Thesis

THE HAN-LIN ACADEMY

A BIOGRAPHICAL APPROACH TO CAREER PATTERNS IN THE EARLY CH'ING (1644-1795)

Submitted by
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Extract

The thesis which I am going to present consists of three Sections. Section A serves as an introduction to the other two Sections by providing an institutional account of the Han-lin Academy. Section B goes into detailed description of the career patterns of the Han-lin members, the main source of materials for this Section mainly derived from biographies. Section C is a statistical analysis on some of the extra-bureaucratic and bureaucratic factors on advancement. More detailed information on the thesis as a whole is given in the Preface below.

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PREFACE

Aims and summary of the Thesis

Although one of my aims is to understand the institutional history of the Han-lin Academy, the emphasis of my thesis lies in studying the career-patterns of its members and the factors affecting their advancement. My choice of the Han-lin Academy and its members for research is governed by two reasons. First the Han-lin Academy as an institution is hitherto rather obscure to history students and no modern sinologist has ever given it a systematic study. Second on account of the prestige and importance attached to its members, information on their careers and ancestry as contained both in official and private collections is more comprehensive than on any other group of officials. Thus, for the immense political and ideological influence that the Han-lin exerted [1] and for the practical reason of available source materials, I have decided my choice of study.

My thesis is divided into three sections together with a conclusion, a bibliography and a number of appendixes and tables. Section A which is subdivided into three chapters [2] gives a general picture of the institutional

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1. The word Han-lin is like the word chin-shih in the sense that both can be used to denote persons who possessed a particular qualification (i.e. as chin-shih can be meant the scholars who held the chin-shih degree, similarly Han-lin can also be meant the scholars who had been admitted to the Han-lin Academy). In the Chinese context chin-shih and Han-lin more often refer to the persons holding the qualifications than the qualifications themselves.
2. See the Contents of the thesis for exact headings of the Chapters.

history of the Han-lin Academy. Since I have dealt with some aspects of the institution in detail in my M.A. Thesis, [3] my main purpose here is to recapitulate the main points and add newly-discovered information so that the following sections can be more readily appreciated.

Section B is on the career patterns of the Han-lin. It contains two chapters. The first is meant to give the reader general ideas of the system of appointment, promotion, transfer, demotion and retirement of traditional China. The second chapter is a study of the career patterns of the Han-lin, giving biographical examples and statistical tables to support the points made.

Section C attempts to find out the extent of extra-bureaucratic and bureaucratic factors on advancement of the Han-lin. [4] There are two chapters in this Section. One deals with extra-bureaucratic factors, that is, the part played by provincial origin, family background and ethnic difference on advancement. The other is concerned with bureaucratic factors of seniority and ability in relation to advancement. There are some overlapping grounds in the two chapters, for both the extra-bureaucratic and bureaucratic factors influenced each other. We shall see more of the overlapping nature of the two kinds of factors, as we study them in Section C.

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3. The title of my M.A. thesis is The Training of Government Officials Under the Early Ch'ing, 1644-1795, submitted to the University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong in 1964.

4. For further explanation of the two terms, extra-bureaucratic and bureaucratic factors, see Marsh, The Mandarins, Chapters 6 and 7.

Reasons for choosing the 1644-1795 period

The period 1644-1795, that is, from the first emperor, Shun-chih, to the fourth emperor, Ch'ien-lung, marked the zenith of the Manchu rule. The Government was efficient and the Empire was, by and large, at peace. The Han-lin Academy was effectively run and so were a majority of the other institutions. It is for this reason that this time-period is chosen. However, since the thesis maintains a biographical approach, it is virtually impossible to limit it to certain definite dates. My line of demarcation is drawn on the year of admission to the Han-lin Academy. My sample [5] is chosen from the Han-lin members who entered the Academy between 1644-1795. Some, particularly those who graduated in the late Ch'ien-lung reign would still remain in government right into the 19th Century. In order to complete the picture, their biographies will also be given full coverage. Thus the time-period is only meant to show that the early half of the Ch'ing Dynasty is under discussion.

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5. See "Selection of the Sample" below.

Selection of the Sample

As there were more than two thousand six hundred Han-lin members who entered the Academy through examination, I have found it impracticable to deal with all of them for the complicated procedure of advancement, simply because available source materials have not allowed me to do so. Fortunately, I have been able to get full information on provincial origin, first appointments and the highest positions reached in their careers.[6] As to the other information, I have had to rely on my sample which is made up of 868 Han-lin members selected for their representative nature of different career patterns in different reign-periods. Out of this number, 400 were officials who were able to hold official positions of the third rank or higher, while the rest were unable to do so. Although less than half of my sample were Han-lin of the third rank or above, it is proportionately biased in their favour; for out of 2609 Han-lin appointed in this period, only 554 succeeded in reaching the third rank, that is about 21%. The over-representation of senior Han-lin in the sample is both tolerable and justificable in the sense that our main emphasis is on their official advancement. A study of political success surely requires as many high-ranking Han-lin in the sample as possible.

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6. Information obtained from Ch'ing-tai cheng-hsien lei-pien (hereafter cited as CTCHLP) and Tz'u-lin chi-lueh (hereafter cited as TLCL)

The shortcomings of our sample, however, lie in the fact that although we have been able to find out at least one fairly reliable biographical source for everyone of the 868 Han-lin officials, this is not sufficient to provide us with all the information we need. Our difficulty is mainly caused by the limitations of the Chinese biographical sources, which do not always give full information on family background, age and exact dates of appointment, promotion and retirement. All that we can do is to consult the available sources at hand. Generally, the biographical accounts in the official compilations enable us to know of the exact dates of appointment, promotion and retirement, but they do not contain information on family background and age. Besides, only senior Han-lin officials or officials who had materially contributed to the State were given official biographical treatment, while the career patterns of the majority of the Han-lin officials have to be looked for elsewhere. The private biographical collections such as the tomb inscriptions cover a number of Han-lin officials who were not necessarily high-ranking officials. They usually inform us of the family conditions and age of the persons conerned, but in contrast to the official accounts, seldom give details on their political careers. Moreover, there are irregularities of presentation

of materials among the private collections which offer additional difficutly to uniform statistical approach. In view of all these, blanks within the sample are inevitable. For example, we have been able to learn of the family conditions of everyone of the 868 Han-lin officials of the sample, but as far as the age of receiving the first degree is concerned, only 106 out of the 868 are known tous. Thus, if we dogmatically insist on selecting our sample on the basis of "full information", it can contain as small a number as 106 or less Han-lin members. This is certainly inadequate. Our remedy is to relax the requirements for inclusion into the sample and gather as much information as possible from the 868 Han-lin officials. Because of this reason, the size of our sample varies according to the topic under discussion and the existing information from our sample on that particular topic. But one thing is certain: in spite of the changing numerical data for the various subjects discussed, the sample itself always contains the same 868 Han-lin officials and this, we hope, will minimize the possible errors which might be the result of the limitations of source materials.

Acknowledgement

My first words of thanks are expressed to Professor W.G. Beasley, Head of the History Department, Professor D.C. Twitchett, Head of the Chinese Department, Dr. Harold Kahn, my supervisor and Mr. Curwen, my tutor, whose invaluable guidance and advice make this thesis possible. To Mr. Grimstead of the British Museum and Mr. J. Lust of the S.O.A.S. Library I am grateful for their part in helping me obtain source materials. My stay in London is supported by the British Commonwealth Scholarship. I take this opportunity of thanking the Association of British Commonwealth Universities and Scholarships for granting me the scholarship.

SECTION A

INSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF THE HAN-LIN ACADEMY

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Origin and Development of the Han-lin Academy

The origin of the Han-lin Academy can be traced as far back as the T'ang Dynasty (A.D. 618-907) when a special Government institution was established for officials to advance their studies.[1] The administrative work of the Academy was performed by an unfixed number of officials who held the Han-lin posts concurrently with other offices. These part-time staff members of the Han-lin Academy were not necessarily drawn from degree-holders and they were given much less responsibility than their successors in the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties (1638-1911). In fact Han-lin members of the T'ang and the Sung (960-1279)

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1. See H.S. Galt, History of the Chinese Educational Institutions, pp. 364-5; K.S. Latourette, The Chinese. Their History and Culture, pp. 187, 524-25.

Dynasties were like educational officials doing routine functions and earning little respect from other officials. They even did not take part in the compilation of official collections and the attendance at the Imperial Palace, two functions that were very much related to the Han-lin Academy in the Ming-Ch'ing times.

In the Sung Dynasty, positions at the Han-lin Academy were no longer concurrently held but became fixed official positions. Until the Ming Dynasty (1368-1643), the titles, number and ranks of the Han-lin members were however still not fixed and varied from time to time. During the Ming, the Academy assumed the responsibility of conducting almost all aspects of the country's literary functions, from correcting examination papers and compiling books to writing praises for the Emperor. Its members were exclusively recruited from the third-degree holders and given better advancement in the bureaucracy. They were now highly respected as top scholar-officials of the Empire. Presumably, the gain of prestige by

the Han-lin officials in this reign was due to the growing emphasis on scholarship and the Civil Service Examination by the Ming Government.

In the early Ch'ing period, the Academy functioned as it did in the Ming. For some time the Han-lin Academy was incorporated into the Nei-san yuan.[2] But except for some change in the titles of the staff members, the incorporation did little to alter the procedure and functions of the institution. From 1670 onwards, the Han-lin Academy became an independent institution which remained so until its abolition in 1906.[3]

Site and Buildings

The Han-lin Academy was situated immediately south-east of the Imperial Palace. On its east was the palace of Prince Su (Su Ch'in-wang), one

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2. The periods when the Academy were incorporated into the Nei-san yuan were 1644-1657 and 1662-1670. See Tz'u-lin tien-ku (Ch'ien-lung ed.), 2:3a (later cited as TLTK); Shang Yen-liu, Ch'ing-tai k'o-chu k'ao-shih shu-lu, p. 128 (later cited as Shu-lu). The Nei-san yuan was formally established in 1636 and consisted of the three main Government departments of the early Ch'ing: the Kuo-shih, Pi-shu and Hung-wen Courts. These Courts were later consolidated to form the Grand Secretariat. For futher information on the Nei-san yuan, see Hummel, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (hereafter cited as ECCP), vol 1, p. 3, p.308, p. 603 and vol. 2 p. 778.

3. TLTK (Ch'ien-lung ed.) 2:1a-3a.

of the Princes of the first degree in the ch'ien-lung reign [4] and on its immediate west was the Luan Chia K'u, the storehouse for the Imperial cortege. [5]

The site of the Academy was rectangular in shape. The main entrance to the Academy was on the north. Inside the compound there were three audience halls adjoining to one another. On the inside left and right were offices for the Expositors, Readers and Compilers. [6] Farther south were offices of secretaries and administrative staff.

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4. For a discussion of princes in the Ch'ing Dynasty see Brunnert, Present Day Government Organization, pp. 9-10. Also see Hsieh, The Government of China pp. 45-54. The "Ch'in-wang" means that he was a prince of the same ancestry as the Emperor or as Hsieh called him, a Prince of Blood.

5. See Map 1 and Plan 1 for the exact location of the Academy. Map 1 is derived from part of the map of Peking drawn by the Government in the Ch'ien-lung reign. The map is called Ch'ien-lung ching-ch'eng ch'uan-t'u. Ferguson in his "The Last of the Immortals" (T'ien Hsia Monthly, vol 5, no. 4 pp. 341-348 has added in the locations of the foreign legations of the 19th century. Notice that the Han-lin Academy adjoined to the British legation and part of it was later incorporated into the latter's compound. Plan 1 is a simplified copy of Juliet Bredon's map of Peking opposite to p. 178 of her book, Peking, a Historical and Intimate Description of Its Chief Places.

6. For the ranks and number of Expositors, Readers and Compilers, see "Staff members: ranks and number" below.

The underlings and servants had quarters of their own on the two sides near the main entrance. There were two libraries situated on the east and west sides of the southernmost audience hall. Numerous rooms, temples and pavillions were scattered inside the area among the more notable of them being the Liu Well and the K'o Pavillion, both once described in Chinese poetry.[7] There was the Wen Ying-Kuan on the far south-western corner where compiling and editorial work took place, and on the south-eastern corner stood the Pao-shan Pavillion where one copy of the Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'eng (The Encyclopaedia of the Past and Present) was stored.[8]

In discussing the Han-lin Academy, one cannot ignore the Nan-shu fang which was mainly

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7. Ferguson, J.C. "The Last of the Immortals", T'ien Hsia Monthly, vol. 5 no. 4, pp. 341-348.

8. TLTK (Ch'ien-lung), 6 B: 16a - 22b.

staffed by member of the Academy. The Nan-shu fang will be discussed later [9] but here we may note that unlike the Academy itself which was outside the palace precincts, the Nan-shu fang was situated at the Ch'ien-ching Men. the centre of the Imperial Palaces. This might possibly account for the close relationship between the Emperor and the Han-lin who were selected to serve in the Nan-shu fang. [10]

Staff members: ranks and number.

The number of members of the Academy, as we shall see, was not great, although most of the high-ranking officials who had left the Academy and were appointed elsewhere still held their former titles at the Academy. The list of officials at the Academy was as follows: [11]

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9. See Chapter three, pp. 48-51 on the Nan-shu fang. Also see ECCP, I, 64.

10. See Plan 2.

11. Brunnert, Present Day Political Organization of China, pp. 72-73.

Officials	Rank	Number
Chancellors (Chang-yuan hsueh-shih)	2B	2
Readers (Shih-tu hsueh-shih)	4B	6
Expositors (Shih-chiang hsueh-shih)	4B	6
Sub-Readers (Shih-tu)	5B	6
Sub-Expositors (Shih-chiang)	5B	6
First-Class Compilers (Hsiu-chuan)	6B	Not Fixed
Second-Class Compilers (Pien-hsiu)	7A	Not Fixed
Correctors (Chien-t'ao)	7B	Not Fixed
Probationers (Shu-chi-shih)	unranked	Not Fixed

Notice that the senior officials of the Academy totalled twenty-six at any one time.[12] As to the junior members, since their number was not fixed and varied from time to time, it is rather a complicated affair to calculate even their approximate figure. We have to take into account the number of probationers appointed after each Palace Examination and their length of service as Compilers or Correctors.[13] The total number of members of the Academy will be the addition of the number of junior Han-lin to that of the senior Han-lin.

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12. It may as well mention here that half of the senior officials listed were Manchus and the other half Chinese Han-lin, Ta-Ch'ing hui-tien (hereafter cited as TCHT), 84:1a.

13. See Table 1 for the number of graduates from each Palace Examination and consult Note 16 below for length of service as Compilers or Correctors.

The number of probationers appointed after each Palace Examination is known and given in Table 1. They would usually remain in the Academy as probationers until the next class of fresh probationers was selected. This would normally take three years.[14] Then they sat for a graduation examination, and those who did well in the examination would be appointed Compilers and Correctors, while the rest were given official appointments as secretaries in the Six Boards or magistrates in the provinces.[15] The number of Compilers and Correctors appointed after each graduation examination is also listed in Table 1. These Compilers and Correctors would serve in the Academy as such until they were promoted to other positions. In order to have an approximate idea of the length of their stay in these positions, we make use of 365 Compilers and Correctors from

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14. See "Period on probation" of Section B Chapter 5.

15. Ibid.

our sample and work out that the average tenure of their Compilership and Correctorship was 6.3 years.[16] Avoiding complications, we shall assume that each Compiler or Corrector would remain in his post for the two consecutive probationary periods after his own graduation examination. The basis of our calculation of the total number of Han-lin members say in 1655-1658 period, then, is the addition of the 26 senior Han-lin officials to the 33 new probationers of the 1655 Palace Examination, plus the number of Compilers and Correctors appointed in 1652 and 1655 which were 31 and 29 respectively. The grand total Han-lin membership in this period is calculated as 119. The calculation of other figures for other years is based on a similar line. Attention however should be drawn to the periods 1679-82, 1682-85, 1685-88, 1736-37, 1737-39, and 1739-42.

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16. See Table 7 for the tenures of first appointments of a greater number of Han-lin officials in our Sample which include those whose first appointments were Compilerships and Correctorships.

In view of the additional influx of scholars to the Academy from the Special Examinations (the Po-hsueh hung-ju of 1679 and the Po-hsueh hung-tz'u of 1737), additional figures have to be added to each period mentioned. [17]

From Table 2 we calculate that the average number of Han-lin members in any year in the Shun-chih reign was 106, K'ang-hsi, 130, Yung-cheng, 152 and Ch'ien-lung, 123. The average number of Han-lin members in any year for the whole 1644-1795 period is 126.

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17. The two Special Examinations were organized on a similar line. The difference between them is the time they took place and the number of successful candidates. For a general account of one of the examinations see Wihelm, Hellmut, "The Po-hsueh hung-ju Examination of 1679", Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 71, 60-76.

CHAPTER II

Education, Examinations and Admittance to the Han-lin Academy [1]

The Han-lin during their childhood and youth studied as other Chinese scholars did. If their families were well-off, they would be taught by private tutors [2] but most of the scholars studied in group in educational centres known as the chiao-kuan or tso-kuan set up by scholars of the localities for the education of the young. Some of these

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1. The main aim of this chapter is not to give a full description of the educational and examination system of the early Ch'ing because this has already been done in my M.A. thesis (see note 3 of the Preface) but to enable the reader to have some idea about the educational background of the Han-lin members and to learn the procedure whereby they were admitted into the Academy. Emphasis, however, will be made on their average ages in acquiring the degrees and the ratio of success in obtaining them, as these are thought to be relevant to our discussion on the factors of advancement in Section C.

2. To cite an example, the famous brothers who were both Han-lin members, Chu Yun (Hummel, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, hereafter cited as ECCP, 1, pp. 198-199) and Chu Kuei (ECCP, 1, 185-186) were both taught by private tutors. Their father was a magistrate and well-to-do enough to employ several scholars to educate his sons (Yao, Chu Yun nien-p'u. pp. 5-92).

schools were financed by clans or villages but usually the teachers charged a small fee from each boy.[3] The Government also set up i-hsüeh and she-hsüeh to educate the mass free of charge but these government schools were not as widespread as the village schools and therefore played a minor role in elementary education.[4]

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3. Ch'en, Chung-kuo chiao-yü shih, pp. 425-443. Han-lin who had studied in clan or village schools were numerous. Here, two examples are cited at random: T'ang Chien-chung, a chin-shih and Han-lin probationer of 1714, attended a clan school of this sort at the age of four, but did not receive the first degree until thirty sui or so (Kuo-ch'ao chi-hsien lei-cheng, hereafter cited as KCCHLC 124: 35a-37a). Li Yüan-chen, another Han-lin official appointed in 1661, came from a commoner family. He studied in one of these private teaching centres at the age of seven and received his first degree at 14 sui (Pei-chuan chi, hereafter cited as PCC, 18:38b-41a). The word sui is the Chinese reckoning of age which is usually one year more than that of the western calculation.

4. See Ta-Ch'ing hui-tien shih-li, 396: 1a-2b (hereafter cited as SL); Hsüeh-cheng chüan-shu, 64: 1a-8b (hereafter cited as HCCS).

The elementary education of China centred on the training of memory and obedience. Small boys between five and nine sui [5] were called to read repeatedly and then recite without mistakes classical works. They were not given any explanation of the books read. It was only after a few years of recitation that they were taught to appreciate what they had forcibly put into memory. In a more advanced type of schools known as the Ta-kuan where more qualified teachers were employed, scholars were for the first time taught the meaning of the sacred books together with the commentaries. Meanwhile, they started to learn to write the eight-legged essays [6] and other kinds of writings required

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5. T'ang Chien-chung (note 3 above) who entered school at four was then regarded as exceptional. A few more examples are given here: Shen Han-fen (1638-1682), a Han-lin member appointed in 1661, began school at nine (KCCHIC, 116:20a-22b); Ho Yu-liang (1659-1727), a Han-lin probationer in 1723, entered a clan school at five sui (KCCHIC, 125:31a-34a).

6. For the origin and construction of the eight-legged essays see Ch'en Te-yun, "Pak-ku wen-hsueh", Ling-nan hsueh-pao, chuan 6, no. 4, 17-49. The China Review for 1879-80 pp. 352-355 contains the full Chinese text of an eight-legged essay with translation and notes by Mr. F.S.A. Bourne. Also see Hsieh, The Government of China, 147-48.

in the Civil Service Examinations. After a few years of practice and study, scholars would sit for the Hsien Examination, the lowest rung of the series of Public Examinations.

At the Hsien Examination, held under the auspices of the local magistrate, candidates were asked to write themes on the Four Books and Poetry. The Examination was usually an easy one and most of the participants were permitted to sit for the Fu Examination, the next more senior public examination.[7]

The Fu Examination was directed once a year by the prefect. Scholars were once again asked to write themes similar to those of the Hsien Examination. Again the majority of the scholars would succeed in passing the Examination. They were allowed to take part in a further public examination, the Yuan Examination, leading to the conferment of the first degree.[8]

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7. Parker, "The Educational Curriculum of the Chinese", The China Review vol. ix, no.1, p.3.

8. Chang, Ch'ing-tai k'ao-shih chih-tu, 5-6.

The examiner of the Yüan Examination, called the Literary Chancellor (Hsüeh-cheng) was appointed mainly from among members of the Han-lin Academy in the Capital. From the biographies of our sample, we can see that a good proportion of the Han-lin had one or more times held this post. [9]

In the Yüan Examination scholars were required to write an eight-legged essay on a chosen passage from the Four Books and another either on a passage from the Canon of Filial Piety of Sung rationalism. [10] Calligraphy counted and the length of each essay was limited to three hundred words. By nightfall, candidates were expected to hand in their work and usually they could learn of the results next morning. A rather unimportant re-examination was held as a double safeguard against possible malpractices but this was not taken seriously

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9. See Chapter Three pp. 62-76. On the functions of the Literary Chancellors see HCCS, Chapters 15 and 17.

10. The Four Books were the Book of Great Learning, the Book of Analects, the Book of Mencius and the Book of Mean. Legge has a complete translation of the Four Books. The Canons of Filial Piety (Hsiao-ching), as the name implies, is a collection of exhortations, advising scholars to "think of their ancesters, reproducing their virtues" etc. For Sung rationalism and national ideas see Fung Yu-lan, A Short History of Chinese Philosophy, 407-571.

either by the examiners or the candidates concerned.[11]

The number of candidates sitting for the Yuan Examination varied from time to time and could not be accurately known.[12] But we are informed that one or two per cent of those who participated in the examinations would pass, and every examination year there were about 50,000 scholars receiving the first degree.[13] They were drawn from scholars of different provinces and age-groups. Some received the first degree in their sixties or seventies, while others became first degree holders when they were no more than children of nine or ten.[14] According to the sample of Chang Chung-li, the average age of becoming first degree holders for a few dozen of 19th century scholars was 24.[15]

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11. Chang, Ch'ing-tai K'ao-shih shih-tu, I, 7.
12. Chang, The Chinese Gentry, p. 90.
13. Ibid. p. 11; Hsieh, The Government of China, p. 148.
14. Chang, The Chinese Gentry, 94-95.
15. Ibid.

From the 106 Han-lin of our sample, we calculate that their average age at obtaining the first degree was only 17.[16] Being able in their later years to pass the more senior and difficult examinations, the Han-lin were certainly on the whole a much brighter group. That they received their first degrees a few years earlier than the group of scholars chosen at random from local gazeteers who in the main would most probably be unable to obtain higher degrees comes as no surprise.

Having obtained the first degrees by passing the Yuan Examination, they automatically became government students and were enrolled into the government schools. There were monthly assemblies and tests for the first degree holders, which were obligatory in nature.[17] Besides, they had to sit for the Sui and K'o Examinations. The former was held in the first year of the

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16. See Table 3.

17. HCCS, 34:2a-b.

Literary Chancellor's arrival, and was aimed at classifying the government students according to their literary merits, so that rewards and punishments could be meted out accordingly. Bright students with exceedingly good results were entitled to government bursaries, while students who failed the examination were not allowed to take part in the Provincial Examinations. The worst students were deprived of their degrees and the degree status.

The K'o Examination was a preliminary test before the Provincial Examination. It took place in the second year of the Literary Chancellor's term of office. Both the Sui and K'o Examinations required candidates to write themes on the Classics but the K'o Examination also included questions on elucidation of problems, poetry and ~~dictation~~ reproduction of a certain passage from the Sacred Edicts.[18]

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18. Ch'ing-shih kao, (Hsuan-chu chih), hereafter cited as CSK, hcc, 1:11a-b; Ch'ing-ch'ao wen hsien t'ung-k'ao, hereafter cited as CCWHTK, 71:33b. For the Sacred Edicts see James Legge, "Imperial Confucianism", The China Review, no. 6, 147-158, 223-235, 290-310, 364-374.

Although the Government schools employed government educational officials and provided tests for the students, the actual places for study and preparation for further examinations were the private academies (shu-yüan). These academies were mainly financed either by government officials or gentry members of the localities. As a result of these aids, nearly every respectable shu-yüan possessed a library of varying size. Some of these shu-yüan were able to provide a certain sum to their internal students as maintenance grants.[19] As is to be expected the shu-yüan at provincial capitals were more wealthy and possessed bigger collections of books than those founded in small towns. Teachers in big shu-yüan were nearly all recruited from degree holders and quite a number of them succeeded in

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19. For general account on the shu-yüan see Liu Pe-chi, Kuang-tung shu-yüan chih-tu and Sheng Lang-hsi, Chung-kuo shu-yüan chih-tu. Students of the shu-yüan received an average of 1.5 taels per month (Chang, The Income of the Chinese Gentry, p. 115).

employing Han-lin as teachers. These Han-lin might be retired officials or active officials seeking temporary leaves as a result of observing the mourning period of deceased parents. By virtue of their academic standing they would receive reasonably handsome salaries from the shu-yüan authorities. [20]

Scholars who could study in a reputed shu-yüan had a better chance of obtaining the second degree. The reasons were three-fold. First, there were much better library facilities. Second, teachers were well-qualified and experienced. Third, the literary atmosphere inside the college favoured study, and friends for mutual discussions were plenty. However, it was not easy to become students of such colleges. Every shu-yüan had its entry examination, but those better-equipped colleges required more literary skill from the scholars before considering them for admission. [21]

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20. Chang, The Income of the Chinese Gentry, P. 94.

21. Liu, Kuang-tung shu-yüan chih-tu, P. 305.

There was another group of first degree holders which was able to study in the Imperial College (Kuo-tzu chien) at the Capital.[22] They were usually selected either through seniority at the Government schools or literary excellance in the local examinations.[23] The Imperial College itself functioned as an educational institution only when it was under enthusiastic and conscientious directors (Libationers or shi-chiu), but such devoted directors were not frequently found even in the early Ch'ing period.[24] There were a

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22. Discussion on the Imperial College here is only concentrated on students who actually studied in the College. As to those students who bought their title of studentship at the College, see Chang, The Chinese Gentry, p.103.

23. HCCS, 51: 1a-24b.

24. A few Han-lin in my sample who were noted for their good work as Libationers of the Imperial College are:Hsu Yuan-wen (1634-1691) who was Libationer from 1670-74; Pa-shih-shan (1753-1813), Libationer from 1793-99; Sun Chia-kan (1683-1753), Libationer from (1726-1737), the post being held for most of the time concurrently. For the biographies of the three Han-lin Libationers, see ECCP, 1 327, 227-228 and 11, 672-673.

few institutional regulations which prevented directors from devoting their energy to the educational work of the College. First the office of directorship was for quite a time held by an official who concurrently had other official functions to perform.[25] Thus, even if he had an interest in organizing lectures and tests, he usually could not find enough time to do so. Besides, the post was commonly regarded as a sort of stepping-stone to a more senior and responsible post and its tenure could sometimes be as short as a few months.[26]

The value of the Imperial College to scholars of the time therefore did not lie so much in the teaching it provided. It could however be

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25. Take for instance, Sun Chia-kan in 1730 was holding the posts of Senior Vice-President of the Board of Works and Prefect of Shun-t'ien concurrently with the post of Libationer of the College.

26. Sun Te-i (1629-1690) who later rose to the office of Grand Secretary was a Libationer in 1669. He was promoted to another post in three months' time (KCCHIC, 6:12a-25b).

appreciated in another angle. Membership in the College enabled promising scholars to come to the Capital where they could widen their social circles with scholars of other provinces. Besides, access to books was facilitated by the fine collections in the Government libraries there. Scholars could purchase rare books fairly easily in the Liu-li street at the Capital, a place specially designed for selling books which might not be available elsewhere.[27] Quite a number of Han-lin of my sample were once students of the College before they were able to obtain their second degrees at the Shun-tien provincial examination, which in view of its proportionately more lenient quota, was regarded as a less difficult examination to pass than the other provincial examinations.[28]

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27. ECCP, vol 1 p. 152; KCCHLC, 90:16a note 4 of Chapter Five.

28. See Chang, The Chinese Gentry, p. 22 and 167-68. A Han-lin of my sample who had once been admitted to the Imperial College is picked out at random for illustration: Yao Fan (1702-1771), received his first degree at 17 sui. He entered the Imperial College at 34 sui. Next year he was able to pass the Shun-t'ien Provincial Examination and became a chu-jen (KCCHLC, 126: 52a-56b.

