

FOOCHOW'S ACADEMIES: PUBLIC ORDERING AND
EXPANDING EDUCATION IN THE LATE
NINETEENTH CENTURY*

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When Wang K'ai-t'ai 王凱泰 as Governor of Fukien province gave his official imprimatur to the founding of Chih-yung shu-yuan 致用書院 (Practical-application academy) in Foochow in 1871, he participated in a dynamic process of cultural adjustment involving education and enterprise in the late Ch'ing empire. After the ravages of rebellion and war at mid-century, scholars and officials promoted educational revival to produce men of talent who might serve the age of reconstruction launched in the T'ung-chih reign (1862-1874). Founding or renovating academies offered a natural context for the activism of local men of means and influence in harmony with high-level bureaucrats dispatched by imperial offices in Peking. New or revived academies could be useful in coping with new challenges, providing a focus for the public encouragement of appropriate values like the currency of revered textual knowledge interpreted anew for purposes of public administration.

Because it was a well-established administrative, cultural, and commercial center that became one of the first treaty ports by the Opium War settlement of 1842, Foochow had considerable claim to importance in China's imperial system in the late Ch'ing. The Foochow Navy Yard (Ch'uan-cheng chü 船政局), founded by Tso Tsung-t'ang 左宗棠 in 1866, enjoyed a wide reputation as a "self-strengthening" (*tsu-ch'iang* 自強) institution; and its school (*hsueh-t'ang* 學堂) trained young men to build, staff, and repair ships

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that were part of the beginning of China's modern navy. Such innovation, however, was neither unique in the treaty-port corridor nor the source of immediate empire-wide impact; and the same assessment applies to the activity of Foochow's academies (*shu-yuan* 書院) in the era of reconstruction. Even as a treaty port with a new trade in goods, especially tea, sought by Americans and Europeans, Foochow's level of activity was modest.⁽¹⁾ Such unexceptional general conditions need not obviate Foochow's distinction or its worthiness for study. Treaty-port status saw Foochow's continuation as a place that produced thinkers and policymakers who mattered and attracted bureaucrats of fame and power.⁽²⁾

Foochow's academies functioned in the era of reconstruction as agencies for community organization and the expansion of elitist values, but preoccupation with the Foochow Navy Yard and its "modern" trappings of vocational-technical education has obscured the dynamic nature of the academies. This article attempts to argue the case of some academies in Foochow as part of the development of modern schools and sees educational innovation as a form of enterprise appropriate to Foochow's emerging municipality. By their pattern of expansion, Foochow's academies suggest a process of public ordering, understood here as the conscious efforts by an expanding and increasingly professional elite to organize local society to meet local needs while also acknowledging new national concerns. The process of public ordering may help to define China's experience in the last decades of the Ch'ing.

I. SHU-YUAN AND MODERN SCHOOLS

Since the advent of their significant presence in the Sung, academies have never escaped the notice of those who would characterize China's historical circumstances. "Confucian" academies existed throughout the empire and offered

(1) Knight Biggerstaff, *The Earliest Modern Government Schools in China* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1961). Mary Backus Rankin, *Elite Activism and Political Transformation in China: Zhejiang Province, 1865-1911* (Stanford CA, Stanford University Press, 1986), pp. 53, 93, 97. Robert Paul Gardella, Jr., "Fukien's Tea Industry and Trade in Ch'ing and Republican China: The Developmental Consequences of a Traditional Commodity Export" (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Washington, 1976), pp. 117-120, 123, 158. Yen-p'ing HAO, *The Commercial Revolution in Nineteenth-Century China: The Rise of Sino-Western Mercantile Capitalism* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1986), pp. 140-142, 182.

(2) HO Ping-ti, *The Ladder of Success in Imperial China: Aspects of Social Mobility, 1368-1911* (New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1962), pp. 234, 238, 249.

higher education to boys in their teens and men who already had studied texts, including commentaries, of the Neo-Confucian tradition. By employing scholars of notable achievement, which came to mean success at the *chü-jen* 舉人 level of the official examination system or at the higher *chin-shih* 進士 level, academies could provide outlets for scholarship and particular schools of thought. Their potential for political debate was apparent in the early Ch'ing policy of monitoring existing institutions for Ming loyalism and attitude of hostility to the founding of new ones. In the eighteenth century the Ch'ing government permitted and even favored new academies, and an order of the Yung-cheng Emperor in 1733 established an empire-wide system by which one academy in each province would enjoy official designation as provincial academy. Imperial support lies at the heart of the increasing bond between Ch'ing academies and the official examination system, such that academies tended to organize learning around categories of examination essays and seemed to stray from their original nature as forums for open thought. (3)

Originally academies were private institutions of small size generally in extra-urban settings that encouraged reading and contemplation. In charge of the students would be a single scholar, the *shan-chang* 山長 (mountain-director), or head of the academy (often situated in the hills). Preoccupation with a traditional canon that informed men who became officials as well as their critics meant that academies inevitably had an official, public quality whether or not they garnered imperial support. In the Ch'ing, academies of varying sizes had connections with provinces, cities (*ch'eng* 城), and departments (*chou* 州) and took their students from "Confucian" schools (*kuan-hsueh* 官學, official schools) or literati-family instruction, and sometimes from "community schools" (*she-hsueh* 社學 or other local schools). From the academies students moved into official bureaucratic positions if they passed official examinations and earned higher degrees (*chü-jen*, *chin-shih*), cementing the tie between academies and the political realm. In the last decade of the Ch'ing, as part

(3) Lin Jui-han 林瑞翰, "Ch'ing-tai chih ta-hsueh chi shu-yuan chih-tu" 清代之大學及書院制度 (The system of higher schools and academies in the Ch'ing period), in Li Tsung-t'ung 李宗侗, et al., *Chung-kuo li-tai ta-hsueh shih* 中國歷代大學史 (History of higher education in China) (Taipei, Chung-hua 中華, 1958), pp. 105-134. *T'ien-hsia shu-yuan tsung-chih* 天下書院總志 (General history of the academies in the Chinese empire), 3 vols. (latest preface 1765; repr. Taipei, Kuang-wen 廣文, 1974). Tilemann Grimm, "Academies and Urban Systems in Kwangtung," in G. William Skinner, ed., *The City in Late Imperial China* (Stanford CA, Stanford University Press, 1977), pp. 475-498.

of the dynastic reforms that ironically paved the way for post-imperial, Republican Cina, by imperial order all academies (*shu-yuan*) disappeared and became instead "schools" (*hsueh-hsiao* 學校) in a new educational system under the bureaucratic command of the government in Peking. (4)

The mandated elimination of academies has tended to show them in a "traditional" mode either overlooked or dismissed by most students of modern China, even many who specifically examine educational history. Sally Borthwick, in her recent *Education and Social Change in China*, focuses on the schools (*hsueh-hsiao*) that opened the way for the Republican educational system and, though acknowledging the academies, assumes them to be outdated. Recent work published in mainland China affirms this point: Ch'en Hsueh-hsun's survey of modern Chinese education assumes the institutions of such education to be schools with Western-inspired curricula, either those established by the predominantly Anglo-American Protestant missionary contingent in China beginning in the years surrounding the Opium War (1839-1842) or by the Chinese government beginning in the T'ung-chih period as part of the "Western affairs" (*Yang-wu* 洋務) movement. Ch'en Yuan-hui and others, in a book about "traditional Chinese academies," emphasize the official status they acquired in the Ch'ing and the government's supervision of their funds, personnel, and courses of study. The academy was the country's peculiar kind of institution for the education of the feudal elite and officials, the authors assert; it was so tied to the past that with the coming of a new society and new education it had to go. (5)

(4) Thomas H.C. Lee, *Government Education and Examinations in Sung China* (Hong Kong, The Chinese University Press; New York, St. Martin's Press, 1985), pp. 17, 275-276. Shang Yen-liu 商衍鑾, *Ch'ing-tai k'o-chü k'ao-shih shu-lu* 清代科舉考試述錄 (Account of the official examinations of the Ch'ing period) (Peking, San-lien 三聯, 1958), pp. 217-226. Grimm, pp. 477-478. See also *Ch'ing-ch'ao hsu wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao* 清朝續文獻通考 (Encyclopedic record of Ch'ing government documents, supplement: 1796-1911), comp. Liu Chin-tsao 劉錦藻 (preface 1921; Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1936), 102:8607; this source, also given with *Huang-ch'ao* 皇朝 as the initial term, will appear in subsequent references as *T'ung-k'ao*.

