

**ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN THE
LOWER YANGTZE REGION IN THE SEVENTEENTH
AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES**

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Elementary Education in the Lower Yangtze Region in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Angela Ki Che Leung

Since the pioneering work of Evelyn Rawski on elementary education in Ch'ing China, which gives a most valuable overview of the problem, little has been done to further examine this important question.¹ Alexander Woodside's relative pessimism concerning popular literacy in relation to Rawski's obvious optimism is one of the few stimulating reactions to her work, though one must confess that it is yet too early to arrive at any final conclusion as to the difficult question of the rate of literacy.² Other aspects of elementary education on which Rawski has set the agenda in her book also remain to be dealt with—the content of education and the roles of the state, the community, and the family.³

What this chapter attempts to do is trace the relative importance of the state, the community, and the clan or family in the matter of elementary education in the late Ming and early Ch'ing periods. It also looks more closely at the form and content of school education for children from about six to about fifteen years of age in order to find out the respective aims of the state, the community, and the family in educating the child. This chapter limits its survey to the Lower Yangtze region, which was incontestably the richest and, culturally speaking, one of the most developed regions of China of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was not a "typical" region, but it should show us a version of elementary education closest to the Chinese ideal.

POLICIES OF THE STATE, THE COMMUNITY, AND THE CLAN

Elementary schools of premodern China were mainly creations of three institutions: the state, the community, and the clan or family. Each had its own priorities, which, however, sometimes overlapped. For example, passing the imperial examination was the ultimate goal of many children and their

families. Indeed, though a child entering primary school had a long way to go before he would consider the possibility of sitting for the imperial examinations, this ultimate possibility did affect the curricula of elementary education. But the fact that the great majority of children would not sit for the examinations convinced many educators that the content of primary education should be independent of the requirements of the civil examination system and be focused essentially on moral training and social discipline. This profound ambiguity of elementary education in the whole process of cultural reproduction with the civil examination system at its center explains the very different aims, needs, and policies of the state, the community, and the family in the matter.⁴

The State and the She-hsueh System

The *she-hsueh* (community school) system, created in 1375 by the imperial order of the first Ming emperor, was an obvious effort to uphold orthodox Confucian values in the empire after the "barbarian" rule of the Mongols and their overthrow by popular movements of anti-elite doctrines.⁵ There was no fixed format for the schools; an 1504 edict, which was possibly a statement of the existing conditions, decreed that children under fifteen *sui* be admitted to learn rites and rituals in the schools.⁶ The schools were to be established especially in rural communities so that even children of country people could be baptized into Confucian culture.⁷ This imperial order was reiterated several times by Emperor Hung-wu himself and his successors in 1375, 1436, 1465, 1504.⁸ In local gazetteers, there are also records of local officials constantly restoring and financing local community schools all through the Ming period. This initiative, however, should not be seen as a state policy attempting to achieve mass literacy. It was more a symbolic gesture to celebrate the return of Confucian orthodoxy and the political order that was based on it. A few magistrates, however, did consider the schools to be preparatory institutions for children who aimed at sitting for the imperial examination.⁹ No matter how the schools were perceived, the fact was that the *she-hsueh* system did not benefit from a persistent policy. This could be shown by two points: the state's inability and unwillingness to overcome the first difficulties of the system, and the apparently peripheral role and discontinuous existence of the schools in various localities.

The difficulties of the application of the *she-hsueh* system were known to the emperor soon after it was initiated. In the Imperial Announcements (Ta-ka) published in 1385, Emperor Hung-wu attributed the failure of the system to the incompetence and the corruption of local officials who "do not allow those who want to learn but are without money to enter the schools, while letting some three or four worthless persons continue to dwell in their stupidity (in the schools) after having received money (from them)...." His immediate reaction to the unmanageable behavior of the local officials was to call for a temporary suspension of the system.¹⁰

With such feeble support from the state, the community schools in the localities were totally dependent on the support of local officials for their stability. One typical example is Kao-yu, where 172 schools were set up in 1375 under the imperial order. By 1467, none of these existed and the prefect had to create five schools in the area that, by 1572, were again reported to be no longer in existence.¹¹ In Chu-jung, Ch'en Yü-wang (*chin-shih* 1606)—the father of the famous late Ming scholar from Chia-shan, Ch'en Lung-cheng (1585–1645)—was reported to have revived the five schools in the city while he was the magistrate there in 1597; these schools had been defunct since their reestablishment in 1570.¹² The same story can be told about Chin-t'an, where schools were set up in 1375 and had to be revived several times in 1462, 1466, the 1480s, and the last time in 1515. Each time, the magistrate found it necessary to rebuild the abandoned schools. By the early 1520s, the schools were again in a devastated state.¹³ Despite the discontinuous existence of the schools, which showed the difficulties in their management, it is important to note that it was always the local officials who revived and financed them. They believed that it was their duty to uphold a state institution. In this sense, despite a lack of continuity in state support, the community schools were testimony to the state's presence and its concern with primary education as an instrument of cultural control.

By the end of the Ming, however, some officials began to adopt a new policy toward the schools that were then in the process of acquiring a different meaning. The new attitude was most explicit in a 1599 attempt of the Chekiang administration commissioner, Chang Ch'ao-jui, aided by two prefects, to integrate the schools into a larger local system that would also consist of the *hsiang-yueh* (village lecture system), the *pao-chia* (police security system), and the local granary. The attempt was to "simplify red tape and to concretize policies." In fact, this effort was nothing more than the reinvigoration of social control on the local level by reinforcing the police and ideological indoctrination system essentially run by local leaders.¹⁴ Whether the attempt was a success is anybody's guess, but the end result was a new status for the school. Similarly, the magistrate of Hui-an (Fukien) from 1570 to 1574, Yeh Ch'un-chi (1552 *chü-jen*), in the famous gazetteer he compiled for the *hsien*, only mentioned four local institutions after detailed geographical descriptions of the place: *hsiang-yueh*, *pao-chia*, *li-she* (local sacrificial institution), and *she-hsueh*.¹⁵ Apparently, the *she-hsueh* institution was now thought to be part of a local system that inevitably put community leaders in the responsible positions and that essentially aimed at the consolidation of the community.

The change was not an accident. There were already an increasing number of community schools that were used as sites for village lectures or as the community granary. For example, the Shang-yang community school in Shanghai was restored in the early 1520s by the prefect, who also used the school for village lectures, and schools at Ch'ing-p'u, established in the early 1590s, were

transformed into granaries.¹⁶ What is even more significant is that some community schools at the end of the Ming period were already performing a new function. In the earlier period, the schools were commonly said to train "talented children," and in 1465 there was even an edict forbidding the authorities to force children of poor families to attend classes.¹⁷ From the late sixteenth century on, there were schools that claimed to train "poor children of the community." This was the case in the school in Ch'ang-shu, established in the Wan-li period, and the one in Changchow, which was already called *i-hsueh* (charity school) in 1530 when it was created by the prefect. The Ch'ang-shu school received important donations from the local people in 1586 and 1587. Some schools were taken over by local people, as the Ju-kao community school in 1617.¹⁸ All these changes appeared sporadically in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, indicating at the same time the unstable situation of the state primary schools as well as the first timid efforts to absorb these schools into the community system.

The late Ming official and thinker Lü K'un (1536–1618) was probably one of the last to call for another state effort to restore the original community school system and to reinforce the state's authority. There were essentially two new ideas in his famous proposal to restore the *she-hsueh*: a systematic state financed teacher-training program and compulsory education for all children for three years.¹⁹ Lü's contemporary, the above-mentioned Yeh Ch'un-chi, suggested reforming the *she-hsueh* by institutionally linking the system to the imperial examination (only pupils of the schools could sit for the primary examinations).²⁰ These changes would have necessitated tighter state control and the formulation of a more consistent central policy. But there was neither the social demand nor the imperial incentive for such a policy. Lü's and Yeh's renovative proposals were out of tune with the times and fell on deaf ears.

The Community and the i-hsueh System

Many Ch'ing documents took the *she-hsueh* and the *i-hsueh* systems to be different terms for the same thing, with the former denoting the system under the Ming and the latter under the Ch'ing.²¹ This simplification masks the fundamental differences in nature between the two systems that are crucial to an understanding of the social development of the school: the *i-hsueh* was more genuinely a school of the community than the state *she-hsueh* and its charitable aspect was essential. (See Rowe, however, for the account of an exceptional state relationship to the *i-hsueh* of the southwest in the 1700s.) This was a natural outcome of the development of the *she-hsueh* during the late Ming period described above.

One of the first persons to understand the novel character of the *i-hsueh* was the early Ch'ing local official Huang Liu-hung (*chü-jen* 1651). In his famous manual for would-be local magistrates, *Fu-hui ch'üan-shu* (Complete book

concerning happiness and benevolence, 1699), Huang applauded the replacement of the *she-hsueh* by the *i-hsueh*:

At the present time youngsters of rich and powerful families are taught by private tutors who are engaged by these families. Those of poor and lowly families cannot study because they lack financial support. But local authorities look upon education as something nonessential and superfluous, not to be undertaken with limited resources, so the ancient community public school system (*she-hsueh*) cannot be revived....

I think with the free contributions from the local gentry and the leadership of the authorities, an educational system with features similar to those of ancient public schools can be established. This is the system of free schools (*i-hsueh*). The free schools are established for the youngsters of poor families.... In the city and suburban areas, free schools should be established only if there are enough poor families to warrant their existence. In rural areas, each town, village or hamlet should have one to several depending on its size and need....²²

Huang understood perfectly that the *she-hsueh* system, in form and in content, was by then moribund if not defunct and the only way to retain some indirect state influence over elementary education was to encourage the active support and participation of the resourceful local degree-holders.

Official records show that the imperial edict to establish charity schools came at about the same time as the publication of Huang's book—1702, to be precise—whereas all the preceding edicts were without exception for the setting up of *she-hsueh*. It was not until 1713 that an imperial order stated clearly that these charity schools were for poor children. It should be noted that as late as 1670 the K'ang-hsi emperor tried to revive the obsolete *she-hsueh* system in an edict that was no more than a repetition of the 1652 imperial order of the Shun-chih emperor who probably wanted the announcement to be a token of the continuity of Chinese culture under Manchu rule.²³ During the thirty years after 1670, Ch'ing authorities learned to understand the real condition of local schools and adopted a more appropriate cultural policy.

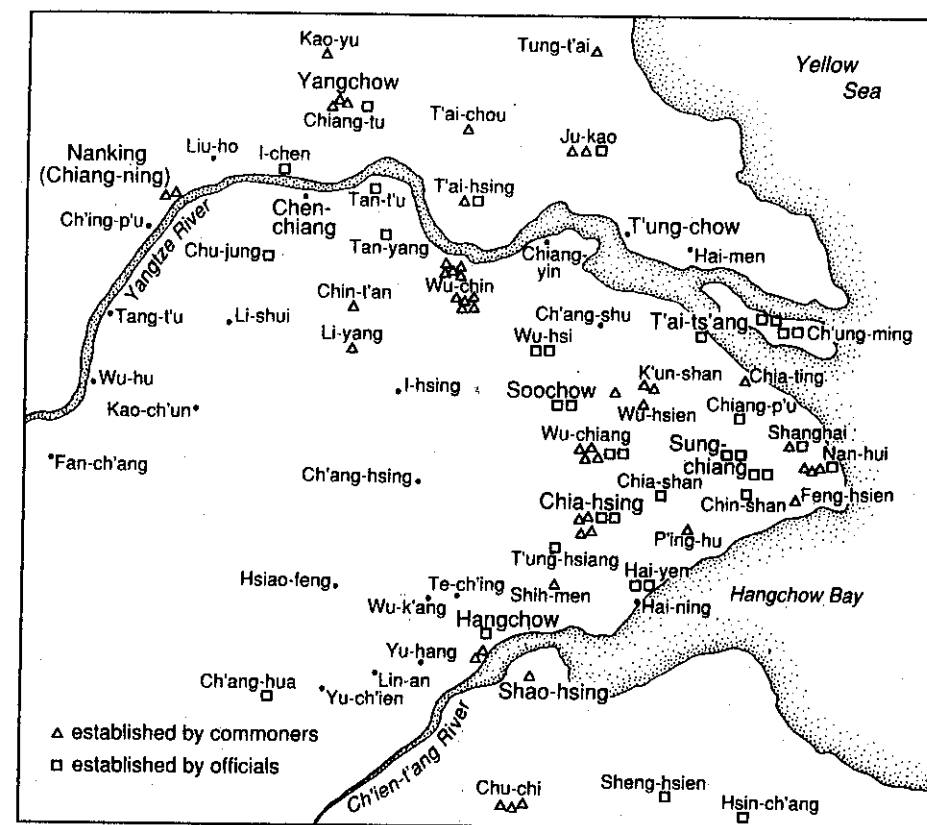
Meanwhile, schools continued to be restored or created in the localities during the first years of Manchu rule. In the absence of clear state directives, the schools increasingly took on a charitable nature and were often managed by the local elite. Table 11.1 shows a preliminary survey of early Ch'ing elementary schools established in the Lower Yangtze region before 1702.²⁴ It is obvious that most of the institutions were still at least nominally created by magistrates on behalf of the state (nine out of fifteen). But the growing number of schools officially established by commoners as compared to the few in the late sixteenth century is the striking phenomenon here. Moreover, the fact that most of the schools (thirteen out of fifteen) were now called "charity schools" clearly reveals an essential change in the function of these schools as perceived by their promoters. It is worth emphasizing again that these