The Provincial Examination itself was held at the provincial capital. Its chief examiners and examiners were mainly drawn from Han-lin officials or officials who had once been serving inside the Academy.[29] The Examination consisted of three stages. In the Shun-chih reign, the first stage required a candidate to attempt three questions on the Four Books and four questions on any of the Five Classics most familiar to him. These questions were to be answered in the conventional eight-legged form. In the second stage he was asked to write a discussion on the Canon of Filial Piety. In addition he had to compose five themes on "verdict-writings" (p'an) and attempt any one of the political forms of writings: "address to the Emperor" (piao), "imperial declaration" (kao) or another form of "imperial decree" (chao). The

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29. Nearly every Han-lin who rose to the third rank or above in my sample had once been an examiner in the Provincial Examination. Some of them served in this capacity two or more times. See Chapter Three pp. 62-76.

third stage was a test of the candidate's ability in elucidating problems concerning the classics, history and administrative affairs.[30]

There were changes in the subject matter of the Provincial Examinations in later reigns.. In 1687 the Government passed the regulation that candidates were from then not required to write chao and kao in the Provincial Examinations. In 1757 the other administrative forms of writing, the p'an and the piao, were also removed from the examination syllabus. In their places, a theme on poetry to be answered in the stipulated form of five words in each line, with eight-rhyming schemes was set. Further arrangments of the procedure of the Examination were effected in later years. It was not until 1787 that the

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30. The subject-matter of the Examination was prescribed by edict of 1644 (Ta-Ch'ing li-ch'ao shih-lu, Shih-tsu, 15:15a-b, hereafter cited as TCLCSL). The Five Classics are the Book of Changes, the Book of Documents, the Book of Poetry, the Book of Rites and the Spring and Autumn Annals (see Legge's works for complete translation of the Five Classics).

procedure of the examination became permanent: the first stage tested candidates' knowledge of the Four Books and poetry, the second stage required candidates to compose themes on the Five Classics and in the third stage, they were asked to compose five themes on the elucidation of the Classics, history and administrative problems. [31]

The apparent shift from the test of administrative forms to pure literary showing was motivated by the sad realization that administrative writings such as "imperial declarations" became stereotyped and too easy for candidates to cope with. Originally questions of this nature served the purpose of requiring scholars to be familiar with the official forms of writings so that in their future government assignments, they could write them for the Emperor without difficulty. As there were fixed forms for the imperial decrees or verdict-writing, once the candidates had become

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31. CSK (hcc), 3:3b.

familiar with them, they could write themes on them as well as anyone. Moreover, questions on these administrative forms had been set throughout the Chinese Dynasties and model-answers had been abundant to guide the candidates.[32] The Government felt that it was difficult to distinguish the good from the mediocre through such writings.

As to poetry, it had the merit of testing the true standard of candidates' literary skill. The Government was of the opinion that to write a good poem might at least reveal that the candidate was a scholar of thought and good taste.[33]

Like the Yuen Examination, the Provincial Examination also had its affiliated re-examination which was however regarded as important;

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32. These administrative questions had been set as early as the T'ang Dynasty.

33. Questions on poetry are inexhaustible as they could be asked on practically anything from a description of a flower to the discussion of Classics. The candidate had to rely completely on his own literary skill to write good poems.

for only candidates who sat for it and passed would be allowed to take part in the next examination, the Metropolitan Examination, leading to the conferment of the third degree. Questions on the Classics and poetry were set in the re-examination. [34]

During the Ch'ing period, the total number of successful candidates at each Provincial Examination was estimated as about 1,400. [35] A conservative calculation of the participants of the examination was 89,000. [36] Taking the latter figure into consideration, we find that about one out of sixty candidates would become a chu-jen in each year when the Provincial Examination took place. The figure of 89,000 is however thought to be too low. In 1742, an

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34. Shang Yen-liu, shu-lu 93-94 CCWHTK, 47: 30b-31a.

35. Chang, The Chinese Gentry, p. 125; also see Ho Ping-ti, The Ladder of Success in Imperial China, p. 184 for comparison. The latter's figure was between 1,200-1,800.

36. Chang, The Chinese Gentry, p. 167.

edict revealed that the ratio was well over one to a hundred. The number of participants would then be over 150,000.[37]

According to Chang Chung-li, the average age of receiving the chü-jen degree for the 1834 Provincial Examination was 31. From our sample of 318 Han-lin with information on their ages at becoming chü-jen, the average age was 28.[38] We recall that the average ages of passing the Yüan examination for Chang's and our samples were 24 and 17 respectively. It then took an average first degree holder 7-11 years of study before he changed his status of a first degree holder to a second degree holder. This shows that the Provincial Examination was a very difficult one to pass and even scholars who finally succeeded in doing so most likely experienced repeated failures before attaining the degree.

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37. SL, 337:8a-b.

38. See Chang, The Chinese Gentry, p. 126; also see Table 3.

The Metropolitan Examination was held at the Imperial Capital, with very senior Capital officials as chief examiners and examiners. Its syllabus, procedure and accompanying re-examination bore close similarity to those of the Provincial Examination.

Candidates who passed the Metropolitan Examination and its accompanying re-examination were designated as kung-shih (presented scholars) and eligible for sitting for the Palace Examination (Tien-shih) held under the personal supervision of the Emperor. Inside the palace precincts, the kung-shih were required to write a theme on the elucidation of current problems (ts'e). The theme-title was a short description of a few problems and the candidates were expected to comment on them. There was a limit of a thousand words to the answer and as usual, calligraphy and neatness were also determining factors for good result. [39]

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39. For a description of the Palace Examination see Fu Tseng-hsiang "Ch'ing-tai tien-shih k'ao-lüeh", Kuo-wen chou-pao, chüan 10 (Jan-1933), No. 1-3.

The examination papers were read and marked by every member of the examining board which consisted of eight to fourteen senior officials recruited from heads or deputy heads of government departments. The Emperor himself personally determined the order within the ten most brilliant scripts. [40]

Kung-shih who passed the Palace Examination were officially conferred with the chin-shih degree. The number of chin-shih produced in one Palace Examination varied from examination to examination, but for most of the time, it ranged between 200-300. The chance of success for obtaining the third degree was about one in ten, that is about 2,000-3,000 candidates sat for the Metropolitan Examination. [41]

The average age for the 495 Han-lin from my sample to receive the third degree was 35 sui. Extremely young or old scholars to become

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40. Shu-lu, p. 114.

41. Hsieh, The Government of China, p. 184 and p. 162. Hsieh later gives another ratio of one in thirty or forty for the chance of success (Ibid. p. 163). This ratio seems exaggerated and applies more to the latter half of the Dynasty than the period under discussion.

chin-shih are found from my sample. Incidentally, the finding by Chang Chung-li on the average age of becoming chin-shih in the 19th century is 36, a figure which more or less coincides with mine.[42]

The Palace Examination also divided the newly-conferred degree-holders into three classes: the first class (i-chia) consisted of the three top scholars of the Examination who were admitted into the Han-lin Academy as active officials at once. The first scholar (chuang-yüan) became a First-Class Compiler and the second and third scholars (pang-yen and t'an-hua) were appointed Second-Class Compilers. The second and the third class chin-shih (erh-chia and san-chia) were either admitted into the Han-lin Academy or appointed Secretaries in the Six Boards or Magistrates in the provinces according to the result of the Examination and other considerations.[43]

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42. See Table 3 and Chang, The Chinese Gentry, p. 121.

43. See Ch'en Tung-yüan, Chung-kuo chiao-yü shih, 402-403; Ch'ü T'ung-tsu, Local Government in China under the Ch'ing, p. 212.

We shall discuss more on the criteria of selection into the Han-lin Academy in the following paragraphs.

Admission to the Han-lin Academy.

After the Palace Examination, the Government set up another examination held also inside the palace precincts primarily for the selection of the new chin-shih into the Han-lin Academy as probationers. This was the Court Examination (Ch'ao-k'ao). In the first two reigns of the Dynasty, only those chin-shih who were recommended by senior officials would sit for the Court Examination, the rest being given official appointments as Secretaries in the Boards or as Magistrates. Out of those selected to take part in the Court Examination, a certain number would be selected as probationers in the Han-lin Academy, and those who were not selected, like the other chin-shih, would be given official positions at once. In 1646, for instance, one hundred or so new chin-shih were recommended to sit for the Court Examination, and out of them forty-six passed

the examination and were appointed probationers of the Academy. [44]

The main criteria for selection into the Academy in the early years of the Dynasty were age, appearance (which included health) and literary skill. This was the reason why recommendations entered into the selection; for while the public examinations were sufficient to test the scholarly accomplishments of the candidates, it needed recommendations and interviews to make certain that they were young, healthy and well-mannered. Recommendations from senior officials in the early years certainly did ensure that only young scholars were selected, for out of the 32 Han-lin appointed between 1644-1652 [45] in our sample, only one was above forty sui. He was forty-one sui and the first scholar of the first class of the 1649 Palace Examination. This fact

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44. Shu-lu p. 125.

45. See Table 4. The reason why 1644-1652 period is chosen for testing the age of the Han-lin probationers is that after 1652, as we shall see on p. 36 below, other factors such as provincial origin had to be considered. Han-lin who entered the Academy in these early years were certainly of a younger age-group than those appointed later on.

alone automatically enabled him to enter the Academy regardless of other factors. The majority of the others were in their twenties. There is absolutely no information on the health and appearance of those selected as probationers. Judging from the average age of the Han-lin of our sample which is 60, a relatively good indication of long lives, we might indirectly guess that the Han-lin probationers as a group were rather healthy at the time when they entered the Academy.[46]

The normal procedure of securing recommendations was that after the Palace Examination, ambitious chin-shih would "visit" important officials at the Capital to pay themhonour and to make themselves known to their prospective sponsors, very often bringing with them literary writings of their own. The Capital officials, on the other hand, also paid attention to the recent list of chin-shih. As sponsors of

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46. See Table 13 on the average age of the Han-lin officials.

scholarship, these high-ranking officials would be delighted to recommend those who had already acquired some literary reputation. But first of all, they had to make sure that their ages and other requirements were fulfilled. As we shall see in Chapter Four, sponsors were held responsible for the future behaviour of their protege. This sponsorship factor in the recommendation system was an effective check on nepotism, although personal connections of some kind inevitably crept into the system.[47]

In 1652 another factor was put into consideration of selecting chin-shih into the Academy, together with those discussed above. This was the provincial quota which was created according to the population and prosperity of the provinces.[48]

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47. See Hsieh, The Government of China, 129-132.

48. This provincial quota had a rough similarity to the provincial quotas for the Provincial and Metropolitan Examinations. For the latter quotas see Chang, The Chinese Gentry p.p. 167, 122-124 and Ho Ping-ti, The Ladder of Success in Imperial China, 185-189.

It was regulated in that year that five would be selected from among the chin-shih from Chihli, Kiangnan (consisting of the modern provinces of Kiangsu and Anhwei) and Chekiang, four from those of Kiangsi, Fukien, Hukuang (consisting of the modern provinces of Hupeh and Hunan), Shantung and Honan, two from those of Shensi, Shansi, one from those of Kwangtung and four from those of the Chinese Banner origin. The Manchu and Mongolian scholars would have a separate series of the public examinations and from the successful Manchu chin-shih and Mongolian chin-shih six would be selected, two being Mongols, the rest Manchus. However, from the lists of probationers after 1652, we see that this quota was not strictly applied, although since then some sort of regulation according to provincial origin had already been introduced. [49]

With the additional factor of provincial quotas after 1652, the age limit became more

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49. For the lists of probationers and their provincial origins see TLCL vols. 1 and 2.

relaxed. We shall see in Chapter Seven that some Han-lin selected could be forty sui or over, although young age still counted as an advantage in the consideration of selection into the Academy.

In the Yung-cheng reign, as a gesture of equal opportunities according to literary accomplishment, all new third degree holders were asked to sit for the Court Examination. Those who passed the examination would then seek for recommendations from senior Capital officials and then attend the Emperor's interview for appointment. This official reversal of the order of the two criteria of selection, namely recommendation and the Court Examination had in fact curtailed the influence of the former in favour of the more impartial literary examination. However, that the recommendation process still existed as a factor was regarded by scholars from the outlying provinces as an undue preferential treatment to scholars coming from the culturally-advanced provinces who by virtue of the much greater

number of their countrymen serving at the Capital were in a much better position to secure "connections" there. [50]

In 1725 Li Chung-ngo, a Han-lin from Szechwan who was then a Sub-Director of the Court of Sacrificial Worship (rank 4A) took up the case for the scholars of the outlying provinces by memorializing the throne for the abolition of the recommendation process from the selection of probationers. He did not succeed in his purpose but his memorial had aroused more disatisfaction of the recommendation system and prepared the ground for its abolition in the beginning of next reign. [51]

In 1736 another Han-lin who was then a censor, Ch'eng Sheng-hsiu, sent his memorial attacking the recommendation process. Thanks to his memorial, it was abolished [52] and

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50. Shu-lu, p. 125. By 'culturally-advanced provinces' is generally meant Kiangnan and Chekiang. The outlying provinces are Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Kweichow, and Szechwan.

51. Ibid, For the biography of Li Chung-ngo see KCCHLC, 68:40a-b.

52. Ibid, For further information on Ch'eng Sheng-hsiu see Ch'ing-tai cheng-hsien lei-pien, 7:4a (hereafter cited as CTCHLP).

instead, chin-shih who successfully passed the Court Examination would be orally interviewed by princes and Grand Secretaries.[53] In 1766 the oral interview by princes and mandarins too was discarded and the main criteria for selection were the result of the Court Examination and the Emperor's interview. It was stipulated that after the Court Examination candidates would be received by the Emperor who then decided the provincial quota on the basis of the quota of the preceding examinations and the result of the recent Court Examination. Preferential treatment was granted to scholars from the culturally less advanced provinces. It was decreed that chin-shih from the culturally advanced provinces needed to acquire second class honours in the Palace Examination and first class honours both in the Re-Examination and the Court Examination before they were sure of being selected as probationers. In other words, for certainty of selection, one's aggregate classes of honours for the three examination should be four. If

53. Ibid, For princes of the Ch'ing period see Chapter 1, note 4.

scholars from the culturally-advanced provinces could only obtain a total of five in the three examinations (such as second class in the Palace Examination, first class in the Re-Examination and second class in the Court Examination) and if the provincial quota had been filled, they would not be selected. As to the chin-shih coming from the outlying provinces, even if their aggregate classes of honours came up to the figure of six or seven (for example third class honours in the Palace Examination, second class honours both in the Re-Examination and the Court Examination), they could be selected, if there were no scholars from the same provinces who did better than they. Mainly as a result of this provincial limitation and distribution, the percentage of Han-lin coming from the culturally advanced provinces in the Ch'ien-lung period was not as high as that in the K'ang-hsi and Yung-cheng reigns.[54]

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54. See Table 15.

CHAPTER III

Functions and Influences of the Han-lin members

Since membership in the Academy was regarded both as a qualification and an office, the Han-lin who had been promoted to other government departments still carried with them the prestige of prior association with the Academy. Thus, if we intend to evaluate the functions and influences of the Han-lin members, we have to make the distinction whether they were holders of offices pertaining to the Academy[1] or members who had already been transferred or promoted to other departments. The description of the latter group would be tantamount to a study of the whole government of China, which, is not our aim here.[2] Thus, by and large the

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1. Offices pertaining to the Academy can be seen in Chapter One p. 7.

2. There are a good number of Western works on the government of the Manchu Dynasty, the most notable ones are Hsieh Pao Chao, The Government of China (1644-1911); Brunnert H.S. & Hagelstrom, Present Day Political Organisation of China; Sun, E-tu Zer, Ch'ing Administrative Terms and Fairbank, J.K., The United States of China.

following discussion is mainly based on the functions and possible influences of active members of the Academy, with a general summary of their influences after leaving the Academy.[3]

The functions of the Han-lin members can be broadly divided into three categories: those in relation to the Emperor, those relating to the literary pursuits of the Chinese scholarly class and special functions of a temporary character.

One kind of functions concerning the emperor was the part played by the Han-lin officials in the imperial discussions. There were two kinds of such discussions. The first kind was the Imperial Discussion Banquets (Chiang-yen) held only in med-spring and mid-autumn. On these occasions, two Chinese and two Manchu Han-lin were appointed to prepare lecture materials in

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3. In the official work on the Han-lin Academy, the Huang-ch(ao tz'u-lin tien-ku, a list of functions related to the Han-lin Academy is described. Our discussion in this Chapter is mainly based on those functions described in that work.

conjunction with the Chancellor of the Academy. Written both in the Manchu and Chinese languages, they were presented to the Emperor for consent and discussions.[4]

The other kind of imperial discussions, called the Daily Discussions (Jih-chiang), were held at first on alternate days and later every-day after the Imperial Discussion Banquets had come to an end. In the early years of the Dynasty, these discussions were temporarily suspended in the summer and winter due to the severity of the weather, but in 1673 onwards, it was decreed that they were to be held all through the year without stop. K'ang-hsi who took great interest in classical discussion with the Han-lin members also encouraged them to present commentaries on the Classics and history, which would then be preserved in the Government library for later reference.[5]

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4. TCHT, 84:1b; TCCHSL, 70:2a; TLTK (1805), 21:5b. For the nature of such lectures see Hang Shih-chün, Tao-ku-t'ang wen-chi, 2:11a-17a. Also see Ch'ing-ch'ao ching-shih wen-pien, 10:2a-27b.

5. TLTK (1805), 21:7a-12b; THL, (K'ang-hsi), 3:2b-3a, 13b.

The primary aim of the imperial discussions and presentation of classical essays was to indoctrinate the Han-lin members with the state ideology. Since the Han-lin members had passed the Public Examinations with distinction, they were regarded with justification as the literary leaders of society. The Government was anxious to instill in them the right kind of ideological outlook so that they could pass it onto the scholar-class who looked up to them for example.

On the other hand, the Emperor himself also benefited from these discussions. In order to behave like a Confician monarch, he had to master the Confucian Classics. These discussions and presentation of literary works offered him a good means to achieve this purpose. Thus, through these literary functions, the Han-lin and the Emperor influenced each other and learned to play their respective roles in the bureaucracy.

Another link with the Emperor was maintained through being appointed Recorder of the

Emperor's Deeds (Chi-chu kuan). The Ch'ing Record Office which was established in 1662 was another manifestation of the Manchu adoption of typical Chinese institutions. The Confucian precept of good government was that the monarchs should live up to the moral standards set down for him by former sages. Officials and people would then look up to him for example. Thus, if the emperor was moral and diligent, the Confucian maintained, the Empire would be at peace, with or without the application of the legal system.[6] Anxious to be regarded as one of the Confucian monarchs, K'ang-hsi strove to give his people the impression that his actions were enlightened enough to be recorded for posterity to judge.

The Ch'ing Record Office in its nascent years dealt mainly with the record of the Emperor's actions. As the Emperor himself was supposedly not permitted to see the contents of the records, he was in fact quite worried

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6. Van der Sprenkel, Legal Institutions in Manchu China, pp. 30-32; Fairbank, The U.S. and China, pp. 94-95.

with this "spying duty" of his own officials. For example in 1679 his mistrust was revealed by his question whether any personal inventions and prejudices had been added to the records. Although the record officials assured him that the records were to be examined jointly by all the officials concerned and no personal ideas could be brought in, this did not satisfy the Emperor who at last in 1718 closed down the Record Office. [7]

His successor Yung-cheng, however, re-established the Record Office and in fact expanded its scope from recording the Emperor's actions to all affairs of the state. Ch'ien-lung and the later emperors allowed the Record Office to function smoothly as in the reign of Yung-cheng. The change of attitude from one of misgivings to one of expansion of functions may be explained by the growing docility of the recording agency. The later emperors discovered

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7. CS, vol 2, p. 1375; TLTK (1805), 21:21b-24a.

that given the full authority to record all events of the Empire, the recorders were still loyal to the imperial cause in their writings and would note down events in an imperial tone. As a double check, the Grand Secretariat was authorized to check on the work of the Record Office.[8]

Another function of the Han-lin members was to serve as personal advisers and attendants of the Emperor. As early as 1660 Han-lin had been called upon to do duty inside the Inner Court as literary advisers. It was however in 1677 during the K'ang-hsi reign that permanent advisers were appointed from among Capital officials including the Han-lin by the Emperor himself. A compartment was reserved for them, where those on duty resided for the night. This was called the Nan-shu fang (Imperial College of Inscription or literally the Southern Library). At times when these permanent advisers in the Nan-shu fang were not adequate, other Han-lin

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8. TITK (1805), 24a-25a.

officials were called in to assist. Occasions such as when the Emperor embarked on outdoor activities would necessitate a great number of other officials to accompany the Emperor, besides the members of the Nan-shu fang.

The relationship between the Emperor and the members of the Nan-shu fang was not merely confined to the literary field. The Emperor might as well seek their advice on matters of government if the need arose — and indeed he sometimes did. Before the setting up of the Grand Council around 1737, [9] the Nan-shu fang, situated inside the Inner Court, was a convenient place where the Emperor was able to obtain counsels from scholar-officials personally picked by himself. Although not all the members of the Nan-shu fang were drawn from the third degree holders, the great

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9. For a concise account of the Grand Council see ECCP, vol, 1. p. 55. For an institutional study of the Grand Council, see Ho, Alfred Kuo-liang, "The Grand Council in the Ch'ing Dynasty" Far Eastern Quarterly, II ii (1952), pp. 167-182.

majority were members of the Han-lin Academy.[10] Han-lin members like Chang Ying, Ch'en Yuan-lung and Chang T'ing-yü, all of whom rose to become Grand Secretaries later on, wielded immense influence on the administration through their work as assistants to the Emperor in his edict-drafting and policy-making inside the Nan-shu fang.[11] An examination of the Han-lin members who had once been admitted into the Nan-shu fang as the Emperor's literary assistants will show that a great proportion of them enjoyed favourable advancement.[12]

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10. Kao Shih-ch'i was one of the officials who entered the Nan-shu fang not being a Han-lin member by examination, although later on he was also given a position inside the Han-lin Academy. See ECCP, vol. 1. pp. 413-415 for the biography of Kao Shih-ch'i.

11. For the general biographies of Chang Ying and Chang T'ing-yü, see ECCP, vol 1, pp. 64-65 and pp. 54-56. For the biography of Ch'en Yuan-lung see KCCHLC, 12:37a-41b. also see pp. 66-67 below.

12. From the members of our sample we find that forty-six of them who entered the Nan-shu fang later rose higher than the fourth rank in office, while five of them were unable todo so

The Nan-shu fang was therefore more than a place for literary and scholarly pursuits: it was the springboard for future official advancement and sometimes the very council room where government policy was decided. [13]

The Emperor's education before his accession to the throne was the work of a number of selected Han-lin officials, together with other Capital officials chosen for their scholarly attainments. In the former dynasties, the teaching of princes was performed by the Imperial Supervisorate of Instruction (Chan-shih fu) which was in fact another affiliated Government department of the Han-lin Academy: for its members were generally recruited from among Han-lin members. [14]

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13. After the establishment of the Grand Council, however, the Nan-shu fang was superseded as a policy-making centre, although it still retained its importance as a consultation room for the Emperor in the literary field.

14. The relation between the Chan-shih fu and the members of the Han-lin Academy was so close that the official work on the Han-lin Academy, the Huang-ch'ao tz'u-lin tien ku devotes a chapter on it. See Shu-lu p. 139. For the insitutional structure of the Chan-shih fu see LTCKP, 126-129.

Following the traditional custom, K'ang-hsi in 1687 ordered T'ang ~~and~~ Pin and Keng Chiai who were then respectively the Chief Supervisor and Supervisor of the Imperial Supervisorate of Instruction to give lessons to the princess.[15] As the Imperial Supervisorate was situated outside the Inner Court,[16] it was not convenient for princes to study there, so members of the Imperial Supervisorate responsible for the teaching job were required to go into the Inner Court to do their duty. Before 1694 however there was no fixed place for the princes to have their lessons. It was in this year that a room called the Shang-shu fang (Palace School for Princes) was alloted for this purpose.[17] Preceptors were not necessarily members of the Imperial Supervisorate[18] but could be drawn

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15. Shu-lu p. 139. For the biography of T'ang Pin see ECCP vol 2, 709-710. For the biography of Keng Chiai see KCCHLC 115:21a-29b.

16. See Plan 1 for the site of the Chan-shih fu.

17. Shu-lu, p. 139.

18. For the mebers of the Chan-shih fu, see LTCKP, 126-129 or Brunnert, Present Day Political Organisation of China, 484-485.

from Capital officials renowned for their scholarly attainments. As the Han-lin members were the literary giants of the Empire, the majority of the royal preceptors were staffed by them. Out of the 15 preceptors who had either functional or formal roles in Ch'ien-lung's education, 12 had been members of the Han-lin Academy by examination.[19] We do not know how many preceptors were responsible for Chia-ch'ing's education, but so far we can identify from our sample of Han-lin members 35 of them. Presumably the preceptors of the latter emperors were in the main selected from members of the Han-lin Academy.

The establishment of the Shan-shu fang provided the princes with a more thorough Confucian education. Whereas Shun-chih and K'ang-hsi had to pick up their knowledge on the Chinese cultures through their own initiatives (e.g. by means of the imperial discussions), Ch'ien-lung was

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19. See p. 21 of Kahn, "The Education of a Prince" in Approaches to Modern Chinese History, pp, 15-44.

trained right in his childhood as a Confucian monarch. Thanks to the work done by the members of the Shang-shu fang, Ch'ien-lung developed an unparalleled thirst for the Chinese Classics and art.[20] The other emperors such as Chia-ch'ing failed to develop an equal interest in Chinese literature and art, but they, like Ch'ien-lung, owed much of their knowledge of Confucian ideology to their preceptors in the Shang-shu fang.[21]

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20. For the literary and artistic interests of Emperor Ch'ien-lung, see ECCP, vol 2, 369-373.

21. From our sample we learn that teaching at the Shang-shu fang was taken seriously and some preceptors were punished for their slackness in giving lessons to the princes. To take an example, Wan Ch'eng-feng, who was appointed Han-lin probationer in 1781 became preceptor of the Shang-shu fang in 1788. Next year he was deprived of all his ranks but retained his office for irregular attendance at the Shang-shu fang. (KCCHLC, 104:17a-20b). Since the Shang-shu fang was the only place where the princes received their education, it is presumed that they were greatly influenced by the Confucian teaching of their preceptors, most of whom were Han-lin members.

While the relationship between the Emperor and the Han-lin members was a close one, resulting in mutual influences both in the literary and political fields, the Han-lin officials also exerted an unparalleled influence on the scholarship of the Empire by performing functions of a literary and educational character. The number of official compilations in the Ch'ing Dynasty was great and none of them could be successfully completed without some Han-lin officials on the editorial boards. Voluminous works such as the Shih-lu (Veritable Records of the Present Dynasty) entailed long periods to complete, and quite a number of Han-lin officials spent a good part of their political life in compiling one or more of these official publications.[22]

But not all the literary functions of the Han-lin were time-consuming. Some of them required several days or sometimes just an hour or two to complete. As we have mentioned before,

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22. TLTK (1805), 22:11b-12b; One of the Han-lin members, Chu Yun, for example, spent most of his time with the Government in the compilation of the Szu-k'u ch'uan-shu. For the biography of Chu Yun, see note 2 of Chapter 2.

the Han-lin could be called on duty as literary advisers inside the Nan-shu fang and even if they were not working inside the Inner Court, they would be prepared to compose poems and praises or acknowledgement for services done or sacrificial addresses and prayers for various ceremonial acts of worships --- in fact any kind of literary writings; for whenever these functions had to be performed, the Han-lin would be the first persons to be contacted.[23]

A description of the functions of the Han-lin officials without mentioning their roles in the Civil Service Examinations is totally inadequate, because it was in this educational field that they succeeded in having their ideological imprint stamped on the scholar-class. According to the Government regulations, the Literary Chancellor who directed the Yuan Examination leading to the conferment of the first degree had to be a Capital official and generally a Han-lin.[24]

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23. Martin, Han-lin Papers, pp. 24-26.

24. HCCS, 15:1b.

In the case of the Provincial Examination, the chief examiner and examiners were selected from the Han-lin officials, senior Metropolitan Censors, Secretaries of the Boards and the Secretariat and officials of the Government Courts. They were mainly holders of the third degree or members of the Han-lin Academy, although a small minority held only the Second degree or the title of kung-sheng.[25] From 1725 oneards no Capital officials except those possessing the third degree were eligible for these important educational functions.[26] The post of chief examiner in the Metropolitan Examination was filled by one of the high mandarins of first or second rank who was at the same time a holder of the third degree or member of the Han-lin Academy. The associate examiners were recruited from officials of the Han-lin Academy, the Censorate and Government Boards. They were not exclusively holders of the third

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25. CSK, (Hsüan-chü chih), 3:5a; Ch'en Tung-yüan, "Ch'ing-tai K'o-chü yü chiao-yü, Hsüeh-feng, 111 iv (1933), p. 21.

26. Ibid.

degree, though the great majority were.[27]

We can therefore see that although other officials with lower academic qualification than membership in the Academy could have a part in the conducting of the Civil Service Examinations, the key positions of these examinations were always monopolized by Han-lin officials or officials who had once been admitted into the Academy.

The influence of the Han-lin members on the scholars of the Empire by being examiners was obvious. The fates of thousands of candidates of these examinations were determined by a few dozen Han-lin officials whose likes and dislikes in literary tastes had to be respected and whose ways of expressions had to be followed. The Government on the other hand relied on them to set the criteria for literary accomplishments and recruitment into the Civil Service.

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27. CCWHTK, 47:17b; Ch'en Tung-yuan, Chung-kuo chiao-yu shih, p. 395.

Although the major functions of the Han-lin officials, as we have seen, were related to the Emperor and the scholar class, some of them were called upon to perform temporary administrative functions. We have seen that at all times, the Han-lin Academy was staffed by over one hundred members [28] and apart from those serving around the Emperor and those taking up educational and literary functions mentioned above, there were always some Han-lin members who for the time being were able to take up temporary Government assignments, arising from the shortage of suitable personnel in other departments. The Colonial Office (Li-fan yuan) in 1726, for example, felt the lack of officials who could translate documents from the Manchu to the Chinese language and vice-versa. The Government promptly ordered the Han-lin Academy and the Grand Secretariat to send a few suitable officials to assist the Colonial Office to cope with the translation problem. [29]

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28. See p. 10 of Chapter One.