(5) Sally Borthwick, *Education and Social Change in China: The Beginnings of the Modern Era* (Stanford CA, Hoover Institution Press, 1983). Ch'en Hsueh-hsun 陳學恂, *Chung-kuo chin-tai chiao-yü ta-shih chi* 中國近代教育大事記 (Record of major events in the history of modern education in China, 1840-1919) (Shanghai, Shanghai chiao-yü ch'u-pan-she 上海教育出版社, 1980). Ch'en Yuan-hui 陳元暉, et al., *Chung-kuo ku-tai te shu-yuan chih-tu* 中國古代的書院制度 (Traditional Chinese academies) (Shanghai, Shanghai chiao-yü ch'u-pan-she, 1981), pp. 90-97, 162-163.

Even in the 1930s, a time closer to the millenium of the development of academies, Chinese authors tended to see them as "traditional," not part of the process of "modern" education.⁽⁶⁾ This assessment ignores the discovery of academies by eminent Chinese scholars who lauded the distinctive features of academy education. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, a wave of articles and books on China's educational history included studies of "the academy system" (*shu-yuan chih-tu* 書院制度). Heralding this output was a lecture, later published, by Hu Shih, who celebrated the academy as an indigenous Chinese system of higher education with applicability in the modern world. He explained that the academies began as "retreats" (*ching-she* 精舍) in the T'ang, pioneered contemplative study allowing students opportunities for independent research, and in the Sung introduced the lecture method (*chiang-hsueh* 講學) by holding forums for the presentation of original research by scholars of renown.⁽⁷⁾ Whatever the modern resonances of the academy system, its enthusiasts concentrated on general surveys of its governing principles and little more than lists of its exemplary institutions. They failed to secure any perception of the system's functioning in particular settings, and thus they joined its critics in condemning the academy to "traditional" China.

Recent scholarship may redress this position. Benjamin Elman's work on research communities in the Kiangnan region in the period concluding in the Chia-ch'ing reign (1796-1820) affirms the dynamic quality of academies that served as scholarly havens for literati of changing intellectual interests and scholarly methods. Of special note is the role of Juan Yuan 阮元 as the revitalizer of academies in the early nineteenth century, with the Hsueh-hai

(6) Chiao-yü pu 教育部 (Ministry of Education), ed., *Chung-kuo chiao-yü nien-chien* 中國教育年鑑 (China education yearbook), comp. Wang Shih-chieh 王世杰, et al. (Shanghai, 1934; repr. Taipei, Tsung-ch'ing 宗青, 1981), vol. 1, p. 22. [Ting Chih-p'ing 丁致聘] *Chung-kuo chin ch'i-shih nien lai chiao-yü chi-shih* 中國近七十年來教育記事 (Notable events in Chinese education during the last seventy years, 1862-1933) [Shanghai, 1935], p. 2. Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei 蔡元培, et al., *Wan-Ch'ing san-shih-wu nien lai chih Chung-kuo chiao-yü* 晚清三十五年來之中國教育 (Chinese education of the past thirty-five years, since the late Ch'ing, 1897-1931) (Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1931; repr. Hong Kong, Lung-men 龍門, 1969), pp. 61, 133.

(7) For example, Sheng Lang-hsi 盛朗西, *Chung-kuo shu-yuan chih-tu* 中國書院制度 (The Chinese academy system) (Shanghai, Chung-hua, 1934). Hu Shih 胡適, "Shu-yuan chih shih lueh" 書院之史略 (Brief history of the system of academies), transcribed by Ch'en Ch'i-yü 陳啟宇, *Tung-fang tsa-chih* 東方雜誌 (The Eastern Miscellany), 21.2:106-110 (10 February 1924).

t'ang 學海堂 (an "academy" despite the absence of *shu-yuan* in the name) founded by him at Canton while he was Governor-General of Liang-Kuang setting a new mode of classical studies by 1820.⁽⁸⁾ At the end of the nineteenth century, the towering bureaucratic reformer Chang Chih-tung 張之洞 altered the educational horizon by his encouragement of learning that would preserve tradition while acknowledging changing conditions. He founded academies while serving in official posts in various places; while Governor-General at Canton, like Juan Yuan before him he founded an academy of great note, the Kuang-ya shu yuan 廣雅書院(1887). In his memorial setting out the principles of the new academy, Chang defined Kuang-ya's curriculum—classics and history, philosophy, and governing (*ching shih li-hsueh ching-chi* 經史理學經濟).⁽⁹⁾ As the best known promoter of academies in the last decades of the Ch'ing, Chang was well suited to the task that befell him in his role of reformer in the capital after the 1898 reforms: He issued the order transforming academies into "schools".⁽¹⁰⁾

What of academies apart from Juan Yuan's early nineteenth-century efforts at their revitalization and Chang Chih-tung's late nineteenth-century efforts at their expansion and then transformation? Not all developments entered the encyclopedic records of imperial action, such as the *t'ung-k'ao* 通考, though some high officials successfully memorialized to request imperial notice of new or renovated academies.⁽¹¹⁾ Separate lists of such institutions and their particulars of founding, reviving, and declining appear in local gazetteers, or accounts of provinces, counties, or other regional units; and biographical sections of gazetteers connect some individuals with specific academies. Gazetteers and

(8) Benjamin Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 1984), pp. 132-133. Benjamin Elman, "The Hsueh-hai T'ang and the Rise of New Text Scholarship in Canton," *Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i*, 4.2: 51-82 (December 1979). Ch'en Yuan-hui, pp. 104-105.

(9) Su Yun-feng 蘇雲峯, "Kuang-ya shu-yuan (i-pa-pa-pa-i-chiu-ling-erh)" 廣雅書院 (一八八八——一九〇二) (Kuang-ya academy, 1888-1902), *Chung-yang yen-chiu yuan Chin-tai shih yen-chiu so chi-k'an* 中央研究院近代史研究所集刊 (Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History, Academia, Sinica), 13: 239-304 (June 1984). *T'ung-k'ao*, 101: 8599. Chou Han-kuang 周漢光, *Chang Chih-tung yü Kuang-ya shu-yuan* 張之洞與廣雅書院 (Chang Chih-tung and the Kuang-ya academy), pp. 89ff., 564.

(10) Chang Po-hsi 張百熙, comp., *Ch'in-ting hsueh-t'ang chang-ch'eng* 欽定學堂章程 (Edicts and memorials regarding the new educational policy) (repr. Taipei, Wen-hai 文海, [1986]). *T'ung-k'ao*, 100: 8593, edict of 1900.

(11) *T'ung-k'ao*, 100: 8591.

other sources for Foochow, a prefecture (*fu* 府) inclusive of Min 閩 and Hou-kuan 侯官 counties (*hsien* 縣), indicate that some established academies survived changes in local economy and society and enjoyed new attention in the late nineteenth century, that new academies successfully set about securing teachers and students, and that the common curricular theme was textual study in the Neo-Confucian tradition with an eye on the application of such study to success in the official examinations and official service.

II. FOOCHOW'S ACADEMIES: SURVIVALS AND INNOVATIONS

As the Ch'ing glided toward the twentieth century, Foochow's academies were healthy but neither exceptionally numerous nor exceptionally high powered. The Min-Hou county gazetteer published in 1933 chronicles the institutions. A quick count seems to show that eleven academies were active in the late Ch'ing, with twelve academies abandoned or merged out of existence before the reconstruction period of the late nineteenth century. Although some academies in the Foochow area originated in the Sung and Yuan, most dated from the Ming and Ch'ing; and surviving institutions in the late Ch'ing generally were products of the Ch'ing. Academies were in various parts of the area, though one concentration appears to have been space outside the east edge of the walled city of Foochow and another the hills in the city's southwest.⁽¹²⁾ Four academies dominate references for the last decades of the Ch'ing; two of these academies came into existence in the T'ung-chih reign, and two—both Ch'ing, and founded about a century apart from each other—were survivals from an earlier time.

