Qingliu and Reform

The Orthodoxy of the Literati in the Reform Movement of Late Nineteenth Century China

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Master of Arts

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Declaration

This thesis represents my own original work.

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PREFACE

This thesis is focused on the ideals and activities of the qingliu group during two major political movements, the self-strengthening (ziqiang) and reform (bianfa) movements, between the 1860s and 1890s. The qingliu group was a political faction of the "scholar-officials" (shidafu). In particular, the members of the group comprised the more distinguished of the scholar-officials. Most of the members of the qingliu group held positions in the Hanlin Academy, the Censorate or other official bodies and the Court could ill-afford to ignore their opinions, or qingyi (literally 'pure discussion,' also translated as 'public opinion'). As a result, the ideas and actions of the qingliu group greatly influenced state politics, and the group played an important and dominant role in late Qing history.

In this thesis I have dealt with both ideological factors and personal relationships in studying the role of the qingliu officials in this process of change. As is well known, the historic role of a political faction cannot be explained fully through a study of only ideological factors. A more complete understanding depends upon a knowledge of the complex of human motives and personal interests which tied together those who acted upon the political stage. Therefore, in this thesis I have devoted much attention to personal friendships and conflicts, such as the conflicts between qingliu members and yangwu officials, and the relationship between many qingliu members and Kang Youwei. By tracing these personal relationships, I hope to enrich our understanding of the main topic of this
The first chapter is introductory, devoted to the general background of the qingliu group. Qingliu, as a political term, has had a long history in China. With the aim of redefining the role of the qingliu group in the late Qing, this chapter not only gives a general analysis of the group's organizational structure and membership, but also deals with the political affiliations and the evolution of the group during the period between the 1860s and the 1890s.

The second chapter contains discussions of ideological matters, political proposals and the relationship between the qingliu and the yangwu groups in the self-strengthening movement. The movement, which began in mid-1860s was a combined response to the powerful forces, dynastic decline and the foreign threats. Both the internal and foreign threats led to a growing demand for change. The first section of the chapter presents an overall view of the different proposals put forward by the qingliu and the yangwu groups in their effort to create a stronger China. The second section deals with the power struggles and personal conflicts between qingliu and yangwu officials. In this part, the Empress Dowager Ci Xi's role in the struggle between the two groups has been given particular attention. The last section returns to ideological factors, tracing the influence upon

Chapters three, four and five, all deal with the role of the qingliu group in the reform movement of the 1890s. While the first generation of qingliu officials opposed the yangwu members who were prepared to accept some western ideas and methods during the Self-strengthening movement, the second generation of qingliu officials, known as the later qingliu, cooperated with Kang Youwei's reform group, which advocated changing the existing political institutions in accordance with what was known of Western methods. Chapter three traces the earlier relationship between Kang Youwei and some his friends who later became famous qingliu members, and examines Kang's political activities with regard to
the *qingliu* movement during the years 1888-89. In this chapter, I also introduce the background of the later *qingliu* group and the maturation of Kang's reform group, which will be helpful for understanding the next discussion in the thesis.

Chapter four focuses on the co-operation between Kang's reform group and the *qingliu* group during and after the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95). By analysing such cooperative projects as the Peking and Shanghai *Qiangxue hui*, I wish to point out that the later *qingliu* group played a leading role in the political activities, while Kang's reform group played only a supportive role. The last part of this chapter deals again with ideological issues, particularly the ideological differences between the later *qingliu* and Kang's reform groups. The last chapter is devoted to the relationship between the later *qingliu* group and Kang's reform group in the Hundred Days reform of 1898. This chapter is divided into two parts. The first section discusses the role of Weng Tonghe's faction of the *qingliu* group and its relationship with Kang Youwei, while the second section deals with Zhang Zhidong's role in the movement. At the end of the chapter I have presented a short

For the romanization of Chinese names and terms I have used the *Hanyu pinyin* method rather than the older Wade-Giles system. And when referring to late Qing rulers I have used the names given to their reign periods rather than their personal or temple names.
CHAPTER ONE

The Background of the qingliu Group

The General Nature of the qingliu Group

Historically, political associations or groupings were illegal in China. Under the autocratic monarchy, people were commanded to obey the imperial power completely, and the existence of any independent or private political force was considered dangerous for the state. However, even within the ruling class, there were variations in family background, regional origin, moral standards, spheres of learning, political views and religious beliefs. Men with similar background and interests tended to form groups to protect their own interests and those of similar groups, and discriminate against those who held different views. Informal associations continued to exist throughout Chinese history. These informal political groupings were known by the derogatory term pengdang.¹

Usually, Confucianism divided pengdang into those composed of junzi (gentlemen) and those composed of xiaoren (mean fellows). According to Ou Yangxiu, a scholar of the Song dynasty, gentlemen form groupings on the basis of shared ideals, while 'mean fellows' form groupings on the basis of shared personal interests.² Gentlemen come from families of good standing, and are men of great learning and high moral qualities. Qingliu as a general category, was an

¹ Literally, peng means friends, and dang means party. The term pengdang may be translated as "clique". For a discussion of the role of pengdang in Chinese history, see Zhang YuFa, Qingji de lìxian tuanti (The Associations of Constitutionalists of the Late Qing Period), pp.11-4.

outcome of the existence of pengdang in Chinese autocratic times. The term qingliu, which literally means "pure stream," was traditionally applied to members of "gentleman" groupings, while the term zhuoliu, "dirty stream" was used for members of "mean fellow" groupings.\(^3\) What does qingliu really mean? As a general definition, the term qingliu seems to be associated with the grouping of orthodox scholar-officials who were well known in social circles or in the academic field. When bureaucracy became rampant, when "mean fellows" held sway, academic achievements were spurned and social order became chaos, qingliu members as the embodiment of orthodoxy stood for disassociation with the officials who were regarded as lacking moral worth, and attacked government corruption and immoral social values.

It is widely known that bureaucrats and intellectuals were in the main the same group of people in imperial China.\(^4\) Using qing to describe a scholar-official emphasized the special intellectual and moral qualities expected of a scholar when he had become an official.\(^5\) There are a number of Chinese terms beginning with qing which describe the special intellectual and moral qualities and character of typical scholar-officials, such as qinggao (morally disinterested in worldly things), qinglian (incorruptible), qingzheng (honest and upright), qingya (elegant), and qingbai (unsoiled). The scholar-officials who came to be termed the qingliu

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\(^3\) Qingliu may be rendered literally as "pure stream". The liu, however, is a figure of speech, and means a group of people. For more discussion of the translation of the term qingliu, see Lloyd Eastman, "Ch'ing-i and Chinese Policy Formation during the Nineteenth Century" Journal of Asian Studies, (1965) 24:4/600, no 27.

In A.D. 905, the powerful official Zhu Wen executed the scholar-official Fei Shu. Li Zheng, an adviser of Zhu, hated the scholar-officials. He suggested to Zhu that as the scholar-officials often called themselves qingliu, it would be a good idea to throw their bodies into the Yellow River so that the qingliu would turn into zhuoliu (dirty stream). See Xin Tangshu (A New History of the Tang Dynasty), p.4648.

\(^4\) This assertion is made by Wu Han in his "Lun shidafu" (On Scholar-officials) in Fei Xiaotong and Wu Han, Huangquan yu shenquan (The Power of Emperors and the Power of Gentry), p.66.

\(^5\) The connotations of the qingliu varied according to the period. For example, in the Jin dynasty (A.D.256-420), to call someone a qingliu scholar meant that he did not want to involved in government affairs so as to keep his reputation intact.
usually had great learning and literary ability. They were also seen as highly
virtuous, and different from professional bureaucrats, who were considered more
prone to corruption. When such qingliu scholar-officials expressed their critical
opinions on affairs of state or the general moral state of society, they often used a
quite intemperate rhetorical style to express their opposition. Compared with the
professional bureaucrats, the qingliu officials usually were lacking in experience
and practical skill to set against their bookish idealism.

Although the qingliu officials of the late Qing retained some of the general
characteristics of the qingliu members in earlier periods of Chinese history, they
had some distinctive features of their own. As the Western impact on China
escalated through the nineteenth century, the qingliu group, as representatives of
orthodox scholar-officialdom, not only opposed corruption in government and
degeneration of social values while defending the honour of Confucianism, but
also took upon themselves the responsibility to protect Chinese tradition and
culture from the corrosive influence of the West.

The qingliu group which formed in the mid-1870s came originally from the
qingyi movement. A summary of the history of qingyi as a political concept will be
found in Lloyd H. Eastman, "Ch'ing-i and Chinese Policy Formation during the
Nine-teenth Century"6 According to Eastman, the concept of qingyi first appeared
in the Western Han, when it referred to government-solicited discussion and
criticism of the behaviour and morality of prospective office-holders. Later in the
Western Han, this kind of criticism became the tool of an opposition movement
which took root among the large number of Confucian literati deprived of power
and privilege during the factional struggles that occurred at the end of the

6 Eastman, "Ch'ing-i and Chinese Policy Formation during the Nineteenth Century", pp.595-6.
See also Mary B. Rankin, "Public Opinion and Political Power: Qingyi in Late Nineteenth
dynasty. It was in such oppositional contexts that qingyi discourse became important in Southern Song and late Ming politics. The sudden growth of qingyi in the late Qing was stimulated by the long crisis in national and foreign affairs. In the earlier periods of the Qing dynasty, the reigns of Emperors Kangxi, Yongzheng and Qianlong (between 1662 and 1795) had been ones of considerable prosperity and strength. Signs of decline had been apparent since the reign of Emperor Daoguang (1821-1850).

Susan Jones and Philip Kuhn have emphasized a different link between developments at the end of the eighteenth century and the political crisis of the nineteenth century. The connection they identify is to be found in a pattern of social and environmental changes without precedent in the history of Chinese civilization. The decline became worse during the reigns of Emperors Xianfeng, 1850-1862 and Tongzhi (1862-1875). Especially after the internal rebellion of the Taiping, which took fourteen years to suppress, the economic and political system of society was shattered. Serious financial crisis, chaos in law and order and general corruption of social morality caused scholar-officials to criticize government policies and officials who were seen as unfilial, corrupt and otherwise un-Confucian.

Aside from the internal social crisis, the Western impact accentuated the activity of qingyi. Before the mid-nineteenth century, the Chinese intellectuals' view of their native land was that it was the centre of the world geographically, while Confucianism was the perfect civilization, superior to all others both socially and politically. The Westerners who arrived in China in about the mid-nineteenth century were called yi (barbarians). But since the first Opium War of 1840-1842,

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7 Eastman, "Ch'ing-i and Chinese Policy Formation during the Nineteenth Century", pp.597-8.
Chinese defeats had led to a series of humiliating treaties. The indemnities exacted by the Western powers and the cession of Chinese territory had aroused anger and xenophobia within the Chinese intellectual class. Though the government accepted the unequal treaties and the humiliating situation, the old feelings of cultural superiority and pride did not go away. Thus, when some officials first introduced Western-inspired innovations in the mid-1860s, both they and their projects were attacked by the majority of scholar-officials.

From one point of view, the first growth of qingyi was aimed at opposing the yangwu (Western affairs) movement and included attacks on officials who first introduced Western-inspired innovations in the late 1860s and early 1870s. For the most part, qingyi focussed on yangwu activities, such as the establishment of schools, for example, the Tongwen guan which offered Western language courses; the construction of railway or the sending of diplomatic missions to foreign countries. The qingliu group developed from the qingyi movement, and thus the xenophobic views of qingyi coloured those of the qingliu group in its early period. The problems facing the nineteenth-century qingliu scholar-officials were therefore much more complex than those which faced the qingliu groupings in earlier periods. Regular government administration had been disrupted, and before long, uncontrolled corruption and demoralization began to appear. The crisis in the second half of the nineteenth century in China was unique in the sense that it could not be explained in terms of the usual Confucian notions of what caused administrative or dynastic decline. The objects of the qingliu political struggles in the late Qing were not limited to domestic affairs but extended to foreign affairs. These struggles were closely connected with many key questions in modern China, such as the conflicts between Western civilization and Chinese tradition, between the progressive and the conservative, between patriotism and

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treason, as well as over the problem of whether or not the reform should accept some Western knowledge while continuing to adhere to traditional values. The question that will serve as a focus for the discussion in this thesis is that of the qingliu scholar-officials' attempts at reforming the government under the strong impact from the West.

The Organizational Structure and Membership of the qingliu Group

Two main qingliu groups have been identified within the metropolitan bureaucracy during the late Qing: the earlier qingliu group of the late 1870s through to the mid-1880s, and the later qingliu group which was closely interrelated with the Didang (Emperor's Party) in the 1890s.\(^{10}\)

The qingliu group, as with many other political factions, had no formal organizational structure, because political associations were forbidden by all imperial dynasties. The Qing dynasty was no exception. The qingliu group, strictly speaking, was a loose grouping of orthodox scholar-officials who joined together on the basis not only of political views, but also of personal interests, regional background or other private factors. In other words, the qingliu group, as Hao Yanping has said, "was an amorphous grouping based on personal relationships rather than hierarchical formal political organization".\(^{11}\) This poses the question: what were the chief internal bonds within the qingliu group which formed it into a political faction? In my opinion, the qingliu group's amorphous organizational structure was related to the particular nature of Chinese scholar-officials. I would suggest that the major roots of the qingliu group's internal

\(^{10}\) Ibid, p.456.

relationships lay in the network and ties stemming from the examination system which was closely related to the existence of the whole scholar-official class.

The most important factor in the examination system which played a role in forming the qingliu group was the relationship of mensheng. The mensheng relationship was akin to a teacher-disciple relation. However, it existed not only in teacher-disciple situations but also more widely among the officials. Historically, the mensheng relationship had served as one of the major bases for forming political factions. In the early Qing period, the custom of taking on mensheng was outlawed, but this did not stop it from functioning. The government under the reign of the Yongzheng emperor finally had to acknowledge this relationship's legal status. The custom of mensheng flowered in the latter days of the Qing dynasty. It became a regular practice for degree candidates to treat all examiners as mentors after they had passed the examination, and set up a relationship of mensheng with each other, especially when the examiner held a high government post. At the same time, such high officials also made earnest efforts to enlist able men and scholars with literary reputations into their networks as their disciples. Generally, the more disciples a patron had, the more powerful he was. The acknowledged patrons of the qingliu group such as Li Hongzao and Weng Tonghe had held the position of examiner many times, and had a large number of disciples. It was popularly believed that Weng Tonghe had enlisted Wen Tingshi and Zhang Jian by aiding them in their examinations when he was in charge of the

12 Shang Yanliu, Qingdai keju kaoshi shulun (An Account of the Qing Examination System), p.89.
13 The jinshi examination was usually managed by an examiner-general, four to six vice examiners and about eighteen examiners who were in charge of reading the examination papers. Only the examiner who read and marked a successful candidate's paper was treated as his zuoshi (mentor). The examiner-general was commonly treated as zuoshu (senior mentor). See Chen Zhiping, Zhonghua tongshi (A General History of China) Vol.8, p.107. For more detail on the Qing educational system, see Shang Yanliu Qingdai keju kaoshi shulun (An Account of the Qing Examination System), p.33-47.
14 See Table 1.
examinations between 1890 and 1894. Wen Tingshi and Zhang Jian were two of Weng Tonghe's principal disciples. The mensheng relationship served as a vertical tie between qingliu members and their leaders.

Another factor within the examination system which played a major part in the formation of the qingliu group was the tie of tongnian. The relationship of tongnian was somewhat like the relationship between classmates, but there was a difference. Tongnian means that the men had received their degrees in the same year rather than that they had studied at the same school. Strong ties among tongnian were encouraged by the examination system. The government always published a special book after each provincial or metropolitan examination, called the Tongnian chilu (Background of the successful candidates). This book gave many personal details such as family and educational background about the new successful candidates. Furthermore, some outstanding examination essays were also published. In this way, the new jinshi or juren became acquainted with one another. In fact, by taking the examination many times, many had already got to know each other quite well in the course of previous attempts to pass the examinations. If they had personal ties stemming from their family or educational background, they could become very close friends. The tongnian relationship could also be very important in their later official careers. The personal or social ties among the qingliu members often derived from the period of their examination.

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15 See Huang Jun, Huasui rensheng-an zhiyi quanbian (The complete Historical notes by Huang Jun) in the edition of Su Tongban and Xu Yanban, pp.600-3; and Hu Sijing, Guowen beicheng (Historical anecdotes), 2/16a-b; also Wang Bogong, Juanlu suibi (Reminiscences of Wang Bogong) in Jian Bozan ed, Wuau bianfa (The Reform Movement of 1898), Vol.4, p.225.

16 For the relationship between Weng and Zhang, see Zhang Kaiyuan, "Weng-Zhang jiaoyi yu Wan-Qing shiju" (The relationship between Weng Tonghe and Zhang Jian and its bearing on late Qing court politics) in Jindaishi yanjiu (Studies on Modern Chinese History), (1981) 1/179-98. For the relationship between Weng and Wen, see Liu Fan, "Weng-Wen jiaoyi yuqi zhengzhi beijing" (The relationship between Weng Tonghe and Wen Tingshi and its political background) in Shixue yuekan (Monthly History), (1986) 1/55-9.

17 See Shang Yanliu, Qingdai keju kaoshi shulun (An Account of the Qing Examination System), pp.87-8.
candidature. If one looks at a list of names of people most closely associated with qingliu members, one can see that most of their friendships were established during their examination period. From the 1890s on, the degree candidates who took the examination in the same year took part directly in political activities such as the degree candidates against the Sino-Japanese peace treaty in 1895 and the establishment of the Baoguo hui (Society for Protecting the Nation) in 1898. The tongnian relationship served as a strong horizontal tie among qingliu members.

The third major type of relationship within the qingliu grouping was the tongxiang relationship. Tongxiang means of the same neigbourhood, and was also used more broadly to refer to people of the same town, county or province. Regional ties played a very important role not only in the examination system, but also directly within political factions. During the late Qing, the forming of strong political factions such as those associated with the political forces of Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang mainly depended on personal regional armies (such as the Xiang army and Huai army) which were formed during the suppression of the Taiping rebellion. As is commonly known, many official associations of people from particular provinces or towns (Tongxiang hui) existed in the capital. One of the functions of these associations was to look after the boarding and lodging of degree candidates who came from the same province or town when they came to the capital for the metropolitan examination. Usually, the first thing degree candidates would do on arrival in the capital would be to call on the highest officials from their home area. These officials were then expected to guide and support their townsmen. This so called xiangtu (native soil) relationship was a very strong tradition in Chinese culture. There are many stories about examiners or high officials who favoured their townsmen. For example, according to Wen Tingshi, when Li Hongzao took charge of the examiner's position, ninety per cent of his townsmen, [also including those who came from the same province] who
had often visited him, passed the examination.\(^{18}\) The so-called Northern and Southern factions existed before and during the *qingliu* group's evolution.\(^ {19}\) When Li Hongzao, a Northerner, was part of the inner decision-making group in the Grand Council, it was said that "he did not use officials who came from southern provinces unless it was absolutely necessary."\(^ {20}\) The key members of the early *qingliu* group, Zhang Zhidong, Zhang Peilun and Li himself all came from the same province, Zhili. Their activities were criticized at that time in these words: "The northerners, two Zhangs and one Li, colluded both within and outside the government, and formed a wide group of colleagues into a clique."\(^ {21}\) In the same way, when Weng Tonghe acted as a patron of the later *qingliu* group, it came to be composed almost entirely of southerners. In short, the networks of the *qingliu* group were strongly imbued with regionalism.

The three types of relationship mentioned above served to structure major networks which linked the members of the *qingliu* group. The connection between the members and leaders of the group largely depended on the vertical tie of *mensheng*, while the *tongnian* tie acted as an important horizontal link among the *qingliu* members. *Tongxiang* principle provided both horizontal and vertical linkings. Nonetheless, other personal or social relationships such as personal and family friendship, nepotism, and experience as colleagues, also played quite important roles in forming the *qingliu* group. It may be said in brief that the *qingliu* group consisted of association of high degree holders on the scholar-friend

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19 On Northern and Southern factions, see Eastman, "Ch'ing-i and Chinese Policy Formation", p.601.
Thus the networks stemming from the examination system were the most basic ties linking the orthodox scholar-official group.

In the studies that have dealt with the question of the qingliu group, a number of scholar-officials have been suggested as qingliu figures. However, because qingliu was a very vague designation, even to contemporaries, there was neither a standard list of members nor a clear distinction between the qingliu group's members and the members' associates. The people called qingliu usually shared certain common characteristics which are central to our understanding of the group as being one composed of orthodox scholar-officials. These common features united them, and gave them a sense of individual identity and purpose.

Almost all qingliu members held the jinshi degree and held posts in the Hanlin Academy. They were among the best of the successful candidates in the civil service examinations. It has been estimated that at this time every year two million candidates were taking examinations at one or another level, of whom only about two percent were successful in obtaining the jinshi degree. Many qingliu members had been ranked by the examiners in one of the top ten places including the title of first (zhuangyuan), second (bangyan) and third (tanhua) scholar in the Empire. Those who gained the top positions in the examination list had a very high reputation among scholar-officials.

Most qingliu members were officials of low or middle rank, which means below the third rank, who served or had served in metropolitan departments like

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23 See Table 2 and 3.
25 See the Table 4.
the Hanlin Academy, the Censorate and the Six Boards. According to Qing
dynasty law, officials who held the jinshi or juren degree were called zhengtu
(regular route) scholar-officials, and only zhengtu officials could hold a place in
Departments such as the Hanlin Academy, the Board of Personnel, and Board of
Rites [The Board of Rites also directed educational affairs]. Though the
great majority of qingliu adherents were not at the policy-deciding level, they could
greatly influence policy-formation by submitting memorials to the throne. One of
the main differences between the officials known as qingliu adherents and the
general run of scholar-officials was that qingliu officials performed the unenviable
role of attacking corruption among officials and criticizing the policies of the
government.

Another marked characteristic of the qingliu adherents was that they set great
store by moral character. They were meant to be more concerned with the intrinsic
values of life than with material necessities. According to Confucian standards, the
moral principles should include qualities such as loyalty (zhong), filiality (xiao),
humanity (ren), justice (yi), etiquette (li), wisdom (zhi), and trustworthiness (xin).
All qingliu scholar-officials claimed to be "pure" in their public and private lives.
Kang Youwei described a typical qingliu member in the following words:

"Mr Tu Renshou is a gentleman with a broad mind and a sanguine
disposition. He is frank and upright, and is full of fortitude and the
spirit of universal fraternity. Mr Tu studies the philosophy of the
Cheng brothers and Zhu Xi carefully and with great respect. Seated or

26 See Eastman, "Ch'ing-i and Chinese Policy Formation", pp.596-7. Some exceptions such as
Li Hongzao, Weng Tonghe and Zhang Zhidong were regarded as the patrons of the qingliu
groups.

27 Zhengtu scholar-officials were those officials who had obtained officials status through the
normal channel of examination. See Zhao Ersun, ed, QSG , Vol. 12, p.3205.

28 In general, the right to submit memorials directly to the throne was confined to officials of
the third rank or higher. However censors and Hanlin officials might also submit memorials
directly to the throne, and other low or middle officials could submit memorials through their
department's directors. See Qinding Da-Qing huidian (Collected Statutes of the Qing
Dynasty), 82/10b-11a.
standing, he always keeps a dignified bearing. He dresses formally even in the heat of summer and never takes to his bed in the day-time unless he is very sick. Mr Tu manages his household meticulously, and never appears angry or speaks loudly. In ancestor memorial ceremonies, he strictly observes the custom of abstaining from meat and wine, and offers sacrifice with deep sorrow. He suspended his public activities and observed a three-year fast after the death of a parent."

When a qingliu member failed to behave morally he would be deemed to be unfit for membership of this highly moral grouping. For example, Bao Ting, a respected qingliu official, took a prostitute as concubine and was ostracized and humiliated by other qingliu members. In a similarly situation, Zhang Peilun was attacked for becoming the son-in-law of Li Hongzhang, whose reputation as a high official was poor. Li Ciming, a qingliu member, criticized a fellow official in the following words:

"Sun Yiyan considered himself a qingliu figure and a fine scholar, but he indulged himself on the pretext of his age. He often used opium and became lax in public affairs. He has brought utter discredit on himself."31

This suggests that the term qingliu was regarded as a highly respectable title, and officials without a high moral reputation were not qualified to be qingliu members.

Another common characteristic of qingliu members was that they were famous for their academic learning and their great scholarly achievements. Zhang Zhidong was a great classical scholar; Zhang Peilun, Bao Tin and Chen Baosheng were popular poets and writers; Pen Zuyin was an expert interpreter of inscriptions, ancient bronzes and stone tablets; Sheng Zenzhi was an expert in the

31 Li Ciming, *Yuemantang riji*, p.4904.
geography of northwest China; Li Hongzao and Weng Tonghe both served as imperial tutors because of their outstanding scholarship; and Zhang Jian and Wen Tingshi were acknowledged to be first-class scholars in many different disciplines.\textsuperscript{32} It is worth noting that many late qingliu members during 1880s-1890s also had wide knowledge of Western affairs.

As we have seen, the qingliu was a special group among the elite Chinese intellectuals. They stood as a group of truly orthodox scholar-officials whose scholarship and insistence on high moral principles distinguished them from the common run of officials. Around these scholar-officials with their superior intellectual attainments, there formed a number of social groups of officials who shared scholarly and political interests known as the mingshi (famous scholars) circles. Within the mingshi social groups, it was not very clear at the time who were regarded as qingliu members and who were not. Usually, the so-called qingliu officials, by submitting memorials to the throne, established themselves as spokesmen for the mingshi group. On the other hand, the list of acknowledged qingliu members could be adjusted by changes in some qingliu officials' political, scholarly or social positions. A new generation of mingshi replaced the old generation of qingliu during the 1890s, and this made for the evolution from the early qingliu to the later qingliu. Though it could be argued that the political views of the qingliu group were expressed differently in different periods, both early and later qingliu belonged to the same stratum of orthodox scholar-officials. The qingliu group not only greatly influenced policy-making in both internal and foreign affairs as a centrally important political force in the government, but also reflected the general trend of thought at the time as the representative of the ideas of orthodox intellectuals.

\textsuperscript{32} See Arthur W. Hummel, \textit{Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period.}, pp.23, 43, 48, 305, 608, 611-2, 855-6 and 860-1. (in Taiwan reprinted 1972)
Political Affiliations and Evolution of the qingliu Group

Nineteenth century Chinese intellectuals lived in an age of change that led China into a new era. This era witnessed strong conflicts between Western culture and Chinese traditions during the last period of the Chinese empire. It took about twenty years of failure, humiliation and defeat after the first Opium War for some Chinese intellectuals to come to the conclusion that if China wished to be strong and defend herself against intruders, she must learn from her opponents. Chinese intellectuals in general, however, did not come to a clear understanding of the situation until much later. During the self-strengthening movement, qingliu officials opposed Westernization but were not committed to die-hard conservatism. During the reform movement, qingliu officials supported modernization but did not promote themselves as extremist reformers. As a developmental stage in evolutionary process of the group, the qingliu group, as I have argued above, were a representative group of Chinese intellectual elite. They appeared to have attempted to find a way of fulfilling Chinese tradition and at the same time finding a way of benefiting from some Western ideas.

The early qingliu group in the 1860s-1880s was regarded as a political force which rejected foreign influences. Mid-nineteenth century Chinese intellectual xenophobia can be understood by reference to China's background of isolation and the situation of the time. Firstly, the traditional lack of respect for science and technology aggravated the qingliu members' xenophobia. Historically, Chinese intellectuals had not always held an anti-foreign attitude. Indian culture had had a
strong influence on China. This may have been so because the culture that came from India to China was symbolic, literary and ideological. These were familiar to Chinese intellectuals and were accepted without causing social chaos. But the Western culture coming into China in the nineteenth century was different. It was based on science and technology, and was exemplified by weapons, machines or other material goods. These were usually despised by Chinese intellectuals. Most Chinese intellectuals had confined themselves to the study of philosophy and political history, and were ignorant of the enormous developments of modern science and technology. When the first Western science courses were introduced into a Chinese school in the 1860s, Wo Ren expressed the following opinion:

"According to my viewpoint, astronomy and mathematics are of very little use if [they] are going to be taught by Westerners as regular subjects of study. From ancient times to the present, I have never heard of any one who could rely on mathematics to restore the strength of a nation."