29. HTK (1805), 24:28b-29a.

Similarly, the Han-lin officials were sometimes transferred to the Grand Secretariat to handle edicts and memorials in the capacity of acting Chancellors (Hsueh-chih). The latter group of officials from time to time had to perform special missions or investigations in the provinces. Their temporary absence from the Grand Secretariat called for replacements which normally came from members of the Han-lin Academy. [30]

The Han-lin officials were also delegated to lead missions to the tributary states such as Vietnam and Liuchiu. The main purpose of these missions was to show the majesty of the Chinese cultures to people of these subordinate states. Surely, the Han-lin officials with their high academic qualifications were the most suitable officials to be chosen for the job. [31]

The Ch'ing Government seeking to pacify discontented elements of some provinces or trying to raise the cultural standard of certain localities usually despatched to the particular areas concerned Instructors of Moral (Hsuan-yu hua-tao shih). Again, the Han-lin members were the right persons to be sent: they were both readily available and carried more

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30. Ibid., 24:10a-10b.

31. Ibid., 24:21a-21b.

prestige than other officials. [32]

Of course the Han-lin members had to run their own Academy too. There were a series of clerical tasks including accountancy, filing and translation of documents, preparation work before meetings which they had to perform with the assistance of clerks and underlings. Usually four Han-lin were chosen to take care of these routine matters, while the other Han-lin members could perform various other Government duties which usually necessitated them to work outside the Academy's compound. [33]

Sometimes, owing to the lack of other officials, the Han-lin had to take up missions which had little or nothing to do with their education . For example in 1725, four Han-lin were chosen to supervise repairs in cities of Chihli province. Next year, several Han-lin were ordered by Yung-cheng to help relief work in the same province. [34] The Han-lin Academy was therefore a reservoir of scholar-officials who besides performing their normal literary and educational functions, had at times to perform a number of miscellaneous administrative functions. Theyfilled in gaps of the administrative machinery as a result of the lack of suitable personnel in other Government departments.

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32. Ibid., 24:22b-23a.
33. Ibid., 24:24a-25a.
34. Ibid., 24:22a: TCLCSL (Shih-tsung), 44:9a-b.

So far we have enumerated the kinds of functions in relation to the Han-lin Academy. Individual members, however, could not and would not be called upon to do all the functions mentioned above. In order to have an insight into the allotment of functions and to substantiate what has been said, a special biographical approach is attempted below to give a more realistic picture as to the part played by individual Han-lin in the over-all set of functions which members of the Academy can claim to have performed. Notice that the following sketches which tend to be selective and representative in nature, only deal with functional roles vis a vis the Han-lin Academy, while other information in the biographies is omitted here.[35]

Fu Wei-lin entered the Han-lin Academy in 1646. In 1648, in the capacity of a Second Class Compiler, he was assigned to Kiangnan to take charge of the Provincial Examination there. Later he rose to the first-ranking position of President of the Board of Works, but he was not asked to perform any functions

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35. This selective and topical use of standard biographies is adopted in other parts of the thesis too. Full factual biographies not only waste space but are too diffuse to underline particular problems. However, with all biographies cited, we shall give at least one source through which a more detailed description of the persons concerned is available.

pertaining to the Academy after he had left the Academy and worked in other Government departments.[36]

Shen Ch'üan was the third scholar of the 1652 Palace Examination and was admitted into the Academy as a Second Class Compiler at once. In 1671, still holding a fourth-rank position, he was selected personally by the Emperor to serve in the Nan-shu fang due to the latter's appreciation of his good calligraphy. Next year, he was an examiner in the Chekiang Provincial Examination. On return to the Capital, he was selected as a participant in the Daily Discussion, an assignment he held again three years later. In 1684, holding the nominal title of Vice-President of the Board of Rites, he served as the assistant editor-general of Ta-Ch'ing hui-tien (Collected Statutes of the Ch'ing Dynasty). He died in the same year.[37]

T'ien Hsi-ling became a probationer of the Han-lin Academy in 1661. Appointed Corrector, he served as an associate examiner of the 1667 Metropolitan Examination. Afterwards he was on the editorial board for the compilation of the Shih-lu (Veritable Records of the Empire). Later after several promotions, he

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36. KCCHLC, 45:16a-18a.

37. Ibid., 47:27a-34a.

became a Reader in the Academy and in this capacity was chosen to take part in the Daily Discussions. Thereafter he did not perform any functions related directly to the work of the Academy. He eventually reached the second-rank post of Vice-President of the Board of Rites.[38]

Niu-niu was a Manchu scholar who entered the Han-lin Academy through passing the Public Examinations. In 1674 he was one of the editors of the Shih-lu compilation. He was then a Sub-Expositor of the Academy. One year later he served as an exponent in the Daily Discussions. By 1680 he was already a Reader and called upon to attend the Imperial Banquet Discussions of that year. In the following year, he headed a mission to Korea with the object of cultivating friendly relations between the two countries. After a few months of his return from Korea, he was appointed Chief Supervisor of the Imperial Supervisorate and later Chancellor of the Academy, taking part in the Daily Discussions. In the same year he served as editor-general or assistant editor-general on three official editorial boards consecutively, while at the same time he assisted in the correcting of examination

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38. Ibid., 51:43a-44b.

papers of the Palace Examination. We can see that he was very busy in this year. The Emperor admired both his literary accomplishment and accurate archery, and often selected him as one of the royal personal attendants during his outdoor activities. He would have been a very influential official had his political life not been cut short by early death. He died in 1686 at 39 sui.[39]

Li T'ao was a chinshih and selected into the Han-lin Academy as a probationer in 1676. Two years later he was appointed Second Class Compiler and selected as one of the editors of the Ming-shih compilation (History of the Ming Dynasty). Next year he was an associate examiner of the Metropolitan Examination. He was transferred to Kiangsi province as a prefect in 1688 and although he was re-assigned back to the Capital and served in various Central departments later on, he was not called upon to perform any literary or educational functions which the Government regarded as the work of Han-lin members. He retired in 1715, sixty-one sui, having reached the post of Junior Vice-President of the Board of Punishment.

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39. Ibid., 56:15-18b.

40. Ibid., 59:7a-10a.

Chao Chih-hsin was admitted into the Han-lin Academy after he became a chin-shih in 1679 at the young age of 19. In 1681 on completion of his probationary period, he was appointed Second Class Compiler. He was selected to be the chief examiner of Shansi in 1683. Five years later, owing to taking part in a banquet on one of the national days honouring the death of past emperors, he was impeached by a censor and dismissed from the Government service. He was then only 29 sui.[41]

Ch'en Yüan-lung passed the Palace Examination of 1685 as the second top scholar. He was appointed Second Class Compiler at once and selected as the Emperor's advisor in the Nan-shu fang. Next year he joined in the Daily Discussions. For a time he was removed from office because of his undue connections with another member of the Nan-shu fang, Kao Shih-ch'i,[42] but he resumed his former office in 1691. In 1697 as a Deputy Supervisor of the Imperial Supervisorate (rank 4B), he was assigned to Shensi as the chief examiner of the Provincial Examination there. Three years later, he was promoted to Supervisor of the same

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41. Ibid., 117:25a-31b.

42. See Note 10 of the same Chapter.

department and his main task was to serve in the Imperial Banquet Discussions as a speaker. He served in this capacity again in 1704 and 1710. By the latter date, he had already been promoted to Chancellor of the Academy. In 1718 he was made a President of the Board of Works and eleven years later, reached the top of the bureaucracy by being appointed as a Grand Secretary. He retired in 1733, an old man of 85 *sui*.[42a]

Liu Shih-shu became a *chin-shih* and a probationer of the Academy in 1700. Appointed a Corrector in 1703, he was chosen as the chief examiner of the Kwangsi Provincial Examination of 1711. Having completed his duty as chief examiner in Kwangsi, he was sent to Honan to conduct the *Yüan* Examination. Since then he had been promoted several times. In 1726, holding the post of Senior Vice-President of the Censorate, he took part in the examination duties of the Shun-t'ien Provincial Examination. Three years later, being a Chancellor of the Grand Secretariat he was despatched to Fukien as one of the Instructors of Moral, giving lectures on Confucian virtues to the people there. Paradoxically, in 1742, he was removed from office due to the indulgent and insolent behavious of one of his clansmen.[43]

42a. *KCCHLC*, 12:37a-41b.

43. *Ibid.*, 60:37a-40a.

Wei Fang-t'ai received his third degree and was admitted into the Han-lin Academy in the same year as Liu Shih-shu. He was called in to serve the Emperor as a member of the Nan-shu fang after his probationary period. As a junior Han-lin official he was consecutively given educational assignments first as chief examiner in Shantung, then as Literary Chancellor in Yunnan and then chief examiner of the Fukien Provincial Examination. After several promotions, he became a Chief Supervisor of the Supervisorate in 1723. In 1725, owing to a personnel shortage in the Grand Secretariat as a result of some of its members being assigned to the provinces for special missions, [44] Wei was temporarily transferred to that department and assisted in performing administrative functions as an acting Chancellor. Very soon he was promoted to the Junior Vice-President of the Board of Rites, but then he was already sixty-nine sui. He was granted retirement one year later. [45]

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44. The special missions include investigation of cases of corruption or inefficiency or conducting relief work and public constructions. In the case of Liu Shih-shu, referred to in Note 43 above, he was despatched to Fukien as one of the Instructors of Moral, when he was a Chancellor of the Grand Secretariat.

45. KCCHLC, 67:17a-19a.

P'eng Wei-hsin passed the Palace Examination of 1706 and was brought into the Academy as a Probationer. Holding a sixth-rank post, he was delegated to Shansi as an assistant examiner of the Provincial Examination there. In 1720 he was again assigned as an examiner of the Provincial Examination, this time in Shensi. As soon as he had finished his educational function in Shensi, he went to Shantung to assume the post of Literary Chancellor. In 1723 he participated in the Daily Discussions and a few months later was once again called on to serve as Literary Chancellor in Chekiang. After repeated promotions he reached the post of Junior Vice-President in the Board of Rites in 1728. His main work was to take part in the Imperial Banquet Discussions. His political star was still on the ascent and in 1732 he was the President of the Board of Revenue, concurrently holding the honorary title of Assistant Grand Secretary. After 1732, he lost much of the confidence of the Emperor mainly because of a number of substantial charges against his character and conduct. In 1744, however, he still held the post of President and served as an assistant editor-general of one of the official compilations. The following year saw him working on the

examination board of the Metropolitan Examination, and thereafter as an exponent in the Imperial Banquet Discussions. Being charged of slackness in performing official duties, he was dismissed from office in 1750. [46]

Chao Hsiung-chao was the top scholar of the 1709 Palace Examination and appointed First Class Compiler. Because of his good academic results, he was invited into the Nan-shu fang and served as a Recorder of the Emperor's Deeds. Owing to an accusation of prejudice in his way of recording, he was deprived of his office. His dismissal from the civil service shows the distrust of Emperor K'ang-hsi in the recording machinery. [47]

Hu Hsü entered the Academy through examination in 1713 and became a Corrector in the following year. In 1714 he was selected to serve in the Nan-shu fang and assisted in the editorial work on the Book of Changes. In 1717 he was despatched to be the chief examiner of the Hupeh Provincial Examination. Returning to the Capital he continued to work on the editorial board. In 1724 holding the post of Chancellor

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46. Ibid., 16:31a-34b.

47. Ibid., 122:10a.

of the Grand Secretariat, he was given the assignment of chief examiner of the Shun-t'ien Military Examination.[48] He was promoted to Junior Vice-President of the Board of War in 1727 and in this capacity he sat on the examination board of the Military Metropolitan Examination. Two years later he again served as the chief examiner of the Shun-t'ien Military Examination. In 1730 he was selected as one of the royal preceptors, giving lessons to princes in the Shang-shu fang and at the same time served as the editor-general of the Ming-shih compilation. He was also one of the examination officials of the 1730 Metropolitan Examination. Next year he was transferred to the Board of Rites and a few months later he was dismissed from office because of senility and inefficiency. He was already 77 sui. In the first year of the next Emperor, Ch'ien-lung (1736), owing to his service in the Shang-shu fang in which the Emperor himself had once studied as a

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48. In the military Provincial Examination, the candidate was asked to participate in three kinds of test. The first was a test of archery on horseback, the second of archery on foot and the third was a written test on administrative questions. The Han-lin officials were sometimes called upon to conduct the written test. For a detailed description of the military public examination, see Shu-lu, pp. 188-202.

prince, he was given his original title of Junior Vice-President of the Board of Rites. He died in the same year at the advanced age of 82.[48a]

Wang Hsing-wu was a chin-shih and a probationer of 1727 who rose to Vice-President of the Board of Civil Service in 1759, the last year he was with the Government. As a Second Class Compiler in 1738, he joined the Daily Discussions with the Emperor for a few months. Then he was transferred to Kwangsi as a Circuit Censor. Thereafter he was given no specific literary or educational functions and most of his career was spent as a provincial official. Wang's case illustrates that Han-lin who served most of their time in the provinces would stand much less a chance of performing special literary duties. The Emperor was aware that the heavy administrative burden that they carried would not allow them spare time to do anything else.[49]

Ts'ao I-chih entered the Han-lin Academy in 1730 as a probationer. Before he had completed his probationary period, he was called in 1732 to serve as the associate examiner of the Shun-t'ien Provincial Examination. Next year he passed his graduation examination at the end of his probation and was appointed Second

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48a. KCCHLC, 71:26a-32a.

49. Ibid., 58:33a-35a.

Class Compiler. He was then despatched to help in translating official documents of the Academy. In 1734 he was promoted to the provincial post of Circuit Censor in Shantung and in the following year he returned to serve at the Capital as a Metropolitan Censor. Unfortunately he died soon after his return to the Capital at the age of 59.[50]

Li Yu-t'ang passed the Palace Examination of 1745 and was selected as a probationer of the Academy. In 1748 he was appointed Second Class Compiler and in 1750 delegated to Shensi to help in the Provincial Examination. His first promotion came in the following year. He now became a censor and in this capacity, he served as one of the associate examiners of the 1752 Shun-t'ien Provincial Examination. After finishing his educational mission in Shun-t'ien, he went to Kweichow to perform a similar function. In 1754 he was one of the associate examiners of the Metropolitan Examination. Two years later he was appointed Literary Chancellor of Fukien, supervising the Yuan Examination of that province. Ultimately he succeeded in reaching the 3rd-rank post of Vice Director of the Imperial Clan Court in 1769. Four years later, he served as assistant editor-general of the Szu-k'u

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50. Ibid., 136:25a-31b.

ch'üan-shu compilation, and within months he had reached the Vice-Presidency of the Board of Works. In 1774 he was given the educational commission of Literary Chancellor of Chekiang. In the same year owing to a discovery of mistakes in the Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu, he was deprived of offices and ranks. He was given the nominal title of third-rank official in 1790 on the eightieth birthday of the Emperor, small consolation after the immense literary work he did for the Government.[51] Li's case shows that while the assignment to the literary and educational functions pertaining to the Academy was a sign of imperial favour, failure to carry them out properly would also cause disgrace and dismissal.

Ts'ao Hsueh-ming became a chin-shih and probationer of the Academy in 1754. He was appointed Corrector in 1760, doing editorial work of the Government. Then he was chosen as an executive official of the Academy, looking after the administrative routine functions of the Academy. After several promotions, he became the Director of the Court of the Imperial Stud in 1774 and next year he directed the Shun-tien Provincial Examination. In 1780 having recently

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51. Ibid., 70:23a-24b.

suffered demotion due to a disagreeable memorial on the Public Examinations, he held a junior post in the Court of State Ceremonial, but was called on to accompany the Emperor's visit to Jehol. Later in his political career, he once participated in conducting the Military Metropolitan Examination (1784) and directed the Yüan Examination of Yunnan. The highest post he reached was Vice-Director of the Imperial Clan Court (rank 3A), the last post he held for a few months before retirement.[52]

Shao Tzu-ch'ang was the fourth top scholar of the 1778 Palace Examination and selected as a probationer of the Academy that year. In 1789, being Department Director of one of the Government Boards, he was chosen to be an associate examiner of the Metropolitan Examination. In the following year he became a censor, and in this capacity was assigned to Kwangtung to help in the conducting of the Provincial Examination there. After several promotions, he became the Director of the Court of Sacrificial Worship in 1803, and in 1804 he was despatched to direct the Yüan Examination in Fukien. After his mission to Fukien he did not take part in any literary or educational functions, but nevertheless,

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52. Ibid., 92:11a-16b.

succeeded in reaching the first-rank post of President of the Censorate in 1809 which he held for two years before retiring.[53]

There was a minority of Han-lin members who were never assigned to these literary and educational functions. Most of this group were provincial officials whose administrative tasks under their jurisdictions fully occupied their time. Some of them had such short service with the Government that no commissions of any kind could be offered. Examples of Han-lin officials not being called on to serve the "Han-lin" functions were Chu Ling who had reached the post of Intendant and Ch'eng Meng-hsing who was with the Government less than three years.[54] From the above biographical sketches, we see that there are great differnces among individual Han-lin members in their contribution to what we call the "Han-lin Functions". Generally, the more times they were assigned to these functions, the more trust they received from the Emperor, which in turn enabled them to rise higher in the bureaucracy.

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53. Kuo-shih lieh-chuan, later cited as KSLC, 71:14b-15b.

54. For the biography of Chu Ling see KCCHLC, 210: 36a-42a. For the biography of Ch'eng Meng-hsing see KCCHLC, 124:25a-25b.

Perhaps the best way to summarize the overall influence of the Han-lin members in the Government, regardless of the nature of functions, is to give a statistical account of their part in the civil service. Table 5 is drawn with this intention in mind. We see that most of the Chinese Grand Secretaries or Assistant Grand Secretaries of the 1644-1795 period were once members of the Han-lin Academy. A high percentage of first-ranking officials too were recruited from among Han-lin members. More non-Han-lin officials were able to reach the upper second-rank positions, although Han-lin membership still provided a good chance for its holder to rise above the third rank.[55]

Outside the Government, the influence of the Han-lin was incalculable. From such books as Chang Chung-li's The Chinese Gentry, Ch'u T'ung-tsu's Local Government in China under the Ch'ing and Ho Ping-ti's The Ladder of Success in Imperial China, we get a general picture of the scope and nature of the local functions of gentry member, in which the retired Han-

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55. Sources for Table 5: CSK, Ta-hsüeh shih piao, Pu-yüan ta-ch'en nien-piao, Ch'iang-ch'en nien-piao and CTCHLP, Ch'ing-tai-tsai-fu nien-piao, Ch'ing-tai pa-ch'ing nien-piao. ch'ing-tai tsung-tu nien-piao, Ch'ing-tai hsün-fu nien piao.

lin members played a leading role.[56] In the field of literature, apart from the works sponsored by the Government, which we have described above, the Han-lin were the most versatile group of writers of the Dynasty.[57] Eminent scholars who at one time or other were members of the Academy are too numerous to do more than single out a few of the most outstanding figures to underline the fact: Tai Chen, the leading philosopher of the Dynasty who rejected the orthodox Sung philosophy for a rationalistic and materialistic approach; Wang Ming-sheng and Chao I, two famous historians of the Ch'ing period, and Yüan Mei, the poet, were all members of the Han-lin Academy.[58] Incidently over one hundred Han-lin members by virtue of their administrative contributions to the Empire or scholarly achievements or both, have been given biographical descriptions in Hummel's book Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period.[59]

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56. All the three books are referred in the bibliograhy.

57. The majority of the Han-lin members had private publications of their own, some of which are still in existence today. For the works of the Han-lin on an individual basis see TLCL, books 1 and 2.

58. For the biographies of Tai Chen, Wang Ming-sheng, Chao I and Yüan Mei see ECCP, vol. 2, 685-700, vol. 2, 828, vol. 1, 75-76, and vol. 2, 955-937 respectively. Arthur Waley has written a biographical account of Yüan Mei and translated some of his poems. For further information on the book, see the bibliography.

59. This number does not include those who are casually mentioned.

SECTION B

CAREER PATTERNS OF THE HAN-LIN OFFICIALS

Chapter IV

General description of the appointment, promotion transfer, demotion and retirement system of traditional China

Avenues of Appointment

Entry into the Chinese officialdom could be through one of the following avenues: (a) the acquisition of degrees (b) being descendants of high officials (c) advancement from clerical staff and private secretaries (d) appointment through recommendation (e) advancement through study in Government Schools and (f) advancement through the purchase of offices.

The acquisition of degrees. We have seen that the top three scholars of the Palace Examination were given appointment in the Han-lin Academy as junior officials, while a number of other chin-shih were admitted into the same department as probationers. Those who failed to enter the Academy were given positions as secretaries of Government departments or sent to the provinces as magistrates. [1]

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1. See pp. 32-33 of Chapter two.

The second degree holders would normally sit for the Metropolitan Examination to acquire the third degree before applying for official positions. But some failing the Metropolitan Examination repeatedly would give up hope of further academic success and seek for entry into the Government. The second degree itself theoretically offered them a few advancement avenues: first they were eligible to participate in the examination for the post of Secretary in the Grand Secretariat (Chung-shu); second they could enlist for educational positions in the Government schools, and third and the most popular among the chü-jen, they would apply for the post of District Magistrate.

However, owing to the limited number of offices and the keen competition among themselves and other more highly-qualified candidates such as the third degree holders, chü-jen had to wait for quite a long time before obtaining official appointments. It was stated that in the early years of Ch'ien-lung reign, some second degree holders waited more than thirty years for positions as District Magistrates.[2]

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2. CSK, (hsüan-chü chih), 3:8a, 5:12b; Chou Yin-t'ang, "Chü-jen chih ch'u-lu"; Tung-fang tsa-chih, chüan 42, no. 9, 21-27; Cheng Chien-lu, "Ch'ing-tai k'ao-shih chih-tu", Ta-feng, no. 77, 2498-2499.

The first degree without further qualifications did not enable scholars to become officials. But if they were selected through examination and recommendation as special members of the Imperial College such as the pa-kung sheng or the yu-kung sheng, [3] they were allowed to sit for an official examination held at the Capital, leading to appointment as magistrates or educational officials.

As these senior first degree holders had to compete rather unfavourably with the second degree holders, their advancement became choked as time went on. By the time of Ch'ien-lung, it was quite difficult for them to become magistrates, although there was still ample chance to be appointed to more junior educational positions. [4]

Descendants of high officials. As an imperial favour granted for services done for the State, senior officials of the third rank and above and provincial officials of the second rank and above enjoyed the yin privilege (hereditary privilege) whereby their descendants (ying-sheng) could be eligible for offices without

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3. For the members of the Imperial College, see HCCS, chuan 50.

4. Chou Yin-t'ang, "Hsiu-ts'ai chih ch'u-lu", Tung-fang tsa-chih, chüan 41, no 18, 25-28; Lai Jen-ch'ang, "Ch'ing-tai k'o-chü chih-tu chien-shou", Nan-feng, chüan 11, no 2 75-77; SL, 46:20b; CCWHTK, 47:7b, 47:29b.

necessarily passing the Civil Service Examinations. Generally, the system was that yin-sheng would be given official positions which were four full ranks below their benefactors. Thus, a first rank official would be entitled to a fifth rank for his descendant, while a second rank official would enable his son or grandson to enter the service at the sixth rank. [5]

For fear of lowering the morale of scholars taking the Civil Service Examinations, the Government sought to minimise the scope and influence of the yin system. In 1664, Emperor K'ang-hsi decreed that only the eldest sons or grandsons of senior officials were qualified for the hereditary privilege, and those found to be physically sick or defective were not allowed to assume office. If officials committed offences, their descendants would be deprived of the yin privilege. They could retain it only if they had assumed official duty before their benefactors committed the offences. [6]

By a decree of 1665 all Chinese yin-sheng had to study in the Imperial College before standing the chance

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5. CSK, (Hsüan-chü chih), 1:6a; Hsieh, The Government of China, 104-5.

6. TCHT, 7:10a; Huang-ch'ao chang-ku hui-pien, nei-pien, hereafter cited as HCCHP (NP), 7:1a, 2a.

of appointment. As to the Manchu and Chinese Banner yin-sheng, they were despatched to the Banners or departments to serve as apprentice-officials for two years instead. By the reign of Yung-cheng, after completion of their training or study, the yin-sheng, Manchu or Chinese would be called to sit for a competence examination. If they did not show a reasonably high level of general knowledge they would be ordered to continue their training or study for a further period of time before being re-examined for official appointment.[7] Thus, we can assume that the comparatively small number of yin-sheng in the early Ch'ing were after all men who had received a certain degree of training and education, although their eligibility for office more or less depend on the status of their elders rather than on their own showing of literary or administrative ability.

Clerks and private secretaries. Clerical staff of the bureaucracy were not considered as officials in the Ch'ing Dynasty mainly because they were recruited from the lowly-educated. They formed a large group of executive personnel whose services were indispensable to the

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7. HCCKHP (NP), 3:2a-b; Chang Chin-chien, Chung-kuo wen-kuan chih-tu shih, p. 115.

Government but whose status was even lower than the ordinary people in the street. Ch'ü T'ung-tsu in his Local Government in China under the Ch'ing has given us a fairly comprehensive coverage of the functions and conditions of the Government clerks.[8] Here what concerns us is that after five years of service as Government clerks, they would be given chances to enter the civil service by being allowed to sit for a competence examination. The successful clerks would be given minor offices of the eighth or ninth rank. The could not however be promoted any further along the bureaucratic ladder. Possibly because of the unattractiveness of the offices offered to them and mainly because of the lucrative nature of the clerical posts, a great majority of the clerks did not even bother to enrol for the competence examination.[9]

The private secretaries, as the name implies, were not employed by the Government. They were administrative aides of officials who paid them out of their own purses to assist them in their official work. Unlike the clerks, the private secretaries were reasonably well educated,

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8. For further information of the book see the bibliography. Other sources on the underlings are Lui, The Training of Government Officials under the Early Ch'ing, 301-306, and Li Heng, Yung-li yung-yen, pp. 15a-16a. 18b-19a, 45a-46a.

9. TCHT, 7:14b, 5:5b; HCCKHP (NP), 3:3a.

some of them even holding the second or third degrees. Besides they were familiar with certain technical or administrative knowledge which was necessary for the smooth running of the Government and which the officials knew little about.[10] Partly because of this specialized knowledge and partly because of the multifarious functions of the officials, particularly provincial officials, the private secretaries exerted no small influence on the bureaucracy. Again Ch'ü's book, The Local Government of China under the Ch'ing has dealt with the institutional study of the private secretaries.[11] It will be sufficient to say here that for a time the bureaucracy attempted to absorb them into its fold when it gradually realized their significance in the political arena.

Emperor Yung-cheng in his first year (1723) ordered the Governors-general and Governors of the provinces to recommend worthy private secretaries employed by them to the Central Government for official appointment, and his successor Ch'ien-lung in 1736 extended the opportunity

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10. Van der Sprenkel, Legal Institutions in Manchu China, p. 46; Ch'ih Chuang, "Ch'ing-tai chih mu-pin yu men-ting"; Chang Shun-ming, "Ch'ing-tai ti mu-chih". Also see Kenneth E. Folsom, Friends, Guests, and Colleagues, the mu-fu system in the late Ch'ing period.

11. Additional materials can be obtained from Lui, The Training of Government Officials Under the Early Ch'ing 284-301.

of appointment to private secretaries working under officials of lower ranks. The practice was fixed that after six years of service, worthy private secretaries recommended by their bosses would sit for an official examination. If they passed it, they would become assistant officials of the seventh to the ninth ranks. [12]

The offer of official employment by the Government, however, had no attraction for the private secretaries who found that they earned both incomes and prestige more on a private basis than as official assistants of junior ranks. Thus, in spite of the efforts of Yung-cheng and Ch'ien-lung, only a very small minority of private secretaries were recruited into the civil service. [13]

Recommendation The process of recommendation was extensively applied as one of the factors in determining appointments or promotions but it was rarely used by itself alone to bring about appointment. Nevertheless, there were examples in the period under discussion of scholars being made officials not because of their academic qualifications, even if they possessed them, but because of official recommendation. In the K'ang-hsi reign, for

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12. Wang Ch'ing-yün, Shih-ch'u yü-chi, 1:52b; HCCKHP (NP), 3:2b; Chang Shun-ming, "Ch'ing-tai ti mu-chih" Ling-nan hsueh-pao, chuan 9, no. 2, p. 45.

13. See Huang-Ch'ing tsou-i, 33:26b-28a.

example, we find that a first degree holder entered the Government and assisted in editing official compilations as a result of the recommendations of the Grand Secretary Li Kuang-ti (1642-1718).[14] In the Yung-cheng reign, Sun Chia-kan (1683-1753), then the Libationer of the Imperial College, enlisted a chü-jen into the staff of the College by means of the recommendation process.[15] Notice that although the second degree itself was good enough for official appointment, Sun's recommendations enabled him to be appointed to the department he wished to serve in immediately without following the usual queue for official enlistment.[16]

Advancement through study in the Manchu Government Schools Except for a certain period, the Bannermen were entitled to sit for the Competitive Examinations.[17] In order to provide them with an education and enable some of them to prepare for the Civil Service Examinations, a number of Government schools were established. The first kind was called the Tsung-hsüeh (Imperial Clan Schools)

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14. CSK (hsüan-chü chih), 4:8a. For the biography of Li Kuang-ti, see ECCP, vol. 1, 473-475.

15. For the biography of Sun Chia-kan see ECCP, vol.2, 672-673.

16. For some idea how a usual appointment was made, see 43:1a-b, 44:13b-14a, 16b-17b. For reference also see Hsieh, The Government of China, 114-122.

17. The periods when the Bannermen were not allowed to sit for the Public Examinations were: 1644-1650, 1657-1667, 1676-1687 (Wang Ch'ing-yun, Shih-ch'ü yü-chi, 1:37a; CCWHTK, 47:19a-b).

where young members of the Imperial Clan studied. Students of these schools had no worry of their future, as on graduation they would be automatically granted the third degree without sitting for the Civil Service Examinations and given official positions as Secretaries of the Government Boards or became junior members of the Han-lin Academy.[18]

Owing to their family relationship with the ruling line, the Imperial clansmen were more highly favoured. Schools for other clans, however, did not possess the authority of granting the third degree. For the boys of the Chüeh-lo clan, another type of school called the Chüeh-lo hsüeh were instituted in 1729.[19] Every three years, the Government despatched a high-ranking official to give students of these schools a final examination. While the mediocre students would remain to study for a further period of time, the successful candidates were eligible for participating in the Civil Service Examinations or other examinations leading to the posts of Secretary at the Grand Secretariat (rank 7B) and Official Clerks in the various Boards and Courts (Pi-t'ieh-shih).[20]

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18. For the description of the Imperial Clan Schools, see HCCS, chüan 54.
19. HCCS, 54:27a.
20. Ibid., 54:28a.