Ao-feng academy

The pacesetter of academy education in the Foochow area and Fukien province was Ao-feng shu-yuan 鰲峰書院, founded in 1707 by Governor Chang Po-hsing 張伯行 and later designated "provincial academy." Governor Chang himself set the character of the academy, located in the foothills of Foochow's eastern suburbs, on "East street" (Tung-chieh 東街), in the approaches to

(12) Li Kuo-ch'i 李國祁, *Chung-kuo hsien-tai-hua te ch'ü-yü yen-chiu: Min-Che-T'ai ti-ch'ü* 中國現代化的區域研究：閩浙臺地區 (Regional studies of China's modernization: The Fukien-Chekiang-Taiwan area, 1860-1916) (Taipei, Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1982), p. 99. *Min-Hou hsien chih* 閩侯縣志 (Gazetteer of Foochow), comp. Ouyang Ying 歐陽英, et al. (1933; repr. Taipei, Ch'eng-wen 成文, 1966), ch. 33.

Chiu-hsien shan 九仙山 (Nine-immortals hill). The academy was to celebrate *li-hsueh* 理學, or "the study of principles" laid down by the great scholars of Sung Neo-Confucianism.⁽¹³⁾ For almost two centuries the Ao-feng academy sent its students into the limelight of scholarship, bureaucracy, or both; one of its famous proponents was Lin Tse-hsu 林則徐, a native of Hou-kuan county.⁽¹⁴⁾ In the early nineteenth century one of the heads of Ao-feng was Ch'en Shou-ch'i 陳壽其, a distinguished scholar, a compiler of the Fukien provincial gazetteer, and the overseer of the academy's widely reputed scholarly library.⁽¹⁵⁾ Features of the Ao-feng academy's existence deserve mention for their function as precedent and inspiration. First, Chang Po-hsing's involvement set a pattern of official participation in educational innovation and helped signify the breakdown of the Ch'ing government's detachment from it. In the T'ung-chih period, one founder of a new academy would specifically recall Governor Chang's launching of Ao-feng and justify the new institution with reference to Chang's principles and scholarly orientation.

Second, Ao-feng academy symbolized a confluence of values appropriate to rallying local interests in line with national governance. In the early eighteenth century, the K'ang-hsi Emperor's reign (1662-1722) enjoyed the stability that came to the Ch'ing after the first decades of the Manchu rule that began in 1644. As always in imperial China, however, pockets of regional influence strengthened with distance from the capital. Foochow, provincial capital, garrison command post, flourishing (though backwater) port, found in Governor Chang Po-hsing a spokesman for the melding of scholarship and the administration of public order, revering traditional teachings in a "great

(13) Chang Po-hsing 張伯行, comp., *Cheng-i t'ang wen-chi* 正誼堂文集 (Collection of writings published by the Correcting and upholding hall) and *Hsu-chi* 續集 (Further collection) (preface 1738, *Cheng-i t'ang ch'uan-shu* 正誼堂全書 edn., Foochow, 1866-1869; repr. Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1936), 6, item 2, pp. 68-69; ch. 9, item 1, pp. 111-112. *T'ien-hsia shu-yuan*, 11:3b-6. *Min-Hou hsien chih*, 33:1ab.

(14) *Min-Hou hsien chih*, 69:10-15. Lin Ch'ung-yung 林崇孺, *Lin Tse-hsu chuan* 林則徐傳 (Biography of Lin Tse-hsu) (Taipei, Chung-hua, 1967), p. 94.

(15) Arthur W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912)* (Washington DC, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1943-44; repr. Taipei, Ch'eng-wen, 1967), pp. 97-99. On academy libraries, see Cheuk-woon TAAM, *The Development of Chinese Libraries under the Ch'ing Dynasty, 1644-1911* (PhD dissertation, The University of Chicago, 1933; privately published 1935), pp. 85-90. *Min-Hou hsien chih*, 47:14b-15. Elman, *Philosophy to Philology*, p. 132.

prospering" (*ta-hsing* 大興).⁽¹⁶⁾

Third, Ao-feng academy celebrated the work of Sung Neo-Confucian scholars and thus served as the focus of a scholarly community. Chang Po-hsing built a shrine, named Cheng-i t'ang 正誼堂 (Correcting and upholding hall), to commemorate the five great *li-hsueh* thinkers Chou Tun-i 周敦頤, Ch'eng Hao 程顥, Ch'eng I 程頤, Chang Tsai 張載, and Chu Hsi 朱熹, whose collected writings he published as *Cheng-i t'ang wen-chi* 正誼堂文集. With an associate, Governor Chang also lectured widely on these scholars and their writings, personalizing his support of the intellectual tradition that continued to inform the Ao-feng academy, perhaps even after the buildings ended up as the Fa-cheng hsueh-t'ang 法政學堂 (Administrative school).⁽¹⁷⁾

The name of the Ao-feng academy appears throughout Fukien and Foochow gazetteers but also elsewhere. Ōkubo Eiko's research on the expansion of academies in the Kiangnan region in the late Ming and early Ch'ing cites Ao-feng as an example of a thriving and influential academy in another part of the empire.⁽¹⁸⁾ When Chang Chih-tung made his case to the Emperor for the Kuang-ya academy in Canton in 1889, he recalled imperial blessings granted four academies, among them Ao-feng, by the K'ang-hsi Emperor and the Ch'ien-lung Emperor's bestowing of a tablet upon Ao-feng's renovation in 1752. Chang Chih-tung stated that Ao-feng and other such academies upheld a path of orthodoxy (*cheng-k'uei* 正軌) that advanced the culture of the people. The Kuang-ya academy was, in a sense, to carry on the tradition of Ao-feng and other notable institutions that enjoyed survival and revival in the Ch'ing.⁽¹⁹⁾

Feng-ch'ih academy

Foochow's Feng-ch'ih shu-yuan 鳳池書院, built in Feng-ch'ih village, in Hou-kuan county, in 1817, pointedly had as its model the well-established

(16) Tso Tsung-t'ang 左宗棠, *Tso Wen-hsiang kung ch'uan-chi* 左文襄公全集 (Complete collection of the writings of Tso Tsung-t'ang) (1890-1897), *Kao-shih* 告示 (Proclamations), p. 4. *T'ien-hsia shu-yuan*, 11:5b.

(17) Chang Po-hsing, 6, item 2, pp. 68-69; ch. 9, item 1, pp. 111-112. *Min-hsien hsiang-t'u chih* 閩縣鄉土志 (Local history of Min county), comp. Cheng Tsu-keng 鄭祖庚, et al. (1908?; repr. Taipei, Ch'eng-wen, 1974), pp. 248, 291b. *Min-Hou hsien chih*, 77:7.

(18) Ōkubo Eiko 大久保英子, *Min-Shin jidai shoin no kenkyū* 明清時代書院の研究 (A study of academies in the Ming and Ch'ing periods) (Tokyo, Kokusho 國書, 1976), p. 327.

(19) *T'ung-k'ao*, 101:8599.