A censor supported Wo's view, saying:

"Astronomy and mathematics should only be studied by those working in the Board of Astronomy. Only the craftsmen and labourers of the Ministry of Public Works should be commanded to learn manufacturing. As for scholars and court ministers, they should not esteem such crafts, nor should they have barbarians as teachers."

Secondly, the growing anger of the public toward foreigners also played a major role in Chinese intellectuals' xenophobia. Since the 1840s, the Chinese people seethed with an anger built up day by day as a result of the bad treatment they were receiving from foreigners. From the Opium War to the Sino-Japanese
War, China had been repeatedly oppressed by powerful foreign countries. The situation was further aggravated by the haughtiness and unruliness of Christian missionaries who relied on European imperial power to support missionary interference with China's civil administration. For several decades, anger and resentment mounted in the minds of both the upper and lower classes of Chinese. This strong antipathy among both the scholar-officials and common people formed the basis for the reactionary activities which followed the yangwu movement against those people who advocated foreign ideas. The feelings among the common people and the intellectuals combined to create a strong anti-foreign public opinion.

Lastly, Chinese intellectuals lacked channels of communication to understand the West. The aspects of Western culture which Chinese intellectuals encountered in the mid-nineteenth century were mainly concerned with military and commercial affairs. Chinese intellectuals knew little of the Western intellectual tradition. They saw the strength of Western culture in completely materialist terms. When the impact of the West led to a series of military conflicts, Chinese intellectuals found that they had still to learn the most elementary facts about the Westerners. Lack of media of communication such as newspapers, magazines and books on the West meant that only scholars or officials who had personal contact with foreign missionaries or merchants could gain some knowledge of Western culture. Even after the First Opium War, the influence of the West was limited to a few cities and the southeast coastal area. An important factor in China's lack of understanding of the West was the fact that China lacked a system of information dissemination comparable to the Western press in the mid-nineteenth century. This made it difficult for any Western intellectual influence to seep through, and confirmed the Chinese in their view of Westerners as possessing solely a material culture.
During the 1870s-1880s, the period of the first qingliu movement, the attitude of the qingliu officials' was still so coloured by their anti-foreignism that the group has been mistakenly characterized as a group of extreme conservatives. Although in the early period qingliu officials held strongly anti-foreign attitudes stemming from their self-exalted Confucianism and self-centred traditionalism, subtle changes in the qingliu officials' attitude towards foreign things made them part company with the die-hard conservatives. Generally speaking, it is difficult to show that qingliu members had views significantly different from those of the conservatives in the 1870s-1880s. They were still at the level of regarding the Westerners as barbarians. The qingliu group opposed the early yangwu movement. However, with the development of the yangwu movement and the spread of Western knowledge, the conservatives began to split. Some of those conservatives who insisted completely on their original attitude towards the West evolved into a group of die-hard conservatives.

These die-hard conservatives unconditionally opposed anything foreign and thought that Chinese tradition with its skills and techniques was the perfect civilization. They argued that the crisis in society and government was caused by the low calibre of administrators, rather than by the law or the administrative system. The most prominent characteristic of the die-hard conservatives was that they refused contact with anything foreign and denied the very possibility of learning anything from the foreigners. There were many examples of such an attitude in the second half of the nineteenth century. Wo Ren, for example, when he was ordered to serve in the Zongli yamen (the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), refused the post by pleading illness. (It was said that the 'illness' was caused by

38 For analysis of the die-hard conservatives, see Li Kan "Lun wangu-pai" (On the Die-hard Conservatives) in Lishi yanjiu (Historical research), (1978) 11/3-18.
his deliberately falling off his horse.) Another example is Xu Tong, a famous scholar and tutor of the emperors Tongzhi and Guangxu, who so disliked seeing foreigners that he made long detours around foreign buildings in order to avoid passing through them on his way to visit his friends.

These die-hard conservatives held so strongly to tradition that they completely ignored the development of the outside world. From a letter written by such a scholar in the late 1890s, we can see how far they had fallen behind the times. This letter, from Ye Dehui, reads as follows:

"Nowadays, scholars who enjoy Western learning are trying to break the boundary line between barbarian and Chinese, and to combine the civilization of China with that of foreign countries, but I can never agree with them......Westerners have distinguished the Chinese as a yellow race, which implies that from the beginning, when heaven and earth were created, the Chinese were given a central position [because the colour of the earth is yellow]......Foreigners treat a weak nation like a piece of meat to be eaten or like a prey to be swallowed by whales. It is not surprising that they, being of a barbarian race, are hostile to us. I am surprised, however, that our own so-called progressive scholars who seem to enjoy our misfortune and agree with the foreigners. Such scholars disregard the fact that their grandfathers and fathers were subjects and officials of China, and that their sons and grandsons will be Chinese citizens."

Such opinions were not considered strange in the 1840s or 1860s or even 1870s. But it may come as a surprise that they were still being expressed on the eve of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, this group of die-hard conservatives did not represent the major trend among Chinese intellectuals.

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In contrast, the qingliu group, as an elite group of Chinese intellectuals, from the 1870s on, tried to argue that Chinese civilization was superior to that of the West and to prove that Western civilization came originally from China. In doing so, they had to compare the two cultures. Thus they had to learn more about Western knowledge and this made them come under more Western influence. With more frequent contacts between China and the West around the 1870s and 1880s, many Christian missionaries settled in the interior of China. Chinese diplomatic missions were sent to Western countries and a number of foreign cultural agencies were established in a number of Chinese cities. These, undoubtedly, improved Chinese intellectuals' information about the West. Though qingliu members did not yet regard Western learning as acceptable, they did not refuse to see some Western technology as a complement to Chinese needs. During the early 1880s, some qingliu members were involved, though not enthusiastically, in the yangwu activities. An example is Zhang Peilun, who served in the office of foreign affairs and was appointed minister of the Fujian Squadron and Shipbuilding affairs in 1884.42 Another famous qingliu member, Zhang Zhidong, paid great attention to Western affairs in the early 1880s. When he served as governor of Shanxi, he discussed how to establish modern industry with Timothy Richard, a British Christian missionary.43 It is commonly known that Zhang later became a well-known advocate of yangwu. This suggests that qingliu members did not refuse to understand the West when they had the chance to make contact with Western things. In fact, none of the qingliu members were considered as die-hard conservatives at that time or later.

The qingliu members were patriots, and they were concerned about the waning fortunes of the dynasty and dedicated to preserving the Empire with all the

43 Wang Shuhuai, *Wairen yu wuxu bienfa* (Foreigners and the 1898 Reform), p.27.
traditional values and institutions. However the defeats and humiliations suffered by China from foreign powers in the second half of the nineteenth century awakened many Chinese intellectuals to the urgent need for administrative reform. The qingliu group tended to think of Chinese culture as a divisible mixture. The phrases and terms they used in their arguments such as nei and wai (inner and outer), ben and mo (ends and means), and ti and yong (substance and function) implied their changing attitude towards the West. They tried to argue that change at the physical level would not blur or jeopardize the metaphysical level, but rather help in preserving and strengthening it. In other words, they divided culture into two realms: the changeable and the unchangeable. The former included the military sphere, and the fields of navigation, transportation and technology, while the latter was concerned with ethics and encompassed moral principles and human relationships. In this the qingliu may seem to have been similar to the yangwu movement, but in fact the qingliu assimilated views and opinions both from the conservatives and from the yangwu group, and adopted a new compromise position. It emphasized Chinese tradition as well as accepting the case for limited reform.

Defeat in the war against Japan in 1894-1895 speeded up the development of the reform movement in the 1890s. The serious danger of partition by powerful foreign countries made the majority of Chinese scholar-officials turn towards reform. By that time, the early qingliu members had been replaced by a group of younger mingshi scholar-officials, and they formed a group also known as the Didang (the Emperor's Party) with Weng Tonghe as patron. These younger qingliu members abandoned the older-generation qingliu officials' prejudice against Western science and technology. The central question of their argument

was whether institutional reform should take place according to Western precepts. However, there were two main differences in attitude among the reform supporters. Late qingliu officials, like the earlier generation, emphasized the necessity of reorganizing government and social values, but in their opinion, reform, even with the help of Western science and technology, should be based on traditional Confucianism. On the other hand, the radical reformers led by Kang Youwei desired much deeper reform. Though superficially following Confucian principles, they wanted to change the Chinese institutional system to a Western-style constitutional monarchy. The result of these developments in the reform movement was that the qingliu group not only faced strong opposition from 'conservatives', but also found themselves sometimes co-operating and sometimes struggling with radical reformers.

The qingliu group's political position in the whole evolution of the self-strengthening movement and the reform movement was different from the position which generally paid more attention to the West than to the upholding of Confucianism. At the same time, they also distinguished themselves from the die-hard conservatives who opposed anything foreign unconditionally and held rigidly to tradition. Hao Yanping has said that "in adjusting themselves to the Western impact, the Ch'ing-liu Tang members assumed a middle-of-the-road-position." In conclusion, the qingliu officials could be described as "moderate conservatives" in the context of the self-strengthening movement, while in the reform movement of the 1890s, they played the role as of "moderate progressive". Simply to label the group 'conservative' or 'progressive' would be to miss much of the changing political environment and the special, complex nature of the qingliu group.

45 For an excellent discussion of Kang Youwei's reform ideas, see Hsiao Kung-chuan, A modern China and a new world: Kang Yu-wei, reformer and utopian, 1858-1927.
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<td>Vice examiner</td>
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<td>1894</td>
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Examiner (Zhu kaoguan) 主考官     Vice examiner (Fu kaoguan) 副考官
Tutor director (Jiao xi) 教習     Examiner (reading test paper) — (Du juanguan) 读卷官

Date extracted from Qian Shifu, *Qingdai zhiguan nianbiao* (Chronological Tables of Officeholders in the Qing Period), Vol.4.
### TABLE 2

**MAJOR MEMBERS OF THE EARLY QINGLIU GROUP**

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<th>NAME</th>
<th>DATES</th>
<th>HOME PROVINCE</th>
<th>DEGREE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bao Ting 曹廷</td>
<td>1840-90</td>
<td>Imperial Clansman</td>
<td>jinshi 1868</td>
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<td>Chen Baochen 陳寶琛</td>
<td>1848-1933</td>
<td>Fujian</td>
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<td>Deng Chengxiu 鄧秉修</td>
<td>1861-91</td>
<td>Guangdong</td>
<td>jinshi 1861</td>
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<tr>
<td>Huang Tifang 黃體芳</td>
<td>1832-99</td>
<td>Zhejiang</td>
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<tr>
<td>Li Hongzao 李鴻藻</td>
<td>1820-97</td>
<td>Zhili</td>
<td>jinshi 1856</td>
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<tr>
<td>Li Ciming 李慈銘</td>
<td>1829-95</td>
<td>Zhejiang</td>
<td>jinshi 1890</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pan Zuyin 潘祖蔚</td>
<td>1830-90</td>
<td>Jiangsu</td>
<td>jinshi 1852</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sheng Yu 盛昱</td>
<td>1850-1900</td>
<td>Imperial Clansman</td>
<td>jinshi 1877</td>
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<tr>
<td>Xu Zhixiang 徐致祥</td>
<td>1838-99</td>
<td>Jiangsu</td>
<td>jinshi 1860</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wu Dazhen 吳大徵</td>
<td>1835-1902</td>
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<td>jinshi 1868</td>
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<td>Zhang Peilun 張佩倫</td>
<td>1848-1903</td>
<td>Zhili</td>
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<td>Zhu Yixin 趙一新</td>
<td>1846-94</td>
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<td>jinshi 1876</td>
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<td>Zhang Zhidong 張之洞</td>
<td>1837-1909</td>
<td>Zhili</td>
<td>jinshi 1863</td>
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Sources as far Table 3.

### TABLE 3

**MAJOR MEMBERS OF THE LATER QINGLIU GROUP**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
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<td>Wang Renkan 王仁堪</td>
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<td>jinshi 1877</td>
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TABLE 4

EXAMINATION RANKING OF CERTAIN QINGLIU MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS

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<th>NAME OF EXAM</th>
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<td>Pan Zuyin</td>
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<td>Sun Jianai</td>
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<td>Li Wentian</td>
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<td>Huang Tifang</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>Provincial exam</td>
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<td>Wu Dazhen</td>
<td>1868</td>
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<td>Palace exam</td>
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Data extracted from Zhu Baojun and Xie Peilin, Ming-Qing jinshi timing beilu suoyin (Index to lists of jinshi during the Ming and the Qing periods) Shanghai, 1980; and Jian Liangfu, Lidai mingren nianli beishuan zongbiao (Biography tablets on eminent Chinese persons through the ages, based on epigraphical sources), Beijing, 1937
CHAPTER TWO
The qingliu Group and the yangwu Movement

Ideological Differences between the qingliu and the yangwu Groups

Since the mid-nineteenth century, the Qing dynasty had been in a decline which was to lead to the destruction of the Chinese Empire. By the 1860s, having suffered two major foreign invasions and the devastation caused by the Taiping Rebellion, the Manchu dynasty and the traditional Chinese order were teetering on the brink of collapse. The scholar-officials, as the essential force of the ruling class, had attempted a restoration of effective government along traditional lines and the creation of new policies that could ward off modern domestic and foreign threats and yet preserve Confucian society and its ideology. The growth of the self-strengthening movement in the 1860s was aimed at these goals.

It is necessary to point out that there is confusion between the ziqiang movement (Self-strengthening Movement) and the yangwu movement (Western Affairs Movement) as discussed in some historical works. According to Hao Yanping and Wang Ermin, the term "self-strengthening" was originally used in the Book of Changes to describe the nature of heaven as enduring and strong, and to remind mankind not to cease its efforts to strengthen itself so as to be in harmony with this disposition of heaven. The great aim of the self-strengthening movement in the late Qing was the revival of Confucian values.

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and institutions. But there were diverse ideas about how to reach the traditional
goal within the scholar-official class. The expression "yangwu movement"
refers only to the unprecedented official effort to strengthen the Qing dynasty by
adopting Western methods in technology and economics. The movement began
with the establishment of Western-style schools, arsenals and shipyards from
the mid-1860s. There followed the launching of modern industrial enterprises,
railroads and a new navy under the leadership of a group of so-called yangwu
officials such as Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang. The self-strengthening
movement, however, included not only the yangwu activities, but also those of
other officials who wished to strengthen China through reorganizing the system
of government and rebuilding the order of society. There were some officials,
such as the qingliu members, who opposed the yangwu movement, but held the
same wish to strengthen China, albeit by different methods. Their political
activities at that time therefore must also be seen as belonging to the self-
strengthening movement. In other words, the self-strengthening movement was
broader than the yangwu movement and included the latter.

The self-strengthening movement thus included two main tendencies. One
was the so-called neizhi emphasis which advocated strengthening internal
governance, and the other was yangwu. Those officials (including both the
early and the later qingliu groups) who emphasized neizhi tended to look upon
Chinese history and Confucianism as a guide for extricating China from crisis
and decline. They strongly believed that the traditional ethical teachings should
continue to provide the principles and methods for strengthening China in the
modern period. The qingliu group's opinions on contemporary issues were
sometimes contradictory, but, on the whole, most members wanted to see an

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48 See Shi Jin, "Qingmo ziqiangguan de nierong fenye jiqi yanbian" (The content, division
and transformation of 'self-strengthening' in the late Qing, 1840-1895) in Zhongguo
jinxiaandaisi luncong (Essays on the Study of Modern and Contemporary Chinese
History), Vol.6, p.38.
honest administration of able officials set up to replace the degenerate bureaucracy of the time. The officials who emphasized *neizhi* were largely censors, writers and scholars. Together they created a powerful anti-foreign atmosphere in the self-strengthening movement. The *yangwu* officials, on the other hand, stressed the necessity of adopting what they called Western learning, manufacturing foreign-style implements, and acquiring the knowledge and techniques to let them deal with the 'barbarians'. Although these officials did not wish to see Confucianism replaced by "Western learning", they did pay more attention to Western knowledge and techniques than to tradition.

There were thus two views on how to check the breakdown of the Qing empire and save China from crisis. However, in the field of ideology, the argument between the *yangwu* group and the *qingliu* group had not yet reached a deep level. The *yangwu* movement, which began in the mid 1860s, was not based on any particular knowledge or understanding of "Western learning" on the part of its supporters. Rather it was led by some high officials who had had some personal contacts with Westerners during the Taiping Rebellion and the Second Anglo-Chinese War. The *yangwu* officials still thought that China's civilization and her political and social systems were superior to those of the West. Li Hongzhang once stated in a memorial that if anyone insisted that the only way to change China's precarious position into a secure one was to imitate the West and to become familiar with its machines, he would not agree with such a one-sided point of view.  

49 Generally speaking, the *yangwu* movement did not go beyond the policy advocated by Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan: "learn advanced technology from the barbarians in order to restrain them".  

50 The aim of the *yangwu* movement was to sustain the existing political and social system, using some Western methods towards this end. As the historian Wang Rongzu

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has commented, the *yangwu* movement did not lead to a wide and significant reform, and lacked both a mature intellectual basis and a clear vision.\(^{51}\) It is worth noting that the development of the *yangwu* movement from the period of learning Western military technology to that of using it in civilian industry as part of the institutional reform was beyond the early *yangwu* supporters' expectations. Before the 1880s, the argument between *yangwu* supporters and their opponents focused mainly on questions of foreign policy, and did not bring about a general sharp conflict between Western and Chinese culture.

The *qingliu* group and the *yangwu* group were the two most important political factions in the self-strengthening movement. I will now discuss the ideological conflicts between them. The Qing government faced a serious crisis both internally and externally after the end of the Taiping Rebellion in the mid-1860s. The difference between the two groups' views on how to find a way out of the crisis had its origin in different understandings of the national and international situation at that time. Usually, the *qingliu* group paid more attention to the domestic crisis of China. Its members were more concerned about social breakdown, corruption of social values and morals, chaos in the governmental system, and opportunism in official circles. They thought that these factors were serious enough to threaten the very existence of the Qing empire. On the other hand, the *yangwu* adherents paid more attention to the foreign threat to China. They saw the Western powers becoming a major danger. As Prince Gong said in 1865, "At present we are containing the West's impact with difficulty. In a few years or decades, it will be impossible to protect ourselves against this impact."\(^{52}\)


\(^{52}\) Prince Gong's memorial to the throne, see *Yangwu yundong* (Western Affairs Movement) Vol.2, p.32.
Neither the qingliu nor the yangwu groups' understanding of the situation of China at that time was wrong, but they both emphasized only one side of the issue and ignored the other side. So the qingliu and yangwu officials developed different policies according to their own understanding of the situation. The fundamental assumption of the qingliu group was, to borrow Wo Ren's words, that:

"the way to establish a nation is to lay emphasis on propriety and righteousness, not on power and plotting. The basis lies in the minds of the people, not in technology".53

The prescriptions of the qingliu group were based on "internal governance" as the foundation of self-strengthening. They thought that the essential condition for resisting foreign aggression was to stabilize the domestic affairs of China. In the words of Yang Tingxi:

"If the laws and the system of government are in proper condition; if the imperial edicts and commands are fully executed; and if the philosophical teachings of China's sages are well known by the people, the foreigners will not dare run wild in China however many soldiers, war ships and effective weapon they may have."54

In their opinion, China must first rid herself of the time-worn, useless or harmful practices that beset her educational, administrative and political system. The qingliu members felt that the way to solve China's problems of internal decline and external aggression was to create a great national revival and, in particular, the revival of a dedicated public spirit among officials and gentry.

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53 YWYD, Vol.2, p.30, quoted from Teng and Fairbank, China's response to the West, p.76, and for Wo Ren's thought, see Lu Baoqian "Wo Ren lun" (On Wo Ren) in Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jinshisuo jikan (Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica), (1971) 2/257-70.
54 Yang Tingxi's memorial to the throne in YWYD, Vol.2, p.46.
Gu Hongming, a scholar of the late Qing, commented on the qingliu and the yangwu groups in these words:

"The reason why the qingliu members were not satisfied with Li Hongzhang was not Li's personal qualities, but the policy to save the nation instituted by Zeng Guofan. Why did this policy not satisfy the qingliu members? It was because the policy dealt only with administration and ignored Confucianism. Li Hongzhang followed Zeng's line. He appointed officials focussing on their practical ability but ignored their moral qualities. That was why the qingliu members were indignant and clamoured for change, and for the re-institution of moral values which had been weakened".55

For reaching the goal of "internal governance", the essential condition was to use men with the right talents. The ideal type, for the qingliu group, was a man with a high degree of moral cultivation, and a sincere inner commitment to ethical goals. In short: a real junzi (gentleman) or zhengshi (upright scholar). Gu Hongming's opinion may have been partial, because he was very much a member of the qingliu group and worked for Zhang Zhidong for many years, but he did point out the crux of the difference between qingliu and yangwu.

Being responsible for national defence and foreign affairs, the yangwu officials, with their experience in foreign and military affairs, had a policy which looked simple and practical. They thought that if China owned 'sturdy ships and effective weapons', it would become strong. In Li Hongzhang's words, "Scholars who hope to save China should regard the study of weapon-making as the knowledge of life or death".56 We can see the basic tenet of the yangwu group from a memorial by Li Hongzhang in 1863:

55 Gu Hongming, Zhang Wenzhong mufu jiwen (Records by an advisor of Zhang Zhidong), pp.4-5.
56 Li Hongzhang, Li Wenzhong gong quanjji (Complete papers of Li Hongzhang), Vol.17, p.17.
"The weapons of our government troops are old fashioned and handed down from the past. How can we resist them [Westerners]? Whenever I think of this, I cannot but be startled with fear and sadly emit a long sigh......I think that if China desires to make herself strong, there is nothing better than to learn about and use the superior weapons of foreign countries".57

Perhaps, it could be said that the policies of both the qingliu and the yangwu groups were incomplete and had some shortcomings. The qingliu group pointed out the weaknesses of the yangwu group's policy, and emphasized the people's resolve and the people's hearts as the most important factors for strengthening and defending a nation. Being inheritors of the age-old scholar-official tradition, they had no wish to alter China's cultural and institutional system, and upheld Confucianism as a perfect creed which naturally implied the exclusion of all Western things and ideas. To the qingliu officials, there was no country like China, no people like the Chinese, and no religion which could compare with Confucianism. They had a strong sense of cultural superiority. Essentially, the qingliu group's attitude towards foreigners and foreign policy was that of self-righteous patriots. They placed China above all countries, and regarded conciliatory policies toward foreign powers as shameful. This feeling caused qingliu officials to acquiesce in the efforts of government leaders to effect reconstruction, but limited the acceptability of anything which could be seen as Westernization. While the yangwu members were doing some work which really helped to strengthen the empire, the qingliu officials indulged in empty argument in pedantic memorials-memorials which were long, flowery, rhetorical and full of citations from the classics. In this sense, although the qingliu adherents were not by definition extreme conservatives, as a grouping of scholar-officials determined to conserve the traditional values of imperial China

57 Teng and Fairbank, *China's response to the West*, pp.71-72.
and resolutely opposed to Westernization in the first period of the self-strengthening movement, they played a conservative role.

The yangwu group sought wealth and strength, ignoring the basic principles of how to run a government. The scope of the yangwu group's plans was confined to the building of ships, the making of instruments, the construction of harbours, and the establishment of telegraph offices, merchant navigation companies, cotton mills and mines. In short, their plans were limited to military and economic affairs. Even the opening of schools and the sending of students abroad were part of a military plan to train interpreters so that Western "techniques of steamships and firearms can be gradually and thoroughly learned". This is why Liang Qichao criticized the leader of the yangwu group in his biography of Li:

"Li Hongzhang knows military affairs, but does not know civil administration; he is familiar with foreign affairs but he does not know domestic matters; he cares for the court, but he does not care for the people; he understands some foreign matters, but he does not understand national problems".

While the qingliu group as we have seen had a profound respect for China's moral heritage and the traditional philosophies of China's sages, yangwu officials devoted their attention exclusively to matters of immediate, practical advantage. The course of late Qing history suggests that the yangwu activities aggravated corruption and speeded up breakdown of the empire. For example, in the newly-organized industrial enterprises and the newly-established navy, the yangwu members with Li Hongzhang in the forefront took advantage of these opportunities to look out for their own private interests. It was generally

58 Teng and Fairbank, *China's response to the West*, p.75.
60 Hao Yen-p'ing, "A Study of the Ch'ing-liu Tang", p.44
recognized that Li Hongzhang was partly responsible for the Empire's corruption and the failures in the Sino-French War in 1884-1885 and the Sino-Japanese War in 1894-1895. Incapable and shameless officials such as Ye Zhichao and Gong Zhaoyu who performed abysmally in the wars, all had close personal ties with Li Hongzhang. Liang Qichao said that, in effect, Li's failure was half due to the obstructionist criticism of the other officials who opposed yangwu and half to his failure to use the right officials. It is true that the yangwu movement's achievements were counterbalanced by the notoriously inefficient and corrupt government.

The Power Struggles and Personal Conflicts between qingliu and yangwu Members

A close look the qingliu and the yangwu groups reveals that the conflict between them was not only over ideology and political views, but also had to do with power struggles and personal conflicts. The evidence to be presented here will suggest that the yangwu movement was, consequently, supported or opposed by men not simply because they had different opinions or outlooks but because they felt that the movement would be conducive or detrimental to their immediate interests. Before we discuss the struggles between the two groups, let us look briefly at the background of the leading yangwu figures.

The yangwu group, formed in about the 1860s, was not a "formal" group of orthodox scholar-officials. Although some leaders of the group such as Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang held the jinshi degree, they had got to the top of

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62 Both Ye and Gong came from the same city (Hefei, in Anhui) as Li Hongzhang, and served in the Huai Army. See Zhao Ersun ed. *QSG*, pp.12729-31.
63 Liang Qichao, *Li Hongzhang zhuan*, p.38.
officialdom mainly through their military experience and achievements during the suppression of the Taiping rebellion. Before the yangwu movement, they had formed their own personal political forces. Their political power depended on two bases. There were the personal regional armies such as the Xiang Army and the Huai Army; and the personal staff (mufu) system. Each of these systems was a relatively amorphous group linked by highly personal ties. The officials in the armies and mufu had usually obtained their official rank through purchase or personal and regional relationships. In short, the yangwu group was a political force outside the orthodox scholar-official tradition. From the end of the Taiping rebellion, meanwhile, both Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang had served as Governors-General with exclusive military and territorial authority. The yangwu group therefore held more power at regional level than in the central government. The great power of provincial authorities was to some extent a threat to both the regular rule of central government and the orthodox scholar-official class.

The conflict between the qingliu and the yangwu groups reflected on the one hand the struggle between officials who had passed through the regular channels of the examination system and those who had achieved their position through yangwu, mufu, military experience or private connections; and, on the other hand, that between the central government officials and the provincial officials.