TABLE 11.1 Early Ch'ing Elementary Schools in the Lower Yangtze Region

County/ Prefecture	<i>I-hsueh</i> / <i>She-hsueh</i>	Year	Establisher
Changchow	<i>i-hsueh</i>	1661	commoners
K'un-shan	<i>she-hsueh</i>	1673	commoners
Tan-yang	<i>i-hsueh</i>	1681	magistrate
Hangchow	<i>i-hsueh</i>	1681	magistrate
Hua-t'ing	<i>i-hsueh</i>	1682	magistrate
Hua-t'ing	<i>i-hsueh</i>	1682	magistrate
Kao-ch'un	<i>i-hsueh</i>	1682	magistrate
Yü-hang	<i>she-hsueh</i>	1683	magistrate
P'ing-hu	<i>i-hsueh</i>	1688	magistrate
P'ing-hu	<i>i-hsueh</i>	1692	commoners
Sung-chiang	<i>i-hsueh</i>	1699	magistrate
T'ai-hsing	<i>i-hsueh</i>	K'ang-hsi	commoners
Kan-t'ang	<i>i-hsueh</i>	K'ang-hsi	commoners
Kan-ch'üan	<i>i-hsueh</i>	K'ang-hsi	commoners
T'ai-ts'ang	<i>i-hsueh</i>	K'ang-hsi	magistrate

important developments in the early Ch'ing period were a continuation of social changes that were already occurring in the late sixteenth century.

The *i-hsueh* system flourished during the eighteenth century and all the changes that were emerging since the late Ming now came into full swing. Our preliminary survey of schools established in the eleven prefectures of the Lower Yangtze region, as recorded by gazetteers, shows that of all the eighty-three schools set up during the Ch'ing and before 1820, fifty were started by local leaders and thirty-three by magistrates (60 percent against 40 percent). These do not even include those schools that were incorporated into general charitable institutions essentially created and managed by local leaders.²⁵ The proportion may not seem impressive, but if we look at the survey done by Wang Lan-yin on Ming community schools, we will realize that the change in Ch'ing times was no trivial matter: of all the 1438 *she-hsueh* established under the Ming that record founders, more than 99 percent were set up

Map 11.1 *I-hsueh* Established in the Lower Yangtze Region

by officials of various ranks and less than 1 percent by commoners (map 11.1).²⁶ The ground gained by local leaders in the matter of popular education was indeed considerable. It had also become common knowledge that these *i-hsueh* were to provide elementary education to children of needy families and not to prepare "talented" youth for the imperial examination. The new conception of popular elementary schools had become so well accepted that society turned a deaf ear to the incomprehensible order of the Yung-cheng emperor in 1723 to go back to the *she-hsueh* system.²⁷ From 1743 onward, as the gazetteer of Chiang-yin county indicates, *i-hsueh* began to be widespread in cities and countryside alike.²⁸

Just like the model described in Huang Liu-hung's manual, many of the charity schools were managed by community leaders with the sanction of the state. A memorial written by an official named Tai San-hsi (native of Tan-t'u, d. 1830, *chin-shih* 1793) to promote the creation of more charity schools suggested that "for [the expenses of] the building, the furniture, the teacher, and the meals, we should persuade the local people to donate and then choose an honest and reliable person among them to be the manager. He could either

give the money to the merchants to earn interest or buy real estate." A certain Ch'en Wen-shu of the Ch'ien-t'ang area proposed the same idea in his "Regulations for Charity Schools" (*I-hsueh chang-ch'eng*): "In every city and in every rural district, [one should] create one or two schools through popular donation, and then ask philanthropists (*hao i shih min*) of the area to draft regulations [of the school] to be approved by the authorities."²⁹ Both the official, representing state power, and the local philanthropist saw it as appropriate to organize schools from the bottom up with official approval. Like other eighteenth-century charitable institutions in the Kiangnan region, more and more charity schools were locally initiated and managed with state permission. However, while local leaders were gaining importance, magistrates never ceased to promote, directly or indirectly, local elementary schools throughout the Ch'ing. In this sense, there was a real expansion in educational efforts and resources in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This formed the basis for further education development in the nineteenth century.³⁰

Despite all the obvious changes in the conception and administration of popular elementary education in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, one ambiguity remained: primary education was never considered entirely a matter of charitable relief, even though it had lost its earlier Ming status as being solely the privilege of the well-off or "talented." In local gazetteers, information on schools, including charitable elementary schools, was always recorded in those particular chapters devoted to schools and academies and to depictions of the cultural environment of the locality. By contrast, histories of other charitable institutions, some of which even financed charity schools inside them or in other parts of the county, were grouped either in the chapter on "establishments" or in the chapter on "charitable deeds." Moreover, until the end of the eighteenth century, there were still a significant minority of charity schools that were reported to be established by magistrates. This was in contrast to other charitable institutions which were, by then, almost exclusively created by local leaders.³¹ In other words, although popular philanthropy was in practice incorporating primary schools into its program, elementary education and relief, conceptually speaking, still belonged to different categories of the eighteenth-century Chinese mind.³² Educating the people was a task too important for the perpetuation of state ideology to be left entirely in the hands of communitarian leaders.

Education was, above all, an almost sacred tool for maintaining cultural stability. The nation was, indeed, essentially a cultural concept for the Chinese. The best model of proper education was always that which was provided by the basic unit of Chinese culture—the clan and the family. The importance of family education was an essential and unique feature in any Confucian culture. The Chinese had to wait for another century, when Western influence came marching in, to get a glimpse of what "state schools" were like.

Clan Schools and Family Education

There were of course types of private schools and tutorial classes that were not run by the clan or family, but as institutions these are of less interest than the clan or family school, which was more comparable to the public *i-hsueh* and more typical of the period under study.³³

The form of the public *i-hsueh* was clearly an imitation of clan schools, which often provided a much coveted type of primary education. The best of them were tightly organized and amply financed from the clans' estates. Clan schools were normally highly exclusive, accepting only children of the main branches of the clan and a few close cousins.³⁴ Such restrictions limited classes to a very manageable size of around ten pupils. Many clans had two elementary classes of two levels, the *meng-kuan* (introductory section) and the *ching-kuan* (Classics section), the latter of which was essentially for pupils who wished to sit for the imperial examinations. Children who managed to get into a clan school were essentially free of material worries. Many schools had a boarding system through which furniture, stationery, meals, and sometimes clothes were provided free of charge. The luckier ones even had modest monthly stipends. The stricter boarding system only allowed the pupils to leave the school on special occasions; the looser one permitted them to go home once a month.³⁵ In the famous 18th-century novel *Story of the Stone*, the young boy of a poorer relative of the Chia family was sent to the clan charitable school not only because his parents could not afford a private tutor but also because the boy was given free meals in the school, thus saving considerable expense for the family.³⁶ In ideal form, clan school education tended to involve the entire daily life of the children. The progress of the pupils was regularly monitored by the teacher and, above all, by clan members who were responsible for the school. Tests might take place every fortnight (first and fifteenth days of the month) or during the first few days of each month. The examinations were supervised by the clan principal who would ask the children to recite texts, explain words or sentences, and write characters. The pupils' performance was usually ranked into three grades. Those with a good performance or who showed progress were awarded stationery or even money; those who did poorly were punished or made to feel ashamed of their unsatisfactory performance. Sometimes clan schools required pupils to carry diaries or handbooks in which the teacher recorded daily work done, progress made, and the time at which the children arrived and left school, as well as special leaves that they had taken. The diaries were to be shown to parents every day after school and to be kept by the clan principal at the end of the scholastic year.³⁷

The considerable organizational and financial investment in elementary clan education is understandable: the prosperity and the stability of the clans could only be assured if some of these children one day became successful bureaucrats. (In fact, many clan schools were financed by bureaucratic members of the clan, as happens in the novel *Story of the Stone*, Chapter 9.) And

their chance for eventual success in this enterprise depended heavily on the quality of their primary education. Most of the rules of the clan schools stated clearly that the aim of the institution was to train "talents" for the clan. "The greatness of the clan does not depend on the size of its population but on the number of its talents so that the world will look on it with admiration. How can one [cultivate such talents] if not by education?"³⁸ This ultimate aim of clan schools explains the importance of the daily homage paid to the ancestors by the pupils.³⁹ They were constantly reminded that they should work hard in school in order one day to glorify the clan. The significance of the ritual was better revealed in its absence. When the sole aim of the clan school was to provide basic education for fatherless orphans of the clan so that they could start to earn a living as early as possible, such a sense of mission was not inculcated in the pupils. The ritual was reduced to bowing to the teacher at the beginning and end of the day.⁴⁰ The motivation behind the latter kind of clan school was obviously less high-minded: it was more a relief measure for underprivileged members of the clan than the calculated policy to train "talents" who would enrich the clan's cultural capital.

The ultimate goal of the idealistic clan school was not always achieved, perhaps less for reasons of the quality of the education than for the structural problems of the clan and the ever changing socioeconomic environment.⁴¹ The reason for the very small number of existing clan schools, wrote Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng (1738-1801) in 1796 in a discussion of the school of the Sun clan, "certainly lies in the fact that there are loopholes in the legislation that make it difficult for [the schools] to last."⁴² We do not know how long an average clan school lasted in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but judging by evidence from some of the records of nineteenth-century clan schools that we have consulted, most seem not to have had a very early origin. Of examples located to date, only the Sun clan school in Shao-hsing, which began in the early eighteenth century and which apparently was still functioning in the 1830s, had a long record of continuous operation.⁴³

In many ways, clan and family schools provided a model for public charity schools. Like the clan charity schools, the public ones claimed to provide education for children of poor families. Some charity schools also had two teachers (teaching two classes of different levels), each responsible for a class of some dozen pupils.⁴⁴ Better financed ones also provided pupils with stationery and books that, with the teacher's salary, could come to a budget of two hundred taels a year.⁴⁵ Public charity schools rarely provided room and board for the pupils. The financial organization of the two types of schools was also very similar: their long-term funding was assured by donations of land, houses, and money. In the case of public charity schools, funding came from magistrates or local notables.⁴⁶ This similarity in financing as well as in organization also put charity schools in the same precarious situation as the clan schools: the average charity school, it seems, did not last very long, sometimes ending with the

term of an enthusiastic magistrate, or when donations from a private individual stopped.⁴⁷

In fact, most well-off families had their own private tutors and more modest ones either sent their children to private tutorial classes in the neighborhood or had them taught by members of the family. Ch'en Ch'ueh (1604-77), the important thinker from Chekiang province, recalled that his father taught his elder brother, who later taught him and his two younger brothers, while Ch'en Ch'ueh took responsibility for teaching his youngest brother. This family tradition was to him an appropriate alternative to sending the children to classes taught by respectable teachers in the community.⁴⁸ And if Chia Pao-yü, hero of *Story of the Stone*, went to the clan's charitable school, it was because his tutor was away for some time and Pao-yü's father wanted him to go to the school in order to revise texts that he had already learned while waiting for the return of his own teacher (Chapter 7).

Though the elementary school, be it private or public, was not an indispensable institution for the transmission of primary education in Ming-Ch'ing China, the school curriculum did reveal the set of values and the body of knowledge thought to be necessary to be transmitted to the child.

FORM AND CONTENT OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL EDUCATION

One most interesting characteristic of elementary education in Ming-Ch'ing China is that, despite the lack of active state intervention in its form and content, there was a surprising agreement on what these should be. In this aspect, China was quite the opposite of eighteenth-century France, where the content of primary education was not specified but "the royal will was asserted" in the creation of the "petites écoles."⁴⁹

"Regulations" of primary schools written by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century educators or thinkers, especially those of the Lower Yangtze region, not only reveal elementary education as it was practiced in school but also help us to reconstitute the common body of educational conceptions of the region at the time. It is important to note that these educators or scholars, while writing the regulations and recommendations, based their arguments mainly on their own experience or convictions; they did not in any way speak for the state.⁵⁰ Textbooks quoted by these regulations were most of the time the same. Even the school in a tiny village of thirty or so households, in a remote part of the Kwangtung province in the second half of the nineteenth century, used these standard texts.⁵¹

Form

The ideal school calendar corresponded to the natural year and began around the fifteenth of the first month and ended around the twenty-fifth of the twelfth month with a total of about ten days off for the celebration of various

festivals. A complete school year consisted of eleven full months.⁵² Not only was the year rather long but the school day also lasted practically from sunup to sundown. A typical schedule consisted of four parts: the early morning session held before breakfast, the morning session after breakfast, the afternoon session, and a brief evening session.⁵³ Clearly, the school calendar and the daily schedule reflected notions of time natural to an essentially agrarian society.