Ao-feng academy. Feng-ch'ih's origins and development lacked personages of the singular prestige of Ao-feng's founder, Chang Po-hsing, and its great scholarly presence, Ch'en Shou-ch'i. Even so, Feng-ch'ih also enjoyed official support and accommodated distinguished teachers and students who advanced classical studies. Among its patrons were Chao Shen-chen 趙慎軫 (軫), Governor-General at Foochow, 1822-1825, and Wu Yung-kuang 吳榮光, who was in Foochow first in 1821-22 as provincial Surveillance Commissioner (*An-ch'a shih* 按察使) and again in 1826 and 1837-1840 as provincial Commissioner of Administration (*Pu-cheng shih* 布政使). Wu donated over 2,000 items to the Feng-ch'ih academy's library.⁽²⁰⁾

The Feng-ch'ih academy came into existence before acquiring its established name, which often accompanied that of Ao-feng academy in references to scholarly conditions in Fukien and Foochow. The earliest, somewhat vague, history of Feng-ch'ih reveals the terminological and other changes that befell academies; more important, an exploration of its names suggests a pattern of institutional survival and revival not necessarily involving fixed location or clientele. The Min-Hou gazetteer claims that the academy's name upon construction in 1817 was Sung-shan shu-yuan 嵩山書院, though this appellation connects the academy with the area of Sung hill, on the east side of Foochow and not in Hou-kuan county. There seems to be a record of merging and moving: A Sung-shan academy, located at Sung hill, came into existence in 1757 as a new version of a school established in 1752 by the Governor-General, using funds solicited from local merchants. The earlier school, or academy, Tao-shan shu-yuan 道山書院, was in the foothills of Wu-shih shan 烏石山 (Black-stone hill), in the southwest part of the city of Foochow, and accommodated the sons of salt merchants. In turn, the Tao-shan school seems to have been a revival of a long-defunct academy of the same name established by Ming officials in 1571.⁽²¹⁾

Further complicating the early institutional profile of Feng-ch'ih academy are other names. The Hou-kuan county gazetteer gives its original name as Sheng-kung shu-yuan 聖功書院 (Sacred-achievement academy), a rare name

(20) *Min-Hou hsien chih*, 33:2ab. *Min-hsien hsiang-t'u chih*, pp. 26b-27. Wei Hsiu-mei 魏秀梅, *Ch'ing-chi chih-kuan pico, fu jen-wu lu* 清季職官表, 附人物錄 (Metropolitan and provincial officials in the late Ch'ing period, 1796-1911, with biographical outlines) (Taipei, Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1977), A: 544, 760-761, 843; B: 160, 249. Taam, p. 88.

(21) *Min-Hou hsien chih*, 33:2-3.

for a Foochow academy before the late nineteenth century because it encompassed substantive, rather than geographical, meaning. Ōkubo Eiko also claims this as Feng-ch'ih's original name, until 1821. The appellation, however, may derive from Feng-ch'ih's layout: The Min-Hou gazetteer notes that the academy's lecture hall had this name.⁽²²⁾

An official record of Feng-ch'ih's establishment offers yet another possibility for its heritage. In 1824 the Tao-kuang Emperor granted an edict in response to Governor-General Chao Shen-chen's memorial requesting imperial sanction for the establishment in Foochow, in addition to Ao-feng academy, of Feng-ch'ih academy. Feng-ch'ih was to "build again" (*chien-fu* 建復) the Kung-hsueh shu-yuan 共學書院 (Amalgamated-study academy) "of the K'ang-hsi and Ch'ien-lung years" (that is, of the eighteenth century). The Min-Hou gazetteer shows such an academy, its name another example of naming drawn from other than location, originating in 1379 as a district school. The district became part of Hou-kuan county in 1580. In 1594, by order of the Fukien Governor, the school became an academy (*shu-yuan*); in 1685, by order of the Governor-General, it underwent renovation. This account of Kung-hsueh academy omits reference to any reincarnation as Feng-ch'ih; possibly Feng-ch'ih's founding supporters, including Governor-General Chao, themselves were unsure of the academy's evolution. In any event, many people assigned it many different institutional predecessors.⁽²³⁾

In the twentieth century, Feng-ch'ih academy became a high school.⁽²⁴⁾ Its connection with modern schools went beyond this act of institutional transformation, however, as suggested by the experiences of two of its teachers in its last years as Feng-ch'ih academy. Cheng Hsi-kuang 鄭錫光 (1860-1911), of Min county, was a *chin-shih* of 1890 who served in a bureaucratic post in Peking before returning home to teach at Ao-feng and Feng-ch'ih academies for many years. His biographical notice reports that when the new law launched (*hsing* 興) all academies as schools, Cheng adjusted to new conditions and held several jobs. For awhile he was at the educational affairs office (*hsueh-wu kung-so* 學務公所). Various schoolteachers who returned from study overseas attached themselves to him. From poetry (*shih* 詩), the biographical

(22) *Hou-kuan hsien hsiang-t'u chih* 侯官縣鄉土志 (Local history of Hou-kuan county), comp. Cheng Tsu-keng, et al. (1903; repr. Taipei, Ch'eng-wen, 1974), 3:24.

(23) *T'ung-k'ao*, 100:8590. *Min-Hou hsien chih*, 33:3. *T'ien-hsia shu-yuan*, 11:6ab.

(24) *Min-hsien hsiang-t'u chih*, p. 248.

notice continues, concern turned to labor (*kung* 工), and Cheng was among the supervisors of the Fa-cheng hsueh-t'ang (Administrative school) that succeeded Ao-feng academy.⁽²⁵⁾

Ch'en Pi 陳璧 (1852-1928), also of Min county, came from a family of farmland owners and literati who had been in Su-pan 蘇坂 village for six generations, since the Wan-li reign of the Ming (1573-1619). After earning the *chin-shih* degree in 1877, Ch'en served as a secretary to the Grand Council in Peking and later in provincial posts, eventually taking up the promotion of vocational schools that might alleviate popular distress (*k'u* 苦). Ch'en's chronological biography links this interest with his work at Feng-ch'ih academy, reporting that in 1897, at 46 *sui*, Ch'en Pi returned home and became a lecturer (*chu-chiang* 主講) at Feng-ch'ih. He gave lessons in writing essays for the monthly examinations conducted by officials on the Four Books and the old text of the *Classic of Poetry* (*Shih-ching* 詩經). In the classical old-text course (*ching-ku k'o* 經古課), Ch'en added lessons on new examination subjects in *shih-wu* 時務 (contemporary affairs) and *lun-ts'e* 論策 (policy discussion); in the view of his chronicler, this caused a change in the current of thought in Fukien province.⁽²⁶⁾

The biographical account of Ch'en Pi thus seems to put him in the forefront of what might constitute a late-Ch'ing tendency toward more technical education, and this trend occurred within the context of classical-studies academies like Feng-ch'ih. The account goes on to credit Ch'en for the initiation of modern, that is, technical, schools in his native province: At a time when the winds of change had not yet opened up and the system of modern schools was not yet in place, states the chronicler, Ch'en founded and publicly promoted the Ts'ang-hsia ching-she 蒼霞精舍 (Ts'ang-hsia school).⁽²⁷⁾ This institution took its name from its location in the Ts'ang-hsia (Green clouds) section of Nan-t'ai 南臺 island, in the Min river, south of Foochow city and reachable from the mainland by a set of bridges. Foreigners who came to treaty-port Foochow concentrated their residence and business in

(25) *Min-Hou hsien chih*, 77:6b-7. *Fu-chien t'ung-chi* 福建通紀 (Gazetteer of Fukien), comp. Fu-chien t'ung-chih chü 福建通志局 (Foochow, 1922; repr. Taipei, Ta-t'ung 大通, 1968), "Ju-hsing chuan" 儒行傳 (Biographies of Confucian scholarly conduct), 4:42ab.

(26) *Min-Hou hsien chih*, 69:41-42b. Ch'en Tsung-fan 陳宗藩, *Ch'en Su-chai nien-p'u* 陳蘇齋年譜 (Chronological biography of Ch'en Pi 陳璧) (repr. in *Nien-p'u ts'ung shu* 年譜叢書, vol. 56, Taipei, Kuang-wen, 1971), p. 10 (7).

(27) Ch'en Tsung-fan, p. 10 (7).