The immediate problem was created by the sales of rank and office which became common in mid-century to help finance the suppression of the Taiping rebellion. Men successful in the examinations still had to compete for jobs with

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64 For a general discussion, see Liu Kwangching, "The Limits of Regional Power in the Late Ch'ing Period: a reappraisal", in Ch'ing-hua hsueh-pao (July, 1974) pp.176-207 (in Chinese) or pp.207-223 (in English).
irregular degree-holders and endure long waits for substantive appointments. A second cause of the problem was the number of officials who had achieved high positions because of their military achievements. After the Taiping rebellion in 1864, these irregularities led to a serious crisis in the system of government. One famous member of the qingliu group, Zhang Zhidong pointed out in a memorial that: "juanna (purchase of office) damaged the personnel system and presented an obstacle to the zhengtu (regular) scholar-officials' promotion".65

Another official, Jang Qiling, commented:

"The growth of internal rebellion is caused by the chaos in the personnel system; the chaos is caused by incompetent people lurking in officialdom. The right way for government is to use the zhengtu scholar-officials, but the obstacles to the use of zhengtu scholar-officials are precisely the juanna and jungong [officials who had achieved their position because of military merit]".66

Though there are no exact figures on how many officials acquired positions by purchase and through military merit, it was undoubtedly a very large number. According to a report by Zeng Guofan, by 1865 there were over ten thousand officials with third class rank or above who had achieved their position by military merit.67 Zuo Zongtang also said in a memorial that there were hundreds of thousands of officials who had gained military rank by recommendation since the resort to arms to suppress the Taiping rebellion.68 The result was a shortage of positions for qualified candidates. Usually, a vacant position was competed for by tens or hundreds of officials, so that a great deal of money was needed to bribe one's way into a position. When one had obtained the position, one would recoup oneself during one's term of office by practising extortion. As the qingliu official Bao Ting put it, "In general, a man who purchases a bitieshi (clerical)

65 See Xu Daling, Qingdai juanna zhidu (The System of Purchasing Office in the Qing Period), p.159
66 Ibid. p.147
67 Huang Dashou, Zhongguo jindaishi (A History of Modern China), Vol.3, p.425
68 Ibid, p.425
position will become rich in ten years if he is good at securing personal gain even if he cannot read or write.". The use of the concept of human talent, loudly proposed by the qiingliu members, would have implied a redistribution of power. Concrete proposals included more rapid promotional opportunities for hanlin scholars and other jinshi as opposed to holders of purchased degrees or beneficiaries of patronage, as well as curbs on clerical power.

Furthermore, during the most active period of the yangwu movement, the establishment of new departments, enterprises and a modern army also needed a great deal of money. At that time, the government could not provide enough funds, and therefore still had to sell official ranks to supplement its resources. For example, it sold thousands of official ranks when the government decided to establish a modern navy in the 1870s. Shao Zuozhou, a scholar at the time, commented that:

"The juanna for establishing the navy make people vie with each other to purchase official ranks so that there is great confusion in the government and the market..... The money from the sale of official ranks can only buy a warship. Can the country become strong simply as a result of that? But one or two thousand incompetent people came into government positions each year so that officialdom become even more overstuffed and the system of government will be even more confused."70

Although the yangwu officials set up many new departments and enterprises during the self-strengthening movement, the orthodox scholar-officials gained nothing from it because the yangwu high officials looked down on the orthodox scholar-officials and almost never used them. Li Hongzhang criticized scholar-officials who indulged in the practice of writing in fancy and flowery language, and said that what they had learned was useless and what

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69 Xu Daling, *Qingdai juanna zhidu*, p.169
70 Shao Zuozhou, *Shaoshi weiyi* (Warnings from Shao), pp.18b-21b
they should know was what they did not learn.\textsuperscript{71} The preference of yangwu officials was for those who were skillful in handling practical problems. Most of Li Hongzhang's staff were professionals and experts with specific knowledge in various fields, rather than scholars of philosophy and literature. For example, Ting Jiachang served in Zeng Guofang's and Li Hongzhang's mufu for many years before being promoted to be Governor of Gansu, despite having only the xiucai credential and the purchased rank of expectant director of schools. Zhang Yinhuan also purchased an official rank in his early years but reached a very high position without any degree because he dealt with his responsibilities in the yangwu movement effectively. Other examples are Xue Fuchen, who served in Zeng's and Li's mufu and then as China's envoy to England, and Li Fengbao, who was first a tutor at the Jiangnan Arsenal, and then China's envoy to Germany. Both only had the xiucai credential.\textsuperscript{72} The evidence shows that except for a few officials such as Zeng Guofan, Li Hongzhang and Shen Baozhen, most of the yangwu adherents had lower degrees or, more precisely, were below the juren. On the other hand, orthodox scholar-officials, such as the qingliu members, for their part looked down upon the people employed by the yangwu officials. According to qingliu opinion, men who had some expert knowledge of commercial affairs or technology were not gentlemen but tradesman. Qingliu members were strongly critical of a situation in which non-degree officials could obtain good positions easily and use yangwu activity as a short cut to high office. As Mary Rankin has pointed out, new jinshi had reason to feel insecure and to believe that their legitimate career expectations were being thwarted.\textsuperscript{73} In short, the scholar-officials who were successful in the examinations resolutely opposed the yangwu officials and their activities, which they saw as destroying their prospects.

\textsuperscript{71} Teng and Fairbank, \textit{China's response to the West}, p.70.
\textsuperscript{72} Leung Yuensang, "The Tragic Passage to a New world", pp.70-71, Table B.
\textsuperscript{73} Rankin, "Public Opinion and Political Power", p.455.
In any discussion of the struggle between the qingliu and the yangwu groups, the role of the Empress Dowager Ci Xi must be mentioned. Though in general the qingliu group cannot be regarded as a tool of the autocracy in the late nineteenth century, the early qingliu movement was indeed encouraged by Ci Xi, who rose to power after the death of the Emperor Xianfeng in 1860.74

There are two main reasons which led Ci Xi to support the qingliu group during the 1870s and 1880s. Firstly, the development of the qingliu group was accompanied by an increasing interest in collective political activity and in establishing institutions through which middle or lower officials could influence policy. When the four-year-old son of Empress Ci Xi became the Tongzhi emperor in 1861, the Court was ruled in the name of the two Empress Dowagers "from behind the curtains". Traditional Confucian ethics supported the two women in their claim for authority, yet they did not have enough experience and prestige to run the government. In these circumstances, the Empress Dowagers initially found it indispensable to rely on opinions and assistance from below in practically every area of their governmental activities. Given the necessary dependence on others, Ci An and Ci Xi did not develop autocratic tendencies in any significant way. What prevailed was an implicit coalition whereby the power, prestige and responsibilities of the throne became dispersed instead of concentrated. Though Prince Gong was central to the working of this coalition, he too quickly acknowledged his subordination in the imperial structure, and requested the throne to encourage all officials to criticize court policies so that he might know how better to serve the throne.75 That qingliu adherents were

74 See Eastman, "Ch'ing-i and Chinese Policy Formation during the Nineteenth Century", pp.606-7
75 See Hao Yen-p'ing, "A Study of the Ch'ing-liu Tang", p.43
encouraged by the authorities could be seen from a comment by Yun Yuding who served in central government at the time:

"The qingliu members with Li Hongzao, who had a decision-making position in the Grand Council, as their leader, enthusiastically expressed their opinions to the throne. Almost all memorials sent by qingliu members to the throne were effective. Qingliu members became so bold that they attacked people in their memorials without regard to the power or honour of the officials. Sometimes, someone who sent an outstanding memorial to the throne in the morning would be promoted to a high position in the evening, and this caused consternation among the ministers".76

As Lloyd Eastman has pointed out, officials who attracted attention by their memorials were often promoted to higher posts.77 In fact the youth of the emperor and the inexperience of the two women regents made it necessary for the court to consult frequently with officials from both higher and lower ranks.

A similar situation recurred when the Tongzhi Emperor suddenly died in 1874. Ci Xi chose the three-year-old son of Prince Chun to succeed to the throne. The new Emperor Guangxu was a cousin of Ci Xi, so his succession brought up the question of legitimacy, because succession within the same generation was contrary to the laws of the dynasty. Although Empress Dowager Ci Xi was more mature in state affairs by then, her ruling position was still relatively weak, and she did not dare immediately to limit the officials' freedom to express their views and opinions. This perhaps suggests that the position of the qingliu members was still quite strong in the late 1870s and early 1880s.

77 Eastman, "Ch'ing-i and Chinese Policy Formation during the Nineteenth Century", p.596
Secondly, the power struggle in the top circles of the court promoted the influence of the qingliu group. In the first two decades of Ci Xi's ascendancy, two political forces imperiled her domination. One of them was the powerful provincial authorities, and another was the political strength of Prince Gong. A particular worry for Ci Xi was an alliance which had first emerged in the earlier period of the yangwu movement between the yangwu officials and Prince Gong. She therefore played an intricate game of balancing between the qingliu and the yangwu groups. Ci Xi recognized the qingliu group as a powerful political force, and sought to use it to offset the power of potential political rivals. During the self-strengthening movement, Ci Xi allowed the qingliu members to attack yangwu officials in order to check the growing power of the latter. At the same time, she supported the yangwu's policy of launching a Westernization movement in order to divert the yangwu officials' ambition for power. In other words, she both encouraged the qingliu grouping and at the same time sided with the yangwu officials. She saw strife between the two as an ingenious way of extricating herself from trouble, and as giving her an excellent opportunity to consolidate her personal power.

The death of the Eastern Dowager Ci An in 1881 increased Empress Dowager Ci Xi's domination of the Court. The only potential opponent remaining was Prince Gong. When in 1884 Ci Xi succeeded in dismissing Prince Gong with the help of a memorial by Sheng Yu (who had criticized the Grand Council without intending to attack Prince Gong), it opened the way for Ci Xi's supporters to dominate the Grand Council for the next decade. Ci Xi changed her strategy at once after Prince Gong's dismissal. Prince Chun, who was completely loyal to Ci Xi, controlled the Grand Council. Meanwhile, Li Hongzhang set up close relations with Prince Chun and the powerful eunuch Li

78 Hao Yen-p'ing, "A Study of the Ch'ing-liu Tang", p.44.
79 Huang Jun, Huasui rensheng-an shi yi quanbian, pp.553-4.
Langying, and proved to be a loyal servant to Ci Xi. As a result, Ci Xi no longer needed to rely on the support of the qingliu group. Many qingliu members were transferred out of the central government and left Peking. Li Hongzao, the leader of the group, was removed from the Grand Council at the same time as Prince Gong, and later sent to Henan province to take charge of water conservancy.\(^{80}\) The celebrated qingliu members Zhang Pailun, Chen Baoshen and Wu Dazheng were sent to regional government positions after Prince Gong's dismissal. Qingliu members who criticized Li Hongzhang or the government's policies after 1884 were also subject to demotion or dismissal. Among the officials dismissed or demoted were Liang Dingfen, who attacked Li Hongzhang in a memorial to the throne;\(^{81}\) Zhu Yixin, who was dismissed because he criticized Li Langying;\(^{82}\) Huang Tifang, who was demoted because of his attack on Li Hongzhang in 1889;\(^{83}\) and Tu Renshou, who was dismissed in 1889 because he opposed Ci Xi's plan to rebuild the Yuanming Park and for some other political reasons.\(^{84}\) An Weijun and Wen Tingshi were later dismissed for similar reasons.\(^{85}\) The withdrawal of Ci Xi's support signified the end of the first phase of qingliu political activity.

To conclude, during the self-strengthening movement in the period from 1865 to 1885, there were two different attitudes to the challenge of the Western impact and to China's internal crisis. The yangwu group turned to the West as a guide to the attainment of wealth and power, while the qingliu group upheld the Confucian tradition of good government. Both groups hoped that China would become stronger and safer, but they could not co-operate due to the great

\(^{80}\) Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, p.472.
\(^{81}\) Wu Tianren, *Liang Jiean xiansheng nianpu*, p.36.
\(^{82}\) Zhao Ersun ed, *QSG*, "Zu Yixin zhuans" (Biography of Zu Yixin), pp.12463-4.
\(^{83}\) Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, p.349.
difference between their political views and the situation of personal connections. The fact that Ci Xi's manipulation of the balance of power between the two groups sharply deepened the confrontation between them.

The Transformation of the qingliu Ideology

For almost two thousand years, Confucianism had not only provided a standard for the Chinese people's everyday behaviour and morals, but had also enjoyed absolute prestige among Chinese intellectuals. Their ability and wisdom were deployed within the bounds of Confucian values. Since the mid-nineteenth century, the international situation had forced China to face the world. It became clearer and clearer with the passing of time that the traditional classics and ethics had not kept abreast of the development of affairs. As the conflict between Chinese tradition and Western culture sharpened, the Chinese intellectual class began to try to find or create a compromise position.

In the heated argument between the yangwu and qingliu groups during the self-strengthening movement, a new idea appeared and gradually spread in intellectual circles. This was to emphasize both neizhi and yangwu, and to point out the defects of each groups. The people who held this kind of opinion usually had a deep knowledge of the Chinese classics as well as wide experience of contact with Western affairs. The major representatives of the trend included Wang Tao, Feng Guifen and Xue Fucheng. Although few in number, these scholars played a significant role, inasmuch as their writings were highly influential in changing many scholar-officials' outlook on the world.
Among the writers who tried to mix Western learning and Chinese tradition, one of the most interesting was Wang Tao (1828-1897). Wang was not an official and represented no particular group. He took a post under the Qing but deserted to the Taipings in the 1850s. He later betrayed them and worked in the treaty ports. He had been in contact with Westerners in Shanghai and Hong Kong and assisted them in translating several volumes of the Chinese Classics. Wang Tao was invited to Scotland by James Legge, a British missionary sinologue, in late 1867 and spent two years in the British Isles and Europe. He became well known as an editorial writer soon after returning from Britain. In 1873, he founded his own newspaper, the Xunhuan ribao, in which he wrote many famous editorials. Under foreign protection in Hong Kong and Shanghai, Wang was bold in his attacks on the corrupt Chinese administration. He did not oppose the adoption of Western methods in technology and economics, and was also an ardent advocate of a domestic reform program. Some of Wang's points of view were similar to those of the qingliu group with its concept of neizhi. For example, in an essay on 'Reform and self-strengthening' written in about 1870, Wang advocated, as a four-point reforms program, improving the selection of scholars, the training of troops, the school system and the legal code. With the exception of the troop-training, all of these featured in the proposals for strengthening internal governance which were emphasized by the qingliu group at that time. As Wang Tao said later, "When I speak of change, I mean changing the outer, not the inner; changing what it is proper to change, not what cannot be changed".

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88 Quoted from Cohen, *Between tradition and modernity*, p.146
While Wang Tao as a pioneer journalist was reaching a newspaper-reading public, Xue Fucheng, who had earlier been a member of the *mufu* of both Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang, was writing memorials and essays which had a more limited but also a more influential circulation. In 1879 he compiled a volume called *Chouyang chuyi* (Rough discussion on the management of foreign affairs) which contained fourteen essays on current problems such as how to secure intelligence about the enemy, how to prevent the loss of China's vassal states, and how to carry out institutional reform. Feng Guifen (1809-1874) was another scholar who shared the idea that Chinese moral learning was unchangeable, but Western learning could be adopted without affecting the base of Chinese tradition. If Wang Tao cannot be regarded as an orthodox scholar-official, Feng, who took his *jinshi* degree in 1840, certainly was one. Feng Guifen had contacted Westerners during the Taiping Rebellion, and assisted Li Hongzhang as an adviser after its suppression. In the turbulent mid-1860s, Feng was one of the most far-sighted scholar-officials and had a better understanding of the whole situation than most others. In 1861 he wrote a book with a collection of about fifty essays, called *Jiaobinlu kangyi* (Forthright proposals from the Jiaobin studio) in which he examined the social and economic problems of the time. Feng wrote in this work:

"Regarding the present situation there are the following major points: in making use of the ability of our manpower, with no one neglected, we are inferior to the barbarians; in securing the benefits of the soil, with nothing wasted, we are inferior to the barbarians; in maintaining a close relationship between the ruler and the people, with no barrier between them, we are inferior to the barbarians; and in the necessary accord of word with deed, we are also inferior to the barbarians. The way to correct these four points lies with ourselves, for they can be changed at

89 For a brief account of Xue Fucheng's life, see Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, pp.331-2.
once if only our emperor would set the general policy right......What
then we have to learn from the barbarians is only one thing, solid ships
and effective guns."91

Men like Wang, Xue and Feng were important not because of their
foresight but because their writings had considerable influence in some scholar-
official circles. In point of view, their ideas offered an ideological bridge from
blindly opposing Western methods to partly accepting Western learning. They
upheld the principle of learning from the West without indiscriminately admiring
everything Western. They emphasized "internal governance" and the Chinese
tradition, but gave consideration to the arguments of both the yangwu and the
qingliu groups. They tended to mix Western science and Chinese culture into a
new theoretical system which seems to have been more easily acceptable to
intellectuals in general. As I argued above, many qingliu members, as members
of the elite of Chinese intellectuals, now paid close attention to the wave of new
ideas. For example, Weng Tonghe, who had disdained yangwu programs in his
eyears, read Feng Guifen's book carefully and presented it to the young
emperor Guangxu in 1889.92 He advised Guangxu to read it carefully, saying
that this book was essential for government administration.93 Zhang Zhidong
had despised Western learning in the early period of the self-strengthening
movement. In his early book, Shumu tawen (Selected bibliography for
scholars), he listed more than two thousand books that he thought worth
reading, only nine of which related to Western learning, eight being on
geography and one on military matters.94 In the late 1880s, Zhang showed a
dramatic change in his attitude towards yangwu, and emerged as an influential

91 Feng Guifen, Jiaopinglu kangyi (Forthright proposals from the Jiaobin studio), pp.70-71,
and as translated in Hsiao Kung-chuan, "Weng Tung-ho and the Reform Movement of
1898", in Hsu, Immanuel C.Y ed, Readings in Modern Chinese History, p.350
92 Weng Tonghe, Weng Tonghe riji paiyin ben (A typeset edition of Weng Tonghe's Diary),
Zhao Zhongfu ed, Vol.4, p.1578.
93 Ibid., p.1580.
94 Li Guozhi, Zhang Zhidong de waijiao zhengce (The foreign policy of Zhang Zhidong),
p.5
leader in the yangwu movement, matching the position of Li Hongzhang. The famous formula "Chinese learning for the base, Western learning for the use." (Zhongxue weiti, xixue weiyong), was one which Zhang produced in his late work Quanxue pian (Exhortation to Study). The idea encapsulated the argument of Feng Guifen and Wang Tao that the self-strengthening movement was not a step towards Westernization but an indispensable means to insure the continuity of the Confucian empire by wisely selecting and adopting those elements of Western civilization that had proved efficacious in giving Western countries their material resources and military might.

A second cause of the widespread change of attitude among Chinese intellectuals was the direct influence of Westerners living in China during the second half of the nineteenth century. Missionaries in China were one of the most immediate channels of Western influence. Chinese intellectuals' ideas of the West were formed in great measure from their activity. By degrees an increasing number of English, French and American Protestant missionary scholars began to work seriously on the problem of interpreting the West to China. It was these men who produced most of Chinese tracts and translations of Western works on history, science, technology and other subjects. Their translations, worked over by Chinese assistants, were readable and so had a great deal of influence among the Chinese scholar class. An outstanding example was J. Allen's Chinese periodical the Wanguo gongbao (Globe Magazine), which was published in Shanghai from 1875 to 1907, and had the avowed aim of propagating knowledge about Western countries and their culture. Another particularly influential missionary was Timothy Richard. His personal contact with many Chinese scholar-officials such as Zhang Zhidong and Weng Tonghe

95 Wang Shuhuai, Wairen yu wuxu bianfa, p.9-10
played a positive role in the change of their attitude to the West.\textsuperscript{96} Another prominent influence was the Society for the Diffusion of General Knowledge, also known as the \textit{Guangxue hui}. Under the leadership first of Alexander Williamson, and later of Timothy Richard, this society of foreign missionaries, merchants and diplomats made a joint effort to introduce Western culture to Chinese intellectuals through publications, newspapers and public lectures.\textsuperscript{97} The result was that the majority of Chinese intellectuals in the 1890s no longer doubted the value of Western learning and were inclined to accept an evolutionary concept of change. This was symbolized at the linguistic level by the adoption of new terminology; for example, by using the word \textit{yangren} (foreigners) instead of \textit{yiren} (barbarians), by calling Western learning \textit{xinxue} (new learning), and by using the expression \textit{shiwu} (current affairs) instead of the traditional \textit{yiwu} (barbarian affairs).\textsuperscript{98}

Attitudes towards Western culture thus changed greatly in this period. Western learning was no longer seen simply in terms of material or technical skills. Generally speaking, an obvious explanation is that as \textit{qingliu} members came into more and closer contact with Western affairs and gained more knowledge of Western countries and people, they were able to take a more 'realistic' view on foreign affairs. Moreover, when they themselves were sharing the direct responsibility for making important decisions, they realized that it was never wise to be rash in dealing with foreign powers. Zeng Guofan, Li Hongzhang and Prince Gong were part of the first group of officials who had personal contact with Western affairs in the 1860s. Their attitude towards the West was transformed earlier than that of many other scholar-officials. In the

\textsuperscript{97} Wang Shuhuai, \textit{Wairen yu wuxu bianfa}, pp.36-44
\textsuperscript{98} See John K Fairbank and Kwang-ching Liu eds, \textit{The Cambridge History of China}, Vol.11, p.200
1880s and 1890s, the increasing impact of the West on China gave more opportunity for Chinese scholar-officials to make contact with Western affairs. For instance, many of the *qingliu* members were dispatched to the front line on the eve of the Sino-French War. Zhang Zhidong was appointed governor-general of Guangdong and Guangxi; Zhang Peilun was appointed commander-in-chief of the Fuzhou squadron; and Chen Baoshen and Deng Chengxiu were assigned offices in the *Zongli yamen*. Though it may have been the Empress Dowager Ci Xi's trap to send out these Confucian-oriented 'speaking officials' to unfamiliar tasks after her power had been consolidated, the fact remains that practical experience in dealing with the Western powers led to changes in thought and in attitude among the *qingliu* members. As we have seen, Zhang Zhidong later became a leader of the *yangwu* movement. Zhang Peilun who later joined Li Hongzhang's *mufu* to assist him in various Western affairs became fervent about *yangwu* and reform. Chen Baoshen, a former *qingliu* member, was recommended to deal with reform in 1898 by Chen Baozhen with the following comment: "Chen is a very wise and able official. His knowledge is based on the Chinese classics, but recently he has sought pragmatic knowledge and become a keen student of Western learning."

Such dramatic change also happened among the younger generation of *ningshi* scholar-officials, who came to form the group known as the late *qingliu* in the 1890s. These younger *ningshi*, who were no longer afraid that their reputation would suffer if they did not oppose foreign ideas, accepted Western learning more easily. Some of them were dissatisfied because change was being confined to the technological level, and urged that the ideal of "internal governance" be pursued through institutional reform according to some Western

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99 For Chen Baoshen’s role, see Huang Jun, *Huasui rensiheng-an zhiyi quanbian*, pp.199-201, and for Deng Chengxiu’s role, see *QSG*, p.12458.
ideas. As we have seen, *qingyi*, the opinion of the orthodox scholar-official class, represented an anti-foreign attitude before the late 1880s, but in the 1890s, it signified the demand among the intellectual elite for reform and modernization. All in all, in the aftermath of the Sino-French War, many scholar-officials began to accept *yangwu* as well as "internal governance". However, in the political arena we still perceive two political factions competing and struggling with each other. The conflict was now between the 'radical' reformers and the later *qingliu* officials, the 'moderate' reformers.
CHAPTER THREE

Establishment of Relationship Between the *qingliu* Group and Kang's Reform Grou

The Roots of the Relationship Between
the *qingliu* Officials and Kang Youwei

In this chapter, we shall examine the relationship between the late *qingliu* group and Kang's reform group. John Schrecker has pointed out that there was a close connection between the *qingyi* movement which began in the 1870s and the reform movement of 1898.\(^{102}\) Some other scholars have also discussed the problem.\(^{103}\) However, further inquiries into the matter may still be useful. My present discussion does not attempt to re-establish the conclusion that there was a close connection between the two groups, but proposes to trace the relationship in detail, paying special attention to how the relationship was established and how it developed into political co-operation.

(1) Kang Youwei's early link with the *qingliu* officials

Kang Youwei was born in 1858 and grew up in a family of local prominence in Nanhai, Guangdong province. The family predicted a great

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\(^{103}\) The following works discuss the relationship between the *qingliu* group and reform movement in the 1890s: Rankin, "Public Opinion and Political Power"; Richard Howard, "The Chinese Reform Movement of the 1890's: A Symposium, Introduction" in *Journal of Asian Studies* 29/1, pp.7-14; and Daniel H. Bays, *China enters the twentieth century: Chang Chih-tung and the issues of a new age, 1895-1909*, pp.22-8.
future for the boy when he came into the world. His grandfather even wrote a poem to commemorate the event, one line of which read:" I have restored the scent of books which you should perpetuate." Kang did not have a happy childhood. His father, an expectant Magistrate, was called to military service in Fujian in 1862 and returned two years later. After a period of ill health, he died in 1868. The responsibility for Kang's upbringing rested mainly with his paternal grandfather, a respected figure in the places where he had served as teacher and official. In his childhood, Kang Youwei was no different from the majority of teenagers who came from gentry families. He shut himself up in the study and hoped for success in the civil service examinations. However, Kang failed three times (in 1871, 1872 and 1876) to pass the examination for juniors before his eighteenth birthday. This was not an auspicious omen for an ambitious young student and his family. In 1876, Kang was sent to Lishang Hall, a school established by Zhu Ciqi who was a famous scholar and a close friend of Kang's family. Kang's thought and scholarship were influenced greatly by his teacher. Kang acknowledged later in his autobiography: "From my teacher, Mr Jujiang (Zhu's familiar name), I learned the essential ideas of past sages."

Zhu belonged to the New Text School (xinwen jing pai) and advocated "governing the world and realizing usefulness" (jingshi zhiyong). Zhu believed in expounding the essence of the great principles of former sages and teaching the ideals of cultivating oneself and loving others. He "brushed aside the schools

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105 Kang Youwei, KYWN, p.11. The translation is based on that of Lo Jung-pang ed, K'ang Yu-wei, p.35.
of the Han and Song periods, going directly back to Confucius for the essential ideas of the sage". Kang was attracted by Zhu's scholarship. As he put it:

"As I received his instruction, it was like a traveller finding a place of lodging or a blind man seeing light, and I emptied my mind and curbed my passions to devote myself wholeheartedly to study."107

Much has been written about Zhu's thought and influence on Kang's ideas. I will not go over this again. But I would like to note that, in political affairs, Zhu's view was very close to that of the qingliu group. For example, the Qing government sent Gou Songtao to England as China's first envoy in 1877. Never before had China sent ambassadors to foreign countries and Zhu was very angry with this news. He criticized Li Hongzhang strongly, saying:

"It is humiliating for China to send an envoy to England. ... Li Hongzhang, with the responsibility for national security, has gone so far as to deflate Chinese pride and to boost the barbarian's morale. The nation will be ruined!"109

Zhu's attitude towards the West and against Li Hongzhang was very similar to the qingliu group. Kang, as Zhu's student, may well have been influenced by his teacher's political view.

Therefore, it seems surprising that Kang took leave of Zhu in 1879, after only two years at Zhu's school, and went to live in a cave in Xijiao Mountain to devote himself to Buddhist and Daoist self-cultivation. There was no clear reason for Kang's stopping his study under Zhu's instruction. It seems possible that Kang had psychological problems due to his grandfather's sudden death in a

106 See Guang Zhongshu's "preface" in Zhu Jujiang xiansheng ji (Collected essays of Zhu Ciqi), p.2.
108 For discussion of Zhu's influence on Kang's thought, see Richard Howard "Kang Yuwei 1858-1927, His Intellectual Background and Early Thought", in Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett eds, Confucian Personalities, pp.300-2.
109 Zhu Jujiang xiansheng ji, p.20.
flood in 1878, and to other factors. Kang had been close to his grandfather for a long time, and he described his grief as follows: "When I heard the news, I was so grieved that for three days I ate and drank nothing and for a hundred days I ate only pickled vegetables." On the other hand, his grandfather's death may also have affected his family's financial situation, because he is believed to have received some financial support from his grandfather. Kang had married and in the year after his grandfather's death his first daughter was born. As Kang put it in his autobiography:

"At that time (1880), the financial plight of our family was daily becoming more and more difficult. We could not travel or buy new books, and we could not even afford to buy brushes and paper."  