There were two Government educational establishments which mainly catered for the education of common Bannerman families. The first was the Ching-shan kuan-hsüeh, named after the place where it was built. Founded in 1686, it, like the Imperial Clan Schools and the Chüch-lo schools, provided terms of study which lasted for three years at the end of which an examination was held. The best candidates would be appointed Official Clerks, while the less successful students either continued to study for another term or became minor official staff members with no rank at the Government Treasury.[21]

The second common Bannerman school was the Hsien-an-kung hsüeh built in 1729 under the auspices of the Han-lin officials attending duty at the Hsien-an-kung.[22] After attending lessons for five years, the Bannerman students were called to sit for an examination. The result of this examination divided the candidates into three classes. The first and the second class students became Official Clerks, while the third class candidates were forced to repeat the school course or dismissed from the school altogether.[23]

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21. Ibid., 54:38a; CCWHTK, 64:10b.

22. CCWHTK, 64:27a, The Hsien-an-Kung was one of the palaces of the Emperor.

23. HCCS, 54:31a-b.

Advancement through the purchase of offices. Sale of the title of studentship at the Imperial College (chien-sheng) began in 1649 to help in meeting part of the military expenses of the early years of the Dynasty. Throughout the reign of the first Emperor, Shun-chih and the first few years of his successor K'ang-hsi, the practice was limited to the sale of official titles. It was not until 1674-75 when the military preparations for suppressing the rebellion of the Three Feudatories [24] necessitated extra Government funds that the sale of substantive offices was initiated. However, the purchasers themselves needed to have some basic qualifications before being able to buy offices. For example, the sale of the right of immediate appointment to the post of Secretary of the Grand Secretariat required the buyer to be a holder of the third degree.[25] In other words, financial contribution to the State at this stage only facilitated one's appointment or engineered one's promotion byt did not give immediate appointment to generous contributors who lacked the necessary qualifications.

Moreover, the system of sales was, for most of the time of the period under discussion, restricted to certain

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24. For a concise account of the rebellion of the Three Feudatories see ECCP, vol. 1, pp. 275-577, 581; vol. 2, pp. 616, 636, 664. 877-880; Latourette, The Chinese, p. 312-313.

25. Hsu Ta-ling, Ch'ing tai chuan-na chih-tu, p. 23.

provinces where the financial needs were highest. In 1674, for instance, only Kwangtung and Kwangsi were affected by the sale of offices, although by 1676 it was extended to Kiangsi, Hunan, Hupeh and Fukien.[26]

Owing to recurrent attacks from some officials who saw in the system a stumbling block to a competent civil service recruited on the criteria of individual merit, the sale was only intermittantly carried out.[27] Thus, in the early Ch'ing period, the practice of offering titles and advancement in exchange for financial contribution to the Government treasury was only cautiously applied and its scope of influence on new recruitment to the civil service was also firmly put under the imperial control.[28]

The Period on probation

The practice of having a probationary period was applied to every appointment to office as well as promotion to positions lower than the fourth rank.[29] During this period on probation, officials were not permitted to be recommended for promotion and even in the counting of the years of service in conjunction with considerations for promotion later on, it was not included.[30]

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26. CSIC, (Yü Kuo-chu chuan), 8:18b.
27. For example in 1677, because of repeated requests, the Government stopped the practice of sales of offices for some time (Ibid., 7:32b-35b).
28. Hsu Ta-ling, Ch'ing-tai chüan-na chih-tu, p. 13.
29. Mayer, The Chinese Government, p. 119 states that the period on probation did not apply to officials higher than the Intendant of Circuit (Tao-t'ai, rank 4A).
30. SL, 69:2a, edict of 1742; CSK (hsüan-chü chih), 7:4b.

Nevertheless, officials on probation were regarded as active officials and they normally received half of the annual stipends given to permanent officials. [31]

In general, the length of the probationary period varied from one to five years, and largely depended on the nature of the offices held, the degree of experience, the qualification and racial origin of the probationers concerned.

The nature of the offices held was one of the decisive factors in determining the period on probation. For instance, in the case of offices where conditions were difficult to administer such as the outlying districts where inhabitants were regarded as uncouth or where the climate was too extreme, the holders of these positions would generally have a shorter probationary period so that they could be transferred or promoted sooner than other officials holding normal posts. [32]

Experience and qualifications were other factors at work. Novices and yin-sheng who were regarded as inexperienced had to remain as probationers for a longer period than others. Even officials who had been demoted and transferred to new positions were given shorter periods on probations, as they had some ideas of administration already. For those who were promoted and transferred to new positions, the period became even shorter. [33]

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31. SL, 263:15b.
32. HCCHP (NP), 3:6a-b. Also see Appendix 3.
33. Ibid.

The method of official enlistment also counted. Whether new appointments were made by imperial decree, or by securing first-class in the triennial inspection of officials, [34] or whether a man carried higher rank than the office held or vice versa would affect the duration of the probationary period. Exemptions from probation were only given to exceptionally brilliant officials who won the privilege of immediate appointment (chi-sheng). They could become permanent officials immediately when vacancies arose, with no need to wait for the probationary periods to expire. [35]

In view of the fact that the first few years of incumbency to new offices were a time of ordeal for officials, the Government paid great attention to their administrative records. On completion of the term on probation, the head of the Central Department or the Governor-general or Governor concerned would report on the behaviour and abilities of the probationers to the Emperor who had the final word whether permanent appointments would be granted. [36]

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34. For the triennial inspection of officials see pp. 94-97 below.

35. HCCKHP (NP), 3:6a-b.

36. SL, 69:2a.

The Metropolitan Inspection (ching-ch'a) and the Great Accounting (ta-chi) in the system of promotion, transfer, demotion and dismissal.

The Metropolitan Inspection and the Great Accounting were the two Government procedures employed to test the administrative performances of officials so that promotions, transfers, demotions or dismissals could be meted out accordingly. The former was established in 1652 and applied to Capital officials, while the latter, instituted in 1646, was applied to provincial officials. Both practices normally took place once every three years.[37]

The Metropolitan Inspection was in the main carried out by the Department heads, sometimes with the assistance of the Board of Civil Service, the Grand Secretariat and the Censorate. Officials of the fourth rank or lower were subjected to this inspection, while senior officials of the third rank or above reported their own performances directly to the Emperor who personally decided their political fates.

The practice was that Capital officials under review were to be judged on four criteria: faithfulness (shou), administrative competence (cheng), ability in general (ts'ai) and physical condition (nien). The degree of faithfulness

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37. The English translation of the terms ching-ch'a and ta-chi comes from Sun, Ch'ing Administrative Terms, p. 14. From 1652 to 1723, the Metropolitan Inspection was held once in six years' time. CSK, hsuan-chu chih, 6:1b, 3b-4a).

was gauged in three classes: "incorrupt","mediocre" and "greedy". The degree of administrative competence was also measured by three categories: "diligent", "mediocre" and "lazy". Ability in general was classified into "good", "mediocre" and "bad", while the three classes in relation to physical condition were "youthful", "middle-aged" and "senile". Officials who were rated as "incorrupt", "diligent", "good", and "youthful" or "middle-aged" in the assessment of the four criteria would be given the first class (ch'eng-chih). They would be rewarded with favourable records and presented to the Emperor for consideration of better appointments.[38] In the conferment of the first class to officials in the Metropolitan Inspection, a certain quota was fixed. For Capital officials the ratio was one in seven, and for Official Clerks, one in eight.[39]

The second class officials (ch'in-chih) and the third class officials (kung-chih) would secure a majority of top classes among the four criteria (i.e. incorrupt, diligent, good and youthful), with one or two "mediocre" marks. They would not be rewarded with promotion nor would they be demoted.[40]

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38. HCCKHP (NP), 5:3a.

39. CSK (hsüan-chü chih), 6:1a; Hsü Tao-lin, Ch'ing-tai k'ao-shih, yujen-kuan chih-tu, p.16

40. HCCKHP (NP), 5:8b.

In inspecting officials' shortcomings, the Government devised eight criteria for impeachment. They were greediness, cruelty, weakness, carelessness, senility, sickness, haughtiness, and inability. Officials who were found guilty of any such charges were liable to be demoted or dismissed from office.[41]

The Great Accounting followed a similar pattern of inspecting provincial officials, except that in view of the inconvenience of ordering all important provincial officials to leave their posts and attend the Great Accounting held at the Capital under the direction of the Board of Civil Service, representatives from each province were sent to report on behalf of their colleagues. The question then arose as to the right persons to serve as representatives. The despatch of junior officials might fail to gain the confidence of the inspection committee, whereas senior provincial officials like the Commissioners of Finance and Justice had too much responsibility to leave their posts and come to the Capital for the reporting duty. In 1686 a solution was found. Instead of requiring any provincid official to come to the Capital, the Government completely relied on the reports of the Governor-general or Governor

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41. Ibid., 5:1a-b.

concerned for the evaluation of provincial personnel.[42]

The result of such evaluation divided the candidates into two categories: the meritorious class (cho-i) and the ordinary class (kung-chih). The officials placed in the meritorious class were presented to the Emperor for conferment of records of merits or promotion, while those placed in the ordinary class remained in their former positions with neither rewards nor punishment. Only those prosecuted under one or several headings of the eight impeachments described above would face demotion or dismissal.[43]

Recommendations and Advancement

Every promotion in the civil service was in one way or another associated with the recommendation process. The Metropolitan Inspection and the Great Accounting were mainly based on official recommendations. Broadly speaking, Capital officials of the third rank or above and Governors-general and Governors of the provinces had the right of recommending officials for promotions, although sometimes less senior officials like the censors were also given

42. CSK (hcc), 6:4a

43. Hsu Tao-lin, "Ch'ing-tai k'ao-shih yu jen-kuan chih-tu" p. 16. For more information on the records of merits, see Sun, Ch'ing Administrative Terms, p. 5.

the chance to do so.[44] There was a certain quota on the number of officials recommended. The Government stipulated that in one year each high capital official could not recommend more than ten. As to the chief provincial officials, the practice at the beginning of the Dynasty was that recommendations of able officials would be taken up when Governors-general and Governors left their posts. Later it was changed that recommendations by Governors-general and Governors would be accepted once a year. For big provinces, the number of officials that could be recommended was not more than ten and for small provinces, only three or four. In 1661 the practice instead of being an annual affair was made to take place once every two years.[45]

In exercising the right of recommendation, officials had to see that the recommended fulfilled some basic requirements for advancement.[46] They must not recommend relatives

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44. Hsieh, The Government of China, p. 103. For example, in 1655 the Government ordered Capital officials of the third rank or above, provincial Governors-general and Governors to recommend one eligible person each for the post of Prefect (HCCKHP (NP), 3:10b); in 1679 a censor recommended ten upright officials to the Emperor, all of whom were promoted accordingly (CSK, hsuan-chu chih), 4:6a).
45. CSK, (hsuan-chu chih), 4:6b.
46. For the basic requirements for recommendations see Hsieh, The Government of China, pp. 103-4.

or officials coming from the same localities as they. Second they had to be responsible for the future conduct and working abilities of those they had once supported with recommendations. As early as 1644, Emperor Shun-chih ordered that if the recommended officials were later found to be worthy ones, their former sponsors would also be rewarded with promotion. However, if they turned out to be bad officials, their former sponsors would be punished together with them. Here we note the strong legalistic element in the Government: the introduction of reward and punishment in the official recommendation process.[47] This sponsorship system was meant to prevent nepotism to creep into the official advancement and as a result of its application, the recommendation process in the early Ch'ing was not too excessively or indiscriminately used.[48]

Transfers: the fixed terms of office and the Law of Avoidance

Transfers of office in traditional China could be the result of promotion or demotion or just simply the expiry

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47. Wang Ch'ing-yün, Shih-ch'ü yü-chi, 1:49a-b. For further discussion on the legalistic element in the Chinese Government, consult Wright (ed.), Confucianism in Action, pp. 185-186.

48. By adopting the sponsorship system, the Government kept a close vigilance on the officials; as we shall see in pp.204-6 of Chapter Five, a number of Han-lin officials were punished for abusive use of the recommendation process.

of the term of office. There were variations to the terms of office according to the nature of the posts, but generally, if no special promotions or sudden demotions caused immediate transfers, an official term lasted for three years after which the incumbent could be re-appointed to the same post for a second term.[49] It was however more likely that he would be transferred to another position of the same rank if he had received no promotion or demotion. Very seldom would an official stay in the same position in the same place for more than two terms. Because of this so-called "three-year term" of service, there were constant shifts of personnel in the bureaucracy.

Transfers in the civil service were to a certain extent regulated by the Law of Avoidance (hui-pi) which forbade members of the same family or relations to work in the same department. The more junior of the two in the family tree was required to work in another department unless he held a more senior position than his family superior; then the latter would be transferred to another position. Provincial officials were not allowed to work in the provinces where they were born and no officials with the same family name or from the same district as the Governor-general or

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49. Fairbank, U.S. & China, p. 90; Hsieh, The Government of China, p. 123.

Governor could hold office in that province. As a sign of impartiality, officials would generally avoid working together with any relative, even though he might be a very remote one.[50]

Frequent transfers caused by the three-year term and the Law of avoidance hampered the efficient running of local government due to the fact that officials had to confront new circumstances which they were quite ignorant of. When they had become familiar with the local conditions and accustomed to the local peculiarities, they were again on the move. The short duration in one place also did harm to the morale of the officials, who, knowing beforehand that they would go away soon, tended to take a rather indifferent outlook towards constructive reforms and the welfare of the populace.

To the Government, however, frequent shifts of personnel were not unwelcomed; for these would discourage the growth of regional power of local officials. With the Chinese Empire extending over vast territory and governed by a comparatively small number of civil servants, it was inevitable that the Central Government was limited in its control of the provincial and local administration. So much of the internal government was left to the officials on

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50. Hsieh, The Government of China, 128-9; Latourette, The Chinese, pp. 528-29.

the spot that as long as they paid the due quota of taxes and did not violate the country's peace by causing local rebellions, they were seldom interfered with. The Central Government, nevertheless, was apprehensive of the danger of allowing them to stay in their posts too long; for this might lead to amassing of local power and wealth on the part of the provincial officials, to the detriment of the security of the State. As a conquering race, the Manchus gave top priority to the maintenance of their dominance over the subjugated Chinese, even though this might be achieved at the expense of administrative efficiency. Thus, in spite of the shortcomings of the frequent transfer of officials, the Government was still happy to resort to it as a safeguard against undue decentralization of power.

Temporary Leaves and the Mourning Period

Chinese officials who had been with the Government for some years would be permitted to return home to settle family and personal affairs if they desired to do so.[51] The leaves granted could not exceed four months. During their absence, their posts were temporarily staffed by expectant officials or by other colleagues who held them concurrently with their own offices. Sometimes the officials themselves would recommend eligible persons to fill the vancancies for

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51. HCCKHP (NP), 3:9b; Wu Jung-kuang, Wu-hsueh-lu ch'u-pien, 7:18b.

the time being.[52]

Officials who became ill during their service could ask for sick leave. Before this was granted, they would be examined by their respective department heads and required to obtain written evidence from other officials who were held responsible for their statements.[53] If their official records were mediocre, the Government would take the opportunity to dismiss them altogether. Even if they were allowed to leave the service temporarily to attend to their illnesses, they would lose politically; for the periods of sick leave were not included in the consideration of seniority for promotion, and moreover, by returning home on the plea of sickness, they had more or less lost their posts and had to wait for vacancies to occur on recovery before being re-appointed to office once again. Thus, officials would generally not apply for sick leave too hastily or without genuine cause.[54]

While not many officials would get sick easily, a great majority of them were obliged to be absent from their positions for a few years as a result of the mourning practice.

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52. E.g. Yü Ch'eng-lung (ECCP, vol. 2, 938-939) recommended a subordinate official to take his place of governorship when he went back to attend his mother's funeral (Yu-ch'ing-tuan-kung cheng-shu, 5:8la).

53. See Ting Jih-ch'ang, Fu-wu kung-tu, 12:12a-b.

54. TCHT, 6:4b.

Following the Confucian imperative of filial piety, the Government compulsorily forced their civil servants to retire from office and mourn for their recently deceased parents for a period of twenty seven months after which they would be re-appointed to their former positions.

Like the three-year service and the Law of Avoidance, the mourning leaves caused disruptions in the running of the bureaucracy. The disruptions were more felt when the officials fulfilling the mourning obligations were influential and important. Replacements would be made as soon as possible, but even then, confusion of some kind was unavoidable, as the officials concerned could be called off duty all of a sudden. The Emperor occasionally found it necessary to relax the regulations by shortening or cancelling the period of mourning for certain of this indispensable officials. [55]

Apart from giving support to the time-honoured Confucian tradition, there were some practical reasons which favoured the observance of the mourning rites. First, together with the three-year term of office and the Law of Avoidance, it limited the growth of regional influences.

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55. Yu Ch'eng-lung, a Governor, only had three months to attend his mother's funeral (Yu-ch'ing-tuan-kung cheng-shu, 5:79a). For example of a Han-lin official asked by the Government to remain in office in spite of the mourning occurence, see Chapter Five, p.242.

The mourning practice, obliging the sudden departure of officials, had a diluting effect on the fortunes or power they might have accumulated through years of service. Filial sons in mourning were expected to be full of sorrow and remorse and to live a frugal and hermit-like life — all of which undoubtedly discouraged ambitions for the moment at least. When officials resumed their offices on completion of the mourning period, their former authority or power, if any, would certainly have been adversely affected by their long absence. Even if their ambitions were not blunted by the hard and ascetic living they they were supposed to lead, they would most likely lose the real power to further them, at least for the time being.

The mourning obligations which removed officials from the civil list for three years or so also helped in alleviating the acute problem of too many eligible candidates for a limited number of available positions. Since there were generally some members of the civil service who had to take up the mourning rites at any given time, they provided more room for advancement of other officials. Thus, the average political life of an official was cut short by the mourning practice, which enabled the Government to enlist other suitably-qualified personnel in the civil service.

Demotion, dismissal and retirement

Demotions and dismissals, as we have said, were meted out to officials who were condemned under one or more charges of the eight impeachments in the Metropolitan Inspection or the Great Accounting. Officials, however, could also be impeached by their respective heads, or censors or fellow-colleagues at any time other than the triennial inspections. Punishment was according to the seriousness of the offence. Light offences resulted in the forfeiture of salaries, or the loss of merits and grades.[56] More serious offences brought about demotion in rank, sometimes accompanied by transfer to more junior offices. When the offences committed were regarded as very serious, the officials would either be deprived of all ranks but still allowed to stay on or summarily dismissed from office altogether.[57]

While dismissal from office was an unnatural and abrupt end to one's political career caused presumably by one's shortcomings, application for retirement was a matter of the official's own free will and generally a result of sickness or old age or having the necessity of looking after aged

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56. Three merits equalled one grade, and three grades equalled one-half rank. (Hsieh, The Government of China p. 125). Also see Sun, Ch'ing Administrative Terms, p. 5.

57. Hsieh, The Government of China, p. 126.

parents.[58]

The problem of age was a difficult one to assess in the absence of accurate birth records. Although officials themselves would apply for retirement on the grounds of advanced age, the Government seemed to be tolerent of aging officials, so long as they could still be useful to the state. In fact able officials were not allowed to retire in spite of old age and many of them worked to the very day of their deaths. Thus, in spite of the 1757 and 1768 decrees which fixed the retirement age at fifty-five and sixty-five respectively, there was in practice no age-limit to one's service with the Government.[59]

On the other hand, officials accumulating fortunes not infrequently through high-handed means, desired early retirement, since they were aware that being officials, they might be impeached at any time. Too early application for retirement naturally would be suspected, and officials usually feigned sickness to cover up their real motives for retirement. Owing to the lack of medical facilities, the Government was in no position to check the authenticity of one's

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58. Wu Yung-kuang, Wu-hsüeh-lu ch'u-pien, 7:17b-18a; Hsu Tao-lin, "Ch'ing-tai k'ao-shih" yü jen-kuan chih-tu" p. 18.

59. Robert Morrison, "Retirement of Aged Statesman", p. 144; Hsieh, The Government of China, p.100.

illness. Thus, by means of early retirement on the pretext of ill health, a number of corrupt officials escaped disciplinary measures and left the Government scot-free. However, there were other officials who were genuinely ill and obliged to apply for early retirement.[60]

The Government laid down that when the parents of officials were more than seventy sui without the care of other sons, they could apply for retirement to perform the duties of a filial son. When their parents were eighty sui or over, they could leave the civil service even if there were other family members to look after them. Although the initiative for applying for retirement on account of advanced age of one's parents rested with the official concerned, there was a moral obligation, sanctioned by the State Confucian ideology of filial piety that he should do so, even if he was reluctant to leave the Government.

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60. Hsieh, The Government of China, p. 100; Chapter Five p.246 attempts to find the ratio between those who feigned sickness as a pretext to retire and those who were forced to retire because of genuine sickness.

CHAPTER V.

(Part 1).

Career Patterns of the Han-lin Officials.

From Chapter Four we have a general picture of the advancement and setbacks of officials in traditional China. This will provide us with a framework for a detailed study of the career-patterns of the Han-lin officials. Our main aim is to employ a biographical approach to substantiate what we have described in main outlines in Chapter Four, while at the same time paying attention to the features which were unique only to the patterns of the Han-lin officials.

The Probationary Period.

In Chapter Two we have seen how scholars of the third degree were selected into the Academy. We have also seen that except for the three first-class honours scholars of the Palace Examination who were immediately appointed Han-lin compilers, the rest were admitted as probationers. All including the three top scholars had to undergo a period of further study at the

Shu-ch'ang kuan, the affiliated teaching and research institute of the Han-lin Academy.

The Shu-ch'ang kuan was staffed by lecturers selected from the high-ranking officials of the Empire. They included Chancellors of the Grand Secretariat and the Han-lin Academy, together with Presidents and Vice-Presidents of the Six Boards. [1] From 1674 onwards, in view of the inadequacy of the lecturers who were mostly occupied with their various administrative functions elsewhere, a number of assistant lecturers were appointed from among the junior members of the Academy. These assistant lecturers had more free time and were thus in a better position to help the Han-lin probationers. [2]

Han-lin during the probationary period enjoyed semi-official status. They were regarded as officials by name and prestige, but were not given any official rank.

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1. Ch'ing-ch'ao t'ung-tien, hereafter cited as CCTT, p.2162; Ch'ing-shih, hereafter cited as CS, vol. 2, p.1314.

2. Shu-lu, p.129; SL, 70:9a.

They had no definite official assignments to perform but were provided with monthly subsidies to enable them to study without financial worry. [3] Study was certainly facilitated by the favourable politico-literary atmosphere of the capital; they could obtain good advice from high dignitaries and prominent men who clustered round Peking; and access to research materials was made possible by the fine collection of books in the government libraries and those on sale in the book stores in Liu-li ch'ang, a place famous for selling books which might not be available in the provinces. [4]

There were two courses offered in the Shu-ch'ang kuan: the Manchu course and the Chinese Classics course. More Han-lin probationers were called upon to study the former course in the early years but the number gradually grew smaller as time went on, so that in the Ch'ien-lung reign, only about ten scholars were to study the Manchu course in comparison with half of

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3. TCHT, 84:5b.

4. ECCP, vol. 1, pp.152-153 states that Ch'ien Ta-hsin who entered the Han-lin Academy in 1754 spent much of his time, like many other scholars who lived in Peking, in frequenting Liu-li Street, the famous book emporium and centre for antiques. Chou Yü-li, appointed Han-lin probationer in 1751, also visited Liu-li Street whenever he was free (KCCHLC, 90:16a).

the Han-lin probationers being asked to do so in the Shun-chih reign. [5] The reason for the decrease in number of those pursuing Manchu studies can be found in the declining importance of the Manchu language and the more general application of the Chinese language as the official language. In the early years, in spite of the relatively quick assimilation of the Chinese culture by the Manchu officials, the need of translating Chinese documents into the Manchu language and vice versa was still great. The Han-lin officials versed in the two languages served as translators and in this respect filled up an administrative gap. Such a gap was gradually bridged when more and more Manchu officials could master the Chinese Classics themselves.

Probationers who were selected to take up the Manchu course were usually young and good-looking with a pleasant voice. Since they were required to learn a new language to which their former education was totally unrelated, young scholars were thought to be in a better position to pick up the language.

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5. CS, vol. 2, p.1314; TCICSL, Shih-tsung, 44:1b; CCWHTK, 50:32a-b.

Secondly, probationers studying the Manchu course might have more contacts with the Emperor and senior officials than the others. They were the persons likely to be selected as masters of ceremony in official occasions and this possible role accounted for the emphasis paid to physical appearance.

Side by side with learning the new language and practising translation, scholars pursuing the Manchu course were called upon to study the "History of the Liao, Chin, and Yüan dynasties" (Liao Chin Yüan shih), "the Sacred Edicts of the Emperor Hung-wu, the first Emperor of the Ming dynasty" (Hung-wu pao-hsün),[6] the "Daily Exposition of the Meaning of the Book of Great Learning" (Ta-hsüeh yen-i jih-chiang) and the "Commentaries of the Four Books" (Ssu-shu chieh-i).[7] It can be seen that the course had a full syllabus which included linguistic studies, translation, history and the Chinese Classics.

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6. It may seem rather odd that probationers were asked to study the "Sacred Edicts" of the first emperor of the Ming Dynasty which the Manchus had just overthrown. The probable reason is that the Ch'ing Government professed to follow in the footsteps of the early Ming emperors to whom they outwardly paid respect. What they opposed, the authorities maintained, was the incompetence of the last few Ming emperors.

7. Shu-lu, p.129.

Probationers doing research work on the Chinese Classics course elaborated on the commentaries of the Classics, history and poetry. On completion of the probationary period, they had to sit for a graduation examination. Those who studied the Manchu language course were tested on Manchu-Chinese translation, while the Han-lin reading the Chinese Classics course were each required to compose a poem of set form or a piece of irregular verse and to write an argumentative discussion or an eight-legged essay.[8] The result of the graduation examination together with that of the Palace Examination and the conditions of vacant positions would determine their first appointments with the Government.

The normal duration of the probationary period was three years. Probationers would generally complete their courses of studies and leave the Shu-ch'ang kuan when a new batch of probationers selected from the recent Palace Examination were admitted. Generally, the Palace Examination would take place once in three years.

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8. TMTK (1805), 24:5a.

but in special years marked by special occasions such as the sixtieth birthday of Emperor Ch'ien-ling, additional Palace Examinations were held (en-k-o). These additional Examinations shortened the intervals between some Palace Examinations and indirectly the periods on probation of some of the Han-lin members. [9]

Besides the additional Palace Examinations which brought in irregularities to the otherwise three-year probationary periods, there were personal factors which prolonged the periods on probation. Failures in the graduation examination would result in summary expulsion from the Academy, but others who did not fail too badly were given a further chance to repeat the course. [10]

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9. There was no en-k'o in the Shun-chih reign, one in the K'ang-hsi and Yung-chang reigns respectively and seven in the Ch'ien-lung reign. The years they occurred were 1713, 1723, 1737, 1752, 1760, 1771, 1780, 1790, 1795 (CTCHLP, 12:1a).

10. Shu-lu, p.130; TCHT, 84:5b. Examples of Han-lin who failed the graduation examination miserably and were consequently dismissed from the Academy were Ch'en Ching, a native of Shun-t'ien and Yin Kuan-kuang, a native of Chihli. Both became Han-lin probationers in 1658 (TICL, 1:11b). It was reported that the results of the graduation examination of 1706 were unsatisfactory and the whole class of probationers had to repeat the course. Among them was T'u T'ien-hsiang who later became President of the Board of War (KCCHLC, 68: 1a-2a).

Another personal factor which lengthened the probationary period was sickness which compelled the Han-lin probationers to return home for medical attention. [11] Mourning obligations constituted the third personal cause of prolonged stay in the status of probationers. [12] For these Han-lin probationers, although their probationary periods were exceptionally long, much of the time was spent outside the Shu-ch'ang kuan.

On the other hand, special imperial favour could shorten the duration at the Shu-ch'ang kuan to a few months. [13] Some scholars who entered the

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11. Among a number of such unfortunate Han-lin was Huang Yü-lung, Han-lin probationer of 1742. He did not receive his first appointment until 1748, a lapse of six years from his year of entry into the Academy (KCCHLC, 126:59a-b).

12. One of the Han-lin whose mourning period occurred during the probationary period was Wang Fen, who entered the Han-lin Academy in 1703. On the death of his mother, he stayed at home for ten years and returned to the Capital in 1713 to report on duty. (KCCHLC, 123: 13a-14b).

13. For example, Chang Jo-ai, Han-lin probationer in 1733 and son of the powerful Grand Secretary, Chang T'ing-yü, only stayed in the Shu-ch'ang kuan for a few months, and through the imperial special favour was appointed Second Class Compiler after leaving the Shu-ch'ang kuan (CSLC, 14:36a-b).

Academy through passing the Po-hsüeh hung-ju and the Po-hsüeh hung-tz'u. Examinations had no need to undergo the further training at the Shu-ch'ang kuan and were immediately appointed as officials, skipping the probationary period.[14]

Notice that there was a marked difference between the Han-lin probationers and the ordinary officials on probation described in Chapter Four. While the former continued to study during this period, the latter were sent to their respective departments to assume official duties. The Han-lin probationers had to sit for a written graduation examination and until the results were published, they were not in a position to know what offices they would be appointed to. The other officials on probation on the other hand, instead of relying on a written examination, needed favourable recommendations from the heads of departments concerned for substantive appointment. Both, however, were not given any official rank or full salary, although they were all regarded as full members of the bureaucracy.

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14. For example, Yen Sheng-sun passed the Po-hsüeh hung-ju Examination with the Second Class honours and was immediately appointed Corrector of the Academy without experiencing the probationary period. (KCCHLC, 119:39a-43b).