Nan-t'ai because of its proximity to the port of Foochow's docking area and habits deriving from early barriers that prevented Westerners from entering Foochow city. The term *ching-she* gained currency in the T'ang and often was applied as the equivalent of *shu-yuan*.⁽²⁸⁾ In this instance, however, it designated a "school" that had affinities with schools established on Nan-t'ai by Protestant missionaries anxious to train young Chinese in Western knowledge.⁽²⁹⁾ The entry in Ch'en's biographical account for 1897 goes on to say that Ch'en Pi invited the well-known Lin Shu 林紓 (Lin Ch'in-nan 林琴南), a *chü-jen*, to take charge of instruction (*tsung chiao-hsi* 總教習) at the school. Selected by examination were fifty students (*hsueh-sheng* 學生) who took courses in the English language, mathematics, and all modern sciences. The chronicler concludes this entry with a bold assertion of his subject's achievement by means of the Ts'ang-hsia school: This was the beginning of modern schools (*hsueh-hsiao*) in Fukien province.⁽³⁰⁾

Despite his chronicler's representations, Ch'en Pi was not the sole mover of new schools in Fukien, nor was he the only founder of the Ts'ang-hsia school. Huang Yen-p'ei's survey of changes in education in the late Ch'ing places the founding of Ts'ang-hsia in 1896, not 1897, and in two brief accounts gives names of some of its founders, including Lin Shu and Ch'en Pi among others. From the outset the school's mission was specialized technical education, *shih-hsueh* 實學, "realistic" or "practical studies." Huang notes changes in the school's name to Kung-yeh *hsueh-hsiao* 工業學校 (Industrial vocational school) and, by 1930, to the Provincial school of applied sciences (Sheng-li li-kung *hsueh-hsiao* 省立理工學校). The Min-Hou gazetteer reports other names and even the temporary location of the school in an old academy on Wu-shih shan before the completion of new facilities in 1908.⁽³¹⁾ The school seems to have experienced a spatial mobility not unlike that of the early history of the Feng-ch'ih academy, where Ch'en Pi was teaching when he and others brought the school into being.

(28) Hu Shih, p. 107. Hsieh Kuo-chen 謝國楨, *Chin-tai shu-yuan hsueh-hsiao chih-tu pien-ch'ien k'ao* 近代書院學校制度變遷考 (A study of the modern changes in the system of academies and schools) (1936; repr. Taipei, Wen-hai, 1979?), pp. 1-2, 5.

(29) Li Kuo-ch'i, p. 138.

(30) Ch'en Tsung-fan, p. 10 (7).

(31) [Huang] Yen-p'ei [黃] 炎培, *Ch'ing-chi ho-sheng hsing-hsueh shih* 清季各省興學史 (History of the revival of education in various provinces in the late Ch'ing period) (preface 1930; repr. Taipei, Wen-hai, 1979?), pp. 190-191. *Min-Hou hsien chih*, 28:1b, 69:41.

Cheng-i academy

Linkages between academies and modern schools by institutional transformation or overlapping personnel were a matter of course in the last years of the Ch'ing. In Foochow, the Cheng-i shu-yuan 正誼書院 (Correcting and upholding academy) manifested a different, more immediate affiliation with a new-style school. Founded for students of *kung-sheng* 貢生 (government student) or *chü-jen* status by Governor-General Tso Tsung-t'ang, who memorialized in 1864, and possessed of students by the spring of 1866, the Cheng-i academy was part of the process that produced the Foochow Navy Yard school, also Tso's creation. As accompaniment to the Navy Yard school, the Cheng-i academy performed two critical services: First, its classical orientation smoothed the way for the school, which would involve technical subjects with no established appeal like that of the traditional curriculum; second, the academy's entrance examination, occurring on the same day as that of the school, could identify talented youths whom officials could encourage to enter the school.⁽³²⁾

The name of the academy has a worthy Confucian heritage on more than one level. The term *cheng-i* appears in the *Han shu* 漢書 (History of the Han dynasty), in the biographical account of the illustrious philosopher Tung Chung-shu 董仲舒, a major architect of official Han Confucianism. The words carry the meaning "to correct the Way (*Tao* 道) and uphold morality (*hsing* 行)," appropriate scholarly objectives of long standing.⁽³³⁾ In Foochow, more recently, the term represented the great scholars of Sung Neo-Confucianism in the context of the Ao-feng academy, where Chang Po-hsing's Cheng-i shrine radiated legitimacy. Tso Tsung-t'ang republished Chang's collection of these scholars' works and otherwise associated his efforts with Chang's model, even locating his new academy in the vicinity of the Ao-feng academy. In the name of "self-strengthening" (*tzu-ch'iang*), Tso advocated values like filial piety (*hsiao* 孝) and honesty (*lien* 廉) and recalled the virtues of Governor Chang Po-hsing.⁽³⁴⁾

(32) Tso Tsung-t'ang, *Ch'uan-chi, Lien-yü* 聯語 (Follow-up statements), p. 3. Suzanne Wilson Barnett, "Biographical Notices and Modern Education in Local Gazetteers of Nineteenth-Century Foochow," *Han-hsueh yen-chiu* 漢學研究 (Chinese studies), 3.2, part 2, pp. 780-781 (Taipei, December 1985).

(33) Morohashi Tetsuji 諸橋轍次, *Dai Kan-Wa jiten* 大漢和辭典 (Chinese-Japanese encyclopedic dictionary) (Tokyo, 1955-1960), vol. 6, no. 16255-87.

(34) Tso Tsung-t'ang, *Ch'uan-chi*, "I-hsueh shuo-t'ieh" 藝學說帖 (Enumeration on technical education), p. 1b; *Kao-shih*, p. 4. *Min-Hou hsien chih*, 33:4.

Tso Tsung-t'ang's advocacies went beyond those of Governor Chang, calling for the combination of *li-hsueh*, encompassing learning in the classics, scholarly treatises, and philosophical issues, and *i-hsueh* 藝學, "skills learning," by which Tso seems to have meant something like mechanical arts or technical training.⁽³⁵⁾ His ideas about education thus had appropriate outlets in the Cheng-i academy, on one hand, and the Navy Yard school, on the other. Both fit his role as an executor of the T'ung-chih restoration, which favored the renewal of classical learning. The promotion of such learning could restore imperial order after the Taiping disruptions and also moderate the influence of requisite "self-strengthening" learning of a technical nature, like knowledge of shipbuilding and navigation.

The Cheng-i academy unknowingly has been the leading symbol of the restoration policy to revive classical learning. Mary Clabaugh Wright, in her enduring analysis of the T'ung-chih reign, outlines the commitment of restoration leaders to the revitalization of traditional values and education. Her evidence for the application of this position includes orders to rebuild old academies or to found new ones, and she specifically relies on a memorial of 1867 by the Governor-General of Chekiang and Fukien, Wu T'ang 吳棠, who, in Wright's words, "presented a plan for the restoration of the academies of those provinces."⁽³⁶⁾ Wu T'ang's memorial is indeed powerful evidence of the role of *shu-yuan* in restoration policy. The scope of the memorial, however, is more narrow than the two-province "plan" heralded by Wright (and perpetuated by others, recently including Benjamin Elman).⁽³⁷⁾

Wu T'ang's memorial, entitled "Min-sheng chien-she shu-yuan shu" 閩省建設書院疏 (On the establishment of an academy in Fukien province), essentially is an account of the founding of Cheng-i academy in Foochow, recalling the efforts of Wu's predecessor as Governor-General, Tso Tsung-t'ang. The memorial puts the new academy into a worthy context of the scholarly heritage of Fukien and the function of academies in nourishing talent for governing (*jen-ts'ai* 人材). This context might suggest a plan, but the memorial is more report than plan.

(35) Tso Tsung-t'ang, *Ch'uan-chi*, "I-hsueh."

(36) Mary Clabaugh Wright, *The Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism: The T'ung-Chih Restoration, 1862-1874* (Stanford CA, Stanford University Press, 1957), p. 130 and n. 23.

(37) Elman, *Philosophy to Philology*, p. 251.

Wu T'ang's memorial responded to his receipt of a directive from the Ministry of Rites (Li pu 禮部) on strengthening education in the midst of military unsettlement. Wu investigated conditions of *chü-jen* students in various academies and found that in Foochow stipends (*kao-huo* 膏火) for such students encouraged the expansion of *shu-yuan*. In Fukien, he reported, there was much respect for the teachings of Confucius and Mencius and much that was praiseworthy (*k'o-kuan* 可觀) resulting from the court's promotion. Ao-feng and Feng-ch'ih academies continued their programs through the recent military crisis, despite some disruptions in the examination schedule. Establishing academies would cultivate human talent, and district educational officials must give added attention to the enabling of studies.