However, one of the most important discouragements for Kang may have been the fact that he would now never be able to let his grandfather see the day of his success in the examinations. At the same time, his grandfather's death released him from the mental burden of taking the examinations. As he said later: "After my grandfather's death, I became quite independent. I would not write essays in the current style and would not take the examinations." In the autumn of 1879, when Kang was living in the cave on Xijiao Mountain, he refused to take the provincial examination. His uncles severely reprimanded him and threatened to cut off his allowance. The above factors may have impelled Kang to take refuge in Buddhism and Daoism, which were a traditional way of escaping from reality.

Kang's stay on Xijiao Mountain was enlivened by his association with a visiting Hanlin scholar, Zhang Yanqiu. From Zhang he learned of important

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111 Kang Youwei, KYWN, p.11.
112 Kang Youwei, KYWN, p.10.
current events and intellectual trends in China, and of some of the influential figures. This information greatly influenced Kang’s outlook on life. Also through Zhang, he was able to make friends with some famous scholars and, later on, to form contacts with some qingliu personalities.

Zhang Yanqiu (also known as Zhang Dinghua), a native of Panyu, Guangdong province, was born into a famous family of scholars. His grandfather, Zhang Weiping, whose works were then very popular in the southern part of China, was well respected.\textsuperscript{113} Zhang Yanqiu passed a government examination when he was only thirteen, and was therefore praised as a child prodigy.\textsuperscript{114} Later, he passed the examination for jinshi and held the title of Hanlin in 1877. During Zhang’s service as an official in Peking, he had achieved literary fame in the capital and acquired many friends who were famous scholar-officials. Some of these were members of the qingliu group or later became members of the group. The first meeting between Kang and Zhang took place in 1879 when Zhang was visiting Xijiao Mountain with some of his friends. Kang won Zhang’s approbation. Once Zhang remarked to his friends: "At Xijiao Mountain, I saw only a dirt hill but I met an extraordinary man".\textsuperscript{115} Through Zhang’s introduction, Kang began to become known in scholarly circles in Guangdong and made some friends who were later to become very important political figures as qingliu members.

In Imperial China political relationships often mingled with personal friendships. Informal gatherings in scholarly circles and personal relationships

\begin{itemize}
\item Wang Zongyan, \textit{Chen Dongshu xiansheng nianpu} (Chronological biography of Chen Li), pp.11-12.
\item Sun Zentao, \textit{Qingdai Guangdong cilin jiyao} (A brief account of leading Guangdong literati during the Qing period), pp.131-2.
\item Kang Youwei, \textit{KYWN}, p.11. The translation is based on that of Lo Jung-pang, ed. \textit{K'ang Yu-wei}, p.35.
\end{itemize}
usually offered scholars opportunities to develop mutual contacts or even form networks of connections which formed the basis for later political alliances. Zhang Yanqiu and his friends belonged to an important and influential scholar-gentry social group in Guangdong. In the mid nineteenth-century, there were two famous teachers in Guangdong. One of them was Zhu Ciqi, Kang Youwei's teacher, and the other was Chen Li (1810-1882).\textsuperscript{116} Chen had lived as a family tutor in the home of Zhang Weiping, and was made superintendent of the Xuehai tang Academy in 1840. He held this position for about twenty years. In the autumn of 1867 an academy named Jupo jingshe was established at Guangzhou by Fang Junyi, then salt controller of Guangdong, and Chen Li was made its first director. He held this post until his death.\textsuperscript{117} Chen was very famous, not only because of his outstanding scholarship, but also because of the high success rate of his students at different levels of the civil service examinations. In the 1870s, a group of young scholars such as Liang Dingfen, Wen Tingshi and Yu Shimei were studying in Chen's school, and these young men participated actively in the social life of Guangdong gentry circles and later took on important political roles at a national level.

Zhang Yanqiu had a very close friendship and family ties with Chen Li and some of his students.\textsuperscript{118} There is evidence that Zhang Yanqiu was the first to introduce Kang Youwei to Liang Dingfen and Wen Tingshi, who later became famous qingliu members, and had an important political relationship with Kang in the reform movement in the 1890s. The reason why we focus on the personal relationship between Kang Youwei and Liang and Wen was that each of them played an important role in one or other of the political factions. The complicated

\textsuperscript{116} Sun Haipo, "Zhu Jujiang xueji", (Basic ideas of Zhu Ciqi) in Zhongguo jin-sanbainian xueshu sixiang lunji, (Collected articles on scholarship and thought in China during the past 300 years), p.411.
\textsuperscript{117} Hummel, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912), pp.90-1.
\textsuperscript{118} See Qian Ersun, Wen Yunge xiansheng nianpu, pp.7-9.
relationship between the three men could therefore offer some clues as to the broader relationship between the political factions, and its influence on the development of the reform movement in the 1890s. Kang's role in the reform movement is well known and we will not discuss it in detail. It is however necessary to outline the roles of both Liang Dingfen and Wen Tingshi.

(2) Kang Youwei and Liang Dingfen

Liang Dingfen, a native of Panyu, Guangdong, was one of the most outstanding students of Chen Li. In 1880, Liang obtained the jinshi degree and entered the Hanlin Academy when he was only twenty. During Liang's stay in Peking, he joined in many political activities of the qingliu group and became acquainted with many qingliu officials. Li Ciming, a famous scholar at that time, made the following comment about Liang "Liang was only a junior official but enjoyed criticizing state affairs in his memorials. He did so because he had an excess of animal spirits and because sending critical memorials was in vogue at that time."119 Along with many other qingliu officials, Liang submitted a memorial attacking the treaty of Livadia (between China and Russia) in 1881. However, what won him national fame was his memorial attacking Li Hongzhang, who was one of the most powerful and prestigious officials in the country during the Sino-French War. Liang accused Li of being an arrogant, imperious and treacherous official, and suggested that he be held responsible for the military reverses and be executed.120 This memorial created a great shock at court, and Liang gained renown among the scholar-officials. Although Liang

119 Li Ciming Yuemantang riji, p.7996.
120 Wu Tianren, Liang Jiean xiansheng nianpu pp.15-17.
was forced to resign, and went back to Guangdong, the importance of Liang's role in the late Qing political scene was not diminished by the event.\textsuperscript{121}

Liang's memorial and his courage in criticizing powerful officials attracted the attention of Zhang Zhidong, and a close political relationship grew between the two and lasted for twenty years. It is not clear exactly when they first met. However, some clues in Liang's chronological biography suggested that they met in Peking in early 1885 when Zhang had left his governorship in Shanxi.\textsuperscript{122} Shortly afterwards, Zhang was appointed governor-general of Guangdong and Guangxi, and Liang also returned to Guangdong in September of the same year. Liang was immediately invited by Zhang to direct the Duanxi Academy and became a member of Zhang's mufu. Later Liang was made director of the Guangya Academy which became the biggest academy in Guangdong with Zhang Zhidong's support. To quote from Liang Dingfen's biography in the Qingshi gao (A draft history of the Qing dynasty):

"When Zhang Zhidong was in Guangdong as Governor-General of Liang-Guang, he invited Liang to preside over the Guangya Academy. After Zhang was transferred to the post of Acting Governor-General of Liang-Jiang, he made Liang director of the Zhongshan Academy. Liang again accompanied Zhang when Zhang returned to his post in Hubei as Governor-General of Liang-Hu. Liang had a hand in Zhang's administrative affairs throughout this period, and was in charge of educational affairs when Zhang pursued his new-style administrative programs."\textsuperscript{123}

Liang was one of the most important political associates of Zhang Zhidong. It even came to be said that:

\textsuperscript{121} Liang was demoted five ranks, which meant that he no longer qualified for a post in the Hanlin Academy.
\textsuperscript{122} Wu Tianren, \textit{Liang Jiean xiansheng nianpu}, p.31.
\textsuperscript{123} Zhao Ersun ed, \textit{QSG}, p.12822.
"If one respects Zhang Zhidong, one must respect Liang Dingfen at the same time; if one spits on Zhang, one must also spit on Liang. Liang Dingfen seems just a little Zhang Zhidong, and Zhang Zhidong seems just a big Liang Dingfen."\[124\]

Liang's special role in the political scene of the late Qing was not merely because of his close relationship with Zhang but also because of his friendship with Kang Youwei. The triangular relationship between Zhang, Liang and Kang is an important part of the background to the co-operation between Zhang's political faction and Kang's reform group in the reform movement of the 1890s.

It appears that the friendship between Kang and Liang lasted for many years, although it came to an end in 1898 because of political disagreement. The beginning of the Liang-Kang relationship can be traced to the friendship between Kang and Zhang Yanqiu in the late 1870s. It is possible that Zhang introduced Kang to Liang. Kang mentioned Liang in his farewell poem for Zhang when Zhang left Guangdong for Peking, accompanied by Liang in 1880.\[125\] Kang and Liang kept in close contact after Liang returned to Guangdong in 1885. They often exchanged poems and visited each other. One of Kang's poems, written for Liang, expressed appreciation of Liang's courage in criticizing Li Hongzhang.\[126\] In a list of Liang's lost poems, we find that he had dedicated a number of poems to Kang.\[127\] These poems are not longer extant, but in the collected poems of Huang Zunxian (Renjinglu shicao) there is an annotation which mentions that Liang described Kang as "a dragon crouching in Nanyang" [The nickname of Zhuge Liang, a famous hero and wise man of the Three

\[126\] Ibid, p.133.
The close friendship between Liang and Kang is suggested also by the case of Jian Chaoliang, one of Kang's classmates from his days in Zhu Ciqi's school. In October, 1886, a false charge was brought against Jian in Guangzhou. Kang asked Liang to help his friend. Liang immediately visited his friend Yu Yinlin who was a director of the judicial department in Guangdong. Jian was soon released from prison because of Yu's intervention. In view of the friendship between Kang and Liang during these years, it is not surprising that Liang should later have played a bridging role between Kang's group and Zhang Zhidong.

(3) Kang Youwei and Wen Tingshi

Wen Tingshi (1856-1904) was another man who had a personal relationship with Guangdong scholars and had a close relationship with Kang in the reform movement of the 1890s. Wen was a native of Pingxiang, Jiangxi province, but he grew up in Guangdong where his father had held an official position. He had shown scholastic talent at a very young age and became acquainted with many prominent young scholars in Guangdong. Wen and his friends often met in the Huyuan, a family garden of Chang Xu who was General of Guangzhou at that time. Chang's son Zhi Rui and his nephew Zhi Jun hosted the gatherings and Wen, Zhang Yanqiu, Liang Dingfen and Yu Shimei were frequent visitors. This social circle became very important partly because the two daughters of Chang Xu later were selected as Emperor Guangxu's concubines (Jin and Zhen). Guangxu had little affection for Ci Xi's

128 Huang Zunxian, Renjinglu shicao jianzhu (The poetic works of Huang Zunxian, annotated by Qian Ersun), p.301.
129 Wu Tianren, Liang Jiean xiansheng nianpu, p.60.
130 Qian Ersun, Wen Yunge xiansheng nianpu, p.69.
niece, who was made his consort in 1889, and found the companionship of the two sisters more congenial.\textsuperscript{131} The younger of the two, better known as the Pearl concubine, appears to have possessed unusual charm and intelligence. For this reason, her cousin, Zhi Jun, who had won his jinshi degree and Hanlin title in 1880, was favoured by the Emperor. His good friend in Guangdong Wen Tingshi had been a tutor to the sisters before they were summoned to the palace, and he too gained the Emperor's attention. Wen came out the top candidate in a special examination held for Hanlin scholars. On this occasion, the final results were arbitrated by the Emperor himself, and it was claimed that he allowed himself to be influenced by his concubines in the decision.\textsuperscript{132} Zhi Jun and Wen Tingshi were regarded the key members of the Emperor's Party which overlapped with the later qingliu group.

There are no exact indications as to when and how the friendship of Wen Tingshi and Kang Youwei was established. Wen was in Jiangxi in 1879 when Zhang Yanqiu first met Kang. Kang went to Peking for the juren examination in 1882, and Zhang, Wen and Liang were staying in Peking.\textsuperscript{133} It is possible that Wen and Kang knew each other at that time, because they belonged to the same social circle. In 1886, Zhang Yanqiu returned to Guangdong after supervising the examinations in Fujian. Zhang went to stay at the Yanghu Tower in Guangzhou for a holiday, and Wen Tingshi and Liang Dingfen joined him there. Kang, as a friend of Zhang, often went to the Tower to visit Zhang.\textsuperscript{134} According to Kang's autobiography, Zhang Yanqiu asked Zhang Zhidong, the Governor-General of Liang-Guang, to establish a translation bureau. On Zhang Yanqiu's recommendation, Zhang Zhidong intended to ask Wen Tingshi and

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item See Huang Jun, \textit{Huasui resheng-an zhiyi quanbian}, p.606.
\item Qian Ersun,\textit{Wen Yunge xiansheng nianpu}, p.17.
\item Ibid. p.18.
\item See Wu Tianren, \textit{Liang Jiean xiansheng nianpu}, p.54 and Kang Youwei, \textit{KYWN}, p.16
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Kang Youwei to take charge of the project. Although the project was abandoned, Zhang Zhidong offered Wen and Kang positions in the Guangdong Academy.\textsuperscript{135} Wen did not accept and gave his reasons in a letter to his friend.\textsuperscript{136} Kang said that he declined the offer because he had heard that some people had spoken against selecting him for the job.\textsuperscript{137} The above evidence suggests that the personal relationships among Kang and his Guangdong scholar friends were very close.

Although Kang did not pass the \textit{jinshi} degree examination until 1894, which obstructed his way into orthodox scholar-official society and made it difficult for him formally to join a political faction in the government, his relationships with his many \textit{mingshi} friends from Guangdong helped Kang to develop close contacts with \textit{qingliu} officials. These \textit{mingshi} friends' political views strongly influenced Kang. In later years, Kang extended his relationship with \textit{qingliu} officials through examination ties in Peking, and he personally took part in the activities of the \textit{qingliu} group. Kang's personal ties with \textit{qingliu} officials developed into a political link which led to political co-operation between the later \textit{qingliu} group and Kang's reform group in the reform movement of the 1890s.

The Later \textit{qingliu} Group's Background

The later \textit{qingliu} group was not a formal political organization. Like the early \textit{qingliu} group, it was regarded at the time as an amorphous grouping based

\textsuperscript{135} Kang Youwei, \textit{KYWN}, p.16
\textsuperscript{136} See Wen's letter to Yu Shimie, in Wu Tianren, \textit{Liang Jiean xiansheng nianpu}, p.59.
\textsuperscript{137} It is not certain that Zhang formally offered Kang a position because there is no other evidence, but Kang said so himself. Perhaps Kang only heard that someone had recommended him. See Kang Youwei, \textit{KYWN}, p.16.
on personal relationships. With regard to social background, there were no specific differences between the early and the later qingliu officials. Both groupings were based on the orthodox scholar-official class and represented the class's political views in such ways as asking that political power be more broadly shared and emphasizing the importance of "internal governance". Although both groups' members came from a similar social background and had loose links with each other, the later qingliu group was not simply a replica of its predecessor. The members of the later qingliu group came mostly from the lower Yangtze region and southern provinces such as Guangdong, Jiangsu and Zhejiang which were exposed to Western influence earlier than other parts of the country. As discussed in Chapter 2, the political views of these younger scholars, and their attitude towards the West, were significantly different from those characteristic of the early qingliu members.

Broadly speaking, there were two factions within the later qingliu group, their patrons being Weng Tonghe and Zhang Zhidong respectively. Weng Tonghe's group was the more important faction, and was based among scholar-officials serving in Peking. Zhang Zhidong's faction was based scholar-officials in the region of the lower Yangtze River provinces. Study of the membership of the early and the later qingliu groups presents similar problems. Identifying the members of the later qingliu group is as difficult as identifying those of the early one, or indeed more so. Rankin has suggested that some later qingliu members had been part of the scholarly friendship networks in the early 1880s, and that through these they had associated with one another and with some members of the early qingliu group.138 As we know, the early qingliu group died out when most of its members were dismissed or demoted during or after the Sino-French War. On the one hand, some famous qingliu officials left the capital. Zhang

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Zhidong offered some of them posts in his personal staff or in local academies. On the other hand, it became hard for scholar-officials who still stayed in Peking when Empress Dowager Ci Xi gained complete control of the government since the mid-1880s to express critical opinions. The result was to inhibit qingliu officials from their characteristic activity of expressing their opinions on matters of public policy through memorials. Until qingliu criticism revived during the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, the views of the qingliu figures were more often aired in private discussions of current state affairs within their own social circle. For example, a number of scholars often met at the home of Sheng Yu, an early qingliu figure who appeared to have played an important political role by providing a place (yiyuan) where younger students and scholars gained reputations by discussing scholarly questions and current state affairs. Many of these scholars were later regarded as qingliu officials after they had gained official rank and became followers of powerful and celebrated patrons.

(1) Weng Tonghe Faction

In the early 1890s, a number of elite scholar-officials in Peking formed a loose political faction, widely known as the Emperor's Party (Didang) which overlapped with the later qingliu group. After 1889, when Emperor Guangxu officially took control of the government, a key purpose of a number of orthodox scholar-officials was to bolster the emperor's position and to encourage him to act to solve China's problems. These officials hoped, by uniting with the emperor, to push institutional reforms and to remove corrupt

141 Hu Stjing, Guowen beicheng (Historical anecdotes) in WXBF Vol.4, p.278.
high officials. The emperor, in turn, was looking for young talents to use as allies against the Empress Dowager and the senior officials whom she controlled. Weng Tonghe, the tutor of Emperor Guangxu, emerged as a focal point of high-level factional rivalries, particularly in the 1890s, because of his close relation with both the emperor and mingshi scholar-officials. It is difficult to pick out those members of the Emperor's Party who were also qingliu adherents. Weng, winner of top place in the jinshi examination of 1856, was famous as a leader of scholar-officials, and had many mingshi friends and followers who were regarded as qingliu figures. As a result, many qingliu officials became members of the Emperor's Party.142 This is the reason that the two groups overlapped.

Anyway, Weng's faction came to be known as the Emperor's Party, and it would be wrong to ignore the qingliu characteristics of this political faction. It is worth noticing that many members of Weng's faction were mingshi scholar-officials at the time and most of them were famous for their outstanding record of scholastic achievement and for their criticism of the government's policy. take, for example, Zhang Jian and Wen Tingshi, two of the most important members of the Emperor's Party. Zhang won the first and Wen, the second highest honour in the Palace Examinations and both astonished scholar-officials by their bold critical memorials to the throne, qualifying them as typical qingliu figures at that time.143 In short, although not all members of the Emperor's group were regarded as qingliu figures, many of them were so prone to qingliu-type political activity that the term hou qingliu (later qingliu group) was often used to characterize the Weng faction in this period of the late Qing. To be more

142 Qi Longwei, "Didang yu wuxu bianfa" (The Emperor’s Party and 1898 Reform Movement) in Li Wenhai and Kong Xiangji eds, Wuxu bianfa (The Reform movement of 1898), p.352.
143 See the preface to Naitō Torajirō's "Yiyuang huaijulu" in Zhongguo jin-sanbainian xueshu-shi, pp.498-9.
specific, a number of the members of Weng's political faction were only identified with the Emperor's Party because of their relation with Weng Tonghe or the Emperor himself. However, a large number of the members of Weng's faction were identified with both the Emperor's Party and the later qingliu group. In essence, the Weng faction clearly bore the social characteristics of the qingliu. It was called Didang because it took a pro-Emperor position in the power struggle, or in what was then called the discord (buhe) between Emperor Guangxu and Empress Dowager Ci Xi.

(2) Zhang Zhidong Faction

Although Zhang Zhidong had left the officialdom of Peking early in the 1880s, he still was one of the most influential figures among scholar-officials and in Chinese intellectual life in the 1890s. Zhang Zhidong was a thoroughbred Confucianist and a fine scholar. He had gained first place in the juren examination in Zhili in 1852, and third place in the palace examination for the jinshi degree in 1863. Zhang had himself been an important member of the original qingliu group in the 1870s and early 1880s. When Zhang served in a series of senior regional administrative posts, he still kept up his ties with old qingliu colleagues such as Li Hongzao, Chen Baosheng and Huang Tifang. Furthermore, many famous younger scholars such as Liang Dingfen and Huang Shaoqi were invited to join Zhang's personal staff. According to Huang Jun, when Zhang Zhidong employed an official, he always put emphasis on such things as mendi (family status), kejia (title of civil service examinations) and mingshi (famous scholars). Zhang Zhidong had stature both as a leading

144 Bays, China enters the twentieth century, p.25.
145 See Huang Jun, Huasui resheng-an zhiyi quanbian, p.140.
provincial official and as a leading ideological mentor among the orthodox scholar-officials of the 1890s. A large number of the mingshi gathered around him and formed a political faction which had many characteristics of the qingliu movement.

Because of Zhang's involvement in provincial yangwu projects over period of around two decades, when he was serving as Governor-General of Liang-Guang (Guangdong and Guangxi, 1884-1889), Liang-Hu (Hunan and Hubei, 1889-1894, and 1896-1902) and Liang-Jiang (Jiangsu, Jiangxi and Anhui, 1894-1896), he is often characterized as a leader of the yangwu movement. However, although Zhang can be regarded as an advocate of yangwu activities, it is unacceptable to characterize his political faction as a yangwu group. It should be emphasized that there was an essential distinction between the yangwu group led by Li Hongzhang and Zhang Zhidong's political faction. It is interesting to note that Gu Hongming, who was associated with Zhang for a number of years, underscored Zhang's characteristic position by contrasting it with that of Li Hongzhang. According to Gu, one of the basic differences between the two men was that while Zhang had a profound respect for China's moral heritage, Li devoted his attention exclusively to matters of immediate, practical advantage.146

As mentioned above, Zhang was a famous member of the qingliu group in the 1870s and adhered strongly to the traditional prescription of internal governance. When he began to serve in regional administration, especially as Governor-General of Liang-Guang during the Sino-French war in 1884, he quickly recognized the urgent necessity of strengthening Chinese military force and developing economic power, and that the best way to achieve these goals

was to adopt Western technology, as Li Hongzhang was doing. Although Zhang Zhidong was involved from the middle of the 1880s in many modern military and industrial projects, he never gave up the *qingliu* ideal of strengthening "internal governance". Zhang always felt that the most important thing for a strong China was the revival of Confucian moral teachings and of the Confucian social order. In order to establish Confucian scholarship and learning as the sole criterion for the selection of officials, Zhang established many traditional-style academies and schools.\textsuperscript{147} For examples, Zhang established the *Jingxin* Academy in Hubei, the *Zunjing* Academy in Sichuan, and the *Liangde* in Shanxi. When he was Governor-General of Liang-Guang, he established the *Guangya* Academy which became the biggest academy in Guangdong. After he transferred to Wuchang in 1889 two of his most notable educational projects were the *Liang-Hu* Academy, and *Ziqiang* School.\textsuperscript{148} It was said that the schools appeared in great numbers, like trees in a forest, when Zhang persuaded his new-style administrative programs.\textsuperscript{149}

Thus, as a leader of the orthodox scholar-official class Zhang Zhidong still stood with the *qingliu* group after the middle of the 1880s. However, Zhang was not dogmatic about adherence to the viewpoint of the early *qingliu* group, which maintained that Confucianism was a universal truth and were against all foreign things. As with the later *qingliu* officials Zhang recognized that the strengthening of China depended not only on the re-establishment of domestic order, but also on the adoption of Western technology and learning. Even though Zhang had advocated many policies similar to those of the *yangwu* group, after the middle

\textsuperscript{147} Zhang Zhidong also encouraged the establishment of modern schools, especially after the Sino-Japanese War of 1895.


\textsuperscript{149} Zhao Ersun ed, *QSG*, p.12822.
of the 1880s his faction, as a political force, was aligned with the later qingliu group.

Kang Youwei's Political Activities in Peking in 1888-89

Kang went to Peking in late 1888 for the juren examination. He made contact with some qingliu personalities during his stay in the capital from the autumn of 1888 till the summer of 1889. While Kang was in Guangdong, Zhang Yanqiu had invited him several times to visit the capital, but Zhang was seriously ill when Kang arrived in Peking and died a short time after Kang arrived. Zhang's death did not present an obstacle to Kang's making the acquaintance of many prominent contemporaries in Peking such as Sheng Yu, Huang Shaoqi, Tu Renshou and Shen Cengzhi who also were close friends of Liang Dingfen and Wen Tingshi. These scholar-officials were forming a new generation of qingliu.

After many early qingliu members were demoted or dismissed and their patrons left the inner circles of power during 1884-1885, metropolitan politics were dominated by two overlapping configurations. On one side were Li Hongzhang and his associates, and on the other the adherents of Ci Xi, such as Prince Chun, the Grand Councillor Sun Yuwen and Li Lianying, Ci Xi's favourite eunuch. The government, which was controlled by Ci Xi's adherents, suffered from low morale compared with previous regimes. Corruption among officials greatly increased. The government continued to sell a large number of official ranks to ease the state's financial crisis and meet expenditures on palaces and gardens. Kang late described the situation in Peking as follows:
"The construction of palaces and parks went on, and the graft and corruption of the officials continued unchecked. Sun Yuwen and Li Lianying dominated the government, while the officials not only kept their mouths shut but suppressed the expression of public opinion. The promotion of officials depended on offering bribes."\(^{150}\)

These practices not only threatened the qingliu officials' goal of reviving government morale, but continued to present obstacles in the careers of jinshi degree-holders. The situation created much antagonism among the orthodox scholar-officials and criticism revived in the late 1880s. After Kang failed to pass the juren examination, he decided to stay on in Peking, and endeavoured to make his debut on the political stage.

Kang Youwei entered directly into the qingliu's political activities. His most famous action at this time was his attempt to send his own memorial to the throne. As a man not in the government and without a degree, Kang had to ask some high officials to transmit his memorial. With his draft in hand, Kang sought the assistance of some court dignitaries who were regarded as qingliu patrons, namely Weng Tonghe and Pan Zuyin. Kang's action was encouraged by some qingliu members. Kang wrote in his Autobiography: "Huang Shaoqi, a Hanlin Academy compiler, Shen Cenzhi of the Board of Punishment, and Tu Renshou, a censor, all voiced support for my proposals."\(^{151}\) Weng Tonghe and Pan Zuyin both refused to meet Kang, and Sheng Yu, who was president of the Imperial College (Guozi jian), took Kang's memorial to Weng Tonghe to ask him transmit it to the throne.\(^{152}\) But Weng again refused to transmit Kang's memorial.

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151 Kang Youwei, KYWN, p.18.
Kang stated that his memorial of 1888 was on "institutional reform" (bianfa).\textsuperscript{153} This raised the question whether the above-mentioned qingliu officials supported Kang's reform ideas in 1889. The answer seems to be that they did not. In fact, the basic theme of Kang's memorial was not one of advocating specific reforms. Rather, in traditional qingyi style, it was a plea to the emperor, who was just about to be married and to assume personal rule, to solve China's domestic and foreign problems by fostering a dedicated spirit among the literati. Kang defined three problem areas he hoped the court would attack with vigor. These were institutional reform, improved communication between ruler and subject, and discretion in selecting the Emperor's personal staff.\textsuperscript{154} Although Kang mentioned institutional reform in his memorial, he did not spell out what this might involve or how to implement it. He only urged the Empress-Dowager and the Emperor to issue a "proclamation of self-admonition".\textsuperscript{155} Most of Kang's recommendations were a reiteration of what had been proposed in earlier qingliu members' memorials, such as encouraging public opinion and choosing the right scholar-officials (zhengshi) for posts. All in all, Kang's "reform" fell within the framework of "internal governance" which was the basic prescription of qingliu officials.