The schools accepted children between the ages of about eight to fifteen *sui*, even though it is likely that some younger children, who had been taught a number of characters at home, started school earlier at six or seven.⁵⁴ There was no yearly program governing the progress of learning of the children during the seven or so years they spent in the school. There seemed to be a tacit agreement among educators that children be taught according to their individual aptitudes: "Teaching should not be uniform for everybody."⁵⁵ One can thus imagine that children from six or seven to about fifteen were taught together in the same class while the teacher, if he was a responsible one, had to attend to each pupil's individual progress and give him suitable guidance. This explains the small number of pupils in an ideal typical primary school.

The teacher was either employed by the family or the management of the community school or was himself manager of the school. In either case, unless he was exceptionally famous, he was poorly paid.⁵⁶ Worse still, he did not enjoy much respect socially. Many educators warned that parents were wrong in not paying enough attention to the selection of a good primary teacher: "People only know respecting the teacher of the Classics section and do not know that the work of the teacher of the introductory section ... is several times more exhausting...."⁵⁷ The advice that once a teacher was chosen his authority inside the classroom should not be challenged also revealed his usual lowly status.⁵⁸ The great eighteenth-century artist from Hsing-hua, Cheng Pan-ch'iao (1693–1765), was once a miserable village schoolteacher before he passed the imperial examinations. He obviously did not have pleasant memories of those days:

Teaching in a school is from the beginning a last resort;
Spending years under the roof of others,
Half full, half starving, one is an insignificant outsider;
Without chains, without handcuffs, one is a voluntary prisoner;
The parents would speak of laziness if too little work is given;
The pupils would react with hatred if too much;
Fortunately, one has climbed up the social ladder;
The shame of those years could be wiped away in one brush.⁵⁹

Indeed, Cheng was far from being an exception in taking the teaching job as merely transitional in his career. Of the twenty-four teachers who had taught in the Sun clan school in Shao-hsing from the early eighteenth century until 1789, fourteen later passed higher levels of the imperial examinations and

became officials.⁶⁰ But the impatience of the more gifted or luckier scholars in teaching children should not conceal the devotion of other less ambitious ones who stuck to the profession for years. Ch'en Fang-sheng from the Hangchow area was such a teacher. He had been a primary teacher for over ten years before he wrote down his ideas on what made a good elementary school and a good teacher. He modestly admitted, "[If] the scholar ... does not necessarily become an official, then teaching is his inescapable responsibility."⁶¹ This implies a considerable supply of teachers as again was the case of the Sun clan school, which had only two teachers (out of twenty-four) who were not natives of Shao-hsing. In a culturally rich area, one rarely had to go outside one's locality to look for a teacher. This constant supply might also explain the modest compensation offered primary school teachers.⁶²

Acquisition of Knowledge

Contrary to what many may think, the first years of elementary education, at least in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were not particularly trying: the child could apparently learn at his own pace. Except for those who entered school already knowing some characters, the first thing to be learned in school was to recognize characters and to review them regularly after they were taught. There seemed to be different methods of teaching characters to children. Besides the classical way (since Sung times) of recognizing and memorizing characters in the three major primers—the *Trimetrical Classic* (*San-tzu ching*), the *Thousand Character Classic* (*Ch'ien tzu wen*), and the *Hundred Surnames* (*Pai chia hsing*)—characters were also taught separately on paper or wooden squares.⁶³ One character was written on each square and a child was taught to recognize some ten characters a day; the memorized characters were tied with a string and these were reviewed constantly while new ones were being taught.⁶⁴ There was general agreement that a child should know between one and two thousand characters before he was taught to read a text. Thereafter, difficult new characters that appeared in texts were singled out and posted up by the teacher every day. The pupils learned to recognize these as they proceeded on to different texts.⁶⁵ Again, there was no precise rule on the time to be spent on this phase of preliminary learning: everything depended on the ability of the child.

Writing with the brush began slightly later than, or at the same time as this first phase. The teacher had to hold the hand of the pupil to show him the correct way to hold the brush and to draw a character before he was permitted to write on his own. These beginners were only allowed to write simple, big characters by imitating popular models of the standard script (*cheng-k'ai*). The first characters written were not exactly the same as the thousand or so characters in the primers that the child had now recognized. (Most of these were too complicated to be drawn at this early stage). Small characters could be practiced only after the child could handle the big ones with ease. Writing

was practiced every day during the second morning session and the teacher marked each well- and badly written character in order to encourage or to correct the child.⁶⁶

Besides the three classical primers that almost all children learned to recite during their first years in school, there were other textbooks that the child started to learn as soon as he had acquired a sufficient number of characters to read them. These texts contained knowledge of all kinds and were written in song or poetic form to make them more interesting and easier for the child to memorize. Some of the more popular texts included the late Ming history primer *Chien-lueh* (Brief history), which summarized the history of China from the mythical age to the late Ming in three short chapters of quinmetrical verses. Later editions added post-Ming historical events in the same spirit as the original.⁶⁷ Another widely used text was the *Ming-wu meng-ch'iu* or "Encyclopedic Primer," which explained astronomical, geographical, biological, social, and technological terms in four-character verses. A series of poems for children containing vulgarized Confucian values such as the "Shen t'ung shih" (Poem for the child) and its sequel and a collection of short historical and biographical stories in easy prose were also popular.⁶⁸

At the same time, some children started to learn some of the standard texts. Almost every teacher found it necessary at one time or at another to teach the Four Books and some of the Five Classics, which were to be learned by heart by the children as soon as they could recognize some one thousand or so characters.⁶⁹ On methods of teaching this core material, however, there seemed to be slight differences among educators. For some, the child was receptive enough at eight or nine to understand the teaching of the Classics. Thus, the teacher had to explain the texts to the child before he could memorize them in order to "stimulate his intelligence." According to the late Ming scholar Liu Tsung-chou (1578-1645, native of Shan-yin, Chekiang), every text was to be explained word by word, phrase by phrase before the overall meaning was explicated. The moral content of the texts received particular emphasis.⁷⁰ In contrast, other authorities believed children of this age could not possibly understand the true meaning of the Classics: "Children only use their mouths and their ears, and not their hearts and their eyes...."; "children before they are fifteen can memorize better than they understand ... and they can understand better and memorize less after they are fifteen."⁷¹ However, whatever the teachers' conceptions of a child's learning ability at this early stage, they all agreed on one essential aspect of the learning of the Classics, which is also the best-known characteristic of classical primary education: drilling and rote memory.

One of the typical ways of drilling a child was provided by the experienced primary teacher Ch'en Fang-sheng:

Texts well-memorized during childhood will be remembered the whole life. For every new text one learns each day, one has to revise ten old texts. The new text

has to be read aloud one hundred times, after which one has to revise the old texts according to the order in which they have been learned. A fixed number of pages have to be revised every day. When they are finished, they have to be revised all over again. At the beginning page of the text, one has to mark the day when the text is first revised; at the end of the text, one has to mark the day when the study of the text is completed.... [The teacher] has to make a list of the texts that each pupil has learned and stick it on the right side of his seat; each time the pupil has finished revising a text, the teacher will mark a circle against the title of the text in red ink.⁷²

Indeed, a child was considered intelligent only if he could quickly memorize a great quantity of texts. All educators recommended that all reading aloud and recitation of previously learned texts be done in the first morning session, probably because the children's minds were at their freshest then. The explanation and reading aloud of new texts, on the other hand, were done in the second morning session.

One of the disagreements of educators on texts was over the use of Chu Hsi's famous book (1130-1200) for primary education, *Hsiao-hsueh* (Little learning), and the *Classic on Filial Piety* (*Hsiao-ching*). Apparently, these two were considered to be standard textbooks in primary education by the Ch'ing authorities. Two important Ch'ing officials and educators, Ch'en Hung-mou (1696-1771) and T'ang Pin (1627-87, governor of Kiangsu in 1684), assigned the two books to be the first texts learned in state primary schools.⁷³ However, not every seventeenth- and eighteenth-century educator appreciated Chu Hsi's text. The late Ming scholar from T'ung-hsiang (Chekiang), Li Lo, in his 1632 collection of miscellaneous writings had told that he was taught the *Hsiao-ching* and *Hsiao-hsueh* in elementary school when he was a child, but "after I was forty, rare were those who studied them...."⁷⁴ His contemporary Lu Shih-i (1611-72) tried to explain the reason for *Hsiao-hsueh*'s fall into disuse: "There are too many difficult characters [in *Hsiao-hsueh*] for today's usage, making it inconvenient for the children. That is why *Hsiao-hsueh* is often abandoned [by today's primary schools]."⁷⁵ Li Chao-lo (1769-1841), the famous scholar-official from Kiangsu, gave an opposite reason for the same phenomenon:

The [*Hsiao-hsueh*] is more than sufficient for its discussions but less than enough for the purpose of practical learning. Moreover, its language is too easy and simple, so that those who have finished their studies are annoyed by its superficiality and do not read it. [The adults do not know that] the original purpose of Master Chu was to enlighten the young and not to teach the adults. That is why [although] he had the deepest will to enlighten and to stimulate the kindness of the world, the effect of educating the people has not been realized.⁷⁶

It looked as if this text, which explained the Five Relations and taught the first steps in self-cultivation, was too difficult for children who did not plan to sit for the imperial examination and useless for those who did. Whatever the true reason, the likelihood is that *Hsiao-hsueh*, and for the same reasons the *Hsiao-*

ching, seemed not to be as popular for use in primary schools from the late Ming onward as one might think.⁷⁷

A comic eighteenth-century poem on a village elementary school best sums up the texts popularly used in an average elementary school in this time:

"The night breeze is disturbed by the cries of the crows,
those pupils altogether showing off the strength of their throats:
Chao-Ch'ien-Sun-Li-Chou-Wu-Cheng, Heaven-Earth-Black-Yellow-Cosmos;
after the *Thousand characters* it's *Chien lueh*,
when the *Hundred Surnames* is revised it's *Poem for the Child*;
that exceptional one amongst the class
memorizes three lines a day the *Great Learning* and *Doctrine of the Mean*."⁷⁸

Clearly, not everyone was ready for the more difficult Classics, and most spent their first school years on easier rhythmic primers.

After the pupils mastered the basics, they could go on to a more advanced level at which they learned phonology, which was necessary for poetry, couplet, and prose writing. Both were practiced every day during the second morning session.⁷⁹ This training was generally reserved for the upper level of the primary school, the "Classics section." Some warned that the two levels not be mixed because they demanded different teaching techniques from the teacher.⁸⁰

Moralization and Discipline

For scholastic curricula of all kinds and all times, it is always difficult to distinguish between the practical knowledge they transmit and the set of values they try to convey.

All the texts mentioned above, even the more difficult Classics, had the practical function of teaching new characters to the pupils. Some of the primers taught them history, geography, important cultural references, names of tools and utensils, common plants and animals, social rules, and so on, all of which were useful knowledge for daily functioning in Ming-Ch'ing society: for reading notices and family handbooks (*lei-shu*), for writing official letters and other documents, for keeping accounts and recording simple business transactions, and for enjoying theatrical performances and popular novels.⁸¹ But more was taught by these same texts during the same process: the worldview common to the average Chinese of the time, common notions of time and space, and a shared set of values. For many educators, this, more than the practical learning, was the main purpose of elementary education.