In his memorial Wu T'ang made unattributed reference to Chang Po-hsing's *Cheng-i t'ang* collection by recalling the earlier publication of scholarly writings to stimulate local scholars and be of use to the people, and Wu noted Tso Tsung-t'ang's republication of the collection in 1866 at the Cheng-i shu-chü 正誼書局 (Correcting and upholding publishing office). Support for this project, Wu reported, came from gentry (*shen-shih* 紳士), among them Yang Ch'ing-ch'en 楊慶琛 (1763-1867), the late former Imperial Palace official (*Kuang-lu ssu* 光祿寺), and the former Governor of Kiangsi, Shen Pao-chen 沈葆楨. These gentlemen and others requested to establish an academy in order to cultivate talent in the coastal area. Wu recounted a memorial from Acting Governor-General Ying Kuei 英桂 (who on at least one occasion in 1867 took up appointment as temporary replacement for Wu T'ang, who himself must have been back in place by later that year and continued to serve as Governor-General until 12 January 1868).⁽³⁸⁾ Ying Kuei memorialized to use (*tsai-yü* 在於) local likin (*li-chin* 釐金) tax in the amount of 500,000 *liang* 兩 to turn the Cheng-i publishing office into the Cheng-i academy.

Wu's memorial went on to state that the entrance examination for the new academy took place once a year, in the second month, with fifty students selected each time. Each student received a monthly stipend of four *liang*. Fifty additional students in the auxiliary school (*wai-k'o* 外課) received three *liang* per month. Wu recalled the imperial sanction granted Ao-feng and Feng-ch'ih academies by the K'ang-hsi and Tao-kuang Emperors, respectively, and requested such a blessing on Cheng-i academy as well, that wisdom could

(38) Wei Hsiu-mei, A: 546.

flow from its teachings. The memorial did not ask for the adoption of a general policy. ⁽³⁹⁾

By the time of Wu T'ang's memorial, the Cheng-i academy already was soundly in operation and, given its inception as a publication project, it gained a reputation for a commitment to the preservation of great texts. ⁽⁴⁰⁾ Tso Tsung-t'ang invited as the academy's first head Lin Hung-nien 林鴻年 (1805-1886), who had returned to his native Hou-kuan county from official service as Governor of Yunnan province from 1863 to 1865. A product of the Ao-feng academy under the illustrious Ch'en Shou-ch'i, Lin was a Hanlin scholar and a worthy teacher of young men who sought success via the ladder of official examinations. Lin Hung-nien's son Lin Cheng 林晟 (*chü-jen* 1879), reputedly a diligent and excellent student especially good at the euphuistically antithetical writing (*p'ien-ti wen* 駢體文) that constituted part of the examination, studied at Cheng-i academy and later had friends who taught there; he himself even taught *fu* 賦 poetry at Cheng-i. Another student at Cheng-i academy was Chang Heng-chia 張亨嘉 (1847-1911), whose biographical notice outlines the curriculum as "poetry and essays on the Four Books" (*shih-fu Ssu-shu wen* 詩賦四書文), official examination subjects. Chang, who entered Cheng-i with his *chü-jen* (1865) in hand, did not obtain his *chin-shih* degree until 1883, when he was in his late thirties. Thereafter he was a metropolitan official in the Ministry of Rites and in 1898, in the midst of the reform movement, was one of the founders at Peking of the Fukien study society (Min hsueh-hui 閩學會). ⁽⁴¹⁾

The Cheng-i academy, which helped to send Chang Heng-chia and others through examinations for over three decades, held its own in a distinguished field of academies despite its late origins. When Chang Chih-tung memorialized in 1889 to confirm his new academy in Canton, he argued his case in part by reference to only six previous academies, including Foochow's Cheng-i,

(39) *T'ung-chih chung-hsing ching-wai tsou-i yueh-pien* 同治中興京外奏議約編 (A selective compilation of memorials from the provinces, of the T'ung-chih restoration), comp. Ch'en T'ao 陳瑗 (preface 1875), 5:25-26b. On the use of *likin* for academies, see Rankin, p. 103.

(40) Hsieh Chang-t'ing 謝章铤, *Tu-ch'i shan-chuang ch'uan-chi* 賭棋山莊全集 (Complete collection of the writings of Hsieh Chang-t'ing) (1881-1901; repr. Taipei, Wen-hai, 1975), *Wen yu hsu* 文又續 (Essays, further continuation), 2:2 (142:679).

(41) *Min-Hou hsien chih*, 69:28b; 72:20b. *Fu-chien t'ung-chi*, "Lieh-chuan" 列傳 (Biographies), 39:22b-26b, 39:65b-67. Li Kuo-ch'i, p. 223.

founded in the T'ung-chih reign, and the academy of the same name in Soochow, Kiangsu province, renovated in the same era. The Foochow academy became a school (*ta hsueh-t'ang* 大學堂) by order of the Governor-General, who memorialized for imperial approval in 1902.⁽⁴²⁾

Chih-yung academy

On his way to the *chin-shih* degree and a career as an official, Chang Heng-chia also studied at the Chih-yung shu-yuan 致用書院 (Practical-application academy), the other academy founded at Foochow in the late nineteenth century, in 1871 by order of Governor Wang K'ai-t'ai. Like the Cheng-i academy, this new academy carried a name that linked it with a long classical scholarly tradition; *chih-yung* appears, among other places, in the *Book of Changes* (*I-ching* 易經), where it is in reference to the necessity of considering the function of matters and things (*wu* 物). The term was an active part of Ch'ing "statecraft" (*ching-shih* 經世) scholarship, the objective of which, as recently expressed by Liu Kwang-ching and Chou Ch'i-jung, was *chih-yung*; the term suggests practical outcome consistent with worthy (and well-informed) intentions. Jerry Dennerline thus renders *chih-yung* as "achieve proper effects."⁽⁴³⁾

The concept of *chih-yung* certainly suited T'ung-chih restoration policy, though clearly it had earlier use as well. In Foochow the name of the Chih-yung academy linked it structurally with the enduring Ao-feng academy and also the recently founded Cheng-i academy. West of the library at Ao-feng were the Chih-yung chai 致用齋 (Practical-application study) and the Cheng-i t'ang (which may have been Chang Po-hsing's original eighteenth-century shrine to Sung scholars), both in place at the time of Ao-feng's expansion in 1804. Despite this nominal overlap, likely intentional on the part of Chih-yung's founders, Chih-yung academy had its own spatial identity. Whereas Ao-feng was in the eastern suburbs of Foochow, as was Cheng-i, Chih-yung began in the facilities of an academy of Ao-feng's vintage and associated with

(42) *T'ung-k'ao*, 101:8599. *Min-Hou hsien chih*, 34 supplement, p. 1. Ch'en Hsueh-hsun, p. 21, citing an unpublished ms. by Chang Han-shen 張涵深 in the Fukien provincial archives.

(43) Morohashi, vol. 9, no. 30146-111. Liu Kwang-ching 劉廣京 and Chou Ch'i-jung 周啟榮, "Huang-ch'ao ching-shih wen-pien kuan-yü 'ching-shih chih hsueh' te li-lun" 皇朝經世文編關於「經世之學」的理論 (Theories of "statecraft learning" in *Huang-ch'ao ching-shih wen-pien*), *Chung-yang yen-chiu yuan Chin-tai shih yen-chiu so chi-k'an*, 15.1:84 (June 1986). Jerry Dennerline, *The Chia-ting Loyalists: Confucian Leadership and Social Change in Seventeenth-Century China* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1981), p. 165.

the legacy of Chu Hsi, the Hsi-hu shu-yuan 西湖書院 (West lake academy), in the city's northwest environs. Chih-yung moved to its own facilities south of Wu-shih shan, in the city's southwest quadrant, in 1871, understood to be the year of its founding.⁽⁴⁴⁾

