules set by the office of the provincial director of education.

The Local Power of Jiangsu's Educated Elite

As in Guangdong province, the expansion of gentry-financed schools after 1904 served the immediate needs of families for whom education promised success.¹ But the poor in Jiangsu had also gradually to be served by new public schools, the funding for which had to be found locally. New and often unwanted forms of local taxation, affecting farmers as well as merchants, were tried. Confiscation of religious property for school use further pitted directors of local Offices to Encourage Education against local interest groups.²

¹ Rhoads, *Republican Revolution*, 76.

² See Borthwick, *Education*, 103; Philip Kuhn, "The Development of Local Government," in *The Cambridge History of China*, ed. John Fairbank and Albert Feuerwerker, 13:340; Wang Shuhuai, *Qingmo Minchu Jiangsu sheng de xinshi jiaoyu*, in *Zhongyang yanjiu yuan guoji Hanxue huiyi lunwen ji*, 263ff.

Conclusion

A paradox within academy expansion after 1864 was that the crisis of reconstruction faced by leading Qing officials made them seek collaboration with eminent scholars who themselves had often rejected or been rejected by officialdom. Yet these scholars were willing to meet the most basic demand of the officials: that revitalized classical education remain relevant to the present. Zeng Guofan and Zuo Zongtang valued Confucian practicality in national reconstruction. The scholars they supported at academies could agree that political and social policy should reflect a hard-nosed evaluation of present realities and that this was possible only if contemporaneous research itself was committed to practical learning. The three elite Lower Yangzi academies studied here successfully developed practical and substantial learning (*shi xue*), achieving this common objective of the official sponsors and the scholar-directors.

The scholars who rose to the call for academy reconstruction did nonetheless bring with them their own demands and interests. The bylaws of Longmen Academy in Shanghai were written by scholars who insisted that institutional autonomy from official interest in training for the civil service examination be made explicit in order to assure the lasting quality of this new institution. In the end the scholars largely got what they wanted. Academy directors spearheaded the publication of significant syntheses of Confucian learning, including the impressive Southern Quintessence compilation of studies defining the history of classical scholarship itself in 1,430 volumes. The officials, from their side, revived academy education and committed thousands of Lower Yangzi families to pursuing its benefits.

The accomplished military strategist Zuo Zongtang became governor-general in Jiangning in the early 1880s. Yet he quickly donated a Yangzi naval installation to Huang Tifang to build a classical academy. The Japanese bombed that academy site into rubble in World War II because the location was still a strategic promontory on

Epilogue

After 1912 Jiangning city became Nanjing city. It also became a center of "national essence" scholarship thanks to the intellectual leadership of several former Southern Quintessence students and to many Zhongshan Academy students who settled there. Meanwhile in Shanghai, former Longmen Academy students quietly staffed many organizations representing the interests of the educated elite in the city.

Hu Shi, a proponent of some of the most advanced pedagogical methods in the American progressive education movement, was later of the same opinion as the Qing student Shen Xianglong from Longmen Academy's first class in lamenting the end of classical academies. Hu's father, Hu Chuan, had preserved his diaries and other records from his years at Longmen Academy, when he had studied with Liu Xizai for three years, from 1867 to 1870. Hu Chuan recorded many of the teachings of Liu Xizai, and one he retained for his chronological biography was "Proper social usage and military regulations, these studies contain learning of practical value."¹ This precept dovetails nicely with Huang Yizhou's realism a bit later at Southern Quintessence.

In the 1920s Hu Shi singled out Longmen Academy, along with Southern Quintessence Academy and Ruan Yuan's two early 1800s academies, as late models of the best in the Qing tradition of academies. He lamented that, at the turn of the twentieth century, a hundred-year-old German tradition of public schools came to replace a thousand-year-old Chinese tradition, whose pedagogy, at least, was vastly superior.²

¹ Hu Songping, *Hu Shizhi xiansheng nianpu changpian chugao*, 11–18.

² Hu Shi, "Shuyuan zhi de shilue," *Jiaoyu huikan* 1.1 (1924): 1–4; Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 722. See an edited recording of this lecture in Hu Shi, "Shuyuan zhi shi lun," *Dongfang zazhi* 21.3 (February 1924): 142–146.