Indeed, as Ch'en Ch'ueh put it, the elementary education that one gave to a child of six or seven and above "should first teach him how to follow rites and manners, the most fundamental of which is to let him know what are filial piety and respect. Let him practice loyalty and honesty; reading and writing come only in second place."⁸² Li Chao-lo reminded his contemporaries that in

ancient times there had been no so-called "primary school." Small children had learned the rites from their fathers and seniors: they had first been taught filial piety, humility, self-discipline, and trustworthiness; the learning of texts came afterwards.⁸³ Lu Lung-ch'i (1630-93, native of P'ing-hu, Chekiang), the famous scholar-official, advised his son of the correct way to read the *Tso chuan* (Tso commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*): "There are two kinds of characters (in the *Tso chuan*): the good and the bad. When you read the book you have to distinguish between the two. When you come across a good character, a feeling of admiration should be roused inside you [and you say to yourself,] 'I must desire to imitate him'; when you come across a bad character, a feeling of hatred should be roused inside you [and you say to yourself,] 'I must not imitate him'."⁸⁴ For Liu Tsung-chou, the last session of the school day was to be consecrated to moral teaching: the teacher was to narrate and explain two stories that extolled loyalty, filial piety, and diligence. Pupils were to be constantly interrogated on the meaning of these stories so that they would not be lost from memory.⁸⁵ Lü Te-sheng (d.1568), the father of Lü K'un, wrote a primer in rhyme entitled *Hsiao-erh yü* (Words of the child) incorporating most of these values and conveying a popularized version of the Chinese philosophy of life. His book became one of most popular texts used in primary schools from the late Ming onward.⁸⁶

On this delicate question of moral teaching, there indeed seemed to be a new development in elementary education beginning in the late Ming: the inclusion of the *shan-shu* (morality books) in the daily reading list. The same Li Lo who observed that Chu Hsi's *Hsiao-hsueh* was gradually falling into disuse also noticed that more and more elementary schools used the commentary texts of Yuan Huang (1533-1606), the famous syncretic thinker of the Szechow region who promoted the genre of the ledgers of merit and demerit.⁸⁷ The early Ch'ing educator Ts'ui Hsueh-ku recommended that morality books like the *Ti-chi lu* (Records of right behavior and good fortune) published by the late Ming scholar Yen Mao-yu in 1631, ledgers of merit and demerit and other books on retribution be read and explained to the pupils in their spare time.⁸⁸ From Li Chao-lo we know that many educators of his time replaced Chu Hsi's *Hsiao-hsueh* with the ledgers or with Lü Te-sheng's *Words of the Child* and also with Liu Tsung-chou's *Jen p'u* (Portraits of Man), which essentially recorded charitable deeds of people of Liu's time.⁸⁹ Some of the early Ch'ing elementary school rules simply imitated the form of the ledgers of merit and demerit.⁹⁰ In the later Ch'ing period, some charitable schools even put seven "morality books" including the *Trimetrical Classic*, *The T'ai-shang Tractate on Actions and Their Retribution* (*T'ai-shang kan-ying-p'ien*), *Words of the Child*, and four others into the regular syllabus, with the study of the Four Books coming only at a later stage.⁹¹

This new interest in training the child to do good deeds was accompanied by an accentuated obsession with forbidding children to read popular novels. The

fact that children who knew a number of characters could read simple texts greatly worried scholars and educators of the time: "I have seen youth unenthusiastic about their studies and vulgar people knowing a few words who are completely absorbed by [these licentious writings]"; "youngsters who can read a few characters could sing and narrate [these licentious writings].... Out of ten persons there are not one or two who understand the countless words of the sages, but there are eight or nine who know perfectly well these gross and licentious small books." Horror stories were circulated to warn against insufficient supervision over a child's reading habits: "A son of a big family in Nanking could memorize anything that came to his eyes. He was thirteen when he had learned all the Classics and dynastic histories; then one day he secretly read the opera *The West Chamber*, which made him lose all interest in eating and sleeping. In seven days, his vital energy was gone. The doctors said that his heart and his kidneys were exhausted and he died."⁹² Indeed, a little learning was considered dangerous for such semiliterate but emotionally immature groups as children and women.⁹³ Some school rules thus explicitly forbade the reading of *jin-shu* (licentious books) or *hsien-shu* (unserious books), and families were strongly advised not to keep these kinds of books.⁹⁴

While in the West, educators and church confessors believed that causes of the moral or sexual corruption of youth were innate and should be repressed by strict corporal discipline, the sources of temptation for the Chinese youth were believed to be mainly from the external world, including licentious literature.⁹⁵ The rejection of bad external influences was thus considered as essential for the first steps in self-cultivation. The purpose of discipline for the child was thus not so much the repression of undesirable instincts as preparation for self-cultivation.

One can in general divide discipline in Ming-Ch'ing elementary schools into three categories: physical, social, and intellectual. Physical discipline was mainly to train the child's sense of cleanliness and orderliness and to exercise his body. According to classical Confucian training, each pupil had to take a turn sweeping the floor, cleaning the desks and the chairs of the classroom, and putting everything in order. Each also had to see to it that his attire was clean and his hair properly done. Lu Shih-i tells us that by his time, that is the late seventeenth century, cleaning and sweeping of the home and of the classroom were almost exclusively done by servants. Very few stuck to the old training.⁹⁶ For many educators, however, the daily cleaning of the classroom was in fact an excellent physical exercise for the pupils.⁹⁷ Cleaning and sweeping were likely practiced symbolically as a kind of physical training. Social discipline was one of the most important aspects of elementary school education. The child was taught how to address his teacher and his classmates who were older or younger than he was as well as how and when to bow, walk, stand, sit, and take a meal properly. In other words, such discipline was to give him an elementary

idea of his social position and the basic and formal rules of daily social intercourse with his superiors and inferiors.⁹⁸

Intellectual discipline was not as harsh as one might think. There were certainly strict and horrifying elementary schoolteachers, but they were certainly not the commonly accepted type of the time, at least not by the more enlightened educators. These latter authorities never harshly punished a child at the tender age of six or seven. Harsher punishments including standing, kneeling, and beating could only be used on children above eight or nine when words seemed to have no effect. Beating, which was divided into light and heavier degrees, was rarely to be employed (once every two to six months) so that children remained sensitive to it. Punishments were balanced against the system of rewards: paper, brushes, paper fans, and so on were given to worthy pupils.⁹⁹ Punishment and rewards were only small parts of the methods used to discipline the child. For most educators, the essential thing was to keep the pupils intellectually occupied all the time: "to tighten their loosened hearts," "to tame and moderate their energy, and to prevent leisure [from getting into] their hearts."¹⁰⁰ This training was to be practiced incessantly day after day with infinite patience by a teacher who was to display a serious expression at all times. After all, it was emphasized, since the great majority of pupils in elementary school would not sit for the imperial examination, the goal of elementary education was not to turn pupils into scholars within a short time but to tame them gradually into obedient and disciplined social beings.¹⁰¹

On this last point, there was a new challenge during the late Ming and early Ch'ing periods. Wang Yang-ming (1472-1527) was one of the first to criticize this orthodox disciplining of young children: "The inclination of the child is to like amusement and to dislike discipline ... today's elementary educators ... emphasize the discipline [of the child] and neglect guidance through rites (*li*).... [The child] is whipped and tied and treated like a prisoner, so that he sees the school as a prison and refuses to enter, [and] he regards his teacher as an enemy and refuses to see him...." What Wang Yang-ming recommended was a curriculum of songs and poetry that would "free [the child's impulse] in jumping and yelling out" and of rites consisting of bowing and other body movements that would "shake up his blood and pulses [and]... strengthen his muscles and bones...."¹⁰² About a century later, Lu Shih-i echoed the same recommendations and advocated the study of music and rites to satisfy the child's natural penchant for songs and dances. He also drew the educators' attention to the ancient curriculum of the Six Arts (rites, music, archery, equitation, calligraphy, mathematics), which had by then been largely forgotten.¹⁰³

However, the challenge did not seem to have much influence on subsequent elementary education. This recommendation in some way represented a "going back" to the more naturalistic form of aristocratic education of ancient times, which was not in tune with the social needs of the Ming-Ch'ing period. In this period, elementary education had to perform two functions: to prepare

the qualified ones for more advanced studies leading to a career in officialdom and to train the ordinary ones into disciplined subjects respectful of the existing social hierarchy. For these purposes, the "orthodox way" of discipline was clearly considered to be more efficient. Moreover, this new challenge did not bring anything new to the concept of the child as the subject of education. In fact, it conformed to the one already common in Ming-Ch'ing times: the child was intrinsically good; education was not to suppress what was evil or immoral in him but to prepare him against immoral influences that existed in the outside world. Wang Yang-ming's and Lu Shih-i's preference for a more "liberating" form of education and the other educators' conception of a more "restraining" form did not conflict in their basic assumptions.

CONCLUSION

Having briefly looked at the changes that took place in elementary education during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we may now discuss in more detail the their significance. By looking at its content, one can divide the aims of elementary education into two main parts: transmission of knowledge and moralization. The state, the local community, and the family had different motivations behind achieving the two aims, which explains the evolution of their roles in this matter.

Theoretically speaking, both the state and the family had a strong interest in the schools as the main instrument in the transmission of knowledge. For the state, the elementary schools were essential in the basic training of future officials. For the family, schools were important in its struggle for upward mobility or for the maintenance of an already prominent social position. However, there was an important institutional link missing between the state elementary schools, the *she-hsueh*, and the imperial examination that carried out the selection of "talents" for the state. The common division of elementary schools, both public or private, into introductory and Classics sections and the constant remark by educators that most primary pupils would not pursue a career in officialdom show us that most of the elementary schools were not simple preparatory schools for the higher academies (thus, the curriculum was not to be overloaded with difficult Classics and too much prose writing). When Yeh Ch'un-chi suggested that only pupils of the *she-hsueh*, which emphasized teaching of the rites, could sit for the imperial examinations, he was trying to bridge this institutional gap between the two so as to improve the moral character of the candidates and revive the moribund *she-hsueh* system.¹⁰⁴ But this project was unrealizable and the state's interest remained all through the late imperial period more directly linked to the higher levels of education.¹⁰⁵

The family, on the other hand, was more aggressive in providing a high-quality elementary education to its young members, on whom was placed the hope of the family's future. It understood perfectly that the competi-

tiveness of the youth in the higher levels of education and in examinations greatly depended on his primary curriculum. As a result, the family or clan, by organizing clan schools, paying private tutors, or obliging learned older members as teachers, provided perhaps the most coveted primary education in this time. In fact, these elite families were conscious of the subtle link between the family and the state in elementary education. Lu Shih-i clearly stated: "The education of the family is also based on the education of the court. If the court teaches with morality [as paramount], then the family also teaches with morality [as paramount]. If the court teaches with material interests [in mind], then the family also teaches with material interests [in mind]."¹⁰⁶ This was an elegant way of acknowledging the concrete role of the family in the domain of primary education. The state was essentially a remote but ultimate model of behavior that did not have to play any concrete role. Since the clan and the family had strong interests in providing efficient elementary education for its members, the state did not have much to lose in downplaying its part in promoting primary schools as instruments of the transmission of knowledge.

Schools as machines for moralization were not unique to premodern China. In nineteenth-century France, elementary education "remained subordinate to the 'moralization' of the working people which was the fundamental aim. At no time during the nineteenth century ... did elementary education really bow to the demands of growth and the emergent industrial society...."¹⁰⁷ Neither were schools in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century China designed to satisfy practical socioeconomic needs. Values favorable for the maintaining of the status quo were of course taught in the Chinese schools of all times. But there seemed to be an even stronger emphasis on this during and after the late Ming, when the state *she-hsueh* system was inextricably linked to the village lecture system. This was also the moment when the local community began to play an important role in public schooling. Gradually, public elementary schools became part of the philanthropic movement led by local community leaders—a movement that had strong moralistic colors. The main cause for disorder in the changing society was believed to be moral degradation. Philanthropy and primary education were considered to be remedies to cure the increasing social malaise. In this sense, philanthropy and education as concepts were alienated from the idea of relief as a practical socioeconomic policy. The association of philanthropy and primary education was even reflected in the changes in textbooks in primary schools during and after the late Ming period, when morality books became more popular, and later when charitable schools became one of the main establishments to fight the "two big enemies of culture (*chiao-hua*): licentious books and operas."¹⁰⁸

In other words, the moral war against a "subversive" popular culture in which the charitable schools were believed to be an important instrument was largely left to be fought by community philanthropists who, later in the nineteenth century, organized regional "bureaus to burn and destroy licentious

writings" as part of their charitable movement.¹⁰⁹ The aim was obviously to re-establish a certain lost social order. The state, which was in no direct control of the popular philanthropic movement becoming widespread in the Lower Yangtze region after the late sixteenth century, was content to watch this sacred war with condescending approval.¹¹⁰ If the more difficult texts such as the *Hsiao-ching* and Chu Hsi's *Hsiao-hsueh* recommended by the state for primary schools were gradually substituted as textbooks by easier morality books, it was another indicator of the ever-increasing share of influence of the community, which was striving toward similar goals as the state in the matter of elementary education but with more practical considerations and probably greater efficiency. In fighting "immoral" elements of popular culture, elementary education itself became more vulgarized in its content, bringing itself closer to the culture it wanted to despise.¹¹¹

The persistent concern of the family and the increasing interest of the local community were the main trends in the development of elementary education in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century China. The state was never absent from the scene and even played an active though indirect role in reforming public elementary schools in the seventeenth century and in encouraging their establishment subsequently. But its share of real responsibilities was reduced compared with the expanding influence of local societal leaders. These trends were further accentuated in the nineteenth century when the Ch'ing state was gradually losing control of local society.