The basis of Chih-yung's curriculum was *ching shih* 經史, or "classics and history," watchwords of the development of Ch'ing statecraft scholarship. Hsieh Kuo-chen, writing in 1936, used this term in summarizing the program of Ao-feng academy in *li-hsueh* Sung studies and also applied it to the *k'ao-cheng* 考證, or textual studies, that helped to characterize Juan Yuan's academy in Canton, the Hsueh-hai t'ang. In the late nineteenth century classics and history had as their most illustrious promoter Chang Chih-tung, who made them central to the programs of study at the academies he founded. Chang and others advocated classics and history as "realistic studies" (*shih-hsueh* 實學), reflecting their commitment to cultivating talent for the administration of the empire. At the Chih-yung academy in Foochow, the function of the curricular emphasis on classics and history found eloquent expression in a phrase used to summarize its program—*ching-i chih shih* 經義治事 (interpreting the classics to govern affairs).⁽⁴⁵⁾

The Chih-yung academy fit into a general pattern and did not operate in a vacuum, whatever its particular refinements. Students seem to have moved freely among Foochow's academies. Biographical notices show, for example, a student who was at Ao-feng and then Chih-yung academies and another student who was at Ao-feng, Feng-ch'ih, and Chih-yung academies. Chang Heng-chia was at Chih-yung after having been at Cheng-i academy. Shen Yü-ch'ing 沈瑜慶 (1858-1918, *chü-jen* 1885), one of the sons of Shen Pao-chen, the imperially appointed superintendent of the Foochow Navy Yard after Tso Tsung-t'ang left in late 1866, had as his early tutors men enlisted by his father from Ao-feng, Feng-ch'ih, and Cheng-i academies; and in the late

(44) *Min-Hou hsien chih*, 33:1b, 3b-4.

(45) *Ibid.*, 33:4; 69:35b; 71:24b; 77:5, 7. Hsieh Kuo-chen, pp. 2,6,11,13. Ch'en Yuan-hui, pp. 104-105,155. Wang K'ai-yun 王蘭運, *Hsiang-chi-lou jih-chi* 湘綺樓日記 (Diary of Wang K'ai-yun) (Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1927), vol. 3, p. 12. Liu Kwang-ching 劉廣京, "Hsu" 序 (Preface), *Chin-shih Chung-kuo ching-shih ssu-hsiang yen-t'ao-hui lun-wen chi* 近世中國經世思想研討會論文集 (Proceedings of the Conference on the theory of statecraft in modern China) (Taipei, Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1984), pp. 9-10,14-15.

1870s Shen Yü-ch'ing was a student at Chih-yung academy.⁽⁴⁶⁾

Teachers also moved among academies, perhaps working in more than one academy at a time in order to make ends meet.⁽⁴⁷⁾ The experience of the head of Chih-yung academy upon its establishment involved a series of institutions. His biographical notice reports that Cheng Shih-kung 鄭世恭 (*chin-shih* 1852), the son of an official, almost became a Hanlin scholar but failed to achieve this status because he miswrote a character in the second round of tests, at the capital. He held a position at the Ministry of Revenue (Hupu 戶部) in Peking, but the salary was inadequate and he returned home to Min county, Foochow. He tutored pupils in a family school but then lost that position and took up the menial work of spinning, receiving only about 110 pieces of money a day to sustain himself, the biographical notice states.

Apparently Cheng Shih-kung secured work appropriate to his background, education, and talent only after being back in Foochow for some time. The biographical notice reports that Tso Tsung-t'ang, when he was Governor-General of Chekiang and Fukien (1863-1866), heard about Cheng and his excellence at scholarship and invited him to be head (*shan-chang*) of Feng-ch'ih academy. In 1871, Governor Wang K'ai-t'ai appointed Cheng as head of the Chih-yung academy, where he seems to have stayed ten years. His last appointment was as a teacher at Cheng-i academy for several years, until his death.⁽⁴⁸⁾

Cheng Shih-kung's scholarly achievements and style contributed to the distinctive character of Chih-yung academy, and at least one biographical notice claims that its subject studied for over ten years at "Cheng Shih-kung's Chih-yung shu-yuan in the specialized curriculum, classics and history."⁽⁴⁹⁾ The biographical notice of Cheng Shih-kung himself asserts that Cheng was skilled at writing essays for the official examinations and, as well, could recite (*pei-sung* 背誦) the Thirteen Classics and their commentaries. He taught people to follow his example, and thus to make progress.⁽⁵⁰⁾

The account of Cheng Shih-kung suggests that the Chih-yung academy, like the Cheng-i academy, may have brought novelty to Foochow's educational

(46) *Fu-chien t'ung-chi*, "Wen-yuan" 文苑 (Collected biographical notices), 9:30ab; "Lieh-chuan," 39:67b. *Min-Hou hsien chih*, 68:28, 69:35b.

(47) *Fu-chien t'ung-chi*, "Kao-shih chuan" 高士傳 (Biographies of eminent scholars), 5:9.

(48) *Min-Hou hsien chih*, 71:20b-21.

(49) *Ibid.*, 77:7.

(50) *Ibid.*, 71:21.

skyline but perpetuated the overriding concern of academy schooling—progress in the official system of examinations. Like Cheng-i, Chih-yung seems to have held its own, attracting teachers of distinction and students who would succeed in qualifying for official appointment. The eventual disposition of Chih-yung academy is unclear, but it survived intact until the time when it should have become a modern school by imperial order. Hsieh Chang-t'ing 謝章铤 (1820–1903, *chin-shih* 1877), poet and essayist, became head of the academy in 1887 and remained in that post sixteen years, until the time of his death.⁽⁵¹⁾ Probably Hsieh was the last head of the academy as such.

III. PRACTICAL EDUCATION AND PUBLIC ORDERING

Hsieh Chang-t'ing was a participant in a tendency toward increasingly practical education for what might constitute an effort at public ordering, or the organizing of local society, in late nineteenth-century Foochow; but he likely did not recognize the process in those terms. From Ch'ang-lo 長樂 county, southeast from Foochow across the Min river, Hsieh had lectured in and directed academies elsewhere before taking up ongoing work in his home province. His first appointment back in Foochow was not in an academy; in 1882, at 63 *sui*, he joined the staff of the Foochow Navy Yard in a managerial role, placing an essay he wrote at the time as “at Ma-chiang 馬江, in the office of the general manager of the shipyard” (*ch'uan ssu-k'ung yü-chai* 船司空寓齋).⁽⁵²⁾ Later, at the Chih-yung academy, with students to select by examination each year, teachers to contract and monitor, and a budget to keep solvent, Hsieh was in a “modernizing” managerial position even as he advanced “traditional” learning.⁽⁵³⁾

The academy presented Hsieh Chang-t'ing with no apparent modern corporate structure, however, even though he had had experience with an assistant head of studies when he was at a previous academy and likely had a staff at Chih-yung. By contrast, the Navy Yard assignment he undertook in 1882 had put him into a corporate world, with personnel commitment on a large scale and involving hundreds of Chinese employees and supervisors as well as foreign suppliers and teachers. In a basic way, the Navy Yard

(51) Hsieh Chang-t'ing, *Ch'uan-chi, Yü chi-shih* 餘集詩 (Collected remaining poems), 17b-18 (145:1674-1675). Hummel, pp. 305-306.

(52) Hsieh Chang-t'ing, *Ch'uan-chi, Wen-chi* 文集 (Essays), 7:30 (142:439); *Yü chi-shih*, 17b-18(145:1674-1675).

(53) *Min-Hou hsien chih*, 68:16.

operation reflected Foochow's physical expansion toward the Min river as it adjusted to being in the treaty-port corridor. At the outset, the Navy Yard required the purchase of land from local farmers or landlords and equipment from abroad. From the beginning, then, there was a corporate setting because the enterprise was multi-level and necessitated negotiation with the community and interaction with markets.⁽⁵⁴⁾

No such corporate setting is evident in the academies; no evidence surfaces of organizational sophistication, staff meetings, or academy-academy formal cooperation by contract. Perhaps, after all, the academies sat outside Foochow's spatial expansion, new levels of organization, and the challenge of new jobs to do. Did their graduates and promoters have to un-do the academies in order to get on with working up a new China?