Glossary

Aiguo nü xuexiao 愛國女學校

Aiguo xueshe 愛國學社

Bao Huanzhu (Z. Puqing)

鮑還珠 (字: 浦青)

Bao Yuanshen (Z. Huatan)

鮑源深 (字: 花潭)

bian 辨

bianzhi 辨志

Bianzhi wenhui 辨志文會

boxue 博學

boxue yueli 博學約禮

buzheng shi 布政使

Cang Jie 倉頡

Changjiang shuishi jingkou

ying youji shu 長江水師京口

營游擊署

Changyin shuyuan 常陰書院

Changzhou 堂州

Chen Ai (Z. Huchen) 陳艾 (字:

虎臣)

Chen Li (Z. Lanfu) 陳澧 (字:

蘭甫)

Chen Qingnian (Z. Shanyu)

陳慶年 (字: 善餘)

cizhang 詞章

congshu 叢書

cungu xuetang 存古學堂

da xuetang 大學堂

Dai Zhen 戴震

Daliang shuyuan 大梁書院

dao 道

daoli 道理

Daonan shuyuan 道南書院

Daoxiang shuyuan 道鄉書院

daoxue 道學

de qi jinghua zhe 得其菁華者

Deda dian 德大典

difang shenshi 地方紳士

Ding Fubao 丁福保

Ding Lijun 丁立鈞

Ding Quzhong (Z. Guochen;

H. Yunwu) 丁取忠 (字: 果臣,

號: 雲梧)

Ding Richang (Z. Yusheng)

丁日昌 (字: 雨生)

dongshi 董事

Fan Benli 范本禮

Fang Zongcheng (Z. Cunzhi)

方宗誠 (字: 存之)

fashang shengxi 發商生息

Fei Nianci 費念慈

Fei Xuezheng 費學曾

Feng Lifan (Z. Jie'an) 馮禮蕃

(字: 介菴)

Feng Xu (Z. Menghua) 馮煦

(字: 夢華)

Fengchi shuyuan 鳳池書院

fu 賦

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Gazetteers

Abbreviations used in this section are:

XZ (*Xianzhi*) 縣志

FZ (*fuzhi*) 府志

Baoshan XZ 寶山 1882 ed.

Baoshan xian xu zhi 寶山縣續志 1921 ed.

Changshao hezhi gao 常昭合志稿 1974 reprint of 1904 ed.

Changzhou FZ 常州 1886 ed.

Chuansha tingzhi 川少廳志 1975 reprint of 1879 ed.

Chuansha tingzhi 川少廳志 1974 reprint of 1937 ed.

Congming XZ 崇明 1975 reprint of 1930 ed.

Congming XZ 崇明 1926 rev. ed. of 1881 original

Dantu XZ 丹徒 1970 reprint of 1878 ed.

Danyang XZ 丹陽 1961 reprint of 1927 ed.

Danyang xian xuzhi 丹陽縣續志 1974 reprint of 1927 ed.

Fengxian XZ 奉賢 1970 reprint of 1878 ed.

Gaochun XZ 高淳 1881 ed.

Huating XZ 華亭 1970 reprint of 1878 ed.

Jiading xian xu zhi 嘉定縣續志 1930 ed.

Jiading XZ 嘉定 1881 ed.

(*Xu zuan*) *Jiangning FZ* 續纂江寧 1970 reprint of 1880 ed.

Jiangpu beicheng 江浦埤乘 1891 ed.

Jiangyin xianzhi xuzhi 江陰縣志續志 1970 reprint of 1921 ed.

Jiangyin XZ 江陰 1968 reprint of 1878 ed.

Jinshan XZ 金山 1974 reprint of 1878 ed.

Jintan XZ 金壇 1885 ed.

(*Xu zuan*) *Jurong XZ* 續纂句容 1974 reprint of 1904 ed.

Kunxin liang xian xuxiu hezhi 崑新兩縣續修合志 1970 reprint of 1880 ed.

Lishui XZ 溧水 1970 reprint of 1905 ed.

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