There were, however, no major conflicts of interest among the state, the community, and the family in the matter of elementary education. The corpus of texts used, the general form and teaching method, and the concept of the child as an intrinsically good and malleable being were largely culturally determined and varied little among the three groups. Elementary education, for the Chinese of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was above all a cultural matter and not a politico-economic one. The disciplining of the child at school was parallel to the purification of popular mores of the locality, just as the aim of charitable deeds was primarily to revive a moral social order.

The strength of the Ch'ing state during its heyday obviously had not led to any weakening of the community and the family. On the contrary, one sees the expansion of the sphere of influence of the community. Neither was the rather high literacy of the time, if we accept Evelyn Rawski's figures, related to any "new kind of relation between state and individual" as had happened in seventeenth-century England and eighteenth-century France.¹¹² It might even have had something to do with a new relationship the individual had with the community. The fact that the most ideal learning environment for children was considered to be inside the clan or family, and that community schools were in fact an imitation of clan schools, shows that learning was not as "decontextualized" (removing children from the family, placing them under special authorities) a process as in the West.¹¹³ That direct link between the state and

the individual was never quite established. The reason behind all this, I believe, lies in radical differences between the natures of the Ch'ing and modern Western states, and their relations with their respective societies, on which we know still too little to venture any valid generalizations. China had to wait until the twentieth century, when she began to imitate the Western state (a process that some would term "modernization"), to start working consciously at "mass literacy" through elementary schools with a westernized form and curriculum. Even then, the program was essentially based on the already existing school network created by traditional society. The share of the state remained relatively limited.¹¹⁴

APPENDIX: PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS ESTABLISHED 1644-1820 IN THE LOWER YANGTZE AREA

<i>Prefecture/country</i>	<i>no. of i-hsueh (she-hsueh) established by commoners</i>	<i>no. of i-hsueh (she-hsueh) established by officials</i>
Chiang-ning pref. 江寧	2	
Chu-jung 句容		1 (4)
Soochow pref. 蘇州		
Wu-hsien 吳縣	1	2
Wu-chiang 吳江	4	2
K'un-shan 崑山	2 (1)	
Ch'ang-chou 長州	1	
Sung-chiang pref. 松江		1
Ch'ing-p'u 青浦		1
Chin-shan 金山		1
Feng-hsien 奉賢	1	
Hua-t'ing 華亭		2
Shang-hai 上海	1	1
Nan-hui 南匯	3	1
Changchow pref. 常州		
Wu-chin 武進	10	
Chiang-yin 江陰	many (not specified)	
Wu-hsi 無錫		2
Chen-chiang pref. 鎮江		
Chin-t'an 金壇	1	
Tan-t'u 丹徒		1
Tan-yang 丹陽		1
Li-yang 溧陽	1	
Yangchow pref. 揚州	4 (5)	1 (3)
Tung-t'ai 東臺	1	

<i>Prefecture/country</i>	<i>no. of i-hsueh (she-hsueh) established by commoners</i>	<i>no. of i-hsueh (she-hsueh) established by officials</i>
T'ai-chou 泰州	1	
I-ch'en 儀真		1
Kao-yu 高郵	1	
T'ai-ts'ang pref. 太倉		1
Ch'ung-ming 崇明		4
Chia-ting 嘉定	1	
T'ung-chou pref. 通州		(1)
T'ai-hsing 泰興	1 (1)	1
Ju-kao 如皋	2	1
Hangchow pref. 杭州	2	1
Yu-hang 餘杭		(1)
Ch'ang-hua 昌化		1
Chia-hsing pref. 嘉興	4	2 (1)
P'ing-hu 平湖	1	
Hai-yen 海鹽		2
Shih-men 石門	1	
T'ung-hsiang 桐鄉		1
Chia-shan 嘉善		1
Shao-hsing pref. 紹興	1	
Sheng-hsien 嵊縣		1 (1)
Hsin-ch'ang 新昌		1
Chu-chi 諸暨	3	

Gazetteers consulted: *Chiang-ning fc*, 1880; *Liu-ho hc*, 1883; *Kao-ch'un hc*, 1881; *Su-chou fc*, 1883; *Wu-chiang hc*, 1847; *Wu-chiang hc*, 1747; *Ch'ing-p'u hc*, 1879; *Chin-shan hc*, 1878; *Feng-hsien hc*, 1878; *Sung-chiang fc*, 1817; *Hua-t'ing hc*, 1878; *Shang-hai hc*, 1872; *Nan-hui hc*, 1927; *Wu-chin Yang-hu hsien ho-chih* 1886; *Wu-chin Yang-hu hc*, 1906; *Chiang-yin hc*, 1878; *Wu-hsi Chin-k'uei hc*, 1881; *Chin-t'an hc*, 1921; *Tan-t'u hc*, 1879; *Tan-yang hc*, 1885; *Li-yang hc*, 1813; *Yang-chou fc*, 1733; *Yang-chou hc*, 1810; *Yang-chou fc*, 1834; *Tung-t'ai hc*, 1817; *Chiang-tu hc*, 1881; *T'ai-ts'ang cc*, 1919; *Ch'ung-ming hc*, 1930; *Chia-ting hc*, 1881; *T'ung-chou chih-li cc*, 1875; *T'ai-hsing hc*, 1885; *Ju-kao hc*, 1808; *Hang-chou fc*, 1922; *Yu-hang hc*, 1899; *Chia-hsing fc*, 1879; *P'ing-hu hc*, 1886; *T'ung-hsiang hc*, 1887; *Shao-hsing fc*, 1792; *Shao-hsing fc*, 1922.

NOTES

Abbreviations

- cc *chou-chih* (prefecture gazetteer)
 cs *chin-shih*
 fc *fu-chih* (prefecture gazetteer)
 hc *hsien-chih* (county gazetteer)

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1. Evelyn S. Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy in China* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1979).

2. Alexander Woodside, "Some Mid-Qing Theorists of Popular Schools: Their Innovations, Inhibitions, and Attitudes toward the Poor," *Modern China* 9, no.1 (Jan. 1983): 3-35.

3. With the exception of the interesting work of Sally Borthwick, *Education and Social Change in China: The Beginnings of the Modern Era* (Hoover Institute Press, 1983), which largely deals with the late Ch'ing and the early Republican period. For comparison with modern France, see Francois Furet and Jacques Ozouf, *Reading and Writing: Literacy in France from Calvin to Jules Ferry* (French original, 1977; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

4. For a thorough discussion of the process of cultural reproduction via the civil service examination system in the Ming-Ch'ing period, see Benjamin A. Elman, "Political, Social, and Cultural Reproduction via Civil Service Examinations in Late Imperial China," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 50, no. 1 (Feb. 1991): 7-28.

5. *She* is an ancient administrative unit that includes 25 families. In the Ming context, the number of families was no longer strictly respected. *She-hsueh* can thus be loosely translated as "community school."

The question of rebuilding social order after Ming power was established is dealt with at length by Edward L. Farmer, "Social Order in Early Ming China: Some Norms Codified in the Hung-wu Period," in B.E. McKnight, ed., *Law and the State in Traditional East Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), 1-36.

6. *Ta Ming hui-tien* 大明會典 (Institutions of the Ming) (1587; Taipei: Hsing-wen-feng ch'u-pan kung-ssu, 1976), 78:23a.

7. *Ming shih-lu* 明實錄 (True Records of the Ming), first month of the eighth year of the Hung-wu reign, 96:4a.

8. For a description of the series of imperial orders on the matter, see Wang Lan-yin 王蘭蔭, "Ming tai chih she-hsueh 明代之社學" (*She-hsueh* of the Ming dynasty), *Shih-ta yueh-k'an* 21 (1936): 49-52.

9. Wang Lan-yin, 53.

10. "She-hsueh," in *Ta Kao* 大誥 (Imperial Announcements) 1385, no. 44: 23b-24a. The call for the halt was in fact announced two years earlier, in 1383; see Wang Lan-yin, 50.

11. *Kao-yu cc*, 1572, 4:16b-17b.

12. Ch'en Lung-cheng, *Chi-t'ing wai shu* 幾亭外書 (Supplementary works of Ch'en Lung-cheng) in *Chi-t'ing ch'üan-shu* 幾亭全書 (Complete works of Ch'en Lung-cheng) (preface dated 1631; publisher unknown), Ch'ung-cheng ed., 3:18a; *Chiang-ning fc*, 1880 (1811), 16:15b. We are told by this gazetteer that there used to be sixteen schools in the area (including the countryside) during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

13. *Chin-t'an hc*, 1921, 6:9b.

14. "Pao-yueh-ts'ang-shu" 保約倉塾 (On *pao-chia*, *hsiang-yueh*, granary, school), in *Huang Ming ching-shih shih-yung pien* 皇明經世實用編 (Works on practical matters of statecraft of the Ming) (Wan-li ed.; Taipei: Ch'eng-wen shu-ch'ü, 1967), 26.
15. Yeh Ch'un-chi 葉春及, *Hui-an cheng-shu* 惠安政書 (Administrative book on Hui-an), preface dated 1573 (Foochow: Fu-chien jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1987).
16. *Sung-chiang fc* 松江府志, 1815, 32:17a; *Ch'ing-p'u hc*, 1879, 9:29a.
17. *Su-chou fc* 蘇州府志, 1883, 26:25b-26a, on the 1447 and 1466 community schools in Wu-hsien; *Li-yang hc* 溧陽縣志, 1813, 7:7b, on the school established in the late fifteenth century; *Chiang-yin hc* 江陰縣志, T'ien-i-ke ed. (late Ming), 7:5a, on the school restored in 1497. For the 1465 edict, see Wang Lan-yin, 52.
18. *Su-chou fc*, 1883, 26:46b-47a, 27:36a; *Ju-kao hc*, 1808, 9:63b.
19. Lü proposed that each county select some twenty honest persons above forty years of age to be taught Chu Hsi's *Hsiao-hsueh*, the *Filial Piety Classic* (*Hsiao-ching*), and simple linguistics. They were to take an examination at the end of their one-year course and those who were good were to be assigned to local community schools. Lü also proposed that all children attend a minimum of three months of school every year after the harvest of the tenth month, and for three years. Those who were good would continue their study; those who were not good would then be allowed to leave school definitively. Lü K'un, "Fu-hsing she-hsueh" 復興社學 (To restore the community schools), in *Shih cheng lu* 實政錄 (On practical policies), *Lü-tzu ch'üan shu* 呂子全書 (Complete works of Lü K'un), Yunnan Library ed., early twentieth century, 3:7b-8a.
20. Yeh Ch'un-chi, *Hui-an cheng-shu*, 361.
21. Evelyn Rawski thinks they are the same; cf. Rawski 35, 35 n. 56. Benjamin Elman seems to put the *i-hsueh* on the same status of the academies; see Benjamin A. Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), 119-120. But I think here he overestimates government control in this area, as well as the intellectual significance of these charitable schools in Ch'ing times.
- Some contemporaries also thought that the *i-hsueh* and the *she-hsueh* were the same; see *I-hsing Ching-hsi hc* 宜興荆溪縣志, 1882, 4:15a. For detailed descriptions of the organizers, financing, and rules of various Ch'ing *i-hsueh*, cf. Ogawa Yoshiko 小川嘉子 "Shindai ni okeru gigaku setsuritsu no kiban" 清代に於ける義學設立の基盤 (Social basis of *i-hsueh* founding in the Ch'ing period), in Hayashi Tomoharu 林友春, ed., *Kinsei Chügoku kyōiku shi kenkyū* 近世中國教育史研究 (Studies in the history of education in modern China) (Tokyo: Kokudoshu, 1958), 273-308.
22. Translated by Djang Chu, *A Complete Book Concerning Happiness and Benevolence* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1984), 536-37.
23. *Huang-ch'ao cheng-tien lei-tsu'an* 皇朝政典類纂 (Compilation of imperial institutions) (1903; Taipei: Ch'eng-wen shu-ch'ü, 1969), 231:1a. The compilation was a more complete version of the record in (*Ch'in-ting*) *hsüeh-cheng ch'üan-shu* 欽定學政全書 (Imperial complete book on educational policies) (1774; Taipei: Wen-hai ch'u-pan-she, 1967), 73:1a-b.
24. *Sung-chiang fc* 松江府志, 1817, 30:35a; *Hua-t'ing hc* 華亭縣志, 1878, 5:23a; *Su-chou fc*, 1883, 27:16a, 17b, 26:46b; *Tan-yang hc* 丹陽縣志, 1885, 10:10b; *T'ai-hsing cc* 泰興州志, 1885, 3:21b; *Yang-chou fc* 揚州府志, 1733; *Chiang-tu hc* 江都縣志, 1881 (1743); *Kao-ch'un hc* 高淳縣志, 1881, 5:32a; *P'ing-hu hc* 平湖縣志, 1886, 3:22a; *T'ai-ts'ang cc* 太倉