However, the authenticity of Kang's memorial is open to question. According to Huang Zhangjian, "the text" of Kang's memorial which we can read now is not the original one Kang wrote in 1888, and some important parts

\textsuperscript{153} Kang Youwei, KYWN, p.18.
\textsuperscript{154} For Kang's memorial, see WXBF, Vol.2, pp.123-31.
\textsuperscript{155} Ibid. p.131.
have been changed.\textsuperscript{156} Liang Dingfen, who read Kang's original memorial, commented:

"I find that in the text (Kang's memorial) written in 1888, compliments for the Empress Dowager, come line after line, dazzling the eye at every point. The ostensible purpose is to discuss affairs of state, but the real intention is to seek favour".\textsuperscript{157}

Such evidence suggests that Kang's memorial in 1888 did not emphasize reform, as Kang later insisted, but rather represented the attempt of a degree candidate fumbling for a way into high society in Peking by following the prestigious \textit{qingliu} group's political line. According to Kang, after he failed to have his memorial passed on to the throne, he threw himself into helping Tu Renshou, the most outstanding spokesman of the \textit{qingliu} group to draft his critical memorials. Although in his autobiography Kang exaggerated his role in helping Tu to draft memorials, he had close contact with the latter during 1888-1889.\textsuperscript{158} Tu was dismissed in 1889 because he enraged Ci Xi by his criticizing the project of building the Summer Palace. This stopped Kang's further \textit{qingliu} activities in Peking. In conclusion, if one examines Kang's activities during 1888-1889, one can see that his close political links with the bureaucracy were made through the \textit{qingliu} group.

Thus Kang's first dabbling in political expression in Peking ended in failure. One of the reasons was that the \textit{qingliu}'s campaign of criticism which might have threatened dominant court and bureaucratic circles was again checked.

\textsuperscript{156} Huang Zhangjian observes that the text of this document is not the original one Kang prepared in 1888. See Huang Zhangjian, \textit{Wuxu bianfa-shi yanjiu}, (Studies of the 1898 reform), pp.581-7.


\textsuperscript{158} For an discussion of Kang's role in helping Tu to draft memorials, see Huang Zhangjian, "Lun Guangxu shishi-nian Kang Youwei dai Tu Renshou caozhe-shi" (On Kang Youwei in helping Tu Renshu to draft memorials in 1889), in \textit{Dalu zazhi} (The Continental Journal), 40:2/48-60.
in 1889 at the time of the emperor's marriage and his assumption of personal rule. Weng Tonghe explained to Sheng Yu that he refused to pass Kang's memorial on to the throne because he thought Kang's suggestions would not help the situation. Kang inferred later that Weng's refusal was intended to protect him. Whatever Kang tried to do in association with the qingliu political line could not have succeeded because the situation for the qingliu group was hopeless at that time. After Tu Renshou was dismissed, Kang's qingliu friends advised him not to talk any more about state affairs.

It is clear that Kang's major political ambition during 1888-1889 was to join the qingliu front and to make a name for himself. However, he was obstructed from entering the prestigious scholar-official group by his status as a mere government student (sheng yuan). Although Kang had the sympathy of some qingliu members, who believed in his sincerity and regarded him as a candidate for qingliu membership, Kang did not gain the patronage of the qingliu group. However, he had laid the foundation for his later political ventures. Kang became known in scholar-official circles in Peking. Many qingliu officials had formed a good impression of him. They were impressed by his boldness in criticizing others, and he was also able to make friends with many qingliu officials at both political and personal levels. For example, Kang's meeting with Shen Cenzhi in 1888 set up a friendship which lasted almost forty years. Kang also kept up a close friendship with Sheng Yu. When Kang again went back to Peking for the juren examination in 1894, he stayed first in Sheng Yu's home, which was a famous gathering place for prominent scholar-officials and

celebrated younger scholars. Zhang Jian, a key member of the later qingliu group and the Emperor's Party, also became acquainted with Kang during 1888-1889. Zhang's son said in his father's biography:

"When my father was staying in Peking during 1888, Kang Youwei was there. They knew each other and often had contact. Kang wrote some poems for my father and expressed his respect for him."\(^{163}\)

In 1894, when Kang was impeached on the charge of deceiving and misleading young people with his book *A Study of the Forged Classics of the Xin Period*, Kang's qingliu friends such as Sheng Yu, Shen Cenzhi, Huang Shaoqi, Wen Tingshi and Zhang Jian did what they could to help him.\(^{164}\) The relationship between Kang and the qingliu officials in 1888-1889 served as a good base for later political co-operation between Kang's reform group and the qingliu group.

**The Establishment of Kang's Reform Group**

Kang's group was wellknown as "the reform group" at the time. Two points about the group's character must be noted. First, Kang's reform group was a political organization of members of the gentry outside of government. It did not include everybody who was reform-minded or who took part in reform activities. The group was one particular organization of radical reformers with Kang Youwei as its leader and a number of his disciples as key members. Secondly, the group was the first organization in nineteenth century China to have some of the characteristics of a modern political party. The members of Kang's reform group not only shared political ideals and goals, but also worked

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164 Kang Youwei, *KYWN*, p.28
to advance their political purpose in a planned way. The term "dang" (party) was more often used to describe Kang's group (known as the Kangdang) than to describe any other political faction in documents of the late Qing.

Kang's reform group developed from a private school which had some of the characteristics of a study association. Traditionally, study associations had served as important centres of political activities for the literati outside of government. In the late Ming, they played an important political role in providing independent centres from which some scholars could carry on political protest and criticism of the court on a collective basis. But from the second half of the seventeenth century on, the trend turned decisively against associational activities, largely owing to the strict Qing government ban on associations with a political orientation. Before the middle of the nineteenth century the academies were reduced largely to routine preparation for civil-service examinations. The winds of change blew strong in the southern treaty ports, with the Western impact increasing in the later part of the nineteenth century. As China faced the threat of foreign invasion, the interests of members of scholarly and academic circles in these area were focusing more on practical studies and on practical application of knowledge to current problems. For example, in Guangdong, Chen Li and Zhu Ciqi were two pioneers in the initiation of "substantial studies" (shixue). They emphasized that the essential core to Confucianism comprised studies with practical significance to the central question of moral and social responsibility. As a result, in many treaty port cities, the literati became concerned over the situation of the country and the academies took on a political colour, more so than in other parts of China.

Shortly after Kang Youwei returned to Guangdong, he found himself called on by two young scholars who had heard about his visit to the capital. His discourses, informative and eloquently delivered, won him instant admirers.\(^{166}\)

A small following formed around him, and in 1891 he founded in Guangzhou a small private school known as the \textit{Wanmu caotang} (Thatched Hut among Ten Thousand Trees) for these young scholars. From the time of the school’s establishment, Kang did academic work with a political intent. An essential point of his teaching work in the school was to carry forward the Confucian ideal of social responsibility and to foster the students political consciousness. Kang encouraged them not only to study the traditional learning of China and new ideas from abroad, but also to put greater emphasis on Western political experience and ideals than on specialized technical knowledge. Later development of the school proved that Kang intended to develop the academy as the base of a political faction.

Kang believed that learning should be closely related to current political affairs. The scholars, from whom the officials in the bureaucracy were drawn, had the responsibility to concern themselves with their country and their people if they were to be scholars in the true Confucian sense.\(^ {167}\) Kang believed that correct academic thought would create great statesmen, that perfect politics of a country depended on these great statesmen, and that statesmen should unite and act together to achieve perfect politics.\(^ {168}\) As Kang said later:

“For a long time it has been a fashion in China for men to assume an air of disinterest about the state of the empire. Cautioned by the prohibitions

\(^{166}\) Ding Wenjiang, \textit{Liang Rengong xiansheng nianpu changbian chugao}, (First draft of a detailed chronological biography of Liang Qichao), p.15.

\(^{167}\) Lo Jung-pang ed, \textit{Kang Yu-wei}, p.3.

dating back to the Ming period against forming associations, men of the scholar class dared not congregate together for discussions. Consequently, it is very difficult to change their views. It is my belief that in order to modify social behaviour and to broaden the understanding of the officials and scholars, it is necessary to assemble large groups of people. Only by uniting many people can we be strong."\(^{169}\)

Furthermore, Kang Youwei clearly expressed his intention of forming a political faction by encouraging his students to win over more comrades. For example, when Liang Qichao, one of Kang's most outstanding students, went to Peking to marry a high official's daughter, Kang wrote to him the following lines in a poem, "Search out as friends outstanding people of high ideals,, Keep you heart warm and be prepared to save the suffering people".\(^{170}\)

Kang's reform group took shape in the mid-1890s among the students of Kang's private school. The school had started out with about 20 students, but by 1894 it had an enrolment of more than 100. Among the students, about twenty became involved in political activities or assisted Kang's reform project. These included Liang Qichao, Chen Qianqiu, Mai Menghua, Xu Qin, Long Zehou, Liang Chaojie, Ou Qujia, Ye Juemai and Han Wenju.\(^{171}\) These students formed the core of Kang's political following and were key members of the group. They participated widely in political activities such as the degree candidates' petition movement against the Sino-Japanese peace treaty in 1895, the organization of the Society for Self-Strengthening Studies in 1895, the Society for Protecting the Nation (baogou hui) in 1898, the establishment of newspapers and the dissemination of reform theories. As well as Kang Youwei and his disciples, the

\(^{169}\) Kang Youwei, \textit{KYWN}, p.34. The translation is based on that of Lo Jung-pang ed, \textit{K'ang Yu-wei} p.71.

\(^{170}\) Ding Wenjiang, \textit{Liang Rengong xiansheng nianpu changbian chugao}, p.18.

\(^{171}\) Su Yunfeng "Kang Youwei zhuchi xia de wanmu caotang", in \textit{Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo jikan} vol.3, p.448. For a list of Kang's students, see Li Yunguang, "Kang Youwei dizi xingming-lu" (A list of Kang Youwei's students) in \textit{Dalu zazhi} (The Continent Journal), (1967) 5/244.
group also included a number of associates both from the scholar-officials and the local gentry class. Wang Daxie, who had close contact with Kang's reform group from 1895 to 1898, said in a letter to his brother Wang Kangnian, the general-manager of the Shiwu bao that:

"The line of demarcation within Kang's party is very strict. One group of members belongs to the sidang (core of members); while a second group could be regarded as the mianzi dang (outer circle of members). The latter include some eminent scholars who have close contacts with Kang."\textsuperscript{172}

It is worth emphasizing the fact that Kang's so-called sidang, including his disciples and also Tan Sitong and Lin Xu, had no high academic degrees or official ranks until the beginning of the hundred days reform in 1898.\textsuperscript{173} In short, Kang's reform group was not a political faction among the truly scholar-official class.

As a scholar and member of the gentry, Kang represented, in many respects, the views and ideals of the gentry-literati class outside of the government. As crises multiplied in the later part of the nineteenth century, members of the elite outside the bureaucracy became increasingly concerned over the contemporary situation and were discontented with a government controlled by Ci Xi's adherents. Many historians in mainland China have characterized Kang's reform group as representative of the newly rising bourgeoisie.\textsuperscript{174} Judging from Kang Youwei's personal career, he should be regarded rather as a leader of local gentry who rose in the political movements outside of the

\textsuperscript{172} Wang Kangnien shiyou shuzha, (Letters from his teachers and friends to Wang Kangnian), Vol.1, p.783.
\textsuperscript{173} There are differences among disciples. Usually, the students who study personally under the teacher's supervision are called shouyie disi. Others, who do not study personally under the teacher but respect him as a teacher, are called baimen disi or sishu disi. Tan and Lin were not Kang's shouyie disi.
\textsuperscript{174} For a representative statement of the theory, see Hu Bin, Wuxu bianfa (Reform movement of 1898), p.103-7.
bureaucratic structure. Kang himself took the county examination when he was only fourteen, but he did not achieve the jinshi degree until 1895, when he was thirty eight. Even then he did not become a Hanlin scholar, and he refused to accept a position in the government. Kang gained national fame in 1895 because he led more than a thousand provincial graduates gathered in the capital for the metropolitan examination to submit memorials protesting the terms of peace with Japan and calling for fundamental changes in the institutional structure. Though Kang's learning and political ability were acknowledged in intellectual circles, Kang did not have the status to be a leader of scholar-officials. Kang's reform group, in fact, was a faction of intellectuals outside of the government and of candidates for scholar-official status. Partly because of this nature of Kang's reform group, members of the group had more freedom to say what they felt in public. They felt less bound by their own words and worried less about personal losses than did the orthodox scholar-officials. This enabled Kang's reform group to advocate more radical reform of the government. On the other hand, because Kang's reform group did not have enough power to launch a reform movement within the government by themselves, they had to depend largely on the supporters of high or middle ranking officials in the government, namely, the later qingliu group.
CHAPTER FOUR
Co-operation Between the Late
qingliu Group and Kang's Reform Group

Political Co-operation Between Kang's Reform Group and the qingliu
Group During the Sino-Japanese War

The formal co-operation between the qingliu group and Kang's reform
group started during the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 and developed into a
reform movement of practical significance after the war. However, we will argue
that the main trend of the co-operation both during and after the war can be seen
as a continuation of the qingliu movement, and that Kang's reform group played
an supportive role.

In the early 1890s, the conflict between China and Japan over the Korean
issue was intensifying. When both China's and Japan's troops were involved in
suppressing a rebellion in Korea in the summer of 1894, the situation became
very tense. The Korean crisis divided the imperial court into two opposing
factions, one of which strongly advised a cautious foreign policy, while the other
urged war against Japan. The argument on the crisis also became a power
struggle between the Emperor's faction and the Empress Dowager's faction.175
As we have seen, the later qingliu officials placed great hopes in the young
emperor after his assumption of personal rule in 1889. They expected to be able
to change the composition of the Grand Council which was controlled by
Empress Dowager's adherents. The qingliu group prepared for the emperor's

175 Qi Longwei, "Didang yu wuxu bianfa" pp.353-4.
holding the real authority mainly by helping him establish his personal prestige. Victory over Japan would offer a great chance for enhancing the emperor's prestige. The qingliu officials actively opposed the capitulationist attitude toward Japan, which many Chinese scholars despised as a small island country, and pushed for a war with Japan. The emperor became a prowar symbol with the support of Weng Tonghe, Wen Tingshi, Zhi Rui and Zhang Jian, known as the war grouping. Although the qingliu officials were eager to fight and win the war to enhance the Emperor's prestige, they had very little influence on policy-making within the government. They could only rely on the emperor's limited power of command, seeking alliance with elements of the gentry outside the bureaucracy. As a result, the Sino-Japanese War not only set the stage for the qingliu's revival but also presented an environment for political co-operation between qingliu officials and talented members of the gentry outside the bureaucratic structure.

In early 1894, Kang Youwei, with his student Liang Qichao, went to Peking again for the civil service examination. Kang injured his foot soon after he arrived and returned to the south of China, where he waited out a half-year period during which both he and his work were under official investigation. Early in 1895, Kang proceeded to the capital for another attempt at the jinshi degree, and there he found himself engulfed in the emotionally charged atmosphere that was affecting all of officialdom. The Sino-Japanese war was being fought to its final phase, and peace was being negotiated in Japan. A wave of opposition to the peace treaty with Japan was rising in the capital. The qingliu group was the main force behind the surge of opposition against concluding a peace treaty. During the war, the qingliu officials made new efforts at group organization. Wen Tingshi organized several meetings of members of the Hanlin

176 Kang Youwei, KYWN, p.28.
Academy to plan political strategy, and he and his associates also repeatedly made organized efforts to submit memorials with group signatures. For example, in September 1894, 57 Hanlin scholars headed by Wen signed a memorial requesting that Prince Gong be appointed to the Grand Council. Another memorial signed by 55 Hanlin scholars requested the impeachment of Li Hongzhang.  

The anti-treaty scholar-officials formed a united front with degree candidates who were in Peking to take the metropolitan examination. The following passage is found in Wen Tingshi's work:

"Decisions made in the imperial court are kept secret. I was able to gain inside knowledge through one or two intimate friends, and always fought for opportunities to present my views to the emperor. At the same time I would spread my views among our followers so that we would all fight for them together".  

It was probably not accidental if, as Kang claimed in his autobiography, he was among the first to learn of the conditions for peace dictated by Japan. It is very possible that Kang got the information from Wen himself or from his qingliu friends. This is likely to be true because of Kang's previous close relation with Wen and his friends, and the development of political co-operation between the qingliu group and Kang's reform group as soon as the war ended. When Kang heard about the peace treaty conditions, he and Liang called a conference of the provincial candidates from different parts of the country at the well-known meeting place in Peking, Songyun An, where both the early qingliu officials and Wen and his friends had often held political discussion meetings.

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177 See Rankin, "Public Opinion and Political Power", p.469.
with members of the Hanlin Academy. Kang drafted a "Ten Thousand Word Petition" which he persuaded twelve hundred degree candidates to sign. The petition expressed strong opposition to the peace treaty and suggested the following: first, rejection of the treaty; second, removal of the capital from Peking to Xian in the northwest so as to make it possible to continue the war; and third, the carrying out of institutional reform. This petition was known as the Gongche shangshu. According to Kang, the petition was rejected by officials of the Censorate. The manuscript, however, was not wasted, for it was soon reproduced in Shanghai under the title "Gongche shangshu ji" (An account of the petition project of the juren). By the end of 1895, several tens of thousand copies had been sold.

In his "Ten Thousand Word Petition", Kang Youwei strongly supported the qingliu group's "war policy", and expressed views on internal policy which were very similar to those of the qingliu group. On the question of peace or war, Kang wrote:

"Those who speak in favour of war unite the wills of the people and thus make energetic preparations for the empire's future. This insures survival. Those who speak in favour of peace impair the empire's solidarity and encourage the barbarians' ambitions. This will bring about ruin in an even shorter time [than would be possible by defeat in war]."
Furthermore, the first two issues raised in Kang's petition, that is to say, the cession of Taiwan and the possibility of moving the capital, were at the heart of the argument between the Emperor's war faction and the Empress Dowager's cautious faction at that time. The plan of moving the capital to the interior had been proposed earlier by the qingliu memorialists during the war. Weng Tonghe also had suggested to the emperor in person that the capital be moved, and he rejected the condition of the ceding of Taiwan, but, his opinion was ignored.185

This shows that there existed a agreement of views between qingliu officials and Kang Youwei. The reform issue in Kang's petition also had many ideological similarities with the qingliu group's ideas. Kang's recommendations, which included improving industry, agriculture, commerce, and education were not new and the only difference between his ideas and those of the qingliu group was that his tended to be bolder. However, the most important part of Kang's petition was addressed to political reform. In his petition, Kang not only reiterated the importance of communication between ruler and scholar-officials, but also paid more attention to communication between the throne and the subject population (in particular, the gentry-literate outside of the government). In order that elite opinion from outside government could be brought to bear on policy-making, Kang argued for setting up a group of policy consultants (yilang) who would be selected by the literati from among learned and capable intellectuals. (Kang suggested that one consultant be selected for each 100,000 households). These consultants would advise the emperor on state affairs and discuss all important policies on central and local administration.186 This system of policy consultants would have been somewhat similar in function to a Western-style parliamentary system. Kang's suggestion shows that his reform group

responded to the demand of the gentry-literati outside the government for more voice on state affairs.

After the Sino-Japanese War, Kang Youwei, with his reputation as the author of the now famous and controversial *A Study of the Forged Classics of the Xin Period (Xinxue weijingkao 1891)*, and as the leader of a movement against the peace treaty, became a prominent figure in gentry society outside of the government and a well-known reformer. Although he obtained the *jinshi* degree in 1895, he refused to serve in the government as a low official, which he considered too insignificant a position to be of interest to him. The defeat by Japan created an atmosphere of enthusiasm for modernization and reform, and Kang’s reform group began to formally appear on the late Qing political stage as a political faction. As we have seen, the Sino-Japanese War had served to lay the foundation of political co-operation between the *qingliu* group and Kang’s reform group. The relationship between Kang and the *qingliu* officials became closer through their joint activities.

Co-operation between the *qingliu* Group and Kang’s Reform Group after the War

The co-operation between the two groups on the issue of reform was based on their shared political and ideological interests. Both were serious in their wish to change the existing government leadership, and both sought more power within government for themselves. Both also stressed the need for reform and strove to promote the Emperor as the leader of the reform movement. The *qingliu* officials hoped that the reform would reduce the Empress Dowager’s power by

doing away with some of the inept personnel and corrupt practices that existed under her rule, and, at the same time, enhance the Emperor's power and prestige by identifying him with a movement which would give prosperity and strength to the Empire.

Furthermore, qingliu officials believed that the reform would enable them to assume leadership in the government. Kang's reform group, which was mainly composed of local gentry, depended on the support of members of the bureaucracy and more especially the Emperor's support for their reform projects. Many qingliu officials, as we have seen, had close relations with Emperor and could play a bridging role between the Emperor and Kang's reform group. On the other hand, qingliu officials lacked enough strength and courage to push a reform which might offend the Empress Dowager and her followers. Kang and his disciples, who were untrammelled by the responsibilities of bureaucratic office, had more freedom to advocate reform in public. It was also necessary, for the qingliu officials to draw around themselves as many qualified persons to help with reform as they could. Many members of the reform group came from south China, in particular from Guangdong, where the scholarly and academic circles had developed considerably since the middle of the nineteenth century, and also were focussing especially on practical studies and Western learning. As a result, the qingliu group and Kang's reform group needed each other and answered each other's needs. It is not surprising that the reform movement was the product of co-operation between the qingliu group and Kang's reform group.
(1) *Qiangxue hui* in Peking

**TABLE 5**

**MAJOR MEMBERS OF PEKING QIANGXUE HUI**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>HOMETOWN DISTRICT</th>
<th>POLITICAL BACKGROUND</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kang Youwei</td>
<td>Guangdong</td>
<td>Reform Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liang Qichao</td>
<td>Guangdong</td>
<td>Reform Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mai Monghua</td>
<td>Guangdong</td>
<td>Reform Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chen Zhi</td>
<td>Jiangxi</td>
<td>EP, Weng faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shen Cenzi</td>
<td>Zhejiang</td>
<td>EP, LQLG, Weng faction</td>
</tr>
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<td>Zhejiang</td>
<td>EP, LQLG, Weng faction</td>
</tr>
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<td>Ding Liun</td>
<td>Jiangsu</td>
<td>EP, LQLG, Weng faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wen Tingshi</td>
<td>Jiangxi</td>
<td>EP, LQLG, Weng faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wang Dade</td>
<td>Zhejiang</td>
<td>Pro-Weng faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wang Pengyun</td>
<td>Guangxi</td>
<td>EP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weng Binsun</td>
<td>Jiangsu</td>
<td>Weng's grandson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yang Rui</td>
<td>Sichuan</td>
<td>Zhang faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhang Quan</td>
<td>Zhili</td>
<td>Zhang's son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhang Xiaqian</td>
<td>Henan</td>
<td>Li faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuan Shikai</td>
<td>Henan</td>
<td>Pro-Li faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xu Shicaihang</td>
<td>Zhili</td>
<td>Pro-Li faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chen Yangyuan</td>
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<td>Zhu Chengbao</td>
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<td>Hong Liangpin</td>
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**MAJOR SUPPORTS OF PEKING QIANGXUE HUI**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
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<th>POLITICAL BACKGROUND</th>
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</thead>
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<td>Weng Tonghe</td>
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<td>EP, LQLG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun Jiania</td>
<td>Anhui</td>
<td>EP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhang Zhidong</td>
<td>Zhili</td>
<td>LQLG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li Hongzao</td>
<td>Zhili</td>
<td>QLG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liu Kuanyi</td>
<td>Hunan</td>
<td>Governor-General of Liang-Jiang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wang Wenshao</td>
<td>Zhejiang</td>
<td>Governor-General of Zhili</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

EP=Emperor's Party  LQLG=Later *Qingliu* Group  QLG=*Qingliu* group  Weng faction=Weng Tonghe faction  Zhang faction=Zhang Zhidong faction  Li faction=Li Hongzao faction


The reform movement in 1895 called for the establishment of a study society that would create a new spirit of dedication among the scholar-officials and help them gain political influence. Kang's reform group, as the representative of the gentry outside the government, joined the movement. The major organizational effort of political co-operation between the *qingliu* group...
and Kang's reform group after the Sino-Japanese War was the founding of the Qiangxue hui (Society for the Study of National Strengthening). The society was founded in Peking in September 1895, a Shanghai branch being established later in December 1895. Although Kang Youwei was involved in the society's projects in both Peking and Shanghai, and was counted as one of its original founders, it was not he and his disciples but the later qingliu group who played the leading role in the society.

The beginnings of the Qiangxue hui are quite obscure. Although Kang and Liang Qichao later claimed that the establishment of the society came from an initiative of Kang himself, this is probably yet another example of Kang and his disciples exaggerating their own role. According to many other sources, written by persons involved in the society, the Qiangxue hui developed directly out of an informal political discussion circle headed by Wen Tingshi and was joined by mostly qingliu officials during and after the war. According to Hu Sijing, an official in Peking at the time,

"Hanlin Academician Reader-in-waiting (Shidu xueshi) Wen Tingshi and Section Director of the Board of Punishments (Xingbu langzhong) Chen Zhi gathered famous scholars (ningshi) from all parts of China and established the Qiangxue hui".188

In fact, a formal society founded in Peking could not have succeeded without support from high-ranking officials. As already noted, Wen Tingshi was one of the most distinguished members of the scholar-official's circle in Peking. He, at that time, was gaining the trust of both the Emperor and Wen Tonghe. Fei Xingjian, who joined Wen's political discussion circle, found that many officials were vying with each other to make friends with Wen, because Wen was said to

have gained a place in the Grand Council.\textsuperscript{189} Zhang Yuanji, a young official and a friend of many qingliu officials at the time, when asked how the Qiangxue hui had been established, replied:

"We (a group of officials in Peking) often gathered in the Taoran ting to discuss state affairs. We only met every few days and did not give (the meetings) a name. Those whom I remember attending the discussions were Wen Tingshi, Huang Shaoqi, Chen Zhi, Wang Daxie, Xu Shichang, Shen Cenzhi and Shen Centong."\textsuperscript{190}

It is worth noticing that those who had joined Wen's discussion circle were almost all involved in the later project of Qiangxue hui. Thus, it seems that the Qiangxue hui was based originally on the political activities of those qingliu officials who were eminent figures in Peking's scholar-official circles. It was also to be expected that Wen would assume a prominent place in the organization and eventually be recognized as having been the leading spirit of the project.