The First Appointment. [15]

(A) Nature Candidates who obtained the first class in the graduation examination were to remain in the Shu-ch'ang kuan to serve as assistant lecturers. The other successful candidates were either appointed Second-Class Compiler or Corrector according to the former result of the Palace Examination they had earlier sat. If they had secured second class honours in the Palace Examination and did extremely well in the graduation examination, they would become Second-Class Compilers, while those who had been placed on the third-class honours list in the same Examination but also did extremely well in the graduation examination would take up official positions as Correctors. We are fortunate to have complete information on the first appointments of all the Han-lin appointed in the 1644-1795 period, which we present in Table 6. From this Table we find that appointment to the Second-Class Compilership makes up of 42.5% of the total, while the number of Han-lin probationers being appointed Correctors constitutes 23.5%.

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15. Although a few scholars were officially enlisted before entering the Academy, the great majority were not. Thus, by the first appointment, we generally mean the one the Han-lin took after joining the Academy.

Together these two most common groups in Table 6 form two-thirds of the total. There were variations in appointment for those who passed the graduation examination, but whose results were not as good. Most of them would become Secretaries of the Six Boards, but in the Shun-chih reign, a substantial number were appointed censors. The number of Han-lin probationers assigned to provincial positions was limited, mainly because the Government was aware that their training at the Shu-ch'ang kuan adapted them to serve at the Capital more suitably than in the provinces. Over one hundred Han-lin reverted to the appointment procedure of ordinary third-degree holders (k'uei-p'an chüan-hsüan). These Han-lin members lost the preferential treatment usually granted to Han-lin probationers in official appointments, due to their mediocre results at the graduation examination. They had to queue up with other chin-shih for consideration of appointment.[16] Two hundred-and-four, or about eight per cent of all the Han-lin appointed in the period under discussion, did not receive any official appointment at all.

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16. See Hsieh, The Government of China, pp. 114-5; SL, 43: 1a-b, 44:13b-19a.

The majority of them were expelled from the Han-lin Academy as a direct result of complete failure at the graduation examination. The main difficulty at this examination seemed to be the questions on the Manchu language which was totally a fresh subject for the Chinese Han-lin. [17] A minority of the unfortunate group died before completing their courses of studies at the Shu-ch'ang kuan. [18] Some of them left the Academy at their own will, mainly due to urgent matters at home such as the death or illness of their parents or simply their own physical weaknesses which called for medical attention. Usually their early retirements were the result of combination of one of these reasons together with a sense of homesickness and frustration brought about by the difficulties of adjusting to the political and social life at the

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17. Ch'en Ching and Yin Kuan-kuang, referred in note 10 above, were both dismissed from the Government because of their complete failure in mastering the Manchu language at the graduation examination.

18. For instance, Chang-shuo, native of Honan, died at the young age of 37 sui during his stay at the Shu-ch'ang kuan (KCCHLC, 126:15a).

Capital.[19]

There were a few unusual appointments to the Han-lin which call for some explanation. The post of Sub-Expositor (rank 5B), a very favourable position for the first appointment, was awarded to several Han-lin officials who had been with the Government for some time before entering the Academy, and who were selected as members of the Academy by virtue of their success in the Po-hsüeh hung-ju Examination.[20]

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19. There were quite a number of the Han-lin members whose temperament adapted them more to scholarly than to administrative work. Liu Yüan-ping was one among them who applied for permanent leave immediately after the graduation examination. He stayed at home for forty years and during this long period, even his own clansmen seldom saw him (KCCHLC 126:4a).

    Ch'en Chang was another. When he succeeded in entering the Shu-ch'ang kuan, a sudden feeling of nostalgia attacked him and his nerves were so strained that he wept all the time. As a result he had to return home without even completing the period on probation (KCCHLC, 126: 60a-62b).

20. Shih Jun-chang, having passed the Po-hsüeh hung-ju Examination of 1679, was appointed Sub-Expositor (rank 5B), mainly because he had been with the Government before (ECCP, II, 651).

Similarly the post of Tutor in the Imperial Academy (rank 6A) was awarded as the first appointment to four scholars in the Ch'ien-lung reign, because these scholars were successfully recommended to the Academy as learned classical teachers of the Empire (Pao-chü ching-hsüeh).[21] These posts which were ranked above that of the compiler-corrector level (rank 7A-7B) were not normally given to Han-lin members at the very beginning of their careers and should therefore represent special favour by the Emperor to renowned scholars as a respect of their scholarship. On the other hand, the posts of Registrar of Studies (Chiao-yü), Secretary of the Grand Secretariat (Chung-shu), Assistant Director of the Department of Music (Chu-ch'eng) and the legal Secretary of a prefecture (T'ui-kuan) were given to those who barely passed the examination when such vacancies arose.[22]

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21. One of the successful scholars of the Pao-chü ching-hsüeh Examination was Liang Hsi-yü who became a Tutor of the Imperial Academy afterwards. (KCCHLC, 127:21a-b).

22. Because of the mediocre result at the graduation examination, Yin Chün, who became a Han-lin probationer in 1754, received the post of Secretary of the Grand Secretariat (Chung-shu, rank 7B). (KCCHLC, 145: 39a-41b).

(B) Tenure. Although the period on probation was, according to Government regulations on paper, not counted in the consideration of seniority for promotion, we find in practice that, for the Han-lin officials at least, certain concessions were allowed to those who had long periods of probation.[23] Besides, as we have seen, the three top scholars of the Palace Examination studied in the Shu-ch'ang kuan not as probationers but as active Han-lin officials.[24] Their first appointments therefore included the period they spent in this teaching centre, while those of the other Han-lin officials did not. Here, for the sake of uniformity, the period on probation is added to the actual tenure of the first appointment for discussion.

Since it is absolutely impossible to know all the bureaucratic details of advancement in early Ch'ing times, we have to be content with whatever information we can gather from our sample.

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23. Sung Pang-sui of Kiangnan, for instance, remained as a probationer for five years as a result of the death of his father during this period. He was obliged to observe the mourning period for three years. His first promotion, however, came in two years' time, a period which was shorter than the average tenure of the first appointment (5.6 years). (KCCHLC, 83: 6a-8b).

24. See Chapter 2, p32.

We know for certain the tenures of first appointment of 455 Han-lin, more than three-quarters of this number are Han-lin officials who eventually held positions of the third rank or above. There are two reasons for this seemingly unbalanced representation. First, it is only with difficulty that we can ever obtain information on Han-lin who did not rise higher than the fourth rank, as nearly all the biographical compilations would skip years and length of appointments of officials whom they regarded as not outstanding in the administrative field. The local gazeteers do help a little here, but it is a very haphazard and time-consuming affair to trace appointment dates of a rather insignificant official and usually requires consultation of two gazeteers to determine the years of the first two appointments in order to know the tenure of the first.[25] Moreover, the gazeteers only give information on provincial or local appointments and seldom on appointments at the Capital. As most of the Han-lin were appointed as Capital officials, the gazeteers' usefulness here is limited.

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25. The local gazeteers usually contain the appointments of the local officials, but since transference to another post on completion of the tenure was very likely, one has to consult another gazeteer for the time of the second appointment.

Second, quite a number of Han-lin officials of our sample ended their political careers only with one Government appointment,[26] and technically speaking they just did not have any tenure of first appointment. Thus, we have to discard them from the discussion of tenure of first appointment.

Table 7 classifies the tenures of the first appointments of the 455 Han-lin into five groups under reign-periods and from the total we find that the largest group of Han-lin falls within the 6-10 year bracket. Very few officials held their first appointments longer than 16 years, although about a quarter of them stayed in the first appointments for 11-15 years. Long tenures of appointment were in many instances caused by temporary leaves from the service as a result of the mourning practice, ill health and other

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26. There are 115 Han-lin members of our sample who only received one appointment from the Government.

personal reasons.[27] Quick promotions on the other hand were motivated by one's impression on the Government through a show of talent in the administrative or literary field or both.[28] As we shall see later on, sometimes official connections and recommendations helped a great deal in shortening officials' tenures of appointment.[29]

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27. Shen Ch'ao Ch'u, native of Kiangnan, stayed in his first appointment for eleven years, part of which he spent in the mourning observance (KCCHLC, 117:14a-16b); Li Yüan-chih, a Shantung scholar who was admitted into the Academy in 1713, remained as a Second Class Compiler, his first appointment for fourteen years or so, eight of which were actually spent in his own home, looking after his aged parent (KCCHLC, 135: 46a-49b); Ku Chi-ch'i from Yunnan who became a Han-lin probationer in 1775, did not receive his first promotion until twenty years had passed. The fact is that during his first appointment as a Corrector, he twice observed the mourning obligations and later suffered from physical weakness which prevented him from serving the Government for ten years (KCCHLC, 137: 36a-45a).

28. We shall see pp. 140 below how the Royal Examinations and the triennial inspections were used to test the administrative and literary abilities of the Han-lin officials for favourable promotions.

29. See pp. 210-213.

From the data of the sample, we calculate that the average duration of the first appointment was 8.8 years.[30] From the same Table, we are informed that officials in the Shun-chih reign had somewhat shorter first appointments than officials appointed in other reigns. This is a logical result, strongly supported by the historical fact that vacant positions in the first reign were not lacking and the Government sought to give more favourable advancement to officials whose abilities had been acknowledged. The K'ang-hsi reign saw the beginning of a glut in official advancement avenues, due to the growing number of eligible candidates for Government positions. Many officials could hardly gain promotions in spite of having enough seniority for advancement, if they were unable to secure recommendations from senior officials.[31]

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30. The average is derived from the 455 Han-lin members used in Table 7.

31. The official glut and the emphasis on connections can be discerned in various biographies. See the biographies of Tsui Wei-lin and Wu T'ing-chen, both Han-lin members serving in the K'ang-hsi reign (KCCHLC, 116: 1a-11a; 123: 11a-12b).

Possibly the Government was for the first time caught in the dilemma of excessive number of applicants to office and insufficient vacancies. What they did was to slow up the process of promotion. This accounts for the small percentage of short tenures in the K'ang-hsi reign. The scholars who after years of intense scholarly pursuits to secure admittance to the Academy, now found their political opportunities not much better than the others and they were naturally disillusioned. The Government on the other hand began to be aware of the loss of attraction of academic pursuits which in the minds of many scholars were inseparably related to political advancement. Thanks to a number of outspoken Han-lin who repeatedly sent in memorials to remind the Government of the need of providing more opportunities of advancement to members of the Academy, subsequent emperors were more sympathetic to the Han-lin group at the expense of other officials who joined the Government with less

esteemed qualifications.[32] This adjustment of political opportunities in favour of the Han-lin officials is reflected in the higher percentages of shorter tenures in the Yung-cheng and Ch'ien-lung reigns, and also the growing difficulty of advancement for other officials in the latter half of the 18th century.[33]

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32. One of the memorials suggesting that the advancement of the Han-lin members was sluggish and requesting for quicker promotion was sent by Wu Han, the second top scholar of the 1682 Palace Examination, who later rose to the 1st-rank post of President of the Censorate. In 1698, the time when he submitted the memorial, he was the Vice-President of the Censorate. His words gained the consent of the Emperor who was so pleased with him that next year he was promoted to Vice-President of the Board of Works (KCCHLC, 60: 24a-25a).

33. The growing difficulty of advancement in the Ch'ien-lung reign can be seen in the fact that some chü-jen, because of their less highly-qualified degree, had to wait more than thirty years for an official post of the 7th rank (CSK, hce, 5:12b).

The other appointments.

(A) Nature Except for a very small minority, the second appointments of the Han-lin officials were in fact their first promotions. Unlike the first appointment when over 60% of the Han-lin were appointed Compiler of the Second Class or Corrector, the second appointment of the Han-lin was not dominated by one or two positions. When the Han-lin on completion of the tenures of their first appointments were promoted for the first time, the most likely posts they would fill were Circuit Censor (rank 5B), Secretary in the Supervisorate of Imperial Instruction (rank 6A), Assistant Secretary in the same department (rank 6B), Sub-Expositor (rank 5B), Sub-Reader (rank 5B), Tutor in the Imperial College (rank 6A) and Assistant Director of the Government Boards (rank 5B). These seven posts of the 6th-5th ranking level comprise 63% of the sample. [34]

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34. The actual percentages of these posts are: Circuit Censor 15.0%, Secretary in the Supervisorate of Imperial Instruction 12.5%, Assistant Secretary in the same department 11.6%, Sub-Expositor 10.9%, Sub-Reader 8.1%, Tutor in the Imperial College 7.3%, Assistant Director of a Board 6.3%.

No single one of these posts, however, was half as common as the compilership or correctorship for the first appointment. The other appointments bear similarity to the second appointment in the sense that the Han-lin members received more varied posts and that even the most common ones were held by no more than 15% of the sample.[35] The explanation for this is that whereas the positions of Compiler and Corrector were unfixed and could be increased or decreased according to the number of graduates from the Shu-ch'ang kuan,[36] the posts such as the Circuit Censor were fixed and could only be changed in number with difficulty. Thus, while the first appointment, by its very nature, kept a majority of the Han-lin members inside the Academy, subsequent appointments caused a greater proportion of them to leave the Academy. They served in other departments, and although they still carried with them membership in the Academy and occasionally were called upon to perform the Han-lin functions described in

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35. Take the third appointment for example, the two most popular posts were Sub-Expositor and Sub-Reader, the former constituting 13.8% and the latter 11.0% of the sample.

36. See Table 1.

Chapter Three, they were in fact found in nearly every civil department, performing administrative or territorial functions like the rest of the civil service.

The observation of Hsieh Pao Chao in his The Government of China, 1644-1795 that "without a special edict of the Emperor, half a rank at a time was the common promotion or demotion; one full rank at a time would immediately become the gossip of the mandarin circle", [37] is not supported by our figures in Table 8 which lists the available information on official ranks and appointments of Han-lin in our sample. The jump from the first to the second appointments is seen the biggest in the Table, as about 50% of the Han-lin concerned were promoted from the compiler - corrector bracket of the seventh rank to 5th-rank positions. Promotion from the second appointment to the third seems to be the only one which conforms to Hsieh's contention of advancement by half a rank; as the largest group of Han-lin of each of these two appointments falls simultaneously in the

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37. The statement is found on page 117 of the book.

5th-rank column.[38] The other appointments roughly show promotions of one full rank at a time, as the largest group of each more senior appointment is placed in a more senior rank column. From the Table as a whole, we see that variations of promotion are not infrequent and Hsieh's rigid statement of half a rank of advancement at a time is not always true, as far as the Han-lin officials are concerned.

However, although there is much room for flexibility in the pattern of promotion, we can still discern in Table 8 a political trend in favour of seniority of service. There was only one Han-lin official able to reach the third rank or above in office in his second appointment and from our biographies, we learn that he was Fu-min, a Manchu Han-lin of the K'ang-hsi reign who later rose to the post of Grand Secretary.[39] He had been in his first appointment after leaving the Shu-Ch'ang kuan for twenty-two years before he was promoted to

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38. This means that members of the largest group of the second appointment were either given promotion of half a rank or no promotion at all.

39. KCCHLC, 14:1a-5a.

Chancellor of the Grand Secretariat (rank 2B). Thus, in view of the exceptionally lengthy tenure of his first appointment, his seemingly favourable second appointment was also compatible to seniority of service with the Government.

Fu-min's duration in his first appointment was abnormally long and generally, appointments had shorter tenures. Officials securing further appointments would usually accumulate more seniority of service. Table 8 shows that 6.6 per cent of the Han-lin represented in the third appointment succeeded in rising to the third rank in office. The percentages increased to 26 and 48 for the fourth and fifth appointments. By the seventh appointment over 70% of the Han-lin represented had become senior officials of the third rank or above. The minority of them who were unable to do so in the seventh appointment would be all promoted to the third-ranking level or above in the eigth or ninth appointment with the Government. Their pattern of advancement requiring a great number of official appointments to reach the senior ranks is perhaps the result of political setbacks in the midst of advancement. We shall pick

one of them at random for illustration:

Meng Shao, a Szechwan scholar who entered the Han-lin Academy in 1760, was appointed Secretary of a Government Board (rank 6A) in 1761. His second appointment, an Assistant Department Directorship (rank 5B) came after four years. In 1767 he was transferred to the provincial post of Circuit Intendant (rank 4A). He was demoted to Circuit Censor (rank 5B) after five years as Circuit Intendant. In 1779 he was re-assigned to the Capital as a Metropolitan Censor (rank 5A). He was again demoted to Sub-Director of the Court of State Ceremonial (rank 5B) in 1783. One month later, he was promoted to Director of the same Court (rank 4A). He finally reached the third-ranking position of Director of the Court of Sacrificial Worship in another four months' time. On the whole he took eight appointments (or one appointment, five promotions and two demotions) to become a third-rank official. [40]

Notice that even from Meng's rather unfavourable political career, Hsieh's contention of promotion by

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40. Ibid. 94:25a-26b.

half a rank at a time was not always followed.

(B) Tenure. The study of the rank achieved with each appointment is futile without a concomitant study of tenure. While Table 8 summarizes the ranks reached with each appointment, Table 9 gives the average tenure of each appointment. We notice that the tenure of the first appointment is much longer than those of the other appointments which are all below the three-year mark. One of the reasons is that in our calculation we have included the period on probation into the tenure of the first appointment. But even if we deduct three years as the probationary period from it, the 5.8 years for the first appointment is exactly twice the average tenure of the second appointment and more than three times that of the seventh appointment. The policy of the Government in lengthening the duration of the first appointment is obvious and can be explained by the fact that they wanted to know their new recruits better before promoting them to more senior positions, involving more responsibilities. Once the Government was more familiar with them, they would be given a faster rate of advancement. Although the difference between the

tenure of the first and the second appointment is far more significant, we can also see a definite trend of decrease in duration for other appointments. As the years of service with the Government increased, there was a corresponding growth of confidence by the Government, as exhibited in the quicker promotions accorded to those officials whose abilities had been shown and acknowledged.

The conventional notion of three-year service was inapplicable to the Han-lin officials. From Table 9, the tenure of the second appointment (2.9 years) is the nearest to the three-year term of office. However, if we refer to Table 10 which shows the tenures of the seven appointments in year-groups, we see that only 10% of the 329 Han-lin about whose second appointments something is known, stayed there for exactly three years. The percentages of a precisely three-year term for other appointments are equally small, and that of the fifth appointment particularly small (5.7%). The majority of the Han-lin of our sample had relatively short tenures which frequently lasted less than three years. From Table 10 we also learn that a substantial percentage (between 24-33%) of the sample had less than one year of duration in any appointment except the first.

Judging from the calculation that it took an average of 18.7 years for a Han-lin to reach the second rank and assuming that he started his official career with a seventh-rank post, it would take him 1.8 years to gain half a rank of seniority.[41] In other words, an average Han-lin would have a few short appointments and a few longer ones, giving an average duration of 1.8 years for one appointment. Thus, although the percentage of those who had less than one year for any one appointment is pretty constant, it does not mean that the same group of Han-lin always enjoyed quick promotions for all appointments. Liu Hsing-wei's advancement pattern shows the alternation between shorter and longer tenures of appointments:

Liu, a Han-lin probationer between 1748-1751, received his first appointment as a Second-Compiler in 1751. In 1753 he was promoted to Sub-Expositor. Six years later, he became a Sub-Reader. In 1760, after one year of incumbency as Sub-Reader, he was appointed to Senior Deputy Supervisor of Instruction. In a few months' time he was made an Expositor of the Academy. In 1764 he succeeded in holding the second-rank post of Chancellor of the Grand Secretariat, and

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41. See Table 40 for the average seniority acculu-lated before reaching the second rank in office.

within a few months, he became Vice-President of the Board of Rites, later transferred to the Board of Works. He died in 1772, the year he left the Government. [42]

Liu did not meet any demotions in his political career and had not once been obliged to leave the service to attend the mourning practice. Nevertheless, it still took him 16 years to rise to the second rank. It seems that the Government would not allow an official to reach responsible positions of the third rank or above before he had accumulated a certain amount of seniority of service. Quick advancement due to a brief tenure in one office served as encouragement to conscientious officials, but seldom applied to all the appointments of an official, even if he was a worthy one. The mourning practice, sick leaves and other personal factors also help to prolong appointments which otherwise might have been shorter. [43]

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42. CSLC, 26:48a-b.

43. Consult note 27

The Triennial Inspections and Performances of Public Duties.

The Metropolitan Inspection and the Great Accounting in theory applied to the Han-lin members as much as to other officials. Examples of Han-lin officials receiving the first class in these triennial inspections and being awarded with promotions are numerous and here we select a few from our sample for illustration:

Li Yao-tung, a Secretary in the Supervisorate in 1790 was promoted to the provincial post of Prefect (rank 4B) after being placed on the first-class list of the 1790 Metropolitan Inspection [44] Hsieh Ch'i-k'un, a Second-Class Compiler, passed the Metropolitan Inspection of 1771 with a first-class and was selected as an assistant examiner in the Metropolitan Examination of that year. He was promoted to Prefect in one of the prefectures in Kiangsu next year. [45]

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44. Li entered the Academy in 1772 and finally reached the post of Governor of Yunnan in 1817 (Hsü pei chuan chi, hereafter cited as HPCC, 21:1a-2b; KCCHLC, 189: 31a-32b).

45. Hsieh became a Han-lin probationer in 1760 and after several promotions, was appointed Governor of Kwangsi in 1799 (KCCHLC, 185: 23a-21b).

Ch'ien Shou-ku was an Assistant Department Director (rank 5B) when he underwent the Metropolitan Inspection of 1764. He won the first class and was appointed as a secretary in the Grand Council (Chang-ching).46

Other Han-lin officials who were awarded with the first-class results only received official grades. The explanation might be either that they were regarded as having insufficient seniority for rank promotions or there were no suitable available vacancies at the time. Chiang Yung-chih, a Second-Class Compiler, was given one grade of promotion for his being placed on the first-class list in the 1768 Metropolitan Inspection.[47] Shen Ch'u who had already reached the post of President of the Board of Civil Service and was serving in the Grand Council in 1798 was awarded with one official grade and sent to Shun-t'ien as a provincial examiner after he had won the first class at the

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46. Ch'ien became a probationer of the Academy in 1760 and reached the post of Intendant in 1767. Five years later, he died in office (KCCHLC, 212: 1a-3a).

47. Chiang entered the Han-lin Academy in 1761 and two years later was appointed Second Class Compiler, the only appointment he had ever held in the Government (KCCHLC, 129:12a

Metropolitan Inspection that year. [48]

Others were not immediately rewarded for their good results in these inspections. For example, Li Tien-t'u, a Metropolitan Censor in 1784, obtained a first-class in the Metropolitan Inspection held in that year; [49] Ch'ien Ch'ia took the 1804 Metropolitan Inspection in the capacity of Department Director (rank 5A) and also obtained a first-class result. [50] Both were, however, not immediately rewarded, though such achievements were certainly recorded for later consideration of promotions. Li and Ch'ien rose to the post of Governor at the height of their political careers.

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48. Shen was the third scholar of the 1763 Palace Examination appointed Second Class Compiler immediately after the Examination. He passed all the examinations during his official career with extremely bright results and for this he was much liked by Emperor Ch'ien-lung (KSLC, 68:8a-9b).

49. Li entered the Academy in 1766 and reached the post of Governor of Anhwei in 1801 (KCCHLC, 186: 51a-53b).

50. Ch'ien became a Han-lin probationer in 1789. After repeated promotions, he reached the post of Governor of Kwangsi in 1809 (PCC, 74:9b-11b).

Han-lin officials receiving the first-class in the Great Accounting experienced more or less the same treatment as those doing equally well at the Metropolitan Inspection. Here, two examples are picked out as illustrations:

Li Hsieh-yü was a Second-Class Circuit Censor (Fu-shih) in Szechwan when he was asked to attend the Great Accounting of 1739 and although he was placed on the first-class list, this did not immediately secure promotion for him, which came three years later. He was then appointed as an Intendant. [51] Ho Yüan-liang met two Provincial Accountings during his political life and each time he was able to secure first class results and awarded with official grades. [52]

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51. Li was a chin-shih of 1727 who entered the Han-lin Academy in the same year. He was appointed Corrector in 1730 and after several promotions, reached the post of Intendant in 1742. He died three years later (KCCHLC, 173:1a-5a).

52. He came from a middle-ranking official family, his father being a First-Class Assistant Chou Magistrate. He entered the Academy in 1787, and had once served as Secretary and then Department Director of the Board of Revenue, Circuit Censor stationed in Shantung and Prefect in Kwangsi. Besides the two first class honours at the Great Accountings, he also received another first class at the Metropolitan Inspection held in 1801. It was rather unfortunate that he failed to be promoted to positions of the third rank or above (KCCHLC, 244:12a-15b).

Han-lin officials impeached under the eight charges at the triennial inspections would certainly suffer punishments of some kind. Accused of lack of ability, Lin Ming-lun, a Prefect, was removed from office in 1756.[53] At the 1777 Metropolitan Inspection, Yin Chün, a Han-lin member holding the rather junior position of Sub-Archivist (rank 7A), was deprived of his official position under the charge of senility. He was then sixty-three sui.[54] Advanced age and feebleness were also the causes of the dismissal of Wu Fang-p'ei, a Vice-President of the Board of War in 1822,[55] Chiang Hsiang-ch'ih,

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53. Lin came from a commoner family. At 26 sui he passed the 1748 Palace Examination and was later appointed Second Class Compiler. He was given the provincial post of Prefect (rank 4B) in 1754. At the time of the impeachment, he was 35 sui. He died next year (PCC, 103:15a-16a).

54. Yin came into the Government service as a Han-lin probationer in 1754 and because of his mediocre result at the graduation examination he was appointed Secretary of the Grand Secretariat (rank 7A) by seniority. See Note 22 of the same Chapter for biographical reference.

55. Wu entered the Academy in 1784, reached the first rank position of President of the Censorate in 1818. Then he was demoted to Vice-President of the Board of Civil Service, transferred to the Boards of Punishment and War before he was dismissed in 1822 (KCCHLC, 105: 13a-14a).

Director of the Court of State Ceremonial in 1834 [56] and Wu Sheng-lan, an Expositor of the Academy in 1804. [57] One of the common characteristics of these Han-lin officials forced to retire on the grounds of senility was that they were already under the disfavour of the Emperor who took the triennial inspection as a final disposal of inefficient and elderly officials.

Other officials who were penalized at the triennial inspections but did not suffer such serious punishment as summary dismissal were usually charged

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56. Chiang was a Han-lin probationer between 1790-94. After several promotions, he became Senior Vice-President of the Censorate in 1815. He met a number of minor demotions afterwards and was finally dismissed from office in the 1834 Metropolitan Inspection. He was then 73 sui (Ibid., 107:41a-43a).

57. Wu passed the Palace Examination of 1777, being placed on the second class honours list, and selected as a probationer of the Academy. After a time of rapid advancement possibly due to his connections with the powerful Ho-shen (see pp. 237-240 of the same Chapter for more about Ho-shen), he became Vice-President of the Board of Works in 1798. At the fall of Ho-shen next year, he was demoted to Second Class Compiler. In 1803 he was a Han-lin Expositor (rank 4B) and one year later, dismissed from office. (Ibid., 97:12b-15a).

with lighter offences, the most common of which was the accusation of insolence. Some of them like Ch'üan K'uei [58] lost grades, while others like Ch'en Yü [59] lost ranks and were demoted to more junior positions.

Nevertheless, the influence of the triennial inspections on career patterns of the Han-lin officials was definitely less than its impact on other officials. For one thing, the Emperor was

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58. Ch'üan was a Manchu scholar who became a Han-lin probationer in 1751. In 1762, after eleven years of Government service as a Han-lin official, he reached the second rank post of Chancellor of the Grand Secretariat. He was unable to rise higher than the second rank, and at the end of his political career, he met two demotions, one of which was the result of the 1788 Metropolitan Inspection (Ibid., 90:28a-29a).

59. Ch'en, a Han-lin probationer appointed in 1790, was the Vice-President of the Board of Punishment in 1813. Three years later, he attended the Metropolitan Inspection which result brought him the loss of one full rank. (KCCHLC, 195:35a-37b).

able to make more personal contacts with the Han-lin officials through their execution of the literary functions at court so that he did not rely completely on reports of the examining committee at the triennial inspections to learn about them. Secondly, besides the Metropolitan Inspection and the Great Accounting, the Han-lin members were subjected to a third test of their abilities, that is, the Royal Examinations which we shall discuss later in this Chapter. Thus, the best we can say of the triennial inspections on the advancement of the Han-lin officials was that they were one of the various evaluation processes held regularly through which the Government could gauge the performance and conduct of the Han-lin officials. These inspections were of even less significance for senior officials, most of whom secured a first class rating almost as a matter of course. At the 1762 Metropolitan inspection for instance, only P'eng Ch'i-feng, Vice-President of the Board of Civil Service, did not receive first-class and for this, he was punished [60]

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60. P'eng was the top scholar of the 1727 Palace Examination and by 1742, he was already a Vice-President serving in various Boards. In spite of his inability to obtain the first class in the 1762 Metropolitan Inspection, he later rose to President of the Board of War (1763). (CSLC, 19:41a-43b), PCC, 35:5a-7b).

The fact that officials, particularly Han-lin, were promoted or demoted at other times than that of the triennial inspections, testifies that the latter were concerned primarily with the ordinary working conditions of officials through periodic checking. Outstanding performances or the committing of offences at other times would also bring forth corresponding treatment from the Government. This was particularly true of high-ranking officials who were more familiar with the Emperor, being personally appointed by him [61] A revealing case on the process of award and punishment outside the triennial inspections can be seen in the biography of Ch'in Ch'eng-en [62] once Governor of Shensi (1789-1792). Holding this position in 1792 to attend the Metropolitan Inspection, he was praised for his good administrative work. Only a few months later, he was impeached for being unable to keep a

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61. Consult Chapter Six, pp. 252-3

62. Ch'in became a Han-lin probationer in 1761 and two years later, was appointed Second Class Compiler. Passing a series of political vicissitudes, he later rose to the post of President first in the Board of Works and later, the Board of Punishment (KSLC, 67:1a-11a).

close check on his official subordinates who committed offences. As a result, he himself was deprived of all ranks, though still retaining his office. This case shows that an official who had a good official record, as judged from the result of the triennial inspection, could still run into trouble if one or two unfavourable events were brought against him. Similarly, he could enjoy good advancement, if he excelled in performing certain official assignments, without waiting for the triennial inspection.