- 州志, 1919, 9:7a; *Shao-hsing fc* 紹興府志, 1912, 20:29a; *Yü-hang hc* 餘杭縣志, 1808, 5:32b; *Yang-chou fc* 揚州府志, 1784 (1778), 16:26b.
25. See appendix; if we include *she-hsueh* built during the first years of Manchu rule mostly by officials, we have the following figures: of the 103 schools, 57 were set up by commoners and 46 by officials (55.3 percent against 44.7 percent).
- As for schools incorporated into bigger charitable institutions, we do not have all the data here but a few examples will suffice to show their importance. The famous T'ung-shan T'ang 同善堂 set up in 1745 in Shanghai had a charitable school section; *Shang-hai hc* 上海縣志, 1872, 2:22a-b. The county of Wu-chin also had a similar institution established in 1801; *Wu-chin Yang-hu ho chih* 武進陽湖合志, 1842, 5:33a-34a. The same is true for the county of Hsing-hua, where the general charitable institution established in 1714 had a charitable school; *Hsing-hua hc* 興化縣志, 1852, 1:3a-b). In Chiang-tu too, such an institution was created in 1797; (*Shang Chiang liang hc* 上江兩縣志, 1874, 11:17a-b. We are sure that many more such schools existed in the eighteenth-century Lower Yangtze region.
- For the role of local leaders, see A.K.C. Leung, "Ming mo Ch'ing ch'u min-chien tz'u-shan huo-tung ti hsing-ch'i" 明末清初民間慈善活動的興起 (Rise of private charitable institutions during the end of the Ming and the beginning of the Ch'ing periods), *Shih-huo Monthly* 15, no. 6/7 (1986): 52-79. Also A.K.C. Leung, "Organized Medicine in Ming-Qing China: State and Private Medical Institutions in the Lower Yangtze Region," *Late Imperial China* 8, no. 1 (1987): 134-66.
26. Wang Lan-yin, "Ming tai chih she-hsueh," in *Shih-ta yueh-k'an*, pt. 2, 25: 63-75.
27. (*Ch'in-ting*) *Hsueh-cheng ch'üan-shu*, 73:3a-b. The imperial edict was again based on the 1652 edict of Shun-chih in which *she-hsueh* were to be set up in the cities and were to train gifted youth. According to the *Chen-tse hc* 震澤縣志, 1746, 7:16b, there was practically no response to this edict. The same text also reported that the few *she-hsueh* left over from the Ming were almost not functioning and the edict to end these schools in 1686 by the K'ang-hsi emperor was taken well.
28. *Chiang-yin hc* 江陰縣志, 1878, 5:29b.
29. *Hsueh shih lu* 學仕錄 (Record of bureaucrats) (1867; publisher unknown) 16:34a; *Te-i lu* 得一錄 (Record of charitable deeds) (Soochow: Te-Chien Chai ed., 1869), 10, no. 3:2b.
30. In the 1820s, some three thousand charitable schools on the model of Tai San-hsi were reported to have been newly established nationwide; see *Hsueh shih lu*, 16:34a. Around mid-century, an idea of a "more flexible" version of charitable schools emerged in which teachers were to travel from village to village to hold temporary classes to teach pupils some one to two hundred characters and a vocabulary permitting them to read simple texts with moral teachings; cf. *Te-i lu*, 10, no. 5: 3b-6b.
31. See A.K.C. Leung, "Ch'ing tai tz'u-shan chi-kou yu kuan-liao ts'eng di kuan-hsi" 清代慈善機構與官僚層的關係 (Charitable institutions and the bureaucracy under the Ch'ing), *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica* 66 (Aug. 1989): 85-103.
32. Alexander Woodside argues that Chinese education theory, as a kind of ritualized discourse, was shaped and paralyzed by formidable historical precedents, which explains its inability to be readily adapted to vocational training for poor relief, which was more urgently needed by late nineteenth-century Chinese society; Woodside, "Mid-Qing Theorists," 27, 29.

Another possible explanation is that traditional vocational training was so deeply involved with the structure of apprenticeship in various professions that it was technically difficult to extricate it from the old structure and put it into a new one that was not yet well defined. Mathematics, for instance, which is an important subject in modern education for training in abstract reasoning, was taught only to children considered to be less "intelligent" or less qualified for higher education so that they could start early to learn a trade. The teaching of practical mathematics to would-be merchants was described in Terada Takanobu 寺田隆信, *Sansei shōnin no kenkyū* 山西商人の研究 (Study on Shan-hsi merchants) (Kyoto: Society of Oriental Research, 1972), 321–24. Mathematics courses described in the *Huang Ming ching-shih shih-yung pien* were also just commercial mathematics; see "Chen," ch. 26, 7.

33. Rawski, 24–28; Borthwick, 17–18.

34. This is often stated in rules of clan schools, e.g., *Shan-yin An-ch'ang Hsu shih tsung-p'u* 山陰安昌徐氏宗譜 (Genealogy of the Hsu clan of An-ch'ang) (Shao-hsing, Chekiang), (1884); *Yao-shih chia ch'eng* 姚氏家乘 (Genealogy of the Yao clan) (Chia-hsing, Chekiang), 1908. These made it clear that cousins of different surnames could only be accepted exceptionally. When not stated, the exclusivity can likely be taken for granted.

35. Schools of the Yao and Sun clans (the latter established in the earlier eighteenth century) had two classes; see *Yao-shih chia-ch'eng*; *Yang ch'uan Sun-shih tsung-p'u* 陽川孫氏宗譜 (Genealogy of the Sun clan of Yang-ch'uan) (Shao-hsing, Chekiang, 1830), 28:3b. Soochow's Lu clan provided everything except bedding for the pupils, as did the T'u clan school for orphans; see *Lu-shih Feng-men chih-p'u* 陸氏封門支譜 (Genealogy of the Feng-men branch of the Lu clan) (from Wu-hsien, Kiangsu) (1888), 13:61a; *T'u shih P'i-ling chih-p'u* 屠氏毗陵支譜 (Genealogy of the P'i-ling branch of the T'u clan) (Wu-chin, Kiangsu, 1856), cited in Akigoro Taga 多賀秋五郎, *Chūgoku sōfu no kenkyū* 中國宗譜の研究 (Survey of Chinese genealogies) (Tokyo: Nihon gakujutsu shinkō kai, 1981), 572–73. The Lu and Yao clan schools were boarding schools; the Yao clan school allowed children to go home once a month, while pupils of the Lu clan school simply could not go out "if there is nothing special." The wealthy Yao clan provided pupils with monthly stipends of 160 to 300 cash (800 cash \approx 1 tael of silver in eighteenth-century Kiangnan), depending on their levels; those who were particularly poor were given extra maintenance grants.

36. *Hung-lou meng*, 紅樓夢 ch. 10.

37. The Lu and Wang clan schools had regular control systems (respectively once a fortnight and during the first five days of the month), whereas the T'u school had irregular controls. The former two schools graded the pupils' performance into three grades. Stationery and money were given as rewards by the Lu and T'u clan schools respectively for good pupils, whereas punishment was not defined among any of the three schools. Only the T'u clan school suggested that poor pupils "feel ashamed and thus make more effort." The diary system was elaborated especially by the Wang clan school; see "Chia-shu," in *Ling-hu Wang-shih chih-p'u* 菱湖王氏支譜 (Genealogy of the Ling-hu branch of the Wang clan) (Wu-hsing, Chekiang), 3a–4b; *Lu-shih Feng-men chih-p'u*, 13:60b–61a; *T'u-shih chih-p'u*, cited in Taga Akigoro, *Chūgoku sōfu no kenkyū*, 573.

38. *Yang-ch'uan Sun-shih tsung-p'u*, 28:7a. Similar statements can also be found in genealogies of the Lu, Wang, and Yao clan rules for the schools.

39. This is usually the first article in clan school rules: in *Lu-shih feng-men chih-p'u*, it is stated that every morning before classes began, the pupils, led by the eldest, had to bow before the tablets of Confucius and prominent ancestors of the clan, and the teacher had to lead the pupils to kneel before them on the first and the fifteenth of every month; 13:60b. Similar rituals were required by the Wang clan of Ling-hu; "Jia-shu" (clan school), in *Ling-hu Wang-shih chih-p'u*, 2a.

40. The absence of the bowing and kneeling before the ancestors' tablets in the rules of the orphan school of the T'u clan is revealing: in effect, it is indicated in the rules that most of these fatherless children would probably leave school and learn a craft at twelve or thirteen. They were not expected to become high bureaucrats and glorify the clan. For the Wang clan school of Ling-hu, where this ceremony was performed, although there were also children who would leave school early to learn a craft for a living, it is obvious that the school's emphasis was still on those who would pass the civil examinations as traveling subsidies for candidates were set at the end of the rules and those who succeeded also received various allowances; see "Jia-shu," in *Ling-hu Wang-shih chih-p'u*, 2b, 5b. The school of the Hsu clan of An-ch'ang (established in 1819) was apparently for the poorer members of the clan, but there was no school rule; see "Wen-hai chia-shu chi," in *Shan-yin An-ch'ang Hsu-shih tsung-p'u* (Shao-hsing, Chekiang), 1a–b.

41. The fate of the clan school is naturally linked to that of the charitable estate, a fact convincingly demonstrated by Denis Twitchett, "The Fan Clan's Charitable Estate, 1050–1760," in *Confucianism in Action*, ed. D.S. Nivison and A.F. Wright, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959) 96–133.

42. *Yang-ch'uan Sun-shih tsung-p'u* 28:7a.

43. *Yang-ch'uan Sun-shih tsung-p'u*, ch'uan 28.

44. The "Ch'ing-shan" charitable school in one village in the county of Wu-chin; *Wu-chin Yang-hu ho-chih*, 1842, 12:50a–b. Also the charitable school in Kao-ch'un, established in 1682; *Kao-ch'un hc*, 1881, 5:32a–b.

45. The charitable school in Tung-t'ai, established in 1808, *Tung-t'ai hc*, 1817, 12:19b.

46. The charitable school in Ju-kao was reconstructed in 1774 under the order of the magistrate and with 660 taels of donation from the local notables; its reorganization was also financed and realized by the local leaders in 1805; two other schools in the same county were similarly created in 1747 and 1816. It is interesting to note that in the latter case, one of the financers of the school regretted that since 1775 the county had produced no *chin-shih* and one of the school's aims was to train would-be bureaucrats. In this sense, it was very similar to the clan schools; *Ju-kao hc*, 1875, 9:64a–68b. In the highly commercialized Soochow county, charitable schools were often financed by rent from donated land as in the case of the two schools in Chen-tze, which were established in 1735 (*Chen-tze hc*, 1893, 7:15b). "Charitable persons" sometimes donated the salaries of a certain teacher, as in the case of the school in Nan-hui, where someone paid the teacher's fees for two years from 1767–1768; *Nan-hui hc*, 1927, 7:33a.

47. As in the case of the above-mentioned Nan-hui school, which ended when the private donation to pay the teacher was ended; *Nan-hui hc*, 1927, 7:33a. Also, as in the case of the Hua-t'ing school, which was established in 1682 by the prefect and was financed and maintained by the magistrates in 1699 and 1737. It collapsed after the lat-

ter date and was briefly restored only in 1795, again with the support of local officials; *Hua-t'ing hc*, 1878, 5:23a.

48. *Ch'en Ch'ueh chi* 陳確集 (Works of Ch'en Ch'ueh) (Peking: Chung-hua shu-ch'ü 1979), 514. One can find many examples of children taught by elder family members in the biographies of famous scholars of the Ming and Ch'ing periods. One other example was Liu Tsung-chou 劉宗周 (1578–1645), the prominent Chekiang thinker, who was educated by his maternal grandfather; see Huang Tsung-hsi 黃宗羲, *Tzu Liu-tzu hsing-chuang* 子劉子行狀 (Life of Master Liu) in *Huang Tsung-hsi ch'üan-chi* 黃宗羲全集 (Complete writings of Huang Tsung-hsi) (Chekiang: Ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1985), 1: 208.

49. Mireille Laget, "Petites écoles en Languedoc au XVIII^e siècle," *Annales. Economies. Société. Civilisations*. (Nov.–Dec. 1971), 1398.