Not necessarily, might have said Cheng Kuan-ying 鄭觀應, the scholarly merchant of Shanghai whose *Sheng-shih wei-yen* 盛世危言 (Words of warning to a seemingly prosperous age) appeared in 1893. Cheng held fast to Confucian tradition while advocating the development of schools (*hsueh-hsiao*) and the expansion of academies (*shu-yuan*) to build technical skills (*chi-i* 技藝). The key issue, from Cheng's perspective, was awareness of "the times" (*shih* 時). Schools, Cheng argued, were places for cultivating human talent and were "the basis for ordering the world" (*chih T'ien-hsia chih ta-pen* 治天下之大本). He contended that academies came into existence so that teachers and students could study to understand the affairs of the world for the sake of the country (*wei kuo-chia chih yung* 爲國家之用). The official examinations, however, undermined this objective by neglecting subjects like astronomy (*t'ien-wen* 天文), technology (*ko-chih* 格致), natural law (*li* 歷), and mathematics (*suan* 算); almost no one promoted "practical" or "realistic studies" (*shih-hsueh*). What Cheng wanted was specialized schooling that would advance agriculture, for example. National strength would come from the opening of more "schools/academies" (*hsueh-t'ang shu-yuan*), thus to make the country competitive with Western nations.⁽⁵⁵⁾

(54) Ibid. David Pong, "Keeping the Foochow Navy Yard Afloat: Government Finance and China's Early Modern Defence Industry, 1866-75," *Modern Asian Studies*, 21.1:121-152 (1987). Hsieh Chang-t'ing, *Ch'uan-chi, Wen yu hsu*, 2:32-33b. *Fu-chou ch'uan-ch'ang* 福州船廠 (The Foochow Navy Yard), part B of *Hai-fang tang* 海防檔 (Documents on maritime defense) (Taipei, Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1957), vol. 1, pp. 59-60 (doc. 31).

(55) Cheng Kuan-ying 鄭觀應, *Tseng-ting cheng-hsu Sheng-shih wei-yen* 增訂正續盛世危言 (Words of warning to a seemingly prosperous age, expanded edn.) (Shanghai, Liu-hsien [1893]), author's preface, 1; "Hsueh-hsiao" 學校, pp. 2ab, 3, 13.

Cheng Kuan-ying would have approved of Foochow's educational innovations in the interest of practical application. Especially he would have liked developments reported in the Min-Hou gazetteer's section on "Enterprise" (*Shih-yeh* 實業), which consists of notes on technical schools founded in the last years of the Ch'ing and into the Republic. Amid the schools of agriculture (*nung* 農) and industry (*kung* 工) is, for example, a school with a *shu-yuan* association, the First provincial school of sericulture (Sheng-li chia-chung ts'an-yeh hsueh-hsiao 省立甲種蠶業學校), established in 1907. Such schools did not appear in a vacuum, however, and Foochow's cultural institutions in the reconstruction era that began in the T'ung-chih reign provided a context. The sericulture school occupied facilities that had been the Sang-mien chü 桑棉局 (Bureau of mulberry and cotton production), established by Tso Tsung-t'ang while he was posted at Foochow in the T'ung-chih years, outside the "Navy office" gate (Shui-pu men 水部門). The bureau soon closed, probably at the time of Tso's departure from Foochow in 1866 for his new post in Kansu. In 1901 the gentry (*shen-shih*) Ch'en Pao-ch'en 陳寶琛 (1848-1935) and others took the lead to establish a sericulture school, and in 1902 the Governor-General memorialized to secure it as an agricultural-sericultural institution at the place of Tso Tsung-t'ang's former bureau. After some name and place changes not unlike those of Foochow's academies previously, the school ended up in Wu-shih shan and boasted a mulberry experimental farm. ⁽⁵⁶⁾

What of Ch'en Pao-ch'en, who led the way to the sericulture technical school? He was a local person of note who earned the *chin-shih* degree in 1868 and became a Hanlin scholar and a Grand Secretary in Peking; he was part of Foochow's academy scene, a lecturer at Ao-feng academy probably in the 1870s. In the 1880s he was on the staff of Chang Chih-tung, with whom he remained allied. ⁽⁵⁷⁾ Ch'en seems to personify the argument that academies, whatever their limits as corporate structures, participated in a process of creating a new order that expected the participation of a wider segment of China's population in the cultivation of talent (*jen-ts'ai*) for practical application to new socio-economic conditions. Such a process might constitute what "public ordering" here entails.

(56) *Min-Hou hsien chih*, 28:1.

(57) *Fu-chien t'ung-chi*, "Wen-yuan," 9:30b. William Ayers, *Chang Chih-tung and Educational Reform in China* (Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 66-67. Daniel H. Bays, *China Enters the Twentieth Century: Chang Chih-tung and the Issues of a New Age, 1895-1909* (Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 1978), pp. 25,47.

Foochow's experience in the era of reconstruction shows that the academies turned attention to this modern objective of public ordering. Especially in the context of institutional revival and innovation, the academies provided space for more specialization that fit an emerging interest in technical education, in this instance the skill of administrative leadership. The academies, to be sure, were not modern schools; they never became free from a preoccupation with the examinations as requisite exercise. The examination system determined the curriculum, and examination questions called for second-nature skill in executing prescribed forms of words and phrases, not informed ideas on managing a more diverse society.⁽⁵⁸⁾ The new schools, including the Foochow Navy Yard school, could loosen the constraints of academy education and purposely seek students outside the families of local men of influence; but, dependent as they were on the model of the *shu-yuan* and the values of *shu-yuan* graduates, new schools also could perpetuate the academy pattern of preoccupation with prescribed forms at the expense of real problems.

The academies' narrow definition of their mission seems to affirm the role of *shu-yuan* in the problem of the missing "technocrat" identified by Frederic Wakeman in his 1972 *Daedalus* article on Ming and Ch'ing intellectuals. Wakeman argues that by being overly concerned with "moral mastery" academies delayed the cultivation of "utilitarian skill" necessary to China's modern survival. He credits the study societies of the 1898 reform movement for altering conditions to allow the emergence of a new category of intellectuals "commanding a body of abstruse or specialized knowledge" and free of the constraints of Confucian "moral generalism."⁽⁵⁹⁾

Such a judgment of the academies overlooks the fact that the academy graduates themselves established the reform study societies and instituted a network of schools well in place by the beginning of the Republican era. The easy coexistence of the Foochow Navy Yard and Foochow's academies, old and new, pointed the way to the transformation of *shu-yuan* into schools and the development of technical education. The content of academy schooling may have kept close to texts removed from actual conditions in late imperial China, but the form of instruction allowed a habit of specialization that

(58) Lu Hsiang-fu 盧湘父, *Wan-mu-ts'ao t'ang i-chiu* 萬木草堂憶舊 (Recollections, in old age, of K'ang Yu-wei 康有為) (preface 1899; repr. Taipei, Wen-hai, 1979?), pp. 9-6 (59-66).

(59) Frederic Wakeman, Jr., "The Price of Autonomy: Intellectuals in Ming and Ch'ing Politics," *Daedalus*, 101. 2: 36, 55, 62-63 (Spring 1972).

could enhance professionalism in the interest of public ordering.

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The academies of Foochow in the era of reconstruction following the Taiping disruptions had a dynamic quality helpful to the rise of a new managerial class. At work in this process were old patterns: In times of cultural adjustment, old academies enjoyed renewal and new academies came into existence; official sanction worked in a mutually advantageous relationship with local initiative and funding; academies were means of identifying and nourishing human talent. New ingredients added to the process: An intensification of statecraft (*ching-shih*) scholarship with emphasis on classics and history (*ching shih*) permitted new attention to affairs of the times (*shih-wu*) and generated interest in realistic studies (*shih-hsueh*). The Foochow Navy Yard school provided an experience of technical, realistic education that maintained ties with the academies; a concentration of institutional revival and innovation in the T'ung-chih restoration set the stage for the transformation of academies into schools. The external model of missionary schools in Nan-t'ai was peripheral to this process. In their own way, the academies of Foochow cultivated habits of "utilitarian skill" that laid a basis for corporate behavior well before the Ch'ing reforms and a national preoccupation with ordering a changing public.