In the performance of special assignments, the execution of which would affect the stability of the Government, officials in charge would have their future careers or sometimes their lives at stake. Successful military campaigns, for example, would bring spectacular advancement. The most notable example of a Han-lin member rising to power through military victories was that of Nien Keng-yao [63] who became one of the

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63. Nien, a Chinese Bannerman, became a Han-lin probationer in 1700. In 1709 he was for the first time appointed Governor of Szechwan. He was executed in 1726 on charges of high treason (ECCP, I, 587-590). Also see p. 159 below.

most powerful Governors-general of the Ch'ing Dynasty, because of his major role in the suppression of the Eleuths. Two other examples of senior Han-lin officials whose political successes were largely attributed to their war efforts for the Manchu cause were Wei Hsiang-shu [64] and Pi Yüan. [65] The former assisted in planning the financing and provisioning of the troops against the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories; the latter was successful in war against the aborigines in Sinkiang (1771-76) and suppressed the Mohammed and Miao uprisings.

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64. Wei took his chin-shih degree in 1646 and was appointed a Han-lin probationer. In 1674 he became Senior Vice-President of the Censorate (rank 3A) and after several promotions, he was appointed to the 1st-rank post of President of the Censorate in 1678. He retired in 1684 at sixty-eight sui and died three years later (ECCP, II, 848-849).

65. Pi was the top scholar of the 1760 Palace Examination. After five promotions, he reached the post of Governor. He stayed in the important post of Governor or Governor-general of various provinces for over twenty-five years (ECCP, pp. 622-625).

Han-lin officials who met political setbacks by misconducting war efforts were mainly those who were appointed to provincial positions. Li Tien-tu [66] was demoted from a governorship to Assistant Secretary in the Supervisorate (rank 6B) in 1806 on account of his clumsy handling of the military affairs in Taiwan.

While war efforts were given first priority by the Government, the fight against natural disasters provided no less an avenue of advancement or, in cases of failure, of demotion. River conservancy and the prevention of floods was a main Government concern. The Grand Secretaries Chi Tseng-yun [67]

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66. Li was selected into the Academy after passing the Palace Examination of 1766. After the demotion mentioned above, he never gained back the confidence of the Emperor. He died six years later at the age of seventy-five, having been with the Government for forty-four years. (Ta-ch'ing chi-fu hsien-che chuan, hereafter cited as TCCFHCC, 5:10a-11b; KCCHLC, 186: 51a-53a). Also consult note 49 above.

67. Chi entered the Han-lin Academy as a probationer in 1706. He was trusted by Emperor Yung-cheng who in his first year of rule (1723) promoted Chi to Vice-President of the Board of War and after ten more years of good service, he became Grand Secretary. He died in 1738 at the age of 69 (KCCHLC, 16:39a-47b, ECCP, I, pp. 119-120).

and Chang P'eng-ko [68] owed their quick advancement mainly to their efficient management of river works. Others who rose to senior positions as a result of their special knowledge or contribution to river conservancy were Chu Chih-hsi [69] and Ho Kuo-tsung [70]

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68. Chang was a chin-shih who became a Han-lin probationer in 1670. After several promotions, he became Governor of Chekiang in 1689. He had been with the Government for fifty-five years, out of which thirty-two years were spent in third-rank posts or above. He died in 1725 at the age of seventy-seven. (ECCP, I, 49-51).

69. Chu was one of the scholars who passed the first Palace Examination organized under the Manchu regime (1646), and admitted into the Han-lin Academy. After eleven years of official service, he succeeded in reaching the second-rank post of Vice-President of the Board of Civil Service. As he died at the young age of forty-four, his stay in the Government was comparatively short (twenty years). (ECCP, I, 178-179; CSLC, 8:27b-31b).

70. Ho was a Han-lin probationer from 1712-13. In spite of a few political setbacks in his career, he was able to reach the 1st-rank post of President of the Board of Rites in 1757, due mainly to his specialized knowledge on mathematics and river works. (ECCP, I, 285-86; KCCHLC, 71: 33a-36b).

Han-lin officials who met imperial displeasure and ran into troubles by their unsuccessful part in preventing floods were even more numerous, possibly due to their scholarly disposition which by and large was difficult to adapt to the execution of technical works. One example was Wu Ching who became Assistant Grand Secretary in 1820. He rose to the first rank in office because of his contribution to riverworks. However, as a result of the overflowing of the Yangstse river, he retired without the peacock-feather decoration on his hat as a sign of the imperial displeasure.[71]

A second natural disaster which frequently befell traditional China was the locust plague. As the country's economy relied heavily on agriculture, widespread destruction of grain by locusts would bring immeasurable hardship and dissatisfaction. The Government sought their best to control its spread when discovered.

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71. Wu became a Han-lin probationer in 1778. In 1799 he was promoted to Governor-General in charge of river works. He stayed in the Government for thirty-three years and died at the age of seventy-six (KCCHLC, 37:18a-26a).

Suggestions were repeatedly made as to effective ways of preventing its dreadful occurrences. One common idea expressed by quite a few of the Han-lin officials was in accordance with the modern idiom "prevention is better than cure". They recommended that the baby unfledged locusts should be destroyed. They suggested a reward system for those who were enthusiastic in looking for immature locusts. Peasants and farmers were exhorted to co-operate in preventing the spread of the locust havoc. [72] However, prior to the invention of modern insecticides, such plagues could only be minimized to a certain extent. The rather humanitarian and superstitious outlook of Ts'ao Hsiu-hsien who was President of the Board of Rites (1774-1784) [73] represented the pessimistic attitude of

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72. Ho Ch'ang-ling, Ch'ing-ch'ao ching-shih wen-pien, 45:18a-b (memorial sent by the Han-lin official, Wei I-chieh, ECCP, II, 848-850); 45:25a (memorial sent by another Han-lin official, Chou T'ao, who became a Han-lin member in 1739, CTCHLP, kuan-hsüan, 7:19a); 45:27a-28b (memorial by the Grand Secretary Ch'en Hung-mou who in the time of submitting this memorial was Governor of Kiangsu, ECCP, I, 86-87).

73. For the biography of Ts'ao see, KCCHLC, 81:29a-35a. For the memorial of Ts'ao see Ho Ch'ang' ling, Ch'ing-ch'ao ching-shih wen-pien, 45:29a.

many officials on the control of the locust threat. He maintained that before any action was to be taken against the locusts, the persons concerned should offer sacrifices to the spirits, because even the locusts, inimical to plants as they were, also possessed life. The officials despatched to help check the menace were very much at the mercy of natural phenomena. There were lucky ones who received promotion for their successful stamping out of the locusts, but most of those delegated to such fruitless errands would become scapegoats of the imperial anger and get punished. In our sample, Li Yin-p'ei was deprived of the Vice-Presidency he was holding in 1753, as a result of his inability to control the locust spread.[74] Even such a celebrated provincial career as that of Ch'en Hung-mou who later became a Grand Secretary did not prevent him being accused of failing to deal with the problem of the locust havoc.[75]

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74. Li gained admittance to the Academy in 1745 and only after four years of service, he had reached the second-rank post of Chancellor of the Grand Secretariat. In his twenty-two years of official service, seventeen were spent in positions of the third rank and above. He was later found to be corrupt and forced to commit suicide (CSK, 344: 4a-5a).

75. For the biography of Ch'en, see note 72 above.

Another problem which was related to the livelihood of the people and the welfare of the State was the storage and preservation of grain in the Government granaries. It was the duty of the Vice-President of the State Granaries to see that the grain levied from the people for the use of the Government should be properly stored and that no appropriation by clerks and underlings should be tolerated. However, it was no easy task to prevent the latter from getting something out of their jobs. It was even more difficult to guarantee the perfect condition of the stored grain. Owing to the change of weather or other natural causes such as the existence of rats and worms, some portion of the grain sometimes did go bad. Human efforts like better attendance of the granaries, constant checks and frequent renewal of grain would certainly help in keeping the grain in good condition. However, these precautionary measures, which called for some degree of technical knowledge from the officials concerned did not provide a complete safeguard. We find from our sample that the Han-lin officials regarded the post of Vice-President of the State Granaries as one which easily brought troubles, possibly because of the technical character of the work involved, with which their

literary educational background was completely incompatible. Two examples may be cited:

Hsü Ch'ao Ch'uang became a Vice-President of the State Granaries in 1809 and owing to the fact that he was unable to account for the rotten state of some of the grain at the granaries, he was demoted two grades. [76] The Assistant Grand Secretary Wu Ching in the same year was also one of the Vice-Presidents of the State Granaries. He was deprived of all ranks but allowed to retain his office for failing to perform duties in preserving the good condition of grain.[77]

The most serious criminal offences which brought forth political downfall and quite often execution of the Han-lin officials concerned were corruption and treason. For example Li Yin-p'ei was deprived of his office and rank, and ordered to commit suicide for embezzling a large sum of Government money. [78]

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76. Hsü was a Han-lin probationer between 1772-75. His political life lasted for thirty-two years. He died in the year he left the Government (1804). (KCCHLC, 189:28a-30a).

77. For the biography of Wu see note 71 above.

78. See note 74 above for the biography of Li.

Chou Hsüeh-chien, once Governor-general of Kiangnan, was also ordered to commit suicide on a similar charge.[79] Chang T'ing-shu was accused of accepting a bribe and his rank and office were all deprived. He was lucky in the sense that he died before reaching Peking for trial.[80] Treason was an even more serious offence. Usually not only the main culprits were put to death but others involved in one way or another were also in trouble. Supporting a rival claimant to the throne was high treason to the existing ruling emperor. Chu T'ien-pao who supported Prince Yin-jeng to the throne was executed by Emperor Yung-chang after the latter had become emperor.[81]

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79. Chou passed the Palace Examination held in the first year of Emperor Yung-chang (1723) and after several favourable promotions, he was appointed Governor-General of Chekiang and Fukien, later Kiangnan. His stay in the Government lasted for twenty-five years (CSK, 344:10b-11a).

80. Chang was admitted into the Academy in 1682 as a probationer, and at the height of his political career, he once served as President at the Boards of Punishment and Works. (ECCP, I, 54)

81. Chu was a Manchu scholar who became a Han-lin probationer in 1713. Because of his execution in 1713, his service with the Government lasted less than five years (CSK, 292:3a-4a). For the struggle for the succession of Emperor K'ang-hsi, see ECCP, II, 915-920, 922-931.

Nien Keng-yao was another victim of K'ang-hsi succession dispute. Insults or suspected insults to the Emperor were also intolerable offences which brought disasters to those concerned. We shall talk more of the victims of such charges when we deal with the Literary Inquisitions later on.

As we have mentioned before, one of the chief functions of the Han-lin officials was to serve as examiners at local public examinations. Of course, some of them were praised and gained advancement for their good efforts in these educational assignments, [82] but they also ran a high risk of committing offences, some of which in fact were not their own faults. Hsü Ch'ien-hsüeh, for example, was accused of misconduct during his tenure as an assistant examiner at the Shun-t'ien Provincial Examination in 1672 and consequently lost one official grade. [83]

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82. One of the Han-lin officials who were praised and received good official records was Li Ying-chien, a Shantung scholar being appointed Han-lin probationer in 1676. During his performance as the Literary Chancellor of Shun-t'ien, he was reputed as impartial and much loved by the scholars concerned. Later he rose to Chancellor of the Grand Secretariat. He died at 66 sui (KCCHLC, 59:5a-6b).

83. Hsü was the third top scholar of the 1670 Palace Examination. After several promotions, he was appointed Chancellor of the Grand Secretariat in 1685. He left the Government in 1690, having once served as President of the Board of Punishment. (ECCP, I, 310-312). Also consult p.

Hsü I-hsüan failed to detect impersonation in the 1757 Yüan Examination of Shun-t'ien and met the same punishment. [84] Wang Lin's dismissal came as a direct result of his being accused of partial conduct in one of the public examinations he had supervised. [85] For choosing a scholar as the first-class top candidate of the 1780 Provincial Examination, whom the Emperor later regarded as not worthy of being so highly honoured, the examiner, Ch'ien Tsai was degraded. [86]

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84. Hsü I-hsüan received his chin-shih degree in 1730 and was chosen to study the Manchu course at the Shu-ch'ang kuan. At the peak of his political career, he was the Vice-President of the Board of Rites. He died in 1771 at 70 sui (KCCHLC, 57:44a-47b).

85. Wang entered the Academy through passing the Po-hsüeh hung-ju Examination of 1679. He was one among a few of the scholars who passed the above examination able to reach the 2nd rank in office. Entering the Government service at thirty-eight sui, he left it at 65 and died a year later Kuo ch'ao hsien-cheng shih-lüeh, hereafter cited as KCHCSL, 59:1b).

86. Ch'ien was appointed Han-lin probationer in 1752. When he was degraded in 1780, he was in fact at the height of his political career, being the Senior Vice-President of the Board of Rites. He had been with the Government for thirty-one years and died at the advanced age of 87 (ECCP, I, 156-157).

Weng Fang-kang in 1771 was accused of having submitted a report in which the ages of certain students were discovered to be incorrect, and for this he was dismissed from office.[87] In 1798, holding the post of Chancellor of the Grand Secretarial (rank 2B), P'ing Shu went to Kiangsu to serve as the Literary Chancellor. Because some local scholars protested and demonstrated against the Government, he was penalized for not being able to give them proper instruction. He was demoted to Expositor of the Han-lin Academy (rank 4B).[88] With these examples, we have an idea that it needed the combined effects of luck, impartiality and a high literary standard to earn the reputation of a good examiner, and it is small wonder that those who were

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87. Weng became a member of the Han-lin Academy in 1752 and retired from office after serving for fifty-two years. During this long service, he was able to reach the 2nd-rank post of Chancellor of the Grand Secretariat and remained there for six years. (ECCP, II, 856-858).

88. P'ing was the fourth scholar of the 1772 Palace Examination and selected as a Han-lin probationer. After joining the civil service for twenty-six years, he reached the second-rank post of Chancellor of the Grand Secretariat. He served in the senior positions of the 3rd rank and above for five years and died in office in 1802 (KCCHLC, 101: 20a-21a).

able to do so had a good chance of promotion in their future careers.

In the performance of official functions, there was a wide range of subjects other than those mentioned above, which offered political traps to the Han-lin members. It is possible here only to note a few of the areas of sensitivity and concern. Local officials, particularly inexperienced ones, were apt to mishandle murder cases and in our sample Chow Li-ch'ung was dismissed and exciled for such offence.[89] For having been accused of making mistakes in translating edicts, A-k'o-tun, an Assistant Grand Secretary, was demoted to Chancellor, Grand Secretariat.[90] Lu Fei-ch'ih after 1786 met repeated degradations, the chief cause being his editorial errors in his work on the

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89. Chow became a Han-lin probationer in 1727 and was appointed District Magistrate later on. The highest post he had held was second-class Sub-Prefect (rank 6A). Shan-tung t'ung-chih, 73:30b.

90. A-k'o-tun was a Manchu scholar who entered the Han-lin Academy as a probationer in 1709. After nine years of service, he was promoted to the post of Chancellor of the Grand Secretariat. He became an Associate Grand Secretary in 1748 and retired in 1755, having been with the Government for over forty years (ECCP, I, 5-6).

Ssu-ku ch'üan-shu.[91] Wang Hsü-ling lost three official grades in 1714 when he was President of the Board of Works for failing to attend the official ceremony of praying for rain.[92]

Unimportant charges like the latter one suggest further that although failure to perform expected duties would in itself adversely affect the career patterns of officials, occasionally, such political setbacks were motivated by other more complicated factors such as factional strife and personal connections, which we shall discuss later on. Failures of public duties in these cases were more of a pretext than the real cause for political reverses.

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91. Lu entered the Han-lin Academy in 1766 as a probationer and after several promotions, rose to the post of Vice-President, the highest position he had ever held. He died in office at 61 sui, having served in the civil service for twenty-four years (Ibid, 542-543).

92. Wang was a successful scholar of the Po-hsüeh hung-ju Examination of 1679 who later rose to the post of Grand Secretary. His service with the Government lasted for forty-four years out of which twenty-five years were spent in senior positions of the third rank and above. He left the civil service at the advanced age of eighty-two and died two years later (ECCP, II, 822-823).

On the other hand, we also find Han-lin officials rising to important positions for their excellent performances of public functions. For example, Ho Kuo-tsung's advancement was closely related to his profound knowledge on mathematics and river conservancy. [93] Tsu Chih-wang rose to the first-rank post of President of the Board of Punishment largely because of his mastery of legal knowledge. [94] Ts'ao Chen-yung impressed the Emperor by showing his ability as a remarkable financier.[95]

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93. See note 70 above.

94. Tsu was a chin-shih who entered the Han-lin Academy as a probationer in 1778. He reached the second rank in office in fifteen years' time but took thirty-two years to reach the first rank. He worked in the Government for thirty-five years and died in 1814. (KCCHLC, 103:7a-13b).

95. Ts'ao, a Han-lin probationer appointed in 1781, began his political life at the age of twenty-seven. After twenty-five years of service, he became a 1st-rank official and seven years later he climbed to the highest rung of the political ladder by being appointed Grand Secretary. He served the Manchu regime until the very year of his death at the advanced age of eighty-one. (ECCP, II, 739-740).

Li Kuang-ti gained the confidence of Emperor K'ang-hsi by his show of great loyalty to the state in times when it was threatened by local rebellions.[96] Yü Ming-chung, a powerful Grand Secretary of the early Ch'ien-lung reign, won his position by his extremely gifted literary and administrative abilities. He was said to make no errors in his discharge of official work.[97] Juan Yüan, another Grand Secretary, on the other hand, excelled in provincial administration and his reputation as a brilliant local administrator greatly assisted his rise to the top of the

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96. Li was conferred with the chin-shih degree in 1670 and in the same year admitted into the Academy as a probationer. During the rebellion of Keng Ching-chung (ECCP, I, 473-75), he happened to be in his native province, Fukien where the rebellion started. He greatly assisted the advance of the Manchu army by secretly informing the Emperor of plans for military manoeuvres, and for this he gained the confidence of the latter (ECCP, I, 473-475).

97. Yü was the top scholar of the 1737 Palace Examination and appointed First-Class Compiler immediately. He reached the second and the first ranks in office in sixteen and twenty-eight years' of service respectively. He was made Grand Secretary in 1773 and remained in this position until the year of his death in 1780 (ECCP, I, 942-944).

bureaucracy.[98]

The Royal Examinations (yü-shih) and the Career Patterns of Han-lin Officials.

We have mentioned that besides the Metropolitan Inspection and the Great Accounting, the Han-lin officials were further subjected to the Royal Examinations held by the Emperor personally to test the literary standard of the Han-lin members, so that awards or punishments could be meted out accordingly. These Royal Examinations were held irregularly, mainly on special occasions such as when the need for officials of special talent arose or on the birthdays of emperors. Owing to the differences in rank and literary standard stemming from the different positions they held, the

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98 Juan became a Han-lin probationer in 1789 and in five years' time he reached the 2nd-rank Chancellor of the Grand Secretariat. Having served as Vice-President of various Government Boards for some years, he was transferred to Kiangsi in 1814 as the Governor there and since then, he had served as Governor-General of various provinces. In 1835 he was recalled to Peking to take up the post of Grand Secretary. He retired after being with the Government for forty-nine years. He died at the advanced age of eighty-six (ECCP, I, 399-402; KCHCSL, 21:18b-22b).

Han-lin officials were examined in groups rather than all at the same examination. Easier examinations were set for the Manchu, Mongol or Chinese Bannerman Han-lin, who had only to compose literary verses, while the Chinese Han-lin officials had to do the same in addition to writing discussions on various topics. Han-lin who held positions of the third rank or above were exempted from sitting these examinations. [99]

The Royal Examinations were inaugurated in 1653 when Emperor Shun-chih ordered the Han-lin officials to be examined by himself. Each of them was asked to write a discussion on the Analects and a memorial on the establishment of the "Ever Normal Granaries" (ch'ang-ping ts'ang), a system of state granaries for emergencies arising from floods or droughts. Following this example, the Emperor tested the Han-lin officials on various occasions, and officials who distinguished themselves in these examinations were usually transferred to higher provincial positions. [100]

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99. TLTK (1805), 29:26b. In the Shun-chih and K'ang-hsi reigns, however, officials of the second and third ranks were also asked to attend the Royal Examinations. It was in 1737 that they were exempted from these examinations (Shu-lu, p.135).

100. TLTK, 29:1a-4b.

His successor K'ang-hsi continued the practice. During his reign he gave four tests to the Han-lin officials. The themes set were generally discussions on various topics mainly extracted from the Classics and a piece of irregular verse or poetry. [101] Emperor Yung-cheng did not set any Royal Examination for the Han-lin officials in his short reign and he evaluated his officials, including the Han-lin through the triennial inspections. But in the Ch'ien-lung reign, the Royal Examination was once again used as one of the three processes of evaluating the Han-lin officials. [102] The questions set in these examinations required each candidate to write a theme on poetry or verse and a discussion on current affairs. The latter type of questions called for some, if not a thorough, knowledge of the particular problem asked, if the examinee really desired to obtain high grades in the examinations.

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101. Shu-lu, p.136.

102. Ibid.

A few titles of the themes set will suffice to prove this point. One of the questions of the 1758 Royal Examination asked the candidate to write a theme on river conservancy; another in the 1763 Royal Examination required him to write memorials on water supply in Chihli. The 1768 discussion topic was on the problem of colonization of Sinkiang and that of 1791 Examination cited a famous Han political problem concerning promotion and asked the Han-lin official to judge the problem in accordance with the present conditions. [103] No doubt, the answers of these current problems would be done in the conventional form. Their approach would tend to be humanistic rather than practical. It was no surprise, for instance, to find that the offered solution to a flood was in fact a remonstrance to the Emperor to rule more impartially, so that the harmony between heaven and earth could be maintained, something which was in no way directly concerned with the technical remedy of the situation concerned. Nevertheless, unlike the administrative questions in the Civil Service Examinations,

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103. TLTK, 29:15b-28a; SL, 70:7b.

current problems such as the colonization of Sinkiang had no precedent in the past dynasties, and it would be unlikely that the candidate could pass the examination only by reciting model-answers.[104] They therefore had to give their own opinions about them, no matter how limited or narrow-minded their ideas might be.

The effects of the Royal Examinations on the advancement of Han-lin officials varied from individual to individual, and may be seen more substantially through selected examples. The wealth of information in our sample allows us to pick out representative sketches to illustrate the long-term and the short-term influences of these examinations on the career patterns of the Han-lin officials.

The examination results gave positions to all candidates and after 1736 divided them into four classes.[105] Although in general the first class and the second class scholars would be awarded, whereas candidates at the bottom of the third class and the fourth class would be punished, the line of demarcation was not clear-cut,

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104. See p.27 of Chapter 2.

105. Shu-lu. p.135.

and a number of candidates were neither awarded nor punished. We shall see more of the variation in the form and degree of award and punishment in the following account:

Han-lin members sitting for the Royal Examination who received first class results were only a small fraction of the total participants. [106] As an acknowledgement of their outstanding literary performances, they were usually more favourably awarded than other officials. We find that in the 1736 Royal Examination, the top scholar, Chao Ta-ch'ing was promoted from Assistant Secretary of the Supervisorate (rank 6B) to Librarian of the same department (rank 5B), a rise of one full rank. [107] According to Hsieh's contention that the normal promotion was half a rank at a time, Chao's advancement by one full rank through examination was exceptional, [108] but a number of Han-lin

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106. For example in the 1737 Royal Examination, there were only three Han-lin officials being awarded first class out of eighty-nine participants (Shu-lu, p.136).

107. Ch'ao stayed in the Shu-ch'ang Kuan from 1724-27, after which he was appointed Second-Class Compiler. After six promotions he became the Senior Vice-President of the Censorate and one year later he applied for retirement to look after his aged parents. He was then 58 sui (KCCHLC, 77:1a-8a).

108. See p.132.

officials who did equally well in the Royal Examination experienced even better treatment than Chao. To cite some examples: Wang Chi-hua emerged third on the first-class list at the 1748 Royal Examination and for this he rose two full ranks and a half. [109] Two other Han-lin who obtained the first class in the Royal Examinations and also gained the same degree of promotion were Wang Hui-fen [110] and Wu Ching. Juan Yüan, the first scholar of 1791 Royal Examination, was promoted to Supervisor of the Imperial Instruction (rank 4A) from Second-Class Compiler (rank 7A), jumping three full ranks. [111] Perhaps the most favourable advancement a Han-lin official enjoyed through extremely outstanding results in a Royal Examination was granted to Lu Jou who was promoted four full ranks

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109. Wang was the third scholar of the 1745 Palace Examination. In ten years' time he was promoted to the second rank in office. He was appointed President of the Board of Rites in 1769. He continued to serve in the Government as a 1st-rank official until his death seven years later (KSLC, 59:11a-12b).

110. Wang Hui-fen became a Han-lin probationer in 1737 and his highest post reached was Vice-President of the Board of Rites. He died at the age of sixty-one (KCCHLC, 82:42a).

111. See note 71 above for the biography of Wu Ching and note 98 for the biography of Juan Yüan.

as a direct result of his being placed first in the 1694 Royal Examination. He was then sixty-five *sui* and possibly because of his advanced age, he was given such exceptional promotion. [112]

Thus, we can see that the rate of promotion for the top scholars of the Royal Examination was a good one. A minority of them, however, were not given immediate promotions. The reasons are twofold: first, there were not always suitable vacancies at hand and they would be promoted when such vacancies occurred; second, in view of their academic excellence, they were despatched to perform special literary functions and advancement usually followed completion of their Goverment assignments. Mui Yüan obtained first class results in the 1715 Royal Examination but gained no immediate promotion, possibly due to the lack of appropriate vacancy, but a few years later, by a single

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112. Lu received the first class at the 1679 *Po-hsüeh hung-ju* Examination and was appointed Second-Class Compiler immediately. He had been with the Government for sixteen years and retired at the age of sixty-six (*KCCHLC*, 59:33a-40a).

promotion, he rose two-and-a-half ranks. [113] Another example was Hu-t'u-li, a Manchu Han-lin who was the top scholar of the 1791 Royal Examination. After the publication of results, instead of being promoted, he was called to serve in the Han-shu fang as the emperor's literary adviser. He received a promotion of two full ranks one month later. [114]

The number of second class honours in the Royal Examinations were more numerous. A majority would be awarded either with promotions or presents, [115]

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113. (Pei-chuan chi pu, hereafter cited as PCCP, 3:2a-4a). Miu was the third scholar of the 1709 Palace Examination and was appointed Second Class Compiler at once. After several promotions, he became Chancellor of the Grand Secretariat in 1728 and later in the same year, he was again promoted to Senior Vice-President of the Board of Works, then transferred to the Board of Punishment. He died next year.

114. Hu-t'u-li was appointed Han-lin probationer in 1787, and two years later, Corrector. In 1792 he was promoted to Chancellor of the Grand Secretariat. After serving at the Capital and in the provinces for some time, he was again promoted to President of the Board of Civil Service in 1806. He served his country until his death in 1814 (KCCHLC, 106:10a-13b).

115. Lui Hung, appointed Han-lin probationer in 1733 and Second Class Compiler in 1736, passed the 1737 Royal Examination with second class honours and for this, the Emperor rewarded him with presents. After several promotions, he became the Senior Vice-President of the Censorate in 1753 (KCCHLC, 80:13a-27b). For examples of Han-lin receiving promotion see notes 118 and 119 below.

although a few of them received nothing at all. [116] Some were assigned to special functions after the examination. [117]

Promotions given to those who did quite well but not so well as the first-class scholars naturally received less favourable advancement. But still we find that some second-class Han-lin were able to jump more official ranks than those awarded with the first-class. Hu Ch'ang-ling who received the second class in the 1791 Royal Examination was promoted one-and-a-half ranks. His advancement was even more favourable

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116. Ch'u P'eng-ling who entered the Han-lin Academy in 1780 passed the 1785 Royal Examination with second class honours. However, he received nothing for his rather good result. Nevertheless after several promotions, he became the President of the Board of War in 1814. He retired in 1824 and died in the next year (KCCHLC, 103:32a-42b).

117. One of the examples of Han-lin officials rewarded with the second class in Royal Examinations and assigned to special functions was Liu Hsing-wei. Liu who became a Han-lin probationer in 1748 participated in the 1763 Royal Examination in the capacity of Expositor. He was awarded with the second class and next year called to serve in the Shang-shu fang as a preceptor of the princes. His highest post reached was Senior Vice-President of the Board of Works. (See note 42 of the same Chapter for reference).

than first-class Han-lin like Chao Ta-ch'ing, who, as we remember, only secured a one-rank promotion.[118] Nonetheless, we have to see to that both Hu and Chao took separate examinations at different times, having different conditions for advancement. According to the information of our sample, the degree of promotion for the second-class Han-lin was between half a rank and two full ranks, while a majority were promoted to positions of one senior rank.[119]

Han-lin officials who were placed at the bottom of the third class in the Royal Examinations would

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118. Hu began his political career as a First-Class Compiler, as a result of his being placed first in the 1789 Palace Examination. Serving all his time at the Capital, he was appointed President of the Board of Rites in 1813. Unfortunately, he fell ill and died next year. (KCCHLC, 107:1a-2a).