In fact, it seems that Kang Youwei did not play an important role in the formation of the Qiangxue Hui, although the society's supporters included Kang and Liang. There is evidence as well to suggest that the relationship between Kang and Wen Tingshi was not harmonious at this time. It may be that Wen's attitude towards Kang was influenced by Li Wentian, a well-known patron of Guangdong's scholar-officials and one of Wen's closest friends, who detested Kang.\textsuperscript{191} In his later writings about this period, Liang Qichao hinted that the project had encountered problems. "The arrangements for a study society ran into some difficulty," Liang observed, "but there was no question that it would come through. The perseverance of Shen Cenzhi commanded great respect".\textsuperscript{192}

\textsuperscript{189} Woqiu Zhongzi (Fei Xingjian), \textit{Ci Xi chuanxin lu} (A truthful account of Empress Dowager Ci Xi), Vol.2, pp.94-5.
\textsuperscript{190} Zhang Yuanji, "Wuxu zhengbian de huiyi" (Recollections of the coup in 1898), in \textit{WXBF}, Vol.4, p.323.
\textsuperscript{191} See Kang Youwei, \textit{KYWN}, p.33.
\textsuperscript{192} Letter from Liang Qichao to Xia Cenyou in \textit{WXBF} Vol.2, p.538.
It has been suggested that the 'difficulty' mentioned by Liang related to discord between Wen and Kang.\textsuperscript{193} There is also important evidence from Kang's autobiography: Kang said that he had made up his mind to go home during June 1895 because the situation was very disappointing, but Shen Cenzhi and Chen Zhi urged him to remain in Peking.\textsuperscript{194} There is reason to believe that Kang overcame his discouragement and played a more important role in forming the study society only after Wen Tingshi's departure from Peking in June, when he faced political revenge from the Empress Dowager's adherents. After Wen had left Peking, Chen Zhi and Shen Cenzhi became the leading figures in organizing the society. Kang had a close friendship with Shen, and also had established a new friendship with Chen Zhi. Liang Qichao said in a letter to a friend at that time: "I recently became acquainted with Chen Zhi, whose knowledge comes from Western learning. Chen is daring and full of noble aspirations, and has the ability to do important work."\textsuperscript{195} Wang Bogong, an official in Peking at the time, also recounted that when he called on Chen Zhi one day in the autumn of 1895, he found Kang there and discovered that there was a close relationship between Chen and Kang.\textsuperscript{196}

Although Kang's influence in the planning of the study society increased after Wen's departure, the later qingliu group were still in control of the project. The patron behind it was Weng Tonghe. After Shen Cenzhi became a leading figure in the preparations, he frequently visited Weng Tonghe. For example, in the month before the society's formal establishment, Shen called on Weng at least three times.\textsuperscript{197} It is also worth noticing that when Chen Zhi, who was on the staff of the Board of Revenue directly under Weng's supervision, visited

\textsuperscript{193} See Kwong, \textit{A mosaic of the Hundred Days}, p.97.
\textsuperscript{194} See Kang Youwei, \textit{KYWN}, p.33.
\textsuperscript{195} Letter from Liang Qichao to Xia Cenyou, in \textit{WXBF}, Vol.2, p.359.
\textsuperscript{196} Wang Bogong, \textit{Junlu suibi} in \textit{WXBF}, Vol. 4, p.303.
Weng in August 1895, he was accorded a courteous reception as a pillar of the state although he was only a mid-ranking official.198

In September 1895, the Qiangxue hui was formally established in Peking. It had a total of over twenty members, who, roughly speaking, represented four different factions.199 The main force in the society was Weng Tonghe's faction of the later qingliu group. Two followers of Weng, Shen Cenzhi and Chen Zhi were selected as Deputy Administrator and as Chief Administrator (titiao). Second in strength was Li Hongzao's faction also part of the qingliu group. After the early qingliu group dispersed in the Sino-French War, Li had been sent to a regional post. During the Sino-Japanese War Li had returned to Peking and was re-appointed to the Grand Council.200 Although the strength of the northern scholar-official group, which Li Hongzao headed as patron, had dwindled, Li's restoration to a position of power strengthened his faction's presence in the metropolitan political scene. Zhang Xiaojian, one of Li's favourite disciples, was invited to be a deputy administrator. According to Kang: "Shen Cenzhi nominated Zhang in order to make sure that nothing would upset the society".201 A few of Zhang's friends such as Zhu Chengbo and Zhang Zhongqi were invited to become members of the society. Two other members, Yuan Shikai and Xu Shichan, both from northern China, seem to have had a closer relationship with Li's faction than they did with other factions. The third internal grouping was Zhang Zhidong's faction within the qingliu group. Although this was not a metropolitan faction, some of Zhang's followers in Peking were involved in the Qiangxue hui. For example, Yang Rui, Wang Daxie and Zhang Zhidong's son, Zhang Quang became members of the society. The fourth faction was Kang's

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200 Zhao Ersun ed, QSG, p.12367-8.
201 See Kang Youwei, KYWN, p.35.
reform group. Kang himself did not gain any important post in the society, but Liang Qichao was selected as secretary. Mai Menhua, another of Kang's disciples, was involved in editing the news-sheet *Wanguo gongbao* (World Gazette), though whether or not this became an official broadsheet of the society is uncertain.\(^{202}\)

The membership list of the *Qiangxue hui* suggests that the society was mainly composed of *qingliu* officials. Weng's faction and Li Hongzao's faction, both of the later *qingliu* group, played the leading roles in the society. Although Kang may be assumed to have been one of the original founders, Kang's reform group had very little power in the society. The strong *qingliu* character of the society is also shown by the following incident. After the society's establishment, Li Hongzhang approached it with the offer of a substantial contribution because he felt he would be isolated when some governors-general such as Liu Kuanyi, Zhang Zhidong and Wang Wenshao had established connections with the society. But Li, despite his long experience of handling Western affairs, was brusquely rejected.\(^{203}\) The unanimous decision to reject Li not only shows that there were old scores between the *yangwu* group and *qingliu* group, but also reflects the conflict between the Empress Dowager's faction and the Emperor's faction (Li belonged to the former and the *qingliu* group overlapped with the latter). Furthermore, the closing of the *Quangxue hui* was not the victory of conservative forces over Kang or over the course of reform, but was due to a retaliatory blow from Li Hongzhang.\(^{204}\)

In mid-October 1895, Kang suddenly set out for the south. The reasons for Kang's departure from Peking remain unclear. However, it showed that

\(^{202}\) See Kwong, *A mosaic of the Hundred Days*, p.95.
\(^{203}\) See Kang Youwei, *KYWN*, p.35.
Kang had been in political trouble. Kang said in his autobiography that his news sheet (Wangou gongbao) had become the target of widespread attacks from conservative circles, and the grand secretary Xu Tong and censor Zhu Chenbo had both indicated their intention to submit memorials impeaching him. Shen Cenzhi and Chen Zhi came to warn him and urged him to leave. It seems likely that he met opposition not only from the conservative circles but also from the qingliu officials, though Kang had his own explanations. When the Qiangxue hui was formally established, Li Hongzao's faction strongly pressed for Kang's exclusion from the society. Kang mentioned the conflict between himself and Zhang Xiaqian and intimated that the Grand Councillor Li Hongzao was a political enemy of the Qiangxue hui. Yet Kang's accusation against Li lacked sufficient evidence. Tan Sitong, who was in Peking at the time, pointed out that Li Hongzao as a sympathizer of the study society and opposed the banning of the society. Why did Kang attack Li without strong evidence? Perhaps it came from a personal grudge due to the fact that Li's followers had refused to let Kang take on a more important role and had tried to push him out of the study society. On the other hand, some indirect evidence suggests that Weng Tonghe also was dissatisfied with Kang's radical reform ideas at that time. When Chen Zhi became a leading figure in organizing the society, he took an intermediate role between Weng and Kang. As Chen had frequent contacts with Kang and Liang, he took the side of the radical reformers. In a diary entry of September 1895, Weng had this to say about Chen:

"Today, ... I received a letter from Chen who blames me for being slow with reform. This man is sincere, his words are penetrating, and he has

205 See Kang Youwei, KYWN, p.35.
208 See Kang Youwei, KYWN, p.30.
independent ideas. But he is not mature enough; he would also be slow to action if he were mature."

Weng's attitude toward Chen, in fact, shows that Weng was dissatisfied with the radical reform ideals. It is probable that Weng's dissatisfaction extended to Kang Youwei as well.

The Peking Qiangxue hui was the first manifestation of political co-operation between the qingliu group and Kang's reform group. It is true that Kang played an important role in this, but his role was not as great as he himself has suggested in his autobiography and elsewhere. The picture he painted, with himself always at the centre of events, was inconsistent with reality. Kang did not initiate the project of the Qiangxue Hui; also he was prevented by his social and political limitations from leading it. Kang's reform group only assisted and supported the reform movement, which was led by the qingliu group in 1895.

(2) Shanghai Branch of the Qiangxue hui

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>HOME DISTRICT</th>
<th>POLITICAL BACKGROUND</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kang Youwei</td>
<td>Guangdong</td>
<td>Reform Group</td>
</tr>
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<td>Huang Tifang</td>
<td>Zhejiang</td>
<td>QLG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chen Baoshen</td>
<td>Fujian</td>
<td>QLG</td>
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<td>Guangdong</td>
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<td>Chen Sanli</td>
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<td>Shen Baozhen's son</td>
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</table>

EP=Emperor's Party  QLG=Qingliu Group  LQLG=Later Qingliu Group  
Weng faction=Weng Tonghe faction  Zhang faction=Zhang Zhidong faction


Kang went south in mid-October in 1895. It seems that Kang's major purpose in going to Nanjing was to consult with Zhang Zhidong about establishing a branch of the Qiangxue hui. Zhang was acting Governor-General of Liang-Jiang. Although Kang Youwei played an important role in the establishment of the Shanghai Branch of the Qiangxue hui, he had no real power in the Shanghai society, just as was the case with his role in Peking. The patron of the society in Shanghai was Zhang Zhidong, and most members of the society...
belonged to Zhang Zhidong's faction of the qingliu group.\textsuperscript{210} Probably more than any other high ranking provincial officials at that time, Zhang preferred an institutional reform in China. Zhang himself developed close and sympathetic ties with many reform-minded officials and scholars. In the post-war period, scholar-officials in the lower and middle Yangtze area also took steps to promote the study of reform and to organize study societies. For example, when the Qiangxue Hui was established in Peking, plans to establish a similar organization in that area was contemplated. A project of the Zhonggou gonghui (China Association) was initiated by Wang Kangnian, who had been a family tutor in Zhang Zhidong's home and later became a member of his personal staff.\textsuperscript{211}

Although it is not clear whether Kang's visit to Zhang was pre-arranged, some signs show that Kang was helped by his qingliu friends when he went about drumming up support for his idea of the Qiangxue Hui. In June of 1895, when Wen Tingshi went to Shanghai and Nanjing, his visit to his old qingliu friends such as Liang Dingfen and Huang Zunxian was probably more than a personal reunion. Soon after Wen returned to Peking, Kang left for Nanjing. Kang was given a warm welcome by Liang Dingfen. The following passage is found in a letter from Liang to Zhang Zhidong at this time:

"When I hear that you are overcome with grief and sadness [one of Zhang Zhidong's sons had been accidentally drowned], I worry very much for you. Now I have an idea for diverting you from your grief. Changsu [Kang Youwei] is a brilliant conversationalist. You can receive him every day. In the afternoon when you finish handling routine matters, let Kang discourse on Chinese and Western learning and the current opinions of scholars. This will rejoice your heart."\textsuperscript{212}

\textsuperscript{210} See Table 6.
\textsuperscript{211} Tang Zhijun, \textit{Wuxu bianfa renwu zhuangao} Vol.1, p.235.
\textsuperscript{212} Wu Tainren, \textit{Liang Jiean xiansheng nianpu} p.115-16.
Although Kang said in his autobiography that intellectual differences between him and Zhang with respect to the New Text interpretation of Confucius's career emerged during their meetings, their differences were not so critical as to cause Zhang to refuse to patronize Kang's *Qiangxue hui* project. Certainly, Liang Dingfen helped Kang substantially in obtaining Zhang's promise to support the plan of founding the Shanghai *Qiangxue hui*.

Zhang's promise to support the Shanghai *Qiangxue hui*, however, did not mean that Kang directed or ran it. Wang Kangnian, Zhang's close political follower, was invited to lead the society. Before Wang arrived in Shanghai, Kang went there first, accompanied by Liang Dingfen and Huang Shaoqi. Liang and Huang spent about three weeks in Shanghai before returning to Nanjing. During their stay in Shanghai, Liang played a leading role in organizing the society in this period. According to Huang Zunxian, a famous scholar-official and expert on Japanese affairs, and Zhang Jian, the number one scholar in the *jinshi* examination of 1894, the invitations to join the society were signed by Liang Dingfen. Most *ningshi* who were invited to join the society were Zhang Zhidong's followers or Liang Dingfen's friends.

The Shanghai *Qiangxue hui*, in fact, existed for only about one and half months. According to a membership list published in mid-December 1895, the society was mainly composed of *qingliu* officials. It included not only members of the early *qingliu* group such as Huang Tifang, Chen Baoshen and Tu

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213 Tang Zhijun proves that it was Zhang Zhidong's idea to invite Wang Kangnian to Shanghai. See his "Shanghai Qiangxue hui he Qiangxue bao" (The Society for the Study of National Strengthening in Shanghai and the Journal of the Society) in *Shehui kezue* (Social Sciences) (1980) 3/114-24. Kwong says that the invitation because Kang was going to Guangdong. According to Kang's letter to Wang on November 16: "Nanping (Zhang Zhidong) has approved of the founding of two societies, one in Shanghai and one in Guangdong...I must hurry back to Guangdong and have therefore to rely on you for the undertaking in Shanghai". See Kwong, *A Mosaic of the Hundred Days* p.98.

Renshou, but also some later qingliu figures such as Liang Dingfen, Huang Shaoqi, Huang Shaodi and Zhang Jian. Many other persons on the list, although lacking the distinction of being qingliu, were regarded as mingshi in the scholarly social circles of the lower Yangtze River area. For example, Huang Zunxian and Li Shuchang had both served as diplomats in Japan. These mingshi also included sons of both former and current famous high-ranking officials, namely, Zuo Xiaotong, son of Zuo Zongtang, the former Governor-General of Shang-Gan; Shen Yuqing, son of Shen Baozhen, the former Governor-General of Liang-Jiang; Jin Chenxuan, son of the then Governor-General of Yun-Gui; and Chen Sanli, son of the then Governor of Hunan province. Compared with the above persons, some members of the society such as Wang Kangnian, Kuai Guangdan, Zou Daizun and Wu Dezhao, may not have had such high social reputations or such illustrious family backgrounds, but they were regarded highly by Zhang Zhidong for their scholarly abilities or moral standing and had close personal ties with him. It is clear that Zhang's own faction predominated overwhelmingly in the society. By contrast, there were none of Kang's political followers or disciples on the society's membership list. Kang attempted to summon his disciples in Guangdong to come to Shanghai to join the society's work, but none had arrived before the society was banned in January 1896.215

Although the Shanghai Qiangxue hui seems to have been under Zhang Zhidong's supervision, Kang Youwei soon had an opportunity to put his own stamp on the society and made full use of it. In mid-December 1895, Liang Dingfen and Huang Shaoqi, leaving Kang behind, returned to Nanjing. In the absence of Liang and Huang and before Wang Kangnian's arrival, Kang enjoyed autocratic control over the preparations for the establishment of the society. In early January 1896, Kang began to publish the society's newssheet, Qiangxue.

bao (Journal of Self-strengthening Studies). In its first issue, a number of organizational documents were published, including a preface, a set of regulations, and a postface. The preface was signed by Zhang Zhidong. According to some sources, all these documents were written by Kang. It is believed that Kang had discussed these documents with Liang Dingfen and Huang Shaoqi, but it is uncertain whether or not Zhang or Liang had agreed that they be published at that time, and whether or not Kang revised these documents before publishing them.

On January 26, a notice originating from Nanjing appeared in the Shen bao (Shanghai Newspaper) to announce that the Qiangxue bao had been an unauthorized publication of the society. From both Kang's account and other sources, it seems likely that Kang had published the documents without the agreement of the other organizers and Zhang Zhidong. Kang said in his autobiography:

"I discussed the regulations of the society with Huang Shaoqi and Liang Dingfen and then went to Shanghai to have them printed, but because of our differences on scholarly matters, Zhang Zhidong broke his promise and sent me a telegram asking me not to establish the society. I replied that the society was already established. It could not be stopped now".

The fact that Kang had "discussed the regulations" did not mean that he had gained permission from Liang or Huang to publish the Qiangxue bao. According to an article in an newspaper of three years later:

"Kang Youwei had published a news-sheet and expressed his own opinions in it without consulting with Liang Dingfen. Liang wrote many

\[216\text{ See } WXBF\text{ Vol.4, pp.385-6. The editors of } WXBF\text{ state that the preface ascribed to Zhang was actually written by Kang.}\]

\[217\text{ Tang Zhijun, Wuxu bianfa renwu zhuangao, Vol.2, p.715.}\]

\[218\text{ See Kang Youwei, KYWN, p.36.}\]
times to Kang to argue with and to blame to him, but Kang refused to accept Liang's advice."219

On the other hand, Kang's explanation for Zhang's dropping his support for the society is not tenable. If Zhang Zhidong broke his promise to support the society only for the reason that he had differences on scholarly matters with Kang, it would have been unlikely for Zhang to have agreed to ask Liang and Huang to come to Shanghai with Kang.

Therefore, the open conflict between Zhang and Kang must have been caused by Kang's activities after his departure from Nanjing. In his autobiography, Kang gave the following information:

"Zhang Zhidong did not accept my view that Confucius was an advocate of reform. He tried to persuade me to refrain from preaching this view, otherwise, he would not give me his support (for the Qiangxue hui). He also sent Liang Dingfen to see me about this." According to Kang, he said to Liang that "the theory of Confucius as a reformer is a great truth. How can I change it merely for the support of a governor-general of Liang-Jiang".220

The information at least shows that Zhang had put forward a condition for his support of Kang. It seems, as Kang implies, that he refused Zhang's condition. It may be that Kang was a man who held on very strongly to his beliefs, but how had he gained the promise of support from Zhang, and even Zhang's backing in organizing the Qiangxue hui in Shanghai if he had ignored Zhang's requirements? We would assume that at least a vague tacit agreement, if not a formal one, between Zhang and Kang had to be made when Zhang offered his support for Kang to proceed with his Qiangxue hui project. Although we lack source materials about this issue, when Liang Dingfen and Huang Shaoqi

returned to Nanjing in early January 1896, it is possible that their proposal included reporting to Zhang about developments in the establishment of the *Qiangxue hui* and soliciting Zhang's support for their further arrangements.

During this time Kang published the *Qiangxue bao*, which included many documents of the society that did not have Zhang's or other organizers' approval or even their knowledge. For example, the publication date in *Qiangxue bao* was given in two forms. In addition to the customary and legitimate one (the title and year of the current Emperor), there was Kang's device that aligned Guangxu 22 with the year 2737 after the death of Confucius. The calendrical change meant that Kang insisted on his theory of Confucius as a reformer and a religious leader, and completely ignored Zhang's earlier advice. So, it seems that it was not Zhang Zhidong's, but Kang's behaviour that made political co-operation between him and Zhang difficult. After the short-lived co-operation on the Shanghai *Qiangxue hui* issue, Zhang had no more personal contacts with Kang. Yet although Zhang disagreed with the theory of Kang's reform group, he regarded Liang Qichao highly and later recommended Liang to the Emperor for an official post. In 1897, Liang was accorded a very courteous reception when he visited Zhang in Wuchang.221 All this suggests that Zhang Zhidong's withdrawal of support for the *Qiangxue hui* was due not only to political reasons but also to a personality clash.

Although the establishment of the Shanghai *Qiangxue hui* mainly depended on the support of Zhang Zhidong's faction of the *qingliu* group, Kang successfully instilled his ideal into the society, using the power of Zhang Zhidong. Kang's radical reform theory could not be accepted by the majority of scholars or officials at the time, so it was impossible for them to let Kang keep

his power in the society. Although the folding up of the Shanghai Qiangxue hui was mainly caused by a change of political climate in Peking, the conflict between Kang and Zhang had become so sharp that it would have been difficult to continue their political co-operation for the Qiangxue hui project in Shanghai. As Kang admitted later, even if Yang Chongyi had not impeached the Peking Qiangxue hui, the Shanghai Qiangxue hui would still have had to be dissolved.222

Ideological Differences Between the Later qingliu and the Reform Group

In the reform movement of the 1890s, the later qingliu group and Kang Youwei's reform group, although differing on the question of the reform's nature, scope, method and content, joined hands as the main political force to push the reform. Certainly, the co-operation between Kang's reform group and the later qingliu group was not a harmonious process. Although agreed on the basic premise of change, the reform group and the later qingliu group had widely divergent political views and sharp conflicts of personal interest, and these divergences and conflicts influenced greatly the development of the reform in 1890s. It will be necessary to give a general introduction to the background of the two political factions before going into further discussion on the ideological aspects of the two groups.

The role of the later qingliu group in the reform movement in the 1890s has been a controversial issue. The group has sometimes been regarded as a force

222 See Kang Youwei, KYWN, p.36. Yang was a relative of Li Hongzhang. For his background, see Tang Zhijun, Wuxu bianfa renwu zhuangao, Vol.2, p.550-2.
promoting the reform, but at other times as a conservative group opposing it.  

We suggest that the ambiguous role of the qingliu group in the reform movement in the 1890s cannot be adequately understood without going into what went on underneath the political events on the surface; that is looking at the ideological differences between Kang's reform group and the later qingliu group. A good way to understand their ideological differences is to examine the views of some leading members of each group—Zhang Zhidong and Weng Tonghe for the later qingliu group, and Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao for the reform group. Zhang Zhidong's essential ideas about reform were presented in his widely-read book "Exhortation to Study" (Quangxue pian), which propounded a quite complete theoretical system. Weng Tonghe's ideas, which were very similar to Zhang's, appeared here and there in his diary, expressing his attitude towards reform. On the other hand, Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao's reform theories are well known and, for our purpose, we will not need to mention them in great detail here.

In general, the later qingliu group agreed with Kang's reform group as to the necessity of reform. Both wanted to revitalize the old institutional structures which had proved inadequate for the self-strengthening movement. They both reacted strongly against the purely technological orientation of the yangwu group, arguing that to revitalize China as a nation political reform was even more important than the introduction of Western technology. If political reform was successfully carried out, they claimed, military and technological innovations would automatically follow, while mere technological innovations without political change would be a sheer waste of effort. In other words, they believed that reform should go beyond the mere adoption of Western technology and implements, and their reform programme asserted the primacy of political reform.

223 See Schrecker, "The Reform Movement of 1898 and the Ch'ing-I." p.289.
over technological change. As Zhang Zhidong said: "In order to save the current situation we must begin with reform."\textsuperscript{224} And, reform, said Weng Tonghe, should "begin with the fundamentals of internal administration".\textsuperscript{225} On this point, there was no disagreement with Kang's reform group. Kang said: "We should first revise our codes of law and our bureaucratic system,"\textsuperscript{226} and Liang Qichao also said: "The most important part of reform is to change the governmental system".\textsuperscript{227} The members of the qingliu group and Kang's reform group were united in combating the "no-change" opinion of the extreme conservatives. Kang was received by high officials at the Zongli yamen on January 24, 1898. The highlight of the meeting, as Kang related it, included the following exchange:

Rong Lu (a conservative minister): "The institutions of the ancestors cannot be changed". Kang: "The institutions of the ancestors are used to govern the realm that had been theirs. Now that we cannot preserve the realm of the ancestors, what is the use of their institutions?"\textsuperscript{228}

However, it was Zhang Zhidong who best put the case for reform. He said in his \textit{Quanxue pian} that he hoped Chines scholars knew the essentials points:

"Firstly: To understand what shame is. To feel shame because China is not equal to Japan, to Turkey, Thailand or Cuba. Secondly: To understand what fear is. To fear that China may become like India, like Vietnam, Burma, Korea, Egypt, and Poland. Thirdly: To understand what reform is. To understand that if customary practices are not changed then it will be impossible to reform the administration and its institutions, and that if the administration and its institutions are not changed then it will be impossible to reform materials and implements. Fourthly: To understand what is important. In Chinese learning the critical interpretation of old texts is not what is important. What is important is

\textsuperscript{224} Zhang Zhidong, \textit{Zhang Wenxian gong quanji} Vol.6, p.2736.
\textsuperscript{225} Weng Tonghe, \textit{Weng Tonghe riji paiyinben} Vol.5, p.2143.
\textsuperscript{226} See Kang Youwei, \textit{KYWN}, p.42.
\textsuperscript{228} See Kang Youwei, \textit{KYWN}, p.42.
the study of things which are useful. Similarly, Western learning can be divided into that which is of no use, that is, Western technology, and that which is important, the social and political sciences. Fifthly: To understand what is fundamental. When overseas, do not forget your country. If you encounter strange customs, do not forget your upbringing. If you encounter cleverness, do not forget Confucius."229

Although almost all officialdom agreed that China had to change in the 1890s, the problem facing the pro-reform scholar-officials was to decide the nature and extent of the necessary reform. There were differences of opinion between the later qingliu group and Kang's reform group on what kind of and how much reform was needed in certain areas.

The reform, in Zhang Zhidong's or Weng Tonghe's opinion, should still focus upon the concepts of neizhi (internal governance) and zhengdun (rectification and reorganization). As a later generation of the qingliu officials, they had agreed to adopt Western technology, and even some Western administrative methods including Western techniques in financial management, taxation and military preparedness. With Weng's and Zhang's strong Confucian background and their eagerness to avoid irritating the conservative-minded Empress Dowager, they cautiously promoted a moderate reform programme which would entail limited administrative reform along with the adoption of some Western implements, following the self-strengthening tradition. As Zhang Zhidong said:

"Now if we wish to make China strong and to preserve Chinese knowledge, we must study Western knowledge. Nevertheless, if we do not use Chinese knowledge to consolidate the foundation first and get straight in our minds what our interests and purposes are, then the strong

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229 Zhang Zhidong, "Quanxue pian" (Exhortation to study) in Zhang Wenzxian gong quanji (Complete collection of Zhang Zhidong) Vol.6, p.3702.
will become rebellious leaders and the weak will become slaves of others (of the foreigners).\textsuperscript{230}

Reform should be nothing more than adopting some of the devices and equipments of the barbarians with which to defend the morally superior Chinese empire against foreign aggression, and refurbishing administrative practices so as to prevent the benefits of these Western methods from being lost in the notoriously inefficient and corrupt officialdom of Peking.

On the other hand, the radical reformers, for example, Kang Youwei and his followers, insisted that China could be saved only by a political upheaval.\textsuperscript{231} This would include change in the structures of Confucian-style government and education, and the creation of a constitutional monarchy. Kang's recommendations concerning political reform went far beyond the \textit{qingliu} group's idea of administrative reform. When Kang was summoned to appear in the \textit{Zhongli yamen} on January 24, 1898,

Li Hongzhang asked, "Shall we, then, abolish all the Six Boards and throw away all the existing institutions and rules?" Kang gave the following bold answer: "At present, different countries exist side by side; the world is no longer a unified one. Our laws and governmental system are only institutions of one unified empire. It is these that have made China weak and will ruin her. Undoubtedly, they should be changed. Even if we could not abolish them all at once, we should modify them as circumstances require. Only so can we carry out reform."\textsuperscript{232}

The reform Kang recommended seemed to be a radical project which would have largely changed old practices. In Kang's words,

"We cannot stick to old practices, it is essential to reform; we cannot reform slowly, it is essential to reform quickly; we cannot reform piecemeal, it is essential to have an overall reform."\textsuperscript{233}

\textsuperscript{230} Zhang Zhidong, "Quanxue pian" in \textit{Zhang Wenxian gong quanji} Vol.6, p.3717.
\textsuperscript{231} Lo Jung-pang's editorial introduction to \textit{Kang Yu-wei}, p.2.
\textsuperscript{232} See Kang Youwei, \textit{KYWN}, p.42.
\textsuperscript{233} See \textit{WXBF}, Vol.2, p.197.
The crucial importance of the 1890s reform movement lay in the fact that a debate had been launched within the scholar-official class that had far deeper implications than the traditional debates between different schools of Confucianism or debates over practical reforms measures in the yangwu movement. These differences of opinion aired among scholar-officials never questioned the central values or institutions of the imperial Confucian state itself. Members of the yangwu group and the qingliu group took advantage of the new conditions to become more active politically within the traditional system, and were not yet ready to operate outside it. However, those values and institutions, even Confucianism, were brought into question in the course of debate between the later qingliu group and Kang's reform group, and this caused major ideological conflict between the two groups.

There was a vital difference between the views of Zhang and Weng on the one hand, and Kang and Liang on the other hand. Kang and Liang had much less respect for the established imperial tradition (in both its ideological and institutional aspects) than Zhang and Weng, who had a profound respect for China's moral heritage and the Confucian tradition. The qingliu members thought that when they adopted foreign devices and implements which they believed had made Western countries strong and wealthy, some administrative reorganization would be necessary to raise efficiency, but the essential old order was not to be touched. As we have mentioned earlier, although Zhang had initiated many modernization projects during his tenure of office before the 1890s, he never advocated the alteration of basic Chinese institutions and moral teachings. In fact, it was his primary propose to perpetuate the established institutions and way of life, rather than to introduce progress and Western ideals.
Kang, as a radical reformer, chose another road to change political institutions and to recast China's social customs as a means of preserving and revitalizing the country. He believed that although the reform could be accomplished without wholesale abandonment of Chinese traditions at the initial stage, eventually it was necessary to change some of the basic features of Chinese civilization to meet the conditions of the modern world. Kang's reform group suggested to modifying the imperial system by widely taking advantage of modern Western experience in government, education, and the social system as well as in science and technology.