50. The main sources used in the following discussion are: Ch'en Fang-sheng 陳芳生, (an experienced early Ch'ing primary teacher of the Ch'ien-t'ang region), "Hsun-meng t'iao-li" 訓蒙條例 (Regulations on primary education); see *T'an-chi ts'ung-shu* 檀几叢書 (Collection of the Sandalwood table) (1695), 2d ser., Hsin-an ed., 13:1a–5b; Liu Tsung-chou 劉宗周 (1578–1645, native of Shan-yin, Chekiang), "Hsiao-hsueh yueh" 小學約 (Primary school rules), in *Liu-tzu ch'üan-shu* 劉子全書 (Complete works of Liu Tsung-chou) (1822), I-Shan T'ang ed., 25:9b–13b; Lü K'un, "Fu-hsing she-hsueh"; Chang Lü-hsiang 張履祥 (1611–74, native of T'ung-hsiang, Chekiang), "Hsueh-kuei" 學規 (School rules), in Ch'en Hung-mou 陳宏謀, (Yang-cheng i-kuei 養正遺規), (Rules on elementary education 1739) in *Wu-chung i-kuei* 五種遺規, Ssu-pu pei-yao ed. (Taipei: Chung-hua shu-ch'ü, 1981) pu-pien:33b–43b; Ts'ui Hsueh-ku 崔學古 (an early Ch'ing educator from Ch'ang-shu, Kiangsu), "Yu hsun" 幼訓 (Regulations for the young), in *T'an-chi ts'ung-shu*, 2d ser., 8:1a–13b; Lu Shih-i 陸世儀 (1611–1672, native of T'ai Ts'ang, Kiangsu), "Hsiao-hsueh lei" 小學類 (On primary education), in his *Ssu-pien lu chi-yao* (Excerpts of "Reflections") 思辨錄輯要, (Chiang-su shu-ch'ü, 1877), 1:1a–6b; Wang Yün 王筠 (1784–1854, native of Shantung), "Chiao t'ung-tzu fa" 教童子法. (Method of teaching young children), in *Yün-tzu-tzai k'an ts'ung-shu* 雲自在齋叢書 (Collection of the Yun-tsi-tzai box) (Chiang-yin: Miao ed., Kuang-hsu period [1875–1908]), vol. 2, no. 12:1a–12a; T'ang Piao 唐彪 (eighteenth century, native of Lan-hsi Chekiang), "Fu shih shan yu fa" 父師善誘法 (Good method for the father and for the teacher), in Ch'en Hung-mou, "Yung-cheng Kuei", Li Chao-lo 李兆洛 (1769–1841, native of Wu-chin, Kiangsu), "Hsiang-shu tu-shu fa" 鄉塾讀書法 (Method for the village school), in his *Yang-i chai wen-chi* 養一齋文集 (Collected essays of the Yang-i study) (Li ed., 1878). These major sources will be supplemented with other writings of the time.

51. I am referring to the Yung Shi-ch'iu (Weng Shih-ch'ao 翁仕朝) collection in the Shatin Central Library of Hong Kong. Yung was a village teacher-geomancer-epistolarian doctor of the Hoi-ha (Hai-hsia 海下) village in the late nineteenth century (now situated in the New Territories of Hong Kong), but he did not pass any imperial examination. In the five hundred or so titles of the collection, there are a large number of textbooks for children including various versions (some with illustrations and explanations in the vulgar language) of the *San-tzu ching*, 三字經 *Pai chia hsing* 百家姓, *Ch'ien tzu wen* 千字文, *Ch'ien-chia shih* 千家詩, *Hsiao-ching* 孝經, *Yu-hsueh ku-shih ch'üan-lin* 幼學故事瓊林, *Hsi hsien wen* 昔賢文, commentaries on the Four Books and Five Classics, some of the histories (*Tso chuan* 左傳), vocabulary of the Classics (*Wu ching chi*

tzu 五經集字, *Tza-tzu* 雜字 primers, *Sheng-lü ch'i-meng* 聲律啟蒙, *Jih-chi ku-shih* 日記故事, and some dozen manuals on prose writing, plus a number of popular novels. Except for some more modern (early twentieth century, late Ch'ing period) texts written in Cantonese, these give the impression that they very much reflect the curriculum described by Chang Chih-kung (see n.63) and Evelyn Rawski. A more detailed description of this collection is in Wang Erh-min and Alice N.H. Lun-Ng, "Ju-hsueh shih-su hua chi ch'i tuiyu min-chien feng-chiao chih chin-ju" 儒學世俗化及其對於民間風教之浸潤 (Secularization of Confucianism and its merger with popular culture — the example of Weng Shih-ch'ao at Hong Kong), *Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica*, 18 (Taipei, June 1989): 75–94. I would like to thank Dr. David Faure and Dr. Patrick Hase for having introduced me to this fascinating collection.

52. This is specified in Ch'en Fang-sheng, "Hsun-meng t'iao-li," 13:10b.

53. Five different sets of regulations on elementary schools were based on such a daily schedule: Liu Tsung-chou, "Hsiao-hsueh yueh," 25:9b–13b; Lü K'un, "Fu-hsing she-hsueh"; Chang Lü-hsiang, "Hsueh-kuei"; Ch'en Fang-sheng, "Hsun-meng t'iao-li"; Huang Liu-hung, *Fu-hui ch'üan-shu* (Complete book concerning happiness and benevolence) (preface dated 1694); Yamane Yukio ed., based on Obato Yukihiko ed. of 1850; Tokyo: Kyūko shōjū, 1973) 25:14a–15b.

54. The eight to fifteen age range was the most often mentioned in various primary rules. It was specified in the standard "schedule and curriculum" written by Ch'eng Tuan-li of the Yuan, which was much respected by later educators; see Ch'en Hung-mou, "Yang-cheng i-kuei" 6b–7a. However, some, like T'ang Piao recommended that children start to learn to recognize characters at three or four and attend school at about six once they knew about one to two thousand characters; T'ang Piao, "Fu shih shan-yu fa," 41b. This was also the opinion of Lu Shih-i, "Hsiao-hsueh lei," 1a. There seemed to be less disagreement on the maximum age of fifteen, when one usually had to decide the orientation of one's career: one either continued study in the "big school" (*ta-hsueh*) or learned a trade. In either case, one had to quit the primary school.

55. Liu Tsung-chou, "Hsiao-hsueh yueh," 10b.

56. Rawski, 26–27, 42–43. The experienced teacher Ch'en Fang-sheng reminded parents that elementary teachers had to be reasonably paid so that they "would not have any material worries, and the pupils could benefit [from it and] concentrate on their studies"; "Hsun-meng t'iao-li," 4b–5a.

57. T'ang Piao, "Fu shih shan-yu fa," 40b. Li Chao-lo, in "Hsiao-hsueh," 23a, stated: "People do not pay attention to the employment of an elementary teacher. They only require someone who is a bit literate and do not care about his character." Liu Tsung-chou also warned against the employment of elementary teachers who would stay only for a short year just to get paid; Liu Tsung-chou, "Hsiao-hsueh yueh," 12b–13a.

58. "Inside the classroom, the teacher should discipline [the children], outside the classroom, the father and senior members of the family should discipline them"; Ts'ui Hsueh-ku, "Yu-hsun" 3a.

59. *Cheng Pan-ch'iao chi* 鄭板橋集 (Works of Cheng Pan-ch'iao) (Taipei: Hung-yeh shu-ch'ü, 1982), 209. The original Chinese poem reads:

教館本來是下流，
傍人門戶渡春秋。

半飢半飽清閑客，
無鎖無枷自在囚。
課少父兄嫌懶惰，
功多子弟結冤仇。
而今幸得青雲步，
遮卻當年一半羞。

60. Yang-ch'uan Sun-shih *tsung p'u*, 28:10a-11a.

61. See Ch'en Fang-sheng, "Hsün-meng t'ia" 1a.

62. Cf. also Rawski, 15-17, 192.

63. The most detailed descriptions of the origins and the evolutions of the various primers are in Chang Chih-kung 張志公, *Ch'uan-t'ung yü-wen chiao-yü ch'u-t'an* 傳統語文教育初探 (Preliminary survey on the traditional linguistic education) (Shanghai: Shang-hai chiao-yü ch'u-pan-she, 1964), 4-31. See also James T.C. Liu, "Pi 'San-tzu ching' keng tsao di Nan Sung ch'i-meng shu" 比「三字經」更早的南宋啟蒙書 (More ancient Southern Sung primer than the Trimetrical Classic), in *Liang Sung shih yen-chiu hui-pien* 兩宋史研究彙編 (Collected essays on the history of the Northern and Southern Sung) (Taipei: Lien-ching ch'u-pan-she, 1987), 303-6.

64. Ts'ui Hsueh-ku, "Yu hsun," 5b-6a; Wang Yun, "Chiao t'ung-tzu fa," 3b-4a; T'ang Piao, "Fu shih shan yu fa," 41b. These recommended the use of wooden squares (each character on a square) in the teaching of characters to the young child prior to the reading of the three classical primers.

65. Liu Tsung-chou, "Hsiao-hsueh yueh," 11b.

66. On the age at which one should learn to write, Wang Yün recommended that it was not too late to start at eight or nine because at an earlier age the "child's hand is too small and his bones too feeble"; Wang Yun, "Chiao t'ung-tzu fa," 7b-8a. On the correct way to teach calligraphy to beginners, see Ts'ui Hsueh-ku, "Yu-hsun," 10b-11b; Liu Tsung-chou, "Hsiao-hsueh yueh," 11b. See also Chang Chih-kung, *Yü-wen chiao-yü*, 37-39, on the calligraphy models commonly used in elementary schools.

67. The work was said to be written by the late Ming grand academician Li T'ing-chi 李廷機 (ca 1583). But there is no direct proof of this. The latest edition of the book is by the Yueh-lu ch'u-pan-she of Changsha, 1988. The late Ming historian and scholar Hsieh Chao-che 謝肇淛 (1567-1624) told us that the historical knowledge he acquired in elementary school was from this kind of primer; cf. Hsieh Chao-che, *Wu tsu tzu* 五雜俎 (Five assorted offerings) (Taipei: Wei-wen shu-chü, 1966), 344-45.

68. Chang Chih-kung, *Yü-wen chiao-yü*, 72-73, 87-91, 92-97.

69. Although some educators were against teaching the Classics to children who did not intend to sit for the imperial examination. These texts, according to them, should only be taught at the higher level, the *ching-kuan* (Section of the Classics), of the primary school. See Ch'en Fang-sheng, "Hsun-meng t'iao-li," 5b-7a.

70. T'ang Piao, "Fu shih shan-yu fa," 41b, 43b; Wang Yun "Chiao t'ung-tzu fa," 6a-b; Liu Tsung-chou, "Hsiao-hsueh yueh," 10b-11a.

71. Ts'ui Hsueh-ku, "Yu-hsun," 7b; Lu Shih-i, "Hsiao-hsueh lei," 2a.

72. Ch'en Fang-sheng, "Hsün-meng t'iao-li," 2a-b. Similar methods and principles were employed or recommended by almost all the teachers and educators: Ts'ui Hsueh-ku, "Yu-hsun," 9b-10a; Liu Tsung-chou, "Hsiao-hsueh yueh," 10b; Wang Yun, "Chiao t'ung-tzu fa," 6a-b; T'ang Piao, "Fa shih shan-yu fa," 42a.

73. Ch'en Hung-mou, "T-hsueh hui-chi hsu" 義學彙集序 (Preface for the records concerning the charitable school), in *Hu-hai wen chuan* 湖海文傳 (Collected writings of the lakes and seas), Ching-hsun ed. (1866; reprint of 1837 ed.), 29:3b; T'ang Pin, "Fu-hsing she-hsueh i tuan meng yang kao yü" 復興社學以端蒙養告諭 (Order to restore the *she-hsueh* in order to upright primary education [Kiangsu]) in *T'ang-tzu i-shu* 湯子遺書 (Posthumous writings of T'ang Pin), in *San-hsien cheng-shu* 三賢政書 (Administrative writings of the three wise officials), preface dated 1879, 4:25b.

74. Li Lo, *Chien-wen tza-chi* 見聞雜記 (Miscellaneous records of what I have seen and heard), preface dated 1632 (Shanghai: Ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1986) 8:39a.

75. Lu Shih-i, "Hsiao-hsueh lei," 1b. For a detailed description of this text, cf. M.T. Kelleher, "Back to Basics: Chu Hsi's *Elementary Learning*," in W.T. de Bary and J.W. Chaffee, eds., *Neo-Confucian Education: The Formative Stage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 219-51. Kelleher also shows that this text was read more by adults and older students than by young children.