119. One example of Han-lin officials awarded with the second class and promoted half-a-rank was Wan Ju-kua who became a Han-lin probationer in 1784. Being a Sub-Reader (rank 5B) in 1803, he attended the Royal Examination held in that year. He passed the examination with second class honours and next year was appointed Deputy Supervisor of Instruction (rank 5A). The peak of his political career was reached in 1813 when he was appointed Vice-President of the Board of War. He retired in the following year (KCCHLC, 105:11a-12b). Ch'en Wan-chuan, on the other hand, received one full rank in the 1798 Royal Examination when he was placed on the second class list. Ch'en became a Han-lin scholar in 1784 and at the top of his political career in 1801, he was holding the post of Junior Vice-President of the Board of War. He died next year (KCCHLC, 105:8a-b).

generally be punished for their poor literary showing. The most common form of punishment was demotion. A loss of half a rank or one full rank would be the usual punishment. From our sample we find that the Manchu Han-lin, Ta-chuang, was demoted to Sub-Expositor (rank 5B) from Expositor (rank 4B), having been rated third class in the 1791 Royal Examination.[120] Wang Tsung-ch'eng whose name appeared on the third class list of the 1803 Royal Examination was demoted from Han-lin Expositor (rank 4B) to Deputy Supervisor of Instruction (rank 5A).[121] Some were transferred to positions carrying less prestige. Further explanation is necessary to make this point more clearly. The position of Secretary in one of the Six Boards, for instance, carried with it the official rank of 6A, while a Correctorship

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120. Ta-chuang was a Manchu scholar who was appointed Han-lin probationer in 1760. In spite of his poor Royal Examination results, he was able to hold the 1st-rank position of President at the Board of Rites in 1800. He died two years later, having been with the Government for forty-two years. (KSLC, 20:11b-13a).

121. Wang secured the third place in the Palace Examination of 1792 and was immediately admitted into the Han-lin Academy as a Second Class Compiler. During his forty-five years of service, he had been in the 1st-rank position of President for fifteen years. He entered the civil service at 29 sui and left it at 74 sui in the year when his death occurred (KCCHLC, 98:17a-19a).

of the Academy was only a 7B-rank post. But we recall that Han-lin probationers who performed very well at the graduation examination were appointed to the compiler-corrector level, while those who did not do so well were given the position of Secretary of a Government Board. [122] Because of the extra prestige carried by the compiler-corrector positions, they were more eagerly sought than the secretaryship, in spite of the fact that they were accorded with a more junior ranking. Thus, when Wei Yüan-yü was transferred from being a Corrector to the post of Secretary in one of the Six Boards after he was put on the third class list in the 1798 Royal Examination, it was a gesture of the official disapproval, although materially he gained in rank. [123]

The unexpectedly favourable treatment by Emperor Ch'ien-lung to Ts'ao Chen-yung, a Han-lin official placed on the third class list in the 1791 Royal Examination, merits attention. Instead of being punished

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122. See p. 32. of Chapter Two.

123. Wei was appointed Han-lin probationer in 1793 and Corrector in 1795. After twenty-seven years of service, he was promoted to Governor of Kiangsu. In 1822 he was the Governor-General in charge of grain transportation. He died three years later (CSLC, 35:51b-54c).

or scolded, to everyone's surprise, he was promoted from Sub-Expositor to Expositor, a rise of one full rank. The reason given by the Emperor was that Ts'ao was the son of Ts'ao Wen-ch'ih, a senior official who was noted for his literary contribution to the State. [124]

While there might be some imperial favour granted to a few of the third-class Han-lin, the chance of avoiding punishment for those who were rated fourth class was very slim. At best, like Li Yu-t'ang, [125] they were fined. Li I-ch'ou's punishment in the form of transfer from a highly-respected Correctorship to a less-respected secretaryship in a Government Board was regarded as a light punishment for a Han-lin placed in the fourth class in a Royal Examination. [126]

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124. See note 95 above. Ts'ao Wen-ch'ih, father of Ts'ao Chen-yung, became a Han-lin member in 1760. Because of his literary achievements, he was selected as the Emperor's advisor at the Nan-shu fang. He rose to the post of President of the Board of Revenue in 1785 and retired two years later (ECCP, II, 739).

125. See pp. 73-74.

126. Li passed the Palace Examination of 1780 and was selected into the Academy as a probationer. In 1814 he reached the pinnacle of his career by being appointed Governor-General in charge of grain transportation. His service with the Government lasted for forty-two years. He retired at sixty-nine sui but lived to the advanced age of ninety-one. (KCCHLC, 104:1a-5a).

More severe punishment to fourth-class Han-lin in the Royal Examinations was demotion usually of more than one full rank. Both A-su and Wan Ch'eng-feng [127] lost two official ranks as a consequence of their extremely poor examination results. Summary dismissals because of failing the Royal Examinations badly were not unusual too. Wang Chien and Li Chih-ying [128] were Han-lin

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127. A-su was a Manchu scholar who entered the Academy by examination in 1754. In spite of his poor examination results, he was called to serve in the Shang-shu fang as a preceptor to the princes in 1774 and appointed Junior Vice-President of the Board of Rites a few months later. This post was the highest one he had ever held during his thirty-five years of service with the Government. He died in 1792 (CSLC, 25:24a-25b). Wan's biography can be found in note 21 of Chapter three.

128. Wang was appointed probationer in 1733 and after the probationary period in 1736, he became Second Class Compiler. After his dismissal from office as a result of being placed fourth class in the 1737 Royal Examination, he stayed at home for eleven years. He was called back to service in 1748 and rose to the Governor-Generalship of Hukuang in 1765 (KCCHLC, 174:40a-42b); Li was a Manchu scholar who received his chin-shih degree and membership in the Academy in 1737. Very soon after his dismissal in 1743 as a consequence of his extremely poor result in the Royal Examination held in that year, he was recalled to serve as a minor official. By steady promotions, he reached the post of Governor of Anhwei in 1775. He served the Government for fifty-two years and retired at the age of seventy-six (KCCHLC, 178: 32a-34a).

officials who were once dismissed from office on account of being put on the fourth class list, although later on both were called back to the civil service. Some, however, like Hang Shih-chün, were less lucky and were never re-appointed after being dismissed from office as a result of unsatisfactory examination results. [129]

It was rather unconvincing that Han-lin officials who obtained the third degree, passed the Court Examination and the graduation examination on completion of the probationary period were still so poor in literary skill as to fail the Royal Examinations. Obviously, the latter examinations required either a higher literary standard or called for a different kind of knowledge. We find that a number of Han-lin did badly in the Royal Examinations because they displeased the Emperor by their opinions expressed in the discussion themes. We have noticed that Han-lin officials

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129. Hang became a Han-lin member by passing the Po-hsüeh hung-tz'u Examination of 1736. He was forced to retire from Government after only seven years of official life. He entered the Academy at 41 sui, but died at seventy-eight (ECCP I, 276-77; CSLC, 71:56b-57b).

sitting for the Royal Examinations were sometimes given political questions to answer and these questions necessitated the candidates to voice their own opinions on them. The Government, or rather the Emperor, however, was not liberal enough to accept unorthodox ideas or accusations of the Government. Touchy questions like the racial problem would be bound to cause troubles and had to be handled with great care. One of the outspoken Chinese Han-lin, Hang Shih-chün, wrote in the Royal Examination he once sat that there were too many Manchu officials holding the important posts of Governor-General and Governor and for such a daring statement he failed his examination and was dismissed from office. [130]

Thus, we may assume that failures of such examinations would not always mean that the candidates were inferior in the literary field to others who passed the examinations. Incidentally, we also discover that the candidates in these examinations were in a difficult position. On one hand, they were expected to write down any constructive ideas on the problems they were

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130. See note 129 above.

asked to attempt. On the other hand, they had to guard against causing trouble by presenting too candid and daring suggestions. Even a bright Han-lin official who had once obtained good results in a Royal Examination therefore could have failed the next miserably. Lu Pe-hun's political career provides a good illustration. He won the first position in the graduation examination on completion of the probationary period in 1781 and was placed first in the Royal Examination of 1785 and because of this good examination result, he was promoted from Second-Class Compiler (rank 7A) to Han-lin Reader (rank 4B). But in the 1790 Royal Examination in which he also took part, he was not as lucky as the last time and could not do half as good. According to the mediocre result, he was demoted from Reader to Assistant Department Director (rank 5B). [131] Tou Kuang-nai's case also shows contrasting results in two Royal Examinations he sat, but unlike Lu, he received

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131. Lu became a Han-lin probationer in 1780 and the highest post he had ever held was the Judicial Commissioner of Kiangsi (rank 3A). He had been with the Government for 19 years and died at 61 sui (KCCHLC, 192: 31a-33b).

his punishment before his promotion. In the Royal Examination held in 1748, he was graded fourth class, and punished by suspension of one year's salary. Four years later in another Royal Examination, he won the first class and received promotion from Han-lin Reader (rank 4B) to Chancellor (rank 2B). [132]

Such cases give us the impression that the basic literary standard of the candidates was not the crux of the matter. The likes and dislikes of the Emperor or his examination assistants on the opinions expressed in their examination answers plus luck were the determining factors for the Royal Examination results. Possibly because of the uncertainties in these examinations, the Han-lin officials on the whole were very much afraid to sit for them. [133] Some tried to evade them, but unless specially granted exemption by the Emperor beforehand, [134] those failing to take part in

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132. Tou entered the Han-lin Academy in 1742 and was promoted to President of the Censorate in 1792. He stayed in Government for fifty-three years and died in the same year he left the service at seventy-six sui (Ibid., 87:8a-31a).

133. Shu-lu, p. 135.

134. Ts'ao Wen-chih, for example, was exempted from taking part in the 1768 Royal Examination, because he was then working busily at the Inner Court. See note 124 above.

the Royal Examinations would be seriously punished.[135]

We have seen that the Royal Examinations directly brought about promotions, demotions, transfers or dismissals. The question remains: would they seriously affect the career patterns of the Han-lin officials in the long run? Certainly for the Han-lin who were dismissed and never re-appointed to office due to their poor results, the Royal Examinations were the death blows to their political futures. There were however a substantial number of Han-lin officials who were once rated third or fourth class in the Royal Examinations, thereby suffering from immediate political setbacks, but who were still able to rise to the third rank or above in office at the height of their careers.[136] Similarly, Han-lin officials who obtained good results in such examinations, consequently receiving immediate advancement of certain extent, might not necessarily be

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135. For example, Li Yüan-chen was demoted from Libationer of the Imperial College (rank 4B) to Secretary in the Court of Judicature and Revision (rank 6A) for failing to attend the 1685 Royal Examination. See note of Chapter for more biographical information on Li.

136. Two examples we have cited are Ta-chuang (see note 120 above), and Wan Ch'eng-feng (note 21 of Chapter 3).

able to reach senior positions in their subsequent years with the Government, although the chances for them to do so were much greater than those who did badly in the examination. At least by doing well in the examinations, they had given a good impression to the Emperor, the source of all official advancement. The Grand Secretary Sung Te-i, for example, owed his successful political career to good examination results. In this respect, the Royal Examination was therefore a way through which the Emperor got to know the abilities of his Han-lin officials, so that he could choose among them a few worthy ones whom he could later delegate with more responsible duties. [137]

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137. Sung Te-i became a Han-lin probationer in 1655 at thirty *sui*. He then continued to serve the Government until his death at sixty-two *sui*. He held positions of the third rank and above for sixteen years (KCCHLC, 6:12a-20b).

CHAPTER V.

(Part II).

Career Patterns of the Han-lin Officials.

The Practice of Wai-sheng nei-chuan (Promotion to the provinces and reassignment to the Capital) in the promotion and transfer processes.

The educational background of the Han-lin officials adapted them to positions which called for more literary exercise than specialized administrative knowledge. According to their abilities on the whole, the Government enlisted most of them to serve at the Central administration where these positions were mainly found. [138] However, it was inevitable that some of them in their discharge of public functions would come across provincial affairs of a more practical character, even if they were not transferred to provincial positions. The Government was of the opinion that Capital officials, if possible, should be more familiar with the provincial conditions, so that better co-ordination between the administration and the local

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138. See Table 7.

governments could be maintained. The sending them as examiners in charge of provincial and local examinations was one way in this direction. The practice of associating promotion with transfer to the provinces with the prospect of re-assigning them to Capital positions after years of provincial service was another.

The process was inaugurated in 1653. Using the newly-established Royal Examination as a criterion of selection, twenty-one Han-lin candidates who did extremely well were to be despatched to the provinces as Intendants or Circuit Censors. The Government added that if they displayed administrative abilities and good conduct, they would be re-assigned to the Capital with good chances of being appointed Vice-President or President of the Six Boards in subsequent years of service with the Government. [139]

Later in the year, it was laid down that in the process of assigning Capital officials to the provinces, Chief Supervisors of Instruction (rank 3A) would be promoted to Commissioners of Finance (rank 2B), Han-lin Readers (rank 4B) would become Commissioners of Justice

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139. CSK (hcc), 5:10a.

(rank 3A), Secretaries in the Supervisorate (rank 6A) would be appointed to First-Class Censors (Ts'an-cheng, with rank 3B), Second Class Compilers (rank 7A) and Correctors (rank 7B) would serve as Second-Class Circuit Censors (Fu-shih with rank 4A). In 1661 further adjustment of the posts for assignment was made. The position of Ts'an-cheng instead of being filled by Secretaries of the Supervisorate was to be staffed by more senior Han-lin officials of the Sub-Reader to Sub-Expositor level (rank 5A). The post of Fu-shih, formerly served as promotion for Han-lin officials of the 7th rank was reserved for the First-Class Compilers (rank 6B), whereas, Han-lin of the 7th-ranking bracket would be appointed to Third-Class Circuit Censors instead (Ts'an-i with rank 4B). Coupled with an adjustment of assignment of positions, the 1661 regulation also stipulated that the rate of such transfers of Capital officials to the provinces was fixed to two each year.[140]

The new procedure was however carried out for a while and then suspended, due probably to the abolition

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140. Ibid.

of the provincial posts of Ts'an-cheng, Fu-shih and Ts'an-i from the civil list. In 1698 the process of nei-sheng wai-chuan was once again put into action. That year, two Han-lin officials were transferred to the provinces as Prefects. The Government hinted that on completion of the terms of service at the provinces, if they put up a good show, they would be re-assigned to the Capital and given appointments as Senior Vice-Presidents of the Censorate (rank 3A) or Commissioners in the Transmission Office (rank 3A). Throughout the K'ang-hsi, Yung-cheng and Ch'ien-lung reigns, the practice of sending Han-lin officials as Prefects continued. [141]

We have discussed the sending of Capital officials to the provinces. Outstanding local officials whom the Government wished to give better advancement were also transferred to the Central Government. For example, in 1668 and 1690, Emperor K'ang-hsi ordered senior officials to recommend good and able District Magistrates as Capital Censors. The officials eligible for recommendation needed to have clear records of no taxation arrears and no robbery cases unsolved during their

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141. Ibid., 5:10a-b.

terms of service as Magistrates. In 1705, in view of the limited number of censorial positions, the majority of which would be staffed by Han-lin or other Capital officials, worthy District Magistrates would be appointed Secretary of the Six Boards instead. [142] Since only a very small percentage of Han-lin probationers who did not do well in the graduation examination would become District Magistrates, the chance of being promoted to the Capital under the nei-sheng wai-chuan process of this small number of Han-lin Magistrates against a much greater number of local Magistrates recruited from other appointment avenues was very small. We can only find one or two examples of Han-lin Magistrates being thus transferred to Capital positions in our sample. [143]

The practice of nei-sheng wai-chuan, if executed successfully, was very much conducive to a better training of the civil service. It was however one thing for the Government to lay down on papers official regulations; it was another to put them into full operation. The main obstacle in enforcing such shiftings of officials

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142. Ibid., 5:11a.

143. See p. 199.

was the lack of available vacancies for manoeuvres. This can be seen in the temporary suspension of the practice in the beginning of the K'ang-hsi reign when a few provincial positions were removed from the civil ranks. Second, as we shall discuss more later on, the factors influencing one's advancement were numerous and complicated. [144] It was not easy for a Capital official to master provincial affairs and to impress the Central Government of his versatility both in the administrative and the literary fields within a couple of years or so. Han-lin officials who were sent out to staff local positions on the whole, therefore, did not stand a good chance of returning to the Capital for favourable advancement. Among the twenty-one Han-lin officials who were supposedly sent to gain experience in the provinces, in 1653, four of them for some reasons actually did not go. One of them was Wang Ch'ung-chien, then holding the post of Supervisor of Imperial Instruction. He declined the offer of transfer and returned

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144. See Section C for some factors at work.

home on the plea of sickness. That he could later rise to the post of President of the Board of Rites was due to other factors and certainly had nothing to do with the practice of nei-shang wai-chuan.[145] The only other Han-lin official out of the twenty-one who succeeded in becoming President of a Government Board was Fu Wei-lin, a native of Chihli, who entered the Han-lin Academy in 1646. By the time of 1653, he was serving as a Secretary in the Supervisorate (rank 6A). Having passed the Royal Examination of that year with good results, he was transferred to Shantung as an Intendant (rank 4A). Two years later, he was re-assigned to the Capital as a Sub-Director of the Court of Judicature and Revision (rank 4A). After several promotions, he became the President of the Board of Works in 1661.[146]

There were two other Han-lin officials who were able to hold the post of Vice-President of a Government

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145. Wang was a former Ming chin-shih who was appointed Han-lin member by the Ch'ing Government in 1644, without further taking the public examinations. (PCC, 9:1a-6b).

146. KCCHLC, 45:16a-18a.

Board, and another one who reached the third rank in office. Thus, altogether out of the twenty-one Han-lin recommended for transfer to the provinces in 1653, only five succeeded in rising higher than the fourth rank in office. The practice of nei-sheng wai-chuan did not seem to facilitate the advancement of the majority of the twenty-one Han-lin officials to a great extent.

However, although the Government did not and could not guarantee the future advancement of all the Han-lin officials sent to the provinces, they continued to abide by the practice of nei-sheng wai-chuan in sending Capital officials to staff local positions. Following the official regulation laid down in 1653, we find from our sample that Keng Chiai, a Corrector, was transferred to Fukien as a Fu-shih around 1655. For some time after the death of his mother in the early years of the K'ang-hsi reign, he resigned from the Government and stayed at home. He finally received the chance of re-assignment to the Capital in 1686 when he was appointed to the post of Supervisor of Imperial Instruction (rank 4A). He, however, failed to take this opportunity to rise higher than the fourth rank

in office.[147] Another Han-lin official who was sent out to the provinces was Yü P'eng-chü who was promoted to the provincial post of Fu-shih in 1655 from the post of Corrector. He was found to be a good local administrator, and since then he had served for the rest of his political life in the provinces. After several promotions, he finally reached the second-rank office of Financial Commissioner.[148] Perhaps the most favourable advancement provided by the process of nei-sheng wai-chuan can be seen in the biography of Wu Cheng-chih. Wu, a probationer in 1649, became a Deputy Supervisor of Instruction (rank 5A) in 1658 and in four months' time, he was promoted to the provincial position of Intendant (rank 4A). After one year of satisfactory administration, he was again promoted to Judicial Commissioner (rank 3A). The following year saw him being re-assigned to the Capital as a Vice-

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147. Keng became a member of the Han-lin Academy in 1652 (CSLC, 66:25b-26a; PCC, 43:17a-18a).

148. Yü was admitted to the Academy as a probationer in 1649 at the young age of eighteen and died at fifty-six (KCCHLC, 153:1a-4a).

President (rank 2A). Thereafter, he enjoyed favourable advancement, culminating to his appointment to Grand Secretary, the highest office in the civil service, which he held for six years. [149]

The two Capital officials who were sent to serve as Prefects in 1698 were Li T'ao and Wang Chi. Li who became a Han-lin probationer in 1676 was appointed Second-Class Compiler in 1678. After ten years of service in this position, he was sent to Kiangsi as Prefect. He was praised for his local administration and in 1701, he went to Kwangsi to take up a more senior position (Financial Commissioner). In 1710 he was recalled to the Capital and after repeated promotions, ended up his political career as Junior Vice-President of the Board of Punishment. Wang entered the Han-lin Academy by passing the Po-hsüeh hung-ju Examination in 1679 and like Li stayed in his first appointment (Corrector) for ten years, at the end of which he was

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149. ECCP, II, 863-864.

despatched to Honan as Prefect. He was later promoted to Commissioner of Justice in Fukien and then Commissioner of Finance of the same province. Thus both Li and Wang, the first two Han-lin despatched to the provinces as Prefects under the nei-sheng wai-chuan process succeeded in reaching the second rank in office in their subsequent service with the Government. [150]

After the example had been set by Li and Wang, other Han-lin officials were despatched to the provinces as Prefects. In our sample Wang Chien, chin-shih of 1733, was appointed Prefect in one of the prefectures in Chihli in 1749, his former post being Second-Class Compiler. Later he was promoted to more senior provincial positions in Kansu, Anhwei, Shantung and Hupeh, finishing up his political career as Governor of Kwangtung. [151] Another Han-lin who was sent to the provinces did equally well. He was Hsieh Ch'i-k'un, a Han-lin probationer appointed in 1760 who became a Second-Class Compiler in 1766. In 1772 he was transferred to one of the prefectures in Kiangsu as Prefect.

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150. For more information of Li T'ao see p[illegible]. 65-[illegible]. For the biographical reference of Wang Chi, see ECCP, II, 809-810.

151. See note 128 above.

After years of vicissitudes during which he experienced banishment, deaths of parents and illnesses, he finally reached the position of Governor of Kwangsi in 1709. [152]

Not all the Han-lin assigned as Prefects were as lucky as Wang Chien and Hsieh Ch'i-k'un. In our sample, we also find examples whose advancement was virtually stuck through being appointed Prefects. Lin Ming-lun, a Han-lin probationer of the 1748 Palace Examination, for example, received his first promotion as Prefect after serving as Second Class Compiler for two years. He was dismissed from office only with one year of provincial service on a charge of inability. [153]

We have just said that the number of Han-lin who were appointed District Magistrate was limited in number, and since they did not do well in the graduation examination, they were generally regarded right from the start as having less chance of future advancement than those receiving their first appointments as Compilers or Correctors. Nevertheless, the Government did provide

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152. KCCHIC, 185:23a-31b.

153. CSIC, 75:28b-29a; PCC, 103:15a-16a.

some degree of incentive to all officials alike, including the Magistrates. This was one of the reasons for promoting some promising ones to Capital positions. Among those Han-lin Magistrates who were reassigned to the Capital was Ch'en Ju-hsien. He was recommended as a District Magistrate at the end of his probationary period due to his mediocre result at the graduation examination. For sixteen years he served conscientiously as a Magistrate in various provinces. In 1710, thanks to the Government regulations of 1690 and 1705, he was promoted to the Board of Punishment as Secretary (rank 6A). Thereafter, he was favoured with rapid promotions and by the time of his death four years from returning to work at the Capital, he had already reached the 4th-rank position of Sub-Director of the Court of Judicature and Revision.[154]

The extreme favourable advancement given to the Han-lin Magistrate, Chu Shih, was unique among local officials and should by no means be taken as a yardstick to measure the political opportunities of other

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154. KCCHLC, 64:13a-28b.

District Magistrates. Chu became District Magistrate in 1697 on completion of his stay at the Shu-ch'ang kuan and after three years in Hupeh, the province where he served, he was called back to the Capital to take up the post of Secretary in the Board of Punishment. He then met with several promotions and in 1717 he again left the Capital and served as Governor of Chekiang for four years. He returned to the Capital to take up the post of President of the Censorate in 1720. Five years later, he climbed to the top of the bureaucracy by being appointed Grand Secretary which post he held for eleven years until his retirement. [155]

So far examples of different career patterns of Han-lin officials directly under the impact of the Nei-sheng wai-chuan practice have been cited. But we still have no idea of the average chances of advancement provided for Han-lin officials who were transferred under this process. We have already known that for the twenty-one Han-lin officials recommended to provincial positions in 1653, the chance of an average member of this group to reach the third rank in office is 5 in 21 or about 23%.

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155. ECCP, I, 188-190.

Is this percentage high or low in comparison with other officials who were not in any way affected by the nei-sheng wai-chuan process? What about those who were despatched to the provinces after 1653? To attempt to answer these questions, we make use of the information on the first promotion (or second appointment) in our sample. From it we are able to know for certain the first promotions of about 550 Han-lin officials. Out of this number, 370 were officials who had once held positions of the third rank or above and 180 were Han-lin who failed to do so. Our sample, as has been mentioned before, presents a rather unbalanced picture of a much higher proportion of officials able to reach the third rank in office. Since for the whole 1644-1795 period, out of the 2609 Han-lin, only 554 succeeded in holding third-rank positions or above, in other words, the ratio of political success is 1 in 5, the 370 Han-lin of the third rank or above in our sub-sample should be proportionately matched by 1850 (five times 370) instead of 180 Han-lin who were unable to rise to the third rank. Our sample on the latter group of Han-lin officials is therefore about ten times out of proportion (1850 ÷ 180 = 10). In order to calculate a more reliable percentage for those who were able to hold 3rd-1st rank positions,

we enlarge our sample of the junior Han-lin officials (the UIII group in Table 11) by ten times. Results of the calculation are tabulated in Table 11.

Notice that the 23% advancement opportunity of the 21 Han-lin is somewhat higher than that of the other Han-lin officials whose first promotions were Capital positions. It is however much higher than the percentage of advancement accorded to Han-lin officials whose first promotions necessitated transfer to the provinces. We can therefore see that the nei-sheng wai-chuan process on the whole did not provide very favourable advancement opportunities to those who were directly affected. Those who were for the first time sent to the provinces in the initial application of the practice in 1653 enjoyed definitely much better chances of political advancement in the long run than those who were assigned to the provinces later on.

Thus, the nei-sheng wai-chuan process which was on paper an acceleration to official advancement based on wider experience did provide a few individual Han-lin chances of political success, but on the whole, owing partly to their own limitations in coping with provincial responsibilities and partly to the severance of influence from the Central Administration, the Han-lin

concerned were no better off than other Han-lin officials.

The Personal Factors and Career Patterns.

The problem of personal relationships is inherent in any society but was more pronounced in traditional China mainly because of its emphasis on moral and humanistic values. However, in spite of their conspicuous presence in Chinese society and Government, these personal elements are difficult to be accurately assessed; comparatively little is recorded either in official or private biographical collections, and that which is recorded is open to controversial interpretation. To give an example. Wang Mu, chin-shih of 1708, was exciled to serve in a military outpost in 1740. The reason as given in the Ch'ing official biographical compilation was his inability to report against subordinates and servants who committed corruption. As to a private account, his exile was said to be caused by jealous accusations of other officials. While we are in no position to judge which account was more to the point, one thing is certain: his setback was due to a failure to adjust personal relationship, in the former account, between superior and subordinate and,

in the latter account, between colleagues. Our main emphasis here is therefore not laid on the detailed reasons for one's promotion or demotion, but on the fact that personal factors were present in the bureaucracy. By means of a biographical account of a representative character, we hope to pinpoint the main personal factors existent in the traditional Chinese Government. [156]

Recommendations and career patterns.

One of the practices which invited personal connections was the process of official recommendation which was widely used in official appointment and promotion. Abusive use of the practice would certainly lead to nepotism and favouritism. As we have said, the Government safeguarded the practice by bringing in sponsorship responsibilities. From our sample, many Han-lin officials were penalized because their protege committed offences later on. Some tried to find loopholes in the recommendation process and were punished when caught. Li Fu, once Governor-General of Chihli,

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156. The highest post Wang had held in his political career was the acting Governor of Kwangtung (PCC, 20:29a-30a; KSLC, 52:1a-2a).

for instance, was degraded in 1736 because he had recommended too many chin-shih for promotion.[157] Li T'ing-i, a President of the Board of Punishment, narrowly escaped demotion by the special favour of the Emperor for his recommendation of two officials whose services with the Government were too short for consideration of promotion.[158] Shao Tzu-ch'ang, a Vice-President of the Board of War, lost three grades in 1808 for recommending an official who did not have a good administrative record for promotion.[159] Li Tsung-wan, a Vice-President in 1736, was accused of abusive use of his recommendations in supporting appointment of local

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157. Li became a Han-lin probationer in 1709 and after eleven years of service, he was promoted to Chancellor of the Grand Secretariat. Later he served as a Vice-President at various Government Boards and for two years as Governor-General of Chihli. At the time of his political setback (1736), he was Vice-President of the Board of Revenue. (ECCP, I, 455-457).

158. Li was admitted into the Han-lin Academy in 1700. During his thirty-two years in the Government, he was able to remain in the 1st-rank position of President for nine years. He died at 63 sui (Ibid. I, 490).

159. Shao was the fourth top scholar of the 1778 Palace Examination and after some steady promotions, he was appointed Junior Vice-President of the Board of War in 1806, and three years later, President of the Censorate. He retired in 1812 (KSLC, 71:14b-15b).

officials and for this the Government had all his ranks deprived as a punishment.[160]

All these punishments or threats of punishments forced the sponsor to make sure that his prospective protege must satisfy all the requirements necessary for recommendation. The above-mentioned officials could have avoided troubles if they were either more careful in checking the personal particulars of those whom they were ready to recommend; or refrained from exploiting the recommendation practice to their own advantage. However, whereas the eligibility for recommendation of an official could be found if one was intent on doing so, his future conduct and actions were hard to predict. Moreover, his future demotions which directly affected his former sponsor might as well be a result not of his own shortcomings but of impeachment from unfriendly colleagues or superiors. Here thus lies the main difficulty of the sponsor. He did not only need to see to the eligibility for recommendation of his protege but to have confidence in his future behaviour. In

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160. Li passed the 1721 Palace Examination and later was selected as a member of the Han-lin Academy. He became a second-rank official in thirteen years' time, but throughout his thirty-eight years with the Government, he failed to reach the first rank in office, possibly because he died relatively young (54 sui). (ECCP, I, 490-491).

order to limit the chance of being involved in the offences of his protege, he would try to shelter him from impeachment, if he could manage to do so without too much a risk. The result was the formation of parties and factions for mutual protection, which we shall discuss more later on.

The ill effects of the sponsorship system on advancement of Han-lin officials can be seen in a number of cases in our sample. Lü Kung, Grand Secretary of the Shun-chih reign, was demoted two grades in 1654 because of offences of his protege.[161] Wang Kuo-tung, acting Governor of Shantung, was impeached in 1730 for his bad recommendation of officials and escaped punishment only with the special imperial favour.[162] Yang Ch'ao-tseng, President of the Board of Civil Service, who had once supported the appointment of an official to the post of Prefect by recommendation could only escape punishment through special pardon from the Emperor when

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161. Lü was the top scholar of the 1647 Palace Examination and appointed First-Class Compiler. Within six years of service, he was able to reach the highest post of the Empire (Grand Secretary). He could however remain as Grand Secretary only for two years. He entered the Government at 47 sui and left it at 55 sui. (ECCP, I, 550-551).