Kang Youwei firstly attempted to reinterpret Confucianism itself. He repudiated the accepted Confucian tradition of his own age, and insisted on going back to what he claimed were the true teachings of Confucius. In this way, he questioned some central values and beliefs of Confucianism and changed the accepted principles of Confucianism. Kang offered to replace that tradition with a Confucianism that was, in the words of Liang Qichao, progressivism instead of conservatism, a cult of universal love instead of personal cultivation, a doctrine of equality instead of authoritarianism. Kang developed his ideas in his two famous books. In *A Study of the Forged Classics of the Xin Period* (*Xinxue weijing kao*, 1891), he tried to show that the Old Text classics were Liu Xin's forgeries and it was necessary to sweep away the cobwebs and incrustations that had grown around Confucian ideas and constrained the creativity of Chinese scholars. As Xiao Gongquan puts it,

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235 For more discussion, see Hsiao Kuang-chuan, *A Modern China and a New World*, Chapter 3 and 4.
237 "The origins of the dispute between proponents of the 'new' and 'old' texts lay in the remotest period of the imperial past. In 213 B.C. Qin Shihuang (The first Emperor of the Qin dynasty) had ordered the destruction of the literature of the contending schools of the late Zhou period, taking the legalist view that private opinion was a divisive influence that could only be subversive to the unity of the state he had created. As a result, the Confucian texts which circulated in the former Han period (206B.C.-9A.D.) were reconstructions pieced
"Although Kang claimed that his merciless attack on the Old Text school was motivated only by a desire to rid Confucianism of "false ascriptions", he was implicitly attacking the entire neo-Confucian tradition which since Ming times had served as the foundation of the established imperial ideology."  

His attack, moreover, amounted to an assault not only on the followers of Zhu Xi but also on all Confucianists who did not subscribe to the doctrines of the Gongyang school. These latter would include Weng, Zhang and the majority of the scholars and officials of the time. Having brushed aside the orthodox view, Kang claimed in his second book, *A Study of Confucius as a Reformer* (*Kungzi gaizhi kao*, 1896), that Confucius had himself created, rather than merely edited, the principal classics as a means of invoking the authority of the antiquity to support his stand for institutional reform. In this book, as Lo Junpang said,

Kang Youwei "held that Confucius was not just a teacher but also a religious leader, not a pedant who looked to the past or a straight-laced formalist preoccupied with ceremonies, but a warm-hearted, progressive-minded man of action and a political reformer."
Kang also pointed out how Confucius alluded to events in the past to provide support for his political and social reforms. It is not surprising at all that many officials and scholars at this time accused Kang of desiring to sweep away the great principles and institutions of China that had been transmitted from one generation to another for thousands of years. In fact, what Kang attempted to do was to discredit the tradition of imperial Confucian philosophy and to make it into the ideological weapon of the reform group.

On the other hand, Zhang Zhidong and Weng Tonghe both showed appreciation of Zhu Xi and "imperial Confucianism" which served as the orthodox ideology of the existing regime. They were repelled by Kang Youwei's interpretations of the Confucian classics, based on the Gongyang doctrines as Kang understood them. To Zhang and Weng, who had outstanding knowledge of the classics, Kang's 'new' Confucianism was decidedly unorthodox and therefore unacceptable. Weng expressed his views in a diary entry written at the time when he was reading Kang's A Study of the Forged Classics of the Xin Period. Weng commented upon Kang's view as follows:

"(Kang Youwei) holds that every bit of the old text of Liu Xin who interpolated the six classics is spurious, and that all (commentators) after Zheng Kangcheng had been deceived (by Liu Xin). Truly a wild-fox meditator among the commentators of the classics! No end to my astonishment!"243

The title of "wild-fox" is itself sufficient evidence of Weng's negative attitude towards Kang's theory. Another example could be seen in Weng's diary, dated May 26, 1898:

"The emperor ordered me to have another copy made of the writings which Kang had previously presented to His Majesty and to send it in (as

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242 The term is used in Hsiao Kuan-chuan, "Weng Tung-ho and the reform movement of 1898", p.353.
243 Weng Tonghe, Weng Tonghe riji paiyinben, Vol.4, p.1884.
soon as it was ready). I replied, 'I do not associate with Kang.' The Emperor asked: 'Why not?' I replied, 'This man's intentions are unpredictable.' The Emperor said, 'Why haven't you mentioned this before?' I replied, 'Your servant discovered this recently upon reading his "A Study of Confucius as a Reformer."244

Although Zhang Zhidong committed himself to no one single school of Confucian thought, he did not embrace the doctrines of the Gongyang school which Kang insisted were the only true Confucianism. As a matter of fact, Zhang detested the Gongyang doctrines so much that for a long time he had been consistently refuting them, regarding them as "a source for seditious subjects and undutiful sons."245 Kang visited Zhang Zhidong in 1895, and according to his account, for about two weeks, they met almost every day, and each time their conversation lasted till late at night. Zhang, however, did not accept the view that Confucius was an advocate of reform.246 In Zhang's later book, "Exhortation to Study", he sharply criticized Kang's "Confucianism" without explicitly naming him. Zhang claimed that the most dangerous part of Kang's Confucian theory was to change the nature of Confucianism. In his book Zhang strongly emphasized the "Three Bonds" (sangang: the relationships between prince and minister, father and son, husband and wife) as principles which he considered to provide the basic order of Confucian society. He wrote:

"If one recognizes the importance of the bond between prince and minister, the doctrine of democracy is untenable. If one recognizes the importance of the bond between father and son, then the theory that a father and his son may be equally wrong (instead of the conception that the father is always right) and the abolition of funeral service and sacrifices to ancestors are wrong. If one recognizes the importance of the

245 See Zhang Zhidong, Zhang Wenxian gong quanji Vol.6, p.4212.
246 See Kang Youwei, KYWN, p.36.
bond between husband and wife, then the doctrine of equal rights between men and women is wrong."^{247}

Zhang's words meant that the Kang's reform idea went beyond a true academic interpretation of Confucian philosophical and moral teachings and had political implications that were decidedly dangerous.

The later qingliu officials and Kang's reform group members agreed on the need for better communication and solidarity between ruler and subjects. One of their political goals was to promote national unity and to achieve some form of participatory government. However, on the question of participation, there was a basic difference between the later qingliu group and Kang's reform group. The right of participation, in the qingliu officials' opinion, ought to apply only to those who were already serving in the bureaucracy as scholar-officials. Therefore the concept of participation was to keep open the lines of communication between the throne and its subjects, appoint the right scholar-officials and give them more power. On the other hand, the radical reformers asked for fuller participation in politics by the nation's local gentry. The long-range goal of Kang Youwei's political programme included the establishment of a constitutional system in China. The goal quite clearly meant movement toward a representative system of government with the gentry leaders outside the government attaining some formal status within the political system. The term "minquan" (rights of the people) appeared frequently in the writings of Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao and others.\(^ {248} \) This idea of minquan went far beyond the qingliu officials' moderate reform project. It implied a transformation of China's autocratic system into a constitutional democracy, and challenged the very foundation of the Chinese traditional institutions.\(^ {249} \)

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\(^ {247} \) Zhang Zhidong, "Quanxue pien " (Exhortation to study) in Zhang Wenxian gong quanji Vol.6, p.3710.

\(^ {248} \) Bays, China Enters the Twentieth Century, pp.29-32.

\(^ {249} \) See Hsiao Kuan-chuan, A Modern China and a New World, p.213.
The reform that the *qingliu* officials advocated stopped short of tampering with traditional Chinese institutions, and certainly had no room for a constitution. Zhang Zhidong stated emphatically,

"China cannot be preserved unless she adopts Western learning, but the true purpose of reform must always remain the preservation of the Confucian tradition which alone makes China superior to all other countries. To impair or abandon that tradition would be to defeat the very aim of reform."\(^{250}\)

According to the *qingliu* officials, reform did not mean the alteration of the established traditional system of the empire; rather, it meant the preservation of the tradition by wisely selecting and adopting elements of Western material civilization. In other words, reform was not a step toward Westernization but an indispensable means to ensure the continuation of the Confucian empire.\(^{251}\) The concept of "rights of the people" implied destruction of the power of the central government which the orthodox scholar-officials were sharing, and destruction of the present order of society. Zhang Zhidong stated his opinion clearly, "The doctrine of 'rights of the people' will not bring us any benefit but a hundred evils."\(^{252}\) He also warned that if the concept of "rights of the people" was implemented, "foolish people will surely be delighted; unruly people will rise up; the laws will not be carried out; great disorder will prevail everywhere".\(^{253}\)

Ideologically speaking, the radical reformers' idea of "right of the people" was virtually revolutionary. It is to these reformers' credit that they found out that the established tradition, being largely outmoded, should be radically reconstructed. But, probably they failed to see that to achieve a political reform would have spelled the doom of the imperial system itself. Consciously, or perhaps

\(^{250}\) Zhang Zhidong, "Quanxue pian" in *Zhang Wenzian gong quanj* Vol.6, p.3702.

\(^{251}\) See Hsiao Kuan-chuan, "Weng T'ung-ho and the reform movement of 1898 ", p.352.

\(^{252}\) Zhang Zhidong, "Quanxue pian " in *Zhang Wenzian gong quanj* Vol.6, p.3715

\(^{253}\) Ibid, Vol.6, p.3715
unconsciously, the radical reformers waged war on the traditional scholar-officialdom and on what gave its shape and continued existence, thus causing the strong resistance of the scholar-officials' class and its representative political faction, the qingliu group.

Thus, the qingliu group and Kang's reform group held different ideological positions when they advocated reform in the 1890s. The former wanted to cling to a refurbished tradition and the latter wanted to dismantle the old system. The qingliu officials were willing to modernize China in economic and military matters and to introduce a degree of efficiency and honesty into imperial officialdom as a necessary condition for modernization, but they were opposed to modifying the institutional structure or abandoning the traditional values of the empire. Compared with the moderate reform program of the qingliu group, the radical reformers called for more extensive changes in the existing system and a higher degree of Westernization. It may be argued that Kang's radical reformism was a better way to "save" China. However, for the historical circumstances prevailing in China in the 1890s China, Kang's idea was too advanced. The program of a full frontal assault on the imperial tradition and the setting up a Western-style political system would have led to the demise of the imperial system rather than its rescue. As was to be expected, the idea caused fear and resistance on the part of the majority of the scholar-officials who dominated the political scene at the time, and many of them acted to stop Kang's reform movement as soon as they understood its significance. It was worth noticing that the political co-operation between the later qingliu group and Kang's reform group in 1895-1896 did not last very long, One reason for this was that many orthodox scholar-officials became suspicious and fearful once they had acquainted themselves with Kang's radical reform theories.
CHAPTER FIVE
The qingliu Group and 1898 Reform Movement

Weng Tonghe's Faction of the qingliu Group and 1898 Reform Movement

The conflict between the Emperor and the Empress Dowager broke into the open towards the end of the Sino-Japanese War. The pro-emperor united front between the qingliu group and Kang's reform group became a threat to the Empress Dowager's power. The Empress Dowager Ci Xi and her adherents were rather disturbed by the co-operation between the two groups. Although the Empress Dowager and her powerful faction may have had enough power to attack the Emperor directly, they did not wish to do it at that time because they were afraid of creating a new crisis in the state. What they did was to break the relationship between the Emperor and his supporters, and to root out the officials associated with the Emperor. As a result, in a few years after the war, almost all the key members of the Emperor's faction were forced to leave government, and the qingliu networks were frozen out of the inner circles of power.

During the Sino-Japanese War, one of the most important attempts by the qingliu officials to reduce the Empress Dowager's power seems to have been to support Prince Gong's return to power. Prince Gong was one of Ci Xi's strongest political opponents. He had been forced to leave government in 1885 during the Sino-French War. Many members of the qingliu group had been favourably impressed by Prince Gong's tolerance towards the earlier qingyi movement, and hoped that, after his return to power, he would strongly support the assumption of real authority by the Emperor. After the first severe defeat of
the Chinese army and navy, a handful of memorials were submitted suggesting that Prince Gong be called back into government to replace Li Hongzhang as leader of the war against Japan. On September 27, 1894, amid the rising demand for Prince Gong's return, the Guangxu Emperor gave an audience to a Hanlin scholar, Lu Banzhong. Guangxu intimated to Liu that a collective petition from a larger number of officials might induce the throne to consider Prince Gong's appointment. Lu duly passed this information on to his colleagues, and Wen Tingshi immediately took action. He composed a draft memorial, and succeeded in procuring some 57 signatures for it. Unpleasant as it may have been to her, Ci Xi had to bow to this strong expression of elite opinion, and agree to appoint Prince Gong as chief-minister of the Zongli yamen. However, the outcome was not quite as qingliu officials had hoped. Prince Gong, knowing how dangerous Ci Xi could be, dared not challenge her power, and did not want to widen the chasm between Ci Xi and himself. He carefully kept to a middle position in the conflict between the Emperor and Empress Dowager. Prince Gong's reticence shifted the balance of power between the Emperor and Empress Dowager in favour of the latter.

The qingliu group's attempts to support Prince Gong had aroused Ci Xi's vigilance. Meanwhile, qingliu officials also contracted the enmity of Li Hongzhang. Revenge from Ci Xi and Li was only a question of time. After the Sino-Japanese war, the problems facing the Empire went beyond the growing pressure for reform, involving directly the struggle for leadership. Although the qingliu group had an alliance with Kang's reform group, all of the members of Kang's group were still scholars outside of the government in the mid-1890s.

The government could easily control them by rejecting their memorials. By contrast, most members of the *qingliu* group served in important departments such as the Hanlin Academy, the Censorate or the Six Boards. Some of them also had a close relationship with the Emperor himself and a high reputation in scholar-official circles. Thus, after the war, Ci Xi and her adherents firstly began to root out the *qingliu* officials from government.

The first move of the Empress Dowager's faction against the *qingliu* group was the dismissal of Wang Mingluan and Chang Lin. Wang and Chang were both Board Vice Presidents, and had served on special assignments connected with the Sino-Japanese War. Both had had very frequent personal contact with Emperor.\(^{255}\) On the other hand, Wang was also one of the most trusted disciples of Weng Tonghe, and a key member of the Emperor's Party. The official explanation of the dismissal was vague. An edict which was in the Emperor’s name but clearly expressing the will of the Empress Dowager only indicated that their action came near to sowing discord between the Emperor and Empress Dowager.\(^{256}\) Weng Tonghe could not even elicit an exact explanation for the dismissal of the two officials from the Emperor, and a few months later was ordered to stop serving as the Emperor's tutor.\(^{257}\)

At the end of 1895, the Empress Dowager and her adherents also dismissed or removed some other *qingliu* officials who had had a close relationship with the Emperor, such as Wen Tingshi and Zhi Jun. As already indicated, Wen's activities had incensed Li Hongzhang, and this caused the

\(^{255}\) Wang had eleven and Chang twenty four interviews with the Emperor during 1894. See Kwong, *A Mosaic of the Hundred Days*, p.68.
Empress Dowager's displeasure. After the war, Wen became aware of the danger from his political enemies. Acting on the advice of his friends he left Peking in July 1895. While he was staying in Shanghai, Liu Qixiang, a local official and a relative of Li Hongzhang, made a point of entertaining Wen in his official residence. While there some drafts of Wen's secret memorials (to the Emperor), which contained his vituperative remarks about Li Hongzhang, 'disappeared' from his room. It was believed that they then fell into Li's hands. Meanwhile, Li persuaded Yang Chungyi, whose daughter was married to Li's grandson, to impeach Wen and thus quickly brought about Wen's dismissal. Zhi Jun, a cousin of the Emperor's favourite concubine and a friend of Wen, was sent to a distant provincial post. The purpose of these actions by the Empress Dowager's faction seems not to have been the suppression of the reform movement, which was supported by the qingliu group and became popular after the war, but rather, in the context of the power struggle, to break the ties between the Emperor and the qingliu group. In Ci Xi's opinion, Weng Tonghe and his friends had too much influence over the Emperor. For their part, Li Hongzhang and his followers were on the defensive, and carried out reprisals against the qingliu officials with Ci Xi's support. In late 1895, Li was appointed special envoy to Russia to attend the Czar's coronation. When Li had his last audience with Ci Xi before his departure for Russia, he reportedly presented her with a blacklist of 57 officials, warning that these men should not be given any important posts.

When Kang Youwei went to Peking towards the end of 1897, the issue of the Jiaozhou Gulf was coming to a head. Public opinion considered that China

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was facing the possibility of dismemberment and that a reform of the political system was needed urgently to save the situation. However, the political strength of the qingliu group had been weakened considerably as a consequence of the attacks from members of the Empress Dowager's faction. Only Weng Tonghe, who had lost almost all of his political helpers in the purge, remained temporarily in his position. For the qingliu group, an open challenge to Ci Xi's power and the launching of a reform project was impossible. It is widely known that the Hundred Days Reform in 1898 was mainly led by Kang Youwei and his reform group, and strongly supported by the Emperor. However, Kang, still a man outside of the government at the time, was not in a position to establish direct contact with the Emperor. According to Xiao Gongquan, Weng Tonghe, the patron of the late qingliu group, was "chiefly responsible for giving Kang the opportunity to gain the emperor's unreserved confidence."260

The relationship between Kang and Weng has aroused a good deal of controversy among writers.261 The greatest source of confusion is perhaps the mutually contradictory statements made by the two men. Kang Youwei emphasized in his chronological autobiography that Weng had been a firm supporter of reform since 1895 and gave the reformists a great deal of help during 1898. On the other hand, Weng firmly denied in his diary that he had any connection with Kang or recommended Kang to the Emperor. After examining some other contemporary sources, and comparing both Kang's and Weng's

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accounts, I have come to the conclusion that neither Kang's nor Weng's version gives an accurate picture of the relationship between the two.

Kang Youwei's chronological autobiography is a record of the first forty-one years of his life. The book may have been written after the failure of the 1898 reform movement when Kang left China to seek political refuge in Japan. It was not published in Kang's lifetime. Although it contains many useful facts, it was compiled against the background of the political struggles of the time, and therefore expresses views intended to serve certain political ends. When Kang was in exile in Japan, he raised the banner of "protect the emperor" (bao Huang), in the hope that the Emperor would return to the throne and resume the process of reform. In an effort to defeat the pro-Ci Xi faction then in power, and to win the sympathy and support of the public, Kang and his followers started a propaganda movement. Liang Qichao, who was also in Japan at the time, began to publish his Wuxu zhengbian ji (An account of the coup in 1898). Although Liang has generally been recognized as the author of *Wuxu zhengbian ji*, it has come to light that Kang Youwei also had a hand in writing it. On the other hand, there are many similarities of viewpoint between Liang's book and Kang's chronological autobiography, and some descriptive passages are also similar. It is believed that Liang used the draft of Kang's autobiography when he wrote his book because he had been absent from many events of the reform movement in Peking during 1898. The interesting fact is that Liang later came to criticize his

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262 Kang's autobiography comprises two sections written at different times, the first presumably in early 1896 and the second in early 1899, in the wake of the Hundred Days Reform. Kang noted in his book that the first section was written before 1896, yet many events which mentioned in the first section happened after 1896. Such anachronisms detected in the text suggest later revisions, and if Kang's note appended to the first section is a clue, he may still have been working on the manuscript at in 1927, when he was 70 years old.

263 The series of articles first appeared in the *Qingyi bao* (The China discussion, a periodical launched by Liang and his friends in Yokohama), For more details see *WXBF*, Vol.4, p.593.

264 According to Kwong, at least one chapter of Liang's works was written by Kang Youwei. See Kwong, *A Mosaic of the Hundred Days*, p.256, Footnote 1.
own work. In his *Zhongguo lishi yanjiufa* (Research methodology for the study of Chinese history), he cited himself when illustrating a common historiographical fault, namely, exaggeration. Liang said:

"Such as *An account of the coup in 1898* which I wrote some twenty years ago, as subsequent writers on Qing history attempt to record this episode in 1898, who has not documentation? But to claim what it contains to be all reliable history is a view I no longer dare to entertain. Why so? It is because I became so emotionally involved and consequently exaggerated what had really happened".265

Liang had the courage to recognize his mistakes, Kang did not.

Kang reviewed his chronological autobiography in his later years, yet it still contains many exaggerations. In particular, Kang exaggerated his relationship with Weng Tonghe. For example, in the chronology of events for 1895, Kang devoted two long passages to the relationship between Weng and himself, obviously for the purpose of creating the impression that the reformists had all along enjoyed the support of Weng, and through Weng, as the Emperor's tutor, eventually of the emperor himself. But the passage describing the meeting and dialogue between the two men belie his own words. The passage records Weng speaking to Kang at their first meeting:

"Although we are meeting for the first time, we have known of each other for ten years. So we are actually like old friends. Now let me tell you a secret. The Emperor has no real power. The Empress Dowager is very suspicious of everything, so much so that even when the Emperor sends some cakes to his close ministers, she has had them sliced open to see if there are secret imperial orders hidden in them".266

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266 Kang Youwei, *KYWN*, p.33.
In a passage Kang is recorded as replying to Weng:

"This is the time for you to make the big decision to carry out reform. Don't lose the chance. If we now set up a new administration, discontinue the eight-leg essay style in the civil service examinations, and follow them up with a series of new measures, a great deal can be achieved within a month. By that time, the reform will last even if you are removed from your present post."267

In actual fact, the Empress Dowager's search for the secret edict from the Emperor, the abolition of the eight-leg essay, the new measures that took place within a month and Weng's removal from his post were all facts that did not occur until 1898, the year of the reform movement. How could it have been possible to forecast them in such detail three years before they occurred? Beside, Weng was known for his carefulness and prudence. It would have been quite out of character for him to say these things to a newly graduated jinshi such as Kang and thus expose himself to the danger of losing his head and the lives of his whole family. I believe that these two passages are not factual, and that any conclusion drawn from them regarding the relationship between Wen and Kang is unsound.

Kang's story is hardly credible, but the account in Weng Tonghe's diary of his relationship with Kang Youwei was also written at a later date. Some historians point out that Weng modified his diary, particularly those parts concerning his connection with Kang Youwei.268 Weng was dismissed from his post in June 1898. After the coup of September 1898, he was accused of having

aligned himself with Kang Youwei. But he firmly denied the accusation. In his
diary entry for October 18, 1898, he wrote,

"Newspapers have always been absurd. The conversation of Kang, the
traitor, published in today's paper, alleging that I had recommended [him
to the Emperor] is particularly strange. Does he intend to implicate and
ruin me because I had rejected him?" 269

However, early the next year, an imperial edict, which was believed to represent
Ci Xi's and her adherents' wish, confirmed the accusation. It read as follows,

"Last spring Weng strongly advocated reform and secretly recommended
Kang Youwei, saying that this man's abilities were a hundred times
superior to his, with the intention of making Kang an arbiter of all affairs
of state" 270

Although we do not know if the charge from government depended on Kang's
or the Emperor's sources, the question of whether Weng supported Kang's
reform projects or not remains unanswered.

The qingliu group had supported a moderate reform program and some
qingliu officials had had close connection with Kang's reform group during
1895. However, there is no evidence to suggest Weng Tonghe had any special
enthusiasm for Kang's reform projects or any special interest in Kang himself in
1895 like Kang described. Weng supported a moderate reform program to be
controlled by his own faction. In fact, this was possible at the time. But when the
situation changed, there are reasons to believe that Weng's interest in Kang's
reform program grew and that he seriously considered supporting Kang during

269 Weng Tonghe, Weng Tonghe riji paiyin ben Vol.5 p.2201. This translation is taken from
late 1897 and early 1898. Firstly, during late 1897, Weng was in charge of handling the Jiaozhou Gulf affair. He sensed the grave consequences of the issue and began to give serious consideration to reform. In a diary entry of December 1897, Weng made a reference to the court meeting, stating:

"The Emperor asked what should be considered first in the circumstances. He pointed out the urgent need for reform. I made several suggestions that reform should begin with the fundamentals of internal administration".271

This shows that Weng felt the necessity of immediate reform and his attitude to reform was enthusiastic. Secondly, as indicated earlier, the late qingliu group had almost disintegrated due to the purge by Ci Xi and her adherents. Although Weng still had an important post at Court, he was finding himself increasingly isolated, and surrounded by political enemies. In such circumstances, it is not difficult to understand that Weng could temporarily ignore the differences between his and Kang's ideas on reform, and regard Kang as a possible ally in order to achieve a moderate reform programme. Lastly, Weng supported a reform programme which would gain political benefits for the state, the Emperor, and himself. Weng's interest in reform stemmed from his loyalty to the Emperor and the dynasty, but it was not unrelated to more selfish concerns. By endeavouring to put the empire on an even keel through reform he could not only extricate himself from his political predicament, but also achieve supremacy in the Peking officialdom. Weng was, after all, an ambitious high official involved in a power struggle with such other eminent reform-minded officials as Li Hongzhang and Zhang Zhidong. Kang with his resourcefulness in ideas of reform might serve as a valuable ally who could conceivably help Weng to outwit his opponents in reform-mongering at court.

271 Weng Tonghe, Weng Tonghe riji paiyiben Vol.5, p.2143.
When Kang Youwei arrived in Peking in late 1897 he prepared to submit a memorial which contained his plea for reform. However, he could not find a sponsor to submit it to the Court. According to his late account, he then drafted some similar memorials for his Censor friends Gao Xieceng and Wang Pengyun. Gao and Wang submitted them to the throne under their own names. In the memorial under Gao's name it was suggested that China should send a delegate to attend a world disarmament conference in Sweden and he recommended Kang as Chinese envoy for the mission. The throne considered the suggestion seriously. Weng Tonghe noted the matter as follows in his diary under 12th December, 1897,

"[the Court] received Wang Pengyun's and Gao Xieceng's memorials on the Jiaozhou crisis. The Emperor granted an interview [to us] for one hour. Gao's recommendation that Kang Youwei attend the disarmament conference in Sweden has been referred to the Zongli yamen."273

For his part, in a note to a poem written after the coup d'état of 1898, Kang reminisced,

"I submitted a memorial on the Jiaozhou crisis, but it did not reach [the emperor]. I was packing for my journey home on 12 December. Before that, Weng Tonghe had already strongly recommended me to the emperor. Now, upon hearing that I had decided to leave, he came to the Nanhai guan [where Kang lodged]; I was still in bed when he came unushered into the Hanmam fang [Kang's room], and invited me to remain [in Peking]."274

There is also a similar account in Kang's autobiography.

272 Kang Youwei, KYWN, p.39.
274 See WXBF, Vol.4, p.342.
"I prepared to go home on 11 December. My luggage had already been loaded on my carriage when Wang Tonghe came and asked me to stay. On the following day, Gao Xieceng submitted a memorial recommending me for an audience with the Emperor and requesting also that I be sent abroad under an official title. Weng Tonghe strongly recommended me in the emperor's presence; and so, at the Emperor's order, the memorial was referred to the Zongli yamen for discussion. Xu Yingkui spoke to Prince Gong opposing the appointment, and Weng Tonghe spoke again in favour of it. Prince Gong then said, 'I shall present the views of both your ministers to the Emperor;' The emperor thereupon summoned a meeting of the princes and ministers [the ranking members of the Zongli yamen] for a discussion in his presence."

Kang here repeated that Weng had recommended him but did not give strong evidence of how he knew of this. It seems that Kang only conjectured that Weng recommended him to the Emperor because Weng went to his place to ask him to stay in Peking. Even if Weng really "recommended" Kang to the Emperor, it is possible that Weng commended Kang as an able man in support of Kang's appointment as envoy.

The above records suggests the conclusion that although we cannot confirm that Weng Tonghe made a formal recommendation, on behalf of Kang, he may have inclined to support Kang. Weng's support for Kang did not necessarily indicate that he supported Kang's reform ideas or his reform program: he may have been motivated by political reasons. However, because of Weng's position at the time, Weng's support would have been important for Kang to gain an opportunity to expound his ideas to the throne, and to gain the Emperor's attention and confidence.