76. Li Chao-lo, "Hsiao-hsueh," 19:22b.

77. Ts'ui Hsueh-ku's "Yu-hsun," for instance, mentioned the Classics as texts used, but *Hsiao-hsueh* was not on the list. Ch'en Chueh also mentioned the Classics and the Four Books, as well as the Dynastic Histories, but there was no mention of Chu Hsi's work in his recommendation on primary education; see Ch'en Ch'üeh, *Ch'en Ch'üeh chi*.

78. The poem was written by a certain Kuo Ch'en-yao 郭臣堯, a friend of the Ch'ien-t'ang scholar Liang Shao-jen 梁紹壬 (1792-1837). The third and the fourth verses are the first lines of *Hundred Surnames* and *Thousand Characters*, the poem in Chinese is as follows:

一連烏鴉噪晚風，
諸徒齊退好喉嚨。
趙錢孫李周吳鄭，
天地玄黃宇宙洪，
《千字文》完翻《鑑略》，
《百家姓》畢理《神童》。
就中有個超羣者，
一日三行讀《大》《中》。

Liang Shao-jen, *Liang-pan ch'iu-yü an sui-pi* 兩般秋雨盦隨筆 (Miscellaneous writings in the study of autumn rain) (Shanghai: Ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1982), 214.

79. The most popular introduction to phonology was of course the *Sheng-lü ch'ü-meng* 聲律啟蒙, written by the late seventeenth-century scholar Ch'e Wan-yü 車萬育. Both Liu Tsung-chou and Lü K'un put these exercises in the second morning session; Huang Liu-hung recommended phonology training to be done during the evening session.

80. Ch'en Fang-sheng, "Hsün-meng t'iao-li," 1b-2a.

81. See Sakai Tadao, "Confucianism and Popular Educational Works," in *Self and Society in Ming Thought*, Wm. T. de Bary et al., (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), 331-64; de Bary, "Mindai no nichiyō ruisho to shomin kyōiku" (Ming family handbooks and popular education) 明代の日用類書と庶民教育, in *Kinsei chūgoku kyōikushi kenkyū*, 27-154.

82. Ch'en Ch'üeh, *Ch'en Ch'üeh chi*, 514.

83. Li Chao-lo, "Hsiao-hsueh," 22a.

84. Lu Lung-ch'i, "Shih tzu-ti t'ieh" 示子弟帖 (Letters to the young), in Ch'en Hung-mou, "Yang-cheng i-kuei," 36b.

85. Liu Tsung-chou, 11b.

86. It is included with Lü K'un's supplement, "Hsü hsiao-erh yü" 續小兒語, in Ch'en Hung-mou, ("Yang-cheng i-kuei," ch.2, 7b-17b). It is also recommended by Li Chao-lo as necessary reading for young children. Other primers of this kind commonly used are described in Chang Chih-kung, *Yü-wen chiao-yü*, 45-53.

87. Li Lo, *Chien-wen tzu-chi*.

Li Lo said precisely that Yuan Huang's commentaries on the Four Books were frequently used; on these works, see Sakai Tadao, *Chūgoku zensho no kenkyū* 中國善書の研究 (Studies on Chinese morality books) (Tokyo: Kobundo, 1960), 323-24, 330-32.

88. See Cynthia Brokaw, "Yuan Huang (1533-1606) and the Ledgers of Merit and Demerit," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 47 no. 1(1987): 137-195. Ts'ui Hsueh-ku, "Yu-hsun," 12b-13a.

89. Li Chao-lo, "Hsiao-hsueh," 22b.

90. Sung Chin 宋謙, "Ken-hsin t'ang hsueh-kuei" 根心堂學規 (Rules of the Ken-hsin school), in *T'an-chi ts'ung-shu*, supp. ch., pt.1, 5b-6b, which was divided into two main parts: merits in study and behavior and demerits in study and behavior.

91. Ch'en Wen-shu, "I-hsueh chang-ch'eng," 3a.

92. Wen Hsu 溫序, *Ping yü chang chi* 病餘掌記, cited in Wang Li-ch'i, 王利器, ed., *Yuan-Ming-Ch'ing san-tai chin wei hsiao-shuo hsi-chü shih-liao* 元明清三代禁燬小說戲曲史料 (Materials on the operas and novels forbidden and destroyed during the three dynasties of the Yuan, Ming, and Ch'ing) (Shanghai: Ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1981), 246; *Te-i lu*, 11 no.1:11a-b, 2b-3a.

93. The danger that popular literature posed for women who could read a little was described in many family rules and other writings in the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties; see Wang Li-ch'i, *Yuan-Ming-Ch'ing*, 173-80.

94. P'eng Yun-chang 彭蘊章, "Wen-hsin-t'ang shih sheng-t'ung t'iao-yueh" 問心堂示生童條約 (Rules for pupils of the Wen-hsin school), cited in Wang Li-ch'i, *Yuan-Ming-Ch'ing*, 292.

95. Jean-Louis Flandrin, *Le sexe et l'Occident* (Paris: Seuil, 1981), 296-99; Philippe Ariès, *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris: Seuil, 1973), 140-76.

96. Lu Shih-i "Hsiao-hsueh lei," 4a.

97. Li Chao-lo, "Hsiao-hsueh," 21b; Ch'en Fang-sheng, "Hsün-meng t'iao-li," 3b-4a.

98. For the details of this discipline, see Ts'ui Hsueh-ku, "Yu-hsun," 4a-5b; Liu Tsung-chou, "Hsiao-hsueh yueh," 10a-b, 12a-b; many of the recommendations were of course simplified or slightly modified versions of Chu Hsi's *Hsiao-hsueh*.

99. On physical punishment, Ts'ui Hsueh-ku gave the most detailed recommendations; cf. "Yu-hsun," 1b-2a, 3b.

100. Ts'ui Hsueh-ku, "Yu-hsun," 1b; Li Chao-lo, "Hsiang-shu tu-shu fa," 29b; T'ang Piao, "Fu shih shan-yu fa."

101. Ts'ui Hsueh-ku, "Yu-hsun," 2b-3b; Liu Tsung-chou, "Hsiao-hsueh yueh," 13a-b; T'ang Piao, "Fu shih shan-yu fa," 44a.

102. Wang Yang-ming, "Hsun-meng ta-i shih chiao tu Liu Po-sung teng" 訓蒙大意示教讀劉伯頌等 (Opinion on elementary education to instructor Liu Po-sung and others), in *Ch'uan hsi lu* 傳習錄, 67-68, in *Wang Yang-ming ch'uan-chi* 王陽明全集 (Taipei: Ta-shen shu-chü, 1983).

103. Lu Shih-i, "Hsiao-hsueh lei," 4b-5a.

104. Yeh Ch'un-chi, *Hui-an cheng-shu*, 361.

105. See Ho Ping-ti, *The Ladder of Success in Imperial China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), 177.

106. Lu Shih-i, "Hsiao-hsueh lei," 4a.

107. Furet and Ozouf, *Reading and Writing*, 123.

108. "Chiao-hua liang ta ti lun" 教化兩大敵論 (On the two big enemies of culture), in *Te-i lu*, 11, no. 2:12a-b.

109. "Shou wei yin-shu chü chang-ch'eng" 收燬淫書局章程 (Regulations of the bureau that collects and destroys licentious books), in *Te-i lu*, 11, no. 1:7a-13b; "I-hua t'ang chang-ch'eng" 翼化堂章程 (Regulations of the I-hua bureau), in *Te-i lu*, 11, no. 2: 1a-21b.

110. A.K.C. Leung, "Ming mo Ch'ing ch'u."

111. In this sense, China's elementary education achieved the opposite goal of that of contemporary Sweden, which reinforced the segregation of social classes and the two cultures: elitist and popular. See Bengt Sandin, "Education, Popular Culture, and the Surveillance of the Population in Stockholm between 1600 and the 1840s," *Continuity and Change* 3, no. 3 (1988): 357-90.

112. Rawski estimates that in the middle and late nineteenth century 30 to 45 percent of the men and 2 to 10 percent of the women in China knew how to read and write; Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy*, 140.

Regarding changes in England and France, see Furet and Ozouf, *Reading and Writing*, 314, their discussions being based on the famous theory of Jack Goody. For a more recent version of this theory, see Goody, *La logique de l'écriture: Aux origines des sociétés humaines* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1986), esp. 97-102.

113. The idea of a process of "decontextualization" in learning in literate societies is discussed in Jack Goody, *The Interface Between the Written and the Oral* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 184-85. Interestingly, despite this difference between China and the West, the process of "repetition, copying, verbatim memory" was the same for both civilizations.

114. Borthwick, *Education and Social Change*, 86. According to a 1906 proposal to push forward "modern education," the best way was to "reform the several million *ssu-shu* 私塾 (private schools) that exist"; see "Ssu-shu kai-liang hui chang-ch'eng" 私塾改良會章程 (Regulations of the Society for the reform of private schools) (Shanghai, 1906) in *Chung-kuo chin-tai chiao-yü-shih tzu-liao* 中國近代教育史資料 Materials on the modern history of Chinese education) (Peking: Jen-min chiao-yü ch'u-pan-she, 1961), 103, 105.

GLOSSARY

Chang Ch'ao-jui	張朝瑞	Ch'en Lung-cheng	陳龍正
Chang Hsueh-ch'eng	章學誠	Ch'en Wen-shu	陳文述
Ch'ang-chou	長洲	Ch'en Yü-wang	陳于王
Ch'ang-shu	常熟	cheng-k'ai	正楷
Ch'en Ch'üeh	陳確	Cheng Pan-ch'iao	鄭板橋
Ch'en Fang-sheng	陳芳生	Chia Pao-yü	賈寶玉
Ch'en Hung-mou	陳宏謀	Chia-shan	嘉善

<i>chiao-hua</i>	教化	Liu Tsung-chou	劉宗周
<i>Chien-lueh</i>	鑒略	Lu Lung-ch'i	陸隴其
<i>Ch'ien-t'ang</i>	錢塘	Lu Shih-i	陸世儀
<i>Ch'ien tzu wen</i>	千字文	Lü K'un	呂坤
<i>chin-shih</i>	進士	Lü Te-sheng	呂得勝
<i>Chin-t'an</i>	金壇	<i>meng-kuan</i>	蒙館
<i>ching-kuan</i>	經館	<i>Ming-wu meng-ch'iu</i>	名物蒙求
<i>Ch'ing-p'u</i>	青浦	<i>Pai chia hsing</i>	百家姓
<i>Chu Hsi</i>	朱熹	<i>pao chia</i>	保甲
<i>chü-jen</i>	舉人	P'ing-hu	平湖
<i>Chü-jung</i>	句容	<i>San-tzu ching</i>	三字經
<i>Fu-hui ch'üan-shu</i>	福惠全書	<i>shan shu</i>	善書
<i>Hangchow</i>	杭州	Shan-yin	山陰
<i>hao i shih min</i>	好義市民	Shang-yang	上洋
<i>hsiang-yüeh</i>	鄉約	Shao-hsing	紹興
<i>Hsiao-ching</i>	孝經	<i>she-hsueh</i>	社學
<i>Hsiao-erh yü</i>	小兒語	<i>Shen t'ung shih</i>	神童詩
<i>Hsiao-hsueh</i>	小學	Sheng-hsien	嵯縣
<i>hsien</i>	縣	Sung-chiang	松江
<i>hsien shu</i>	閒書	Ta-kao	大誥
<i>Hsing-hua</i>	興化	Tai San-hsi	戴三錫
<i>Hua-t'ing</i>	華亭	T'ai-hsing	泰興
<i>Huang Liu-hung</i>	黃六鴻	<i>T'ai-shang kan-ying-p'ien</i>	太上感應篇
<i>Hui-an</i>	惠安	T'ai-ts'ang	太倉
<i>i-hsueh</i>	義學	Tan-t'u	丹徒
<i>i-hsueh chang-ch'eng</i>	義學章程	Tan-yang	丹陽
<i>Jen p'u</i>	人譜	T'ang Pin	湯斌
<i>Ju-kao</i>	如皋	<i>Ti-chi lu</i>	迪吉錄
<i>Kan-ch'üan</i>	甘泉	<i>Tso chuan</i>	左傳
<i>Kan-t'ang</i>	甘棠	Ts'ui Hsueh-ku	董學古
<i>Kao-ch'un</i>	高淳	T'ung-hsiang	桐鄉
<i>Kao-yu</i>	高郵	Wang Yang-ming	王陽明
<i>K'un-shan</i>	崑山	Yeh Ch'un-chi	葉春及
<i>lei-shu</i>	類書	Yen Mao-yu	顏茂猷
<i>li</i>	禮	<i>yin shu</i>	淫書
<i>Li Chao-lo</i>	李兆洛	Yü-hang	餘杭
<i>Li Lo</i>	李樂	Yuan Huang	袁黃
<i>li-she</i>	里社		