275 Kang Youwei, KYWN, p.39. These translation is based on Lo Juan-pang, K'ang Yu-wei, p.91.
As the reform movement gathered strength in early 1898, Weng became cold and suspicious towards Kang, and the relationship between them ended in Wang's attempt openly to discredit and to dissociate himself from Kang in April 1898. Weng was perhaps alarmed by Kang's radical views. It seems that he began to change his attitude towards Kang after he took part in the interview in the Zongli yamen on January 24, 1898. As far as Weng was concerned, it was absolutely unacceptable that Kang preached about a total transformation of the empire's institutions when answering the questions put to him by Rong Lu and Li Hongzhang. On the evening of the day of the interview, Weng wrote in his diary: "Summoned Kang to the Zongli yamen. Highflown talk on current affairs, with reform as the chief theme........Unrestrained to the extreme. Returned in the evening; very indignant, very tired." The interview of January 24 may well have marked a turning point in the relationship between Weng and Kang.

After Kang's interview at the Zongli yamen, Weng took an increasingly negative attitude towards him. By May 1898, Kang came under fierce attack from the conservative forces. According to Kang, he wrote to Weng urging him to take up reform immediately. Weng, however, advised Kang to leave Peking and call an end to his reform activities. After a few days, Weng had several serious disagreements with the Emperor himself on matters concerning Kang. Weng told the Emperor that Kang was a dangerous person who had ulterior motives and therefore could not be trusted. The Emperor, however, was very enthusiastic about reform, and Weng's words made him very angry.

276 See Chapter 4
278 Kang Youwei, KYWN, p.46.
279 For more discussion, see Chapter 4.
This probably represented the view of most qingliu members regarding Kang's proposed reform. Like Zhang Zhidong, who had maintained a vigilant concern with Kang's radical ideas since 1895, many qingliu members expressed disquiet and distrust about Kang and his followers and did not actively support the movement on the eve of the Hundred Days Reform in 1898. For example, in June of 1898, Zhang Jian came to the capital from Shanghai. Zhang, as a former political associate of Weng, frequently exchanged comments on the political situation with him. According to Zhang, he had this to say to Weng at the time:

"Reform [Kang's reform movement] definitely will not succeed, and no one can tell what would happen to those who go along with it." Zhang also strongly urged Weng not to become involved in the "rash movement."280

Huang Shaoqi, a qingliu friend of Kang Youwei, was in Peking during 1898. However, he hardly had any contact with Kang and his followers at the time, and personally submitted to the throne Zhang Zhidong's Quanxue pian, which strongly criticized Kang's radical ideas. As we have indicated above, many qingliu members had left Peking before 1898. They gave close attention to the situation in Peking, but showed little enthusiasm toward Kang's reform. A letter of Wang Daxie, who was a close friend of many qingliu members in 1898, to his brother Wang Kangnian, gives indications as to the true thoughts of some qingliu members on Kang and his reform:

"I only know", he wrote, "that Kang and his followers are very busy every day, but I do not find what they are doing. How dreadful! How dreadful!... Zhongtao [Huang Shaoqi] and others have all come to detest and fear Kang very much. Kang's activities and purpose are in fact already very plain. A man like Kang Youwei is not content to live in

280 Zhang Xiaoro, Nantong Zhang Jizhi xiansheng zhuanji (A biography of Zhang Jian), Wenzing jikang, Series 1, p.64.
obscurity. However, I say categorically that he cannot achieve success..... I give only an outline of the situation. You should pass it on only to Zipei [Shen Cengzhi] and Yunge [Wen Tingshi], and no-one else...... I, for my part, show your letters only to Zhongtao, Jùshèng [Zhang Yunji] and Jizhi [Zhang Jian]."281

The people Wang considered could shown his or his brother's letters were key members of the late qingliu group, and almost all had earlier had contacts or had cooperated with Kang. However, from the way Wang spoke about Kang in his letter, it appears that Wang and his friends shared a basically negative attitude to Kang and on his reform. In fact, although most qingliu officials did not openly oppose Kang, they took a passive and distrustful attitude towards him, and did not cooperate with his group in the 1898 reform movement.

Kang gained some support from officials such as Song Bolu, Yang Shenxiu, Wang Zhao and Xu Zhijing in the 1898 reform movement, but almost none of his official supporters belonged to the qingliu group. Kang formed a temporary alliance for reform after he arrived in Peking during 1898. The reform alliance played an important role in the Hundred Days Reform. However, the alliance was formed in great haste. Many officials who co-operated with Kang in 1898 had had no connection with Kang before that year. During 1898, Kang also formed an alliance with Zhang Yinhuan, who was President of the Zongli yamen and had gained the Emperor's favour.282 Not only was Kang able to keep in touch with the Emperor through Zhang Yinhuan, he also later established a direct channel to the Guangxu Emperor. Liao Shouhua, a secretary of the Grand Council, played a role of exchanging information between the Emperor and

281 Wang Kangnien shiyou shuzha, Shanghai Guji ed, Vol.1, pp.783-6
282 Zhang and Kang also came from same town in Guangdong. Zhang reached a high ranking position without a degree. For a discussion on Zhang's role in late Qing, see Ho Banli, "Zhang Yinhuan shiji" (Zhang Yinhuan's life and career) in Bao Zunpeng and other eds Zhongguo jindaishi luncung (Essays on modern Chinese history) Series 1, Vol.7, pp.91-114.
Kang.\textsuperscript{283} It is worth noticing that the most important support for Kang’s reform was given by the Guangxu Emperor. The Emperor showed great enthusiasm for Kang’s reform and gave full trust to Kang himself. As Chen Xulu, a contemporary historian in Shanghai, said in his paper "On the Guangxu Emperor", "In fact, it is no overstatement to say that the Hundred Days Reform of 1898 could not have happened without the Emperor's great courage and determination for reform."\textsuperscript{284}

In contrast, almost none of the \textit{qingliu} members who had a co-operative relationship with Kang during 1895-96 and had a close relationship with the Emperor was involved in the reform movement in 1898. The co-operation for the reform between the \textit{qingliu} group and Kang's reform group in the 1890s did not survive as long as 1898. The \textit{qingliu} group, in fact, did not really take part in the Hundred Days Reform as a political faction. Weng Tonghe had been dismissed in June 1898. Because of the short period when Weng and Kang seemed to be working towards the same ends, it nay seem as though an alliance between the \textit{qingliu} group and the reformists was prevented by Ci Xi's action to bring down Weng. However, Weng's dismissal in June did not influence the further development of the reform along Kang's radical line, on the contrary, it seems to have helped that development. It appears that support for Kang came not from Weng but from others. After the coup of September in 1898, many \textit{qingliu} members, openly or privately, condemned Kang. Weng Tonghe also wrote as follows in his diary:

\textsuperscript{284} See \textit{Wenhui bao} (The Wenhui Daily), October 27, 1980.
"Humbly, I recall that when the traitor Kang Youwei presented himself [to the emperor on June 16], I had already been dismissed. If I had remained with my colleagues [to serve the emperor], I would have never allowed this traitor to become so perverse. But I was punished for this [the attempt to expose Kang]. I have now only myself to blame".285

Reviewing the whole development of Weng's attitude towards Kang Youwei, we have no reason to question his sincerity in this indication that he would not have allowed Kang to have his way.

Zhang Zhidong's Faction of the qingliu Group and the 1898 Reform Movement

Zhang Zhidong was a solid and influential member of the established bureaucracy and a patron of the later qingliu group. The projects he promoted in Nanjing and after his return to Hubei in early 1896 gained him fame as a pro-reform provincial leader. Zhang was very close to the postwar reform movement, in which Kang's group played an important part. The relationship between Zhang Zhidong and Kang Youwei's reform group, although unsettled, was extensive. However, although Zhang Zhidong's faction of the qingliu group and Kang's reform group co-operated in the postwar reform movement, their different ideas about reform divided them into opposite political factions. Zhang promoted and supported a reform program that was his own and he expected to lead the reform by himself. He attacked Kang and his radical reform projects.

Between 1895 and 1898, the conflict between Zhang and Kang's reform group came out into the open. After the uneasy co-operation over the Shanghai Qiangxue hui between Zhang's faction group and Kang's group, a newspaper, the Shiwu bao, emerged out of the remains of the society in the summer of 1896. The newspaper was mainly created by Wang Kangnian, who became editor and business manager, and Liang Qichao also had the position of chief-editor. Both Zhang Zhidong and Kang Youwei paid great attention to the paper, each hoping that it would become the propaganda instrument of his own group. On hearing that Wang Kangnian would come to Shanghai, Kang wrote as follows to a friend:

"Zhang Zhidong recommends Xiangqing [Wang Kangnian] join us. Wang is a very good friend of Zhuoru [Liang Qichao] and Rubo [Mai Manghua], and they have similar views and interests. (The man, [Wang] who printed three thousand copies of the book of He Qi, must be a strong supporter of democracy.)"286

On the other hand, Zhang Zhidong also placed hopes on Wang Kangnian who, as indicated in an earlier chapter, was a friend and political ally of Zhang.288 Zhang had stood firmly behind Wang since the beginning of the establishment of Shiwu bao. He provided considerable direct financial support for the Shiwu bao, and helped to boost its circulation in the Yangtze region. About a month after publication began, Zhang directed all officials and teachers in Hubei to read the paper, and he also arranged for a subscription to be given to every civil or

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286 He's book which Kang mentioned is that by He Qi and Hu Liyuan, Xinzheng zhenquan (The true interpretation of new policies). The first edition of the book was printed in 1887, and the second edition, Xinzheng lunyi (The discussion on new policies) which had been supplemented with new discussion on administrative reform along with adoption of some Western methods such as constitutional system, was reprinted in 1895.
288 See Chapter 4, "Shanghai Branch of the Qiangxue hui."
military yamen, academy and school in the province. The provincial government paid the full cost of these subscriptions. At first, Zhang was so impressed with the manner of the paper that he commended it as "the first healthy and useful newspaper since the beginning of journalism in China".

However, soon after the establishment of the paper, Wang Kangnian himself contributed an essay entitled "On the Benefits of China's Adoption of People's Rights". Wang described how national weakness stemmed from resting state power on only a few officials, whereas strength would come from massing the people together as the foundation of the state, as in the West. Zhang Zhidong was disgusted with the idea of minquan (people's rights), and was greatly offended by this piece. At Zhang's instruction, Liang Dingfen wrote a letter of complaint to Wang. The implicit threat was clear, and at least partly because of it Wang never again praised the virtues of minquan in the Shiwu bao. Letters from Liang Dingfen arrived for Wang quite regularly during 1896 and 1897. Through this indirect leverage, Zhang was able to modify some articles by Liang Qichao, and to keep out Kang Youwei's writings entirely. Although the Shiwu bao still promoted progress and reform, it came to reflect the moderate reform views of Zhang Zhidong, as opposed to those of Kang Youwei. For example, when Kang organized the Baoguo hui (Society to Protect the Nation) in Peking in the spring of 1898, he sent a membership list to the Shiwu Bao for publication. At the urging of Liang Dingfen, Wang Kangnian refused to print it.

Liang Qichao chose to leave the paper in the late summer of 1897 because his position was being made intolerable. He was said to have complained that he

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290 For Wang's article, see WXB, Vol.3, pp.147-9.
was being treated like a hired labourer. Thus, the struggle for the Shiwu bao had become one of the main points of dispute between Zhang Zhidong's group and Kang Youwei's group. The reform forces were divided on ideological issues and on organizational matters into sharply two divided wings: the radicals and the moderates.

With the dissemination of reform ideas and Zhang Zhidong's support for "self-strengthening", the reform movement developed widely in Hubei and Hunan provinces. However, the reform movement in Hunan, which was beyond Zhang's control, grew increasingly radical partly because of Kang's reform group's influence. In the summer of 1897, on the recommendation of Huang Zunxian, Liang Qichao was invited to be the chief lecturer in the School of Current Affairs (Shiwu xuetang) in Changsha, the provincial capital of Hunan. Three other young scholars from Guangdong were invited to be Liang's assistants. These were Ye Juemai, Han Wenju and Ou Qujia, all of them Kang Youwei's disciples. According to Di Chuqing's "A Brief Account of Liang Qichao",

"Before Liang went to take up his teaching post at Shiwu xuetang, he discussed with his friends methods and principle for carrying out reform in Hunan. They had different opinions on the methods for carrying out reform, between gradual advance and speedy advance; and on the principle of carrying out reform between constitutionalism and a revolutionary anti-Manchu movement. Liang, at the time, strongly preferred the second choice in both cases."

Liang and his assistants gained the full co-operation of some Hunan gentry-literati who were ideologically sympathetic with Kang's party. Among them the

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294 Ding Wenjiang, Liang Rengong ziensheng nianpu changbien, p.86.
295 Ibid, pp.87-8.
most famous and influential were Tan Sitong and Tang Caichang. In intellectual outlook they were close to Kang. Like Kang, they were avowed followers of the New Text School, believing in the centrality to Confucianism of the ideals of historical progress and institutional change. Both were also firm supporters of minquan.296

Tan and Tang assisted Liang by giving lectures to the students in the Shiwu xuetang. With Tan and Liang as leaders, these radical reformists formed a new political group. They also gained strong support from some provincial officials such as Jiang Biao and Xü Renlu, the old and new commissioner of education, Huang Zunxian, the salt commissioner and Chen Baozheng, the governor of Hunan.297 With the appearance of the new group centred on the Shiwu xuetang, the reform movement moved to a much more radical form of activity in late 1897 and early 1898. Liang, Tan and their assistants openly advocated Kang Youwei's controversial theories such as that of Confucius as a reformer, and talked of minquan and the establishment of a parliamentary system. Liang even submitted a memorial to Governor Chen Baozheng in the wake of the German occupation of Jiaozhou in the winter of 1897, suggesting that Hunan, if necessary, should declare its independence from the central government in Peking.298 The activities of radical reformers in Hunan alarmed both the conservatives and also those who until then had been supporters of many of the reform programmes. The result was a split within the ranks of the reformers. Moderates now joined forces with the conservative gentry officials to attack the radicals and try to check their zeal.

296 See Deng Tanzhou, Tan Sitong zhuanliu (A critical biography of Tan Sitong) and Tang Caizhi, "Tang Caichang he Shiwu xuetang" (Tang Caichang and the School of Current Affairs) in Hunan lishiziliao, (Historical meterials of Hunan), (1958) 3/98-108
298 See WXBF, Vol.2, p.533
Zhang Zhidong came out and openly condemned the radical reformers in Hunan. Zhang had followed events in Hunan closely. He was very angry about some articles being published in the Xiang xuebao which was controlled by radical reformers. On May 11, 1898, he sent two telegrams to Hunan severely reprimanding the officials concerned.\textsuperscript{299} In a letter to a friend, Tan Sitong wrote:

"Zhang Zhidong orders Xiang xuebao to change their statement about Confucius being a reformer, and lets the editors admit openly their mistake. The Commissioner [of Education in Hunan] has to obey. The words used by Zhang are very severe, and he also indicates that he intends to impeach them on these grounds. He treats Hunanese so cruelly!"\textsuperscript{300}

When the reform agitation reached its height in Peking and Hunan in late 1897 and early 1898, Zhang Zhidong gradually began to take the offensive as the movement became more radical. He began to use his political and personal leverage to bend the reform movement toward his own position. On the other hand, the conservatives started to enlist Zhang's force to put a stop to the reform led by Kang in Peking. In the spring of 1898, Zhang was suddenly summoned to an imperial audience. When he arrived at Shanghai on his way to Peking, however, he was instructed to return to Wuchang to deal with an anti-foreign incident in Shashi, Hubei.\textsuperscript{301} According to some sources, it was Xu Tong, a leader of the diehard scholar-officials in Peking, who initiated the move to bring Zhang Zhidong to Peking, and the Empress Dowager who approved it.\textsuperscript{302}

\textsuperscript{299} Ibid, pp.609-10.
\textsuperscript{300} Tan Sitong, Tan Sitong guangji (The completed works of Tan Sitong), p.366.
\textsuperscript{301} See WXBF, Vol.1, p.334.
\textsuperscript{302} Weng Tonghe made an entry concerning it in his diary, [in 2nd day, third month, Guangxu 24 year] which reads as follows "Two telegraph edicts: one in reply to Governor-General in Guangdong..., the other ordering Governor-General of Hu-Guang (Zhang Zhidong) to come to the capital for imperial audience complying with the request of Xu Tong. (Xu's memorial) was submitted to the empress dowager, such is her majesty's wish." Weng Tonghe, Weng Tonghe renji paijinben, Vol.5, p.2167, and also see Huang Jun, Huasui renshegan zhiji quanben, p.554.
The question is, why should Xu Tong, the mortal enemy of reform, undertake to bring Zhang to Peking. At the time, Kang was gaining the favour and support of the Guangxu Emperor. The Emperor had made up his mind to introduce reform following Kang's suggestions. The conservatives could hardly try to stop the reform directly without challenging the Emperor's authority. As a result, some conservatives did not directly oppose the reform but tried to deflect it. Zhang Zhidong, as we have seen, was a recognized advocate of moderate reform. To the conservatives, Zhang's brand of reform was a lesser evil than Kang's. It is therefore plausible to suggest that Xu Tong may have wished to see Zhang summoned to Peking because Zhang was the most suitable man to counteract Kang's influence on the Emperor and to direct the reform movement into a different channel. If Zhang had been in Peking in 1898, even if he had not supplanted Kang as leader of the reform movement, at least Kang's position would have been greatly weakened.

The anti-foreign incident in Shashi seems not have been the only reason for the cancellation of Zhang's audience in Peking. Although the Qing government paid special attention to foreign relations and dealt cautiously with foreign interests, the anti-foreign incident in Shashi was not a serious one. Furthermore, although the incident was quickly settled, Zhang's summons to Peking was not renewed. It seems to have been the case that the incident was deliberately used to stop Zhang's visit to Peking. According to Huang Shangyi, a scholar at the time, it was Weng Tonghe who engineered Zhang's recall to Hubei. Although there is no conclusive evidence that this is so, Weng probably had reason not to like the prospect of Zhang's visit, and he had the power to prevent it. As we have

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seen, Weng and Zhang were both famous patrons of the *qingliu* group and well-known supporters of moderate reform. In early 1898, Weng was considered as the most powerful and influential high-ranking official to direct the reform programmes in Peking. However, Weng lacked experience both of foreign affairs and of the practical administration of regional reform. Zhang was superior to Weng in both respects. Furthermore, Zhang had not only advanced many reform projects as Governor-General, first of Liang-Guang, then of Liang-Jiang, and later of Hu-Guang, but also created a theoretical justification for moderate reform in his well-known book *Quanxue pian*. If Zhang had come to Peking, then by virtue of his prestige and knowledge on reform, he would have challenged Weng's leadership in the metropolitan reform movement. The suggestion that Weng may have taken measures to prevent Zhang's visit is therefore quite plausible. Zhang himself seems to have had an inkling of Weng's motives. Zhang later mentioned his relationship with Weng in an introduction to his poem written for Weng's brother:

"After he [Weng Tongshu\(^{304}\)] was sent to jail, I went to see him twice. Thus it appears that I have quiet a good friendship with Weng's family. However, when Weng Tonghe served later at the Court as Prime Minister [Weng held the position from 1897], he ruined me to such an extent that I barely escaped death. I really cannot understand what evil thoughts led Weng do so."\(^{305}\)

Although Zhang Zhidong was absent from Peking in 1898, Weng Tonghe failed not only to become the leader of the reform movement but also to hold his post. As a result, Kang Youwei emerged as leader of the reform movement, with the Guangxu Emperor's support. In these circumstances, the conservatives gave

\(^{304}\) Weng Tonghe's elder brother, a provincial Governor of Anhui, who failed in the campaign against the Taipings in 1861, and was dismissed and put into jail. See Zhao Ersun ed, *QSG*, pp.12263-5.

up the hope that the reform would be controlled by moderate officials such as Zhang Zhidong, and explored coercive methods for ending the movement. At the same time, some officials still made final efforts to appeal to the throne to call Zhang Zhidong to Peking. For example, when Yuan Shikai, who was regarded at the time as a supporter of moderate reform, had an audience with the Emperor on September 16, he asked for an edict to be issued to bring Zhang to Peking and into the central organs of government. A few days later, Chen Baozheng, the Governor of Hunan, memorialized to the effect that Zhang would be the ideal man to help direct the reform. Part of the memorial read as follows:

"Institutional reform is a very major issue. It must be an experienced and prudent official who has had a long career in conducting state affairs and has a clear mind to join the decision-making group of the confidential work (on reform). I see that Zhang Zhidong, the Governor-General of Hubei and Hunan, whose loyalty to the throne and whose knowledge and courage are already well known to your Majesty, has studied and examined carefully the good and bad points of the administrative systems of both China and Western countries. It seems that the throne should quickly call Zhang to Peking to direct the reform".  

However, the action of Chen and others came too late. The conflict between the conservatives and the radical reformers had already reached a climax, and then on September 21 the coup d'état which ended both the Hundred Days' Reform and the Emperor's rulership, took place.

Because Zhang had had a period of co-operation with Kang's reform group in the mid-1890s, he was concerned about his own political fortunes after the

coup d'état. There is an interesting story which shows how Zhang tried to cover up the facts of his relationship with Kang's reform group:

"When Zhang Zhidong held the post of acting Governor-General of Liang-Jiang, he once went on a sight-seeing trip to Mount Jiao. While there Zhang wrote a poem for the Songliao ge (Silent Pine Pavilion). In the poem he expressed his feeling of partiality towards reformers [it is possible that he meant Kang]. The monks in the pavilion had the poem mounted, and put it up on the wall. When the coup erupted in September, Liang Dingfen went with a small warship in great haste to Mount Jiao. He asked to have the poem back on the pretext that Zhang wanted to add some notes to it. He brought it back [to Wuchang] and burned it."308

Conclusion

Historians usually focus their attention on Kang's reform group when their studies relate to the late Qing reform movement. Undoubtedly, Kang Youwei and his followers were central figures in the Hundred Days Reform in 1898. However, on reviewing the reform movement as a whole, we find that the qingliu group played a more important role than did Kang's group. The origins of the late Qing reform movement can be traced back to the years of self-strengthening movement in the 1860s and the 1870s. The qingliu officials began to advocate the idea of "internal governance", and many of them turned to the idea of moderate institutional reform after the middle of the 1880s. Moreover, the qingliu officials stood in a leading position when the reform movement developed from earlier 1890s. The qingliu group did more to support and in fact possessed more power in promoting such reform projects as the Qiangxue hui in Peking and Shanghai, and the Shiwu bao than did Kang's reform group. There is no denying that Kang's group was closely associated with these projects, and

308 Wu Tianren, Liang Jiean xiansheng nianpu, p.135.
played an important role in them. However, Kang Youwei, as a new jinshi degree-holder in 1895, and Liang Qichao, still an aspirant to the degree, were not recognized by scholar-officials in general as leading figures in the reform. Kang had been excluded from the Qiangxue hui in Peking and Shanghai, and Liang Qichao also had been pushed out from the Shiwu bao. Although Kang and Liang had a prominence in the ideological field through their books and propaganda on reform, they had no power to implement their theories. All Kang and his followers could do was to appeal to the throne to introduce reform, and to go about drumming up support from individual officials. Kang's group itself lacked enough power to launch the reforms. It seems a reasonable conclusion that the qingliu group was the main political force promoting the reform movement in 1890s, but it did this with assistance of Kang and his group.

The qingliu group and Kang's group united to promote reform in the 1890s. However, "reform" meant different things to either side. To the qingliu officials, reform meant only adjustments to the administration and they did not envisage major institutional change, while Kang and his followers had an ambitious reform program involving radical changes in the existing ideological and institutional system. In 1898, Kang's group won a transient victory in acquiring the Guangxu Emperor's support, and reform along the radical lines proposed by Kang's group was inaugurated in the Hundred Days Reform. With Weng Tonghe's dismissal in June 1898, the qingliu officials wished to bring Zhang Zhidong to Peking to replace Weng's position as leader of the late qingliu group. They also wished that the reform movement would develop in a moderate way. The action of bringing Zhang to Peking, however, came to a premature end. As a result, the battle line was sharply drawn between Kang's group and the diehard conservatives. Kang and his followers were soon overwhelmed by their
opponents, who rallied around the powerful Empress Dowager, and the reform
came to nothing.

When the Empress Dowager and her adherents put down the reform, they did not
miss the chance to eliminate *qingliu* officials from political life. A number of
officials who had previously co-operated with Kang's group and were regarded
as sympathizers or supporters of either Weng's or Zhang's faction of the *qingliu*
group, were dismissed and forced to leave Peking. Even some *qingliu* officials
who had been dismissed earlier, did not escape from a further vindictive blows.
For example, Weng Tonghe, who had been instructed to retire to his home in
Jiangsu, was now given heavier punishment. An edict of December 1898 ordered
that Weng "be deprived of his ranks and offices, permanently barred from official
appointment, and handed over to local officials, who were to put him under strict
discipline."309 Although Zhang Zhidong, who immediately took a clear-cut stand
in support of the Empress Dowager, still kept his post, the power of the throne in
Peking rested firmly in the hands of Ci Xi and her adherents. As a result, few
*qingliu* officials remained in important positions in Peking, and the *qingliu* group
did not have enough strength to continue to exist in the officialdom as a political
group. The decline of the *qingliu* group, which was composed of elite orthodox
scholar-officials who had played the most important role in the bureaucratic
structure, presaged the Qing Empire's collapse.

309 See *WXBF* Vol.2, p.112.
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Abbreviations of titles cited works are listed below.

KYWN Kang Youwei zibian nianpu
QSG Qingshi gao
WXBF Wuxu bianfa
WTHR Weng Tonghe riji paiyin ben
YWYD Yangwu yundong


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國子監
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翰林
汗漫舫
漢語拼音
後清流
湖南
淮
黃遵憲
壹國
簡朝亮
江
蒋
聖
銘
禮
鍾
英
晉
經世致用
經心
進士
直
捐納
軍功

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銘
禮
鍾
英
晉
經世致用
經心
進士
直
捐納
軍功

Huang Zunxian
Jian Chaoliang
Jiang Biao
Jiang Qiling
Jiaozhou
Jin (concubine)
Jin Yuying
Jin
jingshi zhiyong
Jingxin
jinshi
Jizhi
juanna
jungong
Gong (Prince)
Gong Zhaoyu
Gao Xiecheng
Gongche shangshu ji
Gongche shangshu
Gongyang
Guangxu
Guangya
Guozi jian
Han Wenju
Han
Hanlin
Hanman fang
Hanyu pinyin
Hou qingliu
Hu-Guang
Huai (army)
Huang Zunxian
Huiyan
Ci Xi
Ci An
Ci Xi
Chun (Prince)
Chen Li
Changsha
Chen Baozhen
Ben-mo
Bianfa
Buhe
Chang Lin
Chang Xu
Changshu
Baimen dizi
Bangyan
Baohuang
Baoguo hui
Guangxu
Guangya
Chen Baozhen
Chen Li
Chun (Prince)
Ci An
Ci Xi
Daoguang
Di Chuqing
Didang
Duanxi
Fang Junyi
Feng Guifen
Fujian
Fuzhou
Gao Xiecheng
Gong (Prince)
Gong Zhaoyu
Glossar

拜門弟子
榜眼
保皇
保國會
本末
變法
筆帖式
不和
長麟
長叙
長沙
陳寶箴
陳禮
醇安
慈禧
道光
狄楚青
帝黨
端溪
方濬頤
馮桂芬
福建
福州
高恭
簡照聰

Glossar
baimen dizi
bangyan
baohuang
Baoguo hui
ben-mo
bianfa
biteshi
buhe
Chang Lin
Chang Xu
Changshu
Chen Baozhen
Chen Li
Chun (Prince)
Ci An
Ci Xi
Daoguang
Di Chuqing
Didang
Duanxi
Fang Junyi
Feng Guifen
Fujian
Fuzhou
Gao Xiecheng
Gong (Prince)
Gong Zhaoyu