162. Wang was a Chinese Bannerman who entered the Han-lin Academy as a probationer in 1713. After several promotions, he was appointed Governor of Hunan in 1727. His service with the Government lasted for twenty-two years (KCCHLC, 72:13a-15b).

that official was found to be corrupt in 1739.[163] Sung Pang-sui, Financial Commissioner of Shensi, was degraded in 1764 as a consequence of bad recommendation.[164] Li Shou, Vice President of Feng-t'ien, received the same punishment in 1770 for a similar offence.[165] Hsieh Yung, Senior Vice-President of the Board of Rites, was nearly removed from office because of offences of his protege in 1778 and luckily saved from troubles by the imperial excuse.[166]

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163 Yang became a chin-shih and a Han-lin probationer in 1715. In 1738 after a period of rather favourable advancement, he was appointed President of the Board of War. As he died at the relatively young age of fifty, he could only stay in the civil service for twenty-six years (CSLC, 17:32a-35a).

164. See note 23 of the same Chapter.

165. Li became a Han-lin probationer in 1751 and in 1782 was promoted to Chancellor of the Grand Secretariat. He later served as Governor of Hunan and Vice-President at various Government Boards (KCCHLC, 90:30a-37a).

166. Hsieh was admitted into the Academy in 1752. He was called to serve in the Shang-shu fang in 1759. He had been with the Government for 43 years and died at 77 sui, the same year he left the civil service (KCCHLC, 91:1a-12b).

Although in principle the protege who could be a stumbling block to his former sponsor was himself not responsible to the behaviours and actions of his sponsor [167] nevertheless in practice, he rose and fell together with him. A loss of imperial favour or any political setback in the sponsor's career might as well bring misfortunes to his protege. Two examples from our sample may illustrate the point: Wu Shih-kung, Governor of Fukien, was charged of relying unduly on secretaries and mishandling a corruption case, and for these offences was dismissed from office and banished to manual servitude. The main cause behind such severe punishment, as disclosed by a private biography, was his association with the powerful Grand Secretary, Chang T'ing yü who was then under Emperor Ch'ien-lung's disfavour. [168] Wu was a Governor, a senior and responsible official, and yet his political fate was very much connected with that of his sponsor, Chang T'ing-yü.

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167. Hsieh, The Government of China, p.131.

168. Wu Shih-kung was appointed Han-lin probationer and Secretary at a Government Board in 1733 and 1736 respectively. After a number of promotions, he became Governor of Fukien in 1758. He stayed in the Government for twenty-eight years, having started his career at 35 sui. (CSLC, 23:33a-38a; PCC, 71:7a-12b). See p.50 of Chapter 3 for the biographical information on Chang T'ing-yü.

The charges brought against him were the pretext rather than the real cause of trouble. The inability of Keng Chiai in reaching higher than the Supervisor of Imperial Instruction (rank 4A) was attributed to the fact that his sponsor, T'ang Pin, was being impeached by other influential officials; and the trouble of T'ang was a strong enough deterrent to Keng's further advancement. [169]

Recommendation was a double-edged tool. On one hand, it brought misfortune to both sides. On the other hand, it was indispensable to speedy advancement. The Han-lin officials as a group were more familiar to the Emperor by the nature of their functions and yet the latter still heavily relied on other senior officials to learn of their performances particularly when they were serving in the provinces. Chu Chih-hsi, a famous administrator in river works, who rose to the post of Vice-President of the Board of Civil Service, owed his initial advancement to the recommendations of the two Grand Secretaries, Kang-lin (Dorgon) and Fan Wen-ch'eng [170]

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169. See note 15 of Chapter 3. Also see p.194 above for further information on Keng Chiai.

170. Chu entered the Academy by passing the first Palace Examination held under the Manchu regime (1646). In 1657 he was promoted to Junior Vice-President of the Board of Civil Service. He worked as a senior official until his death in 1666 (ECCP, I, 175-179). For the biographies of Kang-lin and Fan Wen-ch'eng see ECCP, I, 215-219 and 231-232.

Similarly, Shen Han who later became Chancellor of the Grand Secretariat, secured his second promotion through the recommendation of Hsü Ping-i, a Vice-President at that time, and Han T'an, President of the Board of Rites.[171] Lü Kung's meteoric rise to Grand Secretaryship was mainly due to the strong recommendation of a more senior Grand Secretary, Ch'en Ming-hsia, although his short service with the Government was also directly related to the condemnation and later execution of Ch'en on charges of treason.[172] The advancement of Yang Ming-shih to President of the Board of War in 1725 was facilitated by the support of the Grand Secretary, Li Kuang-ti.[173]

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171. Shen became a Han-lin probationer in 1676 and since then he had worked for the Government for thirty-eight years. He died at 69 sui (PCC, 42:1a-8b). Hsü Ping-i was the third scholar of the 1673 Palace Examination and his highest post reached was Vice-President of the Board of Civil Service (CSLC, 10:10b-11a). Han T'an was the top scholar of the 1673 Palace Examination and immediately appointed First-Class Compiler. He became Junior Vice-President of the Board of Rites in 1697. He had been with the Government for thirty-one years and died at 68 sui (ECCP, I 275-276).

172. See note 161 above.

173. Yang, a Han-lin probationer from 1691 to 1694, was invited to serve both in the Nan-shu fang and the Shang-shu fang. He died at the age of seventy-six, having been with the Government for over thirty years (KCCHLC, 63:1a-48a). For Li Kuang-ti's biographical sketch, see note 96 of the same Chapter.

Other Han-lin protege of Li, who became famous officials were Ho Ch'o, [174] Hui Shih-ch'i, [175] and Mei Ku-ch'eng. [176]

Although officials securing recommendations from senior officials ran the risk of falling together with their sponsors, yet they would also enjoy advancement or at least feel safe in their positions, so long as their sponsors were still in the imperial favour. Officials who failed to have backing from senior officials would normally have rather slow rate of promotion; for promotions were inevitably linked with

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174. Ho failed the Metropolitan Examination of 1703, but through the special imperial favour, he was permitted to become a Han-lin probationer. Three years later he failed the graduation examination and had to repeat his course at the Shu-ch'ang kuan. His service with the Government totalled twelve years. (ECCP, I, 283-285).

175. Hui received the chin-shih degree and was admitted to the Academy in 1709. His first appointment after the probationary period was Second Class Compilership. In 1737 he was promoted to Sub-Reader, but resigned two years later because of age. He died two years later at seventy-one sui (ECCP, I, 356-357).

176. Mei entered the Academy in 1715 and during his thirty-eight years' of service with the Government, he was able to reach the first-rank post of President of the Censorate. He lived a long life of 84 sui. (ECCP, I, p.569).

recommendations.[177] They also ran a great risk of political disasters in view of the relative ease of committing offences and the lack of sheltering from influential officials.

Relationship between the Emperor and his officials.

The most important personal relationship in traditional China was that between the Emperor and his officials. The likes and dislikes of the Emperor were the main determining factors of official advancement. Extremely favourable advancement was accorded to those whom the Emperor took a fancy to. Most of the Grand Secretaries and a number of the senior officials, by virtue of their literary or administrative abilities or both had won the imperial favour. The Emperor tended to mitigate or even annul punishment for offences committed by some officials whom he liked. Sometimes, he inadvertently put a deaf ear to criticisms of his favourite officials,

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177. Liu Mai-ju was one of the officials who experienced rather slow advancement because of lack of recommendations. He was admitted as a Han-lin member in 1787 and two years later, on completion of the probationary period, he was appointed Secretary of the Board of Revenue (rank 6A). In 1798, after two promotions, he became Department Director of the same Board (rank 5A). In 1810, on the grounds of seniority of service, he was transferred to the provincial post of Prefect (rank 4B). He died in 1820, sixty-eight sui (KCCHLC, 244:16a-18b).

no matter how reasonable these criticisms might be. This partial attitude of the Emperor certainly encouraged the growth of personal power of individual mandarins whom other officials clustered round for protection and advancement. The Emperor was himself responsible for the formation of parties and factions in the Government to a certain extent.

On the other hand, any official who had displeased him would scarcely escape punishment, and examples of memorials disagreeable to the Emperor resulting in demotions or dismissals were numerous. [178] But in no way was the Emperor's wrath greater than that seen in the Literary Inquisitions in which hundreds of scholars and their families suffered executions or punishments as a result of disrespectful or disloyal writings or association with the authors of such writings. [179] It is not our intention to give a detailed description of the Literary Inquisitions of the Ch'ing Dynasty.

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178. To cite an example: Sung Chao, who became a chin-shih in 1718 was with the Government only for a short time and forced to leave officialdom as a result of his disagreeable memorial to the Emperor. (Ho-cheng hou lu, hereafter cited as HCHL, 3:12a-b).

179. See Goodrich, The Literary Inquisition of the Ch'ien-lung Period.

What is concerned us here is that a number of Han-lin officials lost their political futures and sometimes their lives by involving in the Literary Inquisitions.

One of the famous literary inquisitions in the K'ang-hsi reign centred round the famous scholar, Tai Ming-shih. Tai came from T'ung-cheng, Anhwei, and was the second top scholar of the 1709 Palace Examination. He was immediately appointed Second-Class Compiler which post he held for four years. Then his literary collection, the Nan-shan chi was found by the Government as containing insulting comments on the Manchu regime. He was sentenced to death,[180] and the number of people who were involved and executed or punished amounted to several hundreds. Among those who were punished were two Han-lin officials: Liu Yen who became Han-lin probationer in 1703, was dismissed from office because he failed to report to the Government on the seditious nature of Tai's writings beforehand.[181] Wang Hao, appointed Han-lin probationer in the same year as Liu, had once written a preface for

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180. ECCP, II, 701-762. Also see Mao Lucien, "Tai Ming-shih" in Tien Hsia Monthly, vol. 5, no. 4 (1937), 382-399.

181. See Li Chieh, Ching-shih pp. 235-236, Liu, native of Kiangnan, was holding the post of Second Class Compiler before dismissal (CTCHLP, Kuan-hsüan, 7:10b).

the Nan-shan chi and for this was condemned to penal servitude in one of the Chinese Banners.[182]

In the Yung-cheng reign, another Han-lin scholar who provoked the imperial anger by his writings was Cha Ssu-t'ing. Cha, appointed Han-lin probationer in 1706, became a Vice-President of the Board of Rites in 1725. His troubles started in 1726 when he was despatched to Kiangsi as the provincial examiner. One of his questions set to the candidates to answer was regarded as an affront to the Emperor and for this he was brought back to the Capital for impeachment. Later more disrespectful writings were found in his home. He was lucky to die in prison before execution.[183] His two brothers Cha Shen-hsing and Cha Ssu-li, both members of the Han-lin Academy, then at retirement, were arrested and put in prison. Cha Shen-hsing was later released, possibly because of the Emperor's liking for his poems, while Cha Ssu-li was exiled to a military

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182. Ibid. Wang was also a Second Class Compiler before being involved in the Tai's affair (CTCHLP, Kuan-hsüan, 6:21a).

183. Cha Ssu-t'ing's biography can be seen in ECCP, I, p.22.

outpost.[184] The other two Han-lin officials Hsieh Chi-shih and Yao San-ch'en who came from the same province as the Cha's brothers were also under suspicion and ordered to serve in military outposts.[185]

The case of Tseng Ching's rebellious writings and intentions was another focus for inquisition which brought misfortune to a number of officials, among whom some were Han-lin. Tseng, a scholar from Hunan, was influenced by the anti-Manchu ideas of Lü liu-liang, one of the pro-Ming diehards. He secretly submitted plans of uprisings against the existing regime to Yüeh Chung-ch'i, Governor-General of Szechwan and Shensi, thinking that the latter, a former subordinate official

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184. See ECCP, I, 21-22.

185. Hsieh, appointed Han-lin probationer in 1712, became a censor in 1726. Because of the literary Inquisition, he was banished to Mongolia. In 1730 he was pardoned and reinstated in his former post. He retired in 1744 (ECCP, I, 306-307); Yao was admitted to the Academy in 1713 and in spite of his involvement in the literary Inquisition, he was later pardoned and rose to the 2nd-rank post of Vice-President in 1736 (KCCHLC, 72: 11a-12a).

of the once powerful Governor-General, Nien Keng-yao who was executed by Emperor Yung-cheng for charges of treason, would listen to his words. However, Yüeh, instead of conspiring with Tseng against the Manchu cause, arrested him and his followers. A long series of accusations against those who were somehow or other regarded as being connected with this affair began. Lü Pao-chung, son of Lü Liu-liang, a Han-lin Compiler, was among the condemned, but he had died beforehand. Nonetheless, his body together with that of his father were excavated and cut into pieces as punishment to the dead.[186] Li Hui, Han-lin probationer of 1723, then a senior censor, was demoted to a minor post for his inability to deal with the case properly.[187] Wang Kuo-tung, Governor of Hunan in 1729, was deprived of all ranks for failure of duty in regard to this affair.[188]

In the Ch'ien-lung reign, the Literary Inquisition was enforced even more severely than in the former reigns. However, although quite a number of Han-lin officials were involved, most of them luckily had been dead before

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186. See Li Chieh, Ching-shih, pp. 278-79. Also see ECCP, II, 747-49, I, 551-552, II, 957-959, for the biographical sketches of Tseng Ching, Lü liu-liang and Yüeh Chung-ch'i. Lü Pao-chung was the second top scholar of the 1706 Palace Examination and appointed Second Class Compiler immediately. He stayed in the Government only for one year or so (ECCP, I, 552).

187. See CSK, 297:8a-b .

188. See note 162 above.

the cases were brought against them.[189] Since few living Han-lin were directly affected by the Literary inquisition in the Ch'ien-lung reign and since we have got some ideas on the relationship between the Literary Inquisition and the Han-lin career patterns, we shall not discuss it further.

Relationship between superiors and subordinates.

Subordinate officials in the Chinese Government were in the power of their senior officials who could control their political fates either by favourable recommendations or insidious accusations. As the factor of mutual responsibility was strictly applied to the superior officials who would be punished together with their subordinates committing serious offences, we find that the former inclined to shelter the latter's shortcomings if they thought these would involve them into

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189. A notable example of Han-Lin members who died before cases were brought against them was Shen Te-ch'ien. Shen entered the Han-linAcademy at the advanced age of 67 sui and because of his great literary achievement, he was much appreciated by Emperor Ch'ien-lung who within a few years promoted him to Vice-President of the Board of Rites before his retirement. But after his death, the Government discovered his writings were subversive to the present regime. He was deprived of all the honours given to him before his death and denounced as a traitor posthumously (ECCP, I, 645-646).

trouble. Such deliberate siding of junior officials sometimes out of friendly connections, but more often because of the fear of mutual responsibility, if discovered, certainly led to punishment on both sides. From our sample we can easily pick out a number of Han-lin officials being punished for their partial protection of their subordinates whose offences were later exposed by other officials. Liu Shih-shu, holding the post of Vice-President of the Board of Civil Service in 1727, was degraded on a charge of concealing offences of his subordinates. [190] Kao Ch'i-cho, a Chinese Bannerman Han-lin who rose to Governor-General of Yunnan and Kweichow in 1662, was accused of sheltering a magistrate who had committed offences from impeachment, and as a punishment he was demoted to Governor of Kiangsu in 1734. [191] Ts'ui Chi, Governor of Hupeh, was degraded and transferred to a junior position in 1740 for a similar charge. [192]

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190. See note 43 of Chapter 3.

191. Kao was admitted into the Han-lin Academy as a probationer in 1694. In the last year of his service with the Government, he was able to reach the 1st-rank post of President of the Board of Works for seven months. He died in 1725, the same year he left the Government at 63 sui (KCCHLC, 65:24a-34a).

192. Tsui entered the Academy in 1718 and during his thirty-two years of service, he had been senior official at the Capital and in the provinces (Ibid., 73:37a-42b).

Han-lin officials who did not cover up the offences of their subordinates could also be punished for the inability of governing them. To give two examples from our sample: Ch'in Ch'eng-en whose highest position in the Government was the President of the Board of Punishment, was once degraded and once deprived of all ranks due to the offences of his subordinates which he did not try to conceal. [193] Ch'en Hsi-tseng, Senior President of the Board of Works, lost two grades in 1809 as a punishment for failing to check on the underlings working under him who were discovered to commit offences. [194]

The difficulty of officials in making a decision on discovery of subordinates' offences was great. To report them could lead to the Government's suspicion of their inability to keep an eye on the behaviours and conduct of their subordinates. To shelter their

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193. Ch'in, Han-lin probationer from 1761 to 1763, stayed in the Government for forty-eight years and about twenty years were spent in positions of the third rank and above (CSLC, 30:17b-25a).

194. Ch'en secured the third position on the first class list of the 1793 Palace Examination and entered the Academy as a Second Class Compiler. After twelve years of office, he succeeded in reaching the second rank in office. He died at a relatively young age. (KCCHLC, 105:27b-29a).

offences would also bring about troubles, if the offences were publicized by other officials. There were officials who despite any possible consequences to themselves would report suspected offences of their subordinates to the Government; on the other hand, other officials would prefer hiding juniors' offences, hoping that they could be glossed over without being brought to the Government's notice. The common stand seemed to be that they would act according to the seriousness of the cases, the degree of their own entanglement in them and the general circumstances. Thus, an official could be punished both for sheltering subordinates' offences and being incapable of controlling them in his political career. A-su's case was revealing in this respect. In 1768 he was deprived of all ranks but retained his office on a charge of unduly tolerating and hiding a subordinate's offences. Next year, if not for the special pardon of the Emperor, he would have met the same punishment for his inability to keep a close watch on his subordinates who were convicted of offences. [195]

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195. See note 127 of the same Chapter.

The Formation of Cliques and Career Patterns. The court politics of the early Ch'ing was a complicated affair and it is beyond our scope here to give it a full study. However, the career patterns of a substantial number of Han-lin officials in our sample were in one way or another affected by the existence of parties and factions at the Central Government. Selected accounts of a few Han-lin officials who were the victims or beneficiaries or both of the court partisanship will throw light on the extra-bureaucratic nature of a bureaucratic administration.[196] The origin of forming cliques for mutual protection and advancement stems from the fear of punishment which was quite often beyond the average power of an individual official to prevent. The Emperor's confidence in a few important mandarins, the group responsibility and the recommendation process all help create the taking sides of officials. Their groupings could take place along the line of special relationships such as that created by similar provincial or local origin,

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196. See Section C on more of the extra-bureaucratic and bureaucratic factors of the Chinese Government.

family or kinship ties, teacher-student relationship, friendship among scholars receiving official degrees in the same year, or just between casual friends who needed one another's influences to offset accusations from unfriendly colleagues and to promote further advancement.

From the early years of Shun-chih reign, we begin to see mutual attacks of officials more on personal grounds than on matters of public affairs. Wei Hsiang-shu, a Metropolitan Censor, who disagreed with the Grand Secretary, Ning Wan-ngo, was demoted to Registrar (rank 9A) as a result of the latter's impeachment in 1654.[197] Lü Kung on the other hand rose to the highest position in the bureaucracy and then fell from office shortly mainly due to his friendly relations with the powerful Grand Secretary, Ch'en Ming-hsia who was later executed on a charge of treason.[198]

In the early K'ang-hsi reign, the powerful regent, Oboi, was the centre of a powerful political

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197. See note 64 above for the biography of Wei. For the biography of Ning Wan-ngo, see ECCP, I, 592-593.

198. See note 161 of the same Chapter for the biography of Lü. For the biography of Ch'en, see ECCP, I, 95.

clique, his henchmen spreading at the Capital and over the provinces. Before his fall in 1669, officials opposing him would certainly meet troubles. From our sample, we learn that Che-k'u-na, a Manchu Han-lin, attempted to impeach him in 1667 without avail, while losing four official grades in doing so. [199]

Later in the reign, another Manchu mandarin, Mingju, formed a strong political clique which interfered with the normal bureaucratic opportunities of advancement by practising corruption and nepotism. Ming-ju was a Manchu noble whose contribution in suppressing the Three Feudatories gained him the confidence of Emperor K'ang-hsi. At first he rallied scholars round him, and famous scholar-officials such as Hsü Ch'ien-hsüeh, Wang Hung-hsü and Kao Shih-ch'i were all recommended to the Emperor as literary advisers

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199. For the biography of Oboi see ECCP, I, 599-600. Chek'u-na was the second top scholar of the Special Palace Examination held in 1652 exclusively for the Manchu scholars. He was promoted to the second-rank position in 1655, only after three years of service with the Government. He however was not able to reach the 1st rank in office, having been official for twenty one years (KCCHLC, 47:25a-26b).

by him.[200] Unfortunately, his weakness lay in his corrupt attitude and he was suspected of secretly selling offices to the highest bidders. His henchmen included a number of senior officials, both Manchus and Chinese, among whom Hsiung I-hsiao and Chang Chien[201] were Han-lin officials. His main opponent was T'ang Pin, a renowned Han-lin official, who, however, could do nothing against him.[202]

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200. For the biography of Ming-ju see ECCP, I, 577. See note 83 of the same Chapter for the biographical sketch of Hsü Ch'ien-hsüeh. Wang Hung-hsü was the second top scholar of 1673 Palace Examination and after ten years of office, he was promoted to the second rank. During his thirty-six years of service, over half of it was spent in 1st-rank positions (ECCP, II, 826); See note 10 of Chapter 3 for the biography of Kao Shih-ch'i.

201. Hsiung received his chin-shih degree in 1664 and was admitted to the Academy as a probationer. After several promotions, he became Junior Vice-President at the Board of Punishment in 1682 and five years later, he was promoted to President at the Board of Works. He retired in 1699 (KCCHLC, 52:32a-37a). Chang entered the Academy in 1646 and later rose to the position of Governor of Hupeh. In 1688 he was dismissed from office because of being found guilty of serious corruption (ECCP, I, 101).

202. T'ang became a Han-lin probationer in 1652 and the highest post he had once held was the President of the Board of Works. However, he remained as a first-rank official only for one month when death overtook him in 1687 at 61 sui (ECCP, II, 709-710).

Ch'en Tsu-chih, another Han-lin official, who succeeded in impeaching Chang Chien on charges of corruption was afterwards said to be poisoned by Ming-ju as a revenge of removing one of his henchmen. [203] Ming-ju's influence at court continued until 1688 when a daring censor, Kuo Hsiu, succeeded in impeaching him. [204] K'ang-hsi had heard some rumours about the malpractices of the Ming-ju's clique and now taking this opportunity, he dismissed him and his henchmen like Hsiung I-hsiao from office. [205]

After the fall of the Ming-ju's clique came the Gali's faction. Gali was also a Manchu noble who allied with the Manchu Governor-General, Asan and the Chinese Grand Secretary Chang P'eng-ko [206] to secure

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203. Ch'en entered the Academy in 1679 and rose to the post of Sub-Director of the Court of Judicature and Revision (rank 4A). He was responsible for impeaching Chang Chien (note 201) successfully (KCCHLC, 134:42a-b).

204. Kuo received his chin-shih degree in 1670 but was not selected as a member of the Han-lin Academy (ECCP, I, 436-437).

205. For a concise account of the Ming-ju clique see Li Chieh, Ch'ing-shih, pp. 227-8.

206. See ECCP, I, 268,50 and 96 for Gali's and Asan's biographies. For the biography of Chang P'eng-ko see note 68 of the same Chapter.

power. Corruption and favouritism of some kinds were practised. It happened that one of the prefects serving under Asan was Ch'en P'eng-nien [207] who was an upright official and unwilling to affiliate himself with the high-handed actions of the Gali's party. Using the authority of a superior official, Asan invented pretexts to accuse Ch'en and put him into prison. However, owing to the good administration of the latter, he was much loved by the people. Hearing that Ch'en, their beloved official, was innocently put into prison, the populace reacted by demonstrations and closing shops. The retired Grand Secretary, Chang Ying,[208] also threw in a few good words for Ch'en who was subsequently released and called by the Emperor to help in editing official compilations. In 1709 Gali became Governor-general of Kiang-si and Kiangsu. By a mere coincidence Ch'en was then the Prefect of Soochow, one of the prefectures in Kiangsu

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207. For further information on Ch'en P'eng-nien who was a chin-shih but not a Han-lin member, see ECCP, I; 95-96.

208. See note 11 of Chapter 3.

and was directly under Gali. Regarding Ch'en as an enemy, Gali took up a slight excuse to arrest Ch'en of rebellious intention. Emperor K'ang-hsi again freed Ch'en and asked him to work as an editorial assistant, knowing well that he was innocent. In 1711 Gali's henchman Chao Chun, Assistant Examiner of Kiangsu Provincial Examination, who happened to be a member of the Han-lin Academy, was suspected of receiving bribes in the public examination. Emperor K'ang-hsi despatched Chang P'ang-ko and another Manchu official to investigate the matter. As Chang was also a member of the same clique, he sided with Chao and the matter was ended inconclusively. Later on another senior official impeached Gali of corruption and disloyalty. The Emperor ordered Chang T'ing-shu [209] and another Manchu senior official to see to the affair. Again the verdict was in favour of Gali who after all had connections with many influential officials at court. Emperor K'ang-shi, however, was not convinced and he decreed a re-investigation, this time, conducted by a committee of senior officials. Gali was then found guilty and subsequently dismissed from

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209. See note 80 of the same Chapter.

office. Later, on a charge of murdering his own mother, he was forced to commit suicide.[210]

Another political group in K'ang-hsi reign was formed by Hsü Ch'ien-hsüeh, Wang Hung-hsü and Kāo Shih-ch'i.[211] All of them were famous scholars of the time who were under the favour of K'ang-hsi. Hsü Ch'ien-hsüeh had two brothers, Yüan-wen and Ping-i, both Han-lin officials reaching senior positions.[212] Wang Hung-hsü also had two brothers, Hsü-ling and Chiu-ling, who were also Han-lin members holding high positions.[213] Attracted partly by their scholarship and partly by their immense political power, scholars and officials competed to be members of this group. Ch'en Yüan-lung, a Han-lin official who later rose to Grand Secretary, for example, regarded himself as the uncle of Kao Shih-ch'i

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210. For the Gali's clique, a concise description is given in Li Chieh, Ch'ing-shih, pp. 228-9.

211. Refer note 200 above.

212. For the biographies of Hsü Yüan-wen and Hsü ping-i, see Chapter 2, note 24 and note 171 of the same Chapter.

213. See note 92 of the same Chapter for the biography of Wang Hsü-ling. Wang Chiu-ling became a chin-shih and Han-lin probationer in 1682. He served as Vice-President of the Board of Civil Service from 1704 to 1708 and as President of the Censorate from 1708 to 1710, the year he met his death (ECCP, II, p.823).

in order to be more intimately related to the clique.[214] The leaders of the clique, being scholars were not as corrupt as Ming-ju or Gali, but their henchmen and underlings made use of the power of their masters to indulge in malpractices, much to the dissatisfaction of the general populace. Later when Chang Chien[215] was found guilty of corruption, Hsü Ch'ien-hsüeh was involved as once receiving bribes. Emperor K'ang-hsi who took a liking for his literary attainment, still allowed him to serve as editor-general at one of the official compiling centres. In 1689 Kuo Hsiu, the famous censor who brought about the downfall of Ming-ju, now accused Kao Shih-ch'i and Wang Hung-hsü of corruption and bribery. Once again, the Emperor respected his words and dismissed both of them from office.[216]

These groupings for power and advancement were, as we have seen, not completely ignored by the Emperor. When matters became serious, K'ang-hsi would act. This was the reason why the factions and parties in

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214. See note 11 of Chapter 3 for the biography of Ch'en Yüan-lung.

215. See note 201 above.

216. Li Chieh, Ch'ing-shih, pp. 229-232.

his reign were not out of hand and normally did not last long. K'ang-hsi was enlightened enough to respect public reaction if it made itself heard through mass demonstrations or representation by conscientious censors like Kuo Hsiu. At the critical moment, he was willing to punish his favourites for the stability of the State.

In the Yung-cheng reign, court officials were virtually divided into two camps, one led by the Chinese Grand Secretary, Chang T'ing-yü and the other by the Manchu Grand Secretary, O-er-t'ai. The latter was a member of the Bordered Blue Banner. He became a chü-jen in 1699 and his rise to power was attributed to his suppression of the Miao Rebellion and his part in formulating the Government policy in dealing with peoples of the bordered areas. Since 1732, he had been the most powerful Manchu Grand Secretary who headed the Grand Council.[217] Chang T'ing-yü came from the Kiangnan province. His father was Chang Ying, a famous Grand Secretary. He became a chin-shih and was appointed Han-lin probationer in 1700 at the age of 29.

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217. For the biographical information of O-er-t'ai see ECCP, I, 601-603.

After several promotions, he became a Grand Secretary himself in 1726 and was much trusted by Emperor Yung-cheng. His advancement was to a large extent facilitated by the reputation, influence and wealth of his father. Certainly, his mastery of the Manchu language and his ability in the literary as well as the administrative fields all contributed to make him the most powerful Chinese Grand Secretary of the early Ch'ing period. [218]

It is quite impossible to assess the degree of influences these two powerful Grand Secretaries exerted on official advancement of the time for strictly speaking, officials who were not associated with either party would most probably be unable to rise very high in the bureaucracy. Here, we shall try to pick out a few examples from our sample for illustration: Chung Yung-t'an was a protege of O-er-t'ai. He entered the Han-lin Academy in 1736 and in five years' time, he had reached the 3rd-rank post of Senior Vice-President of the Censorate, thanks to the strong support of O-er-t'ai. However, the latter gradually lost the favour of Emperor Ch'ien-lung who was rather uneasy of

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218. Consult note 11 of Chapter 3.

the great power he had accumulated. When the sponsor was under suspicion, the protege too suffered. As a check on O-er-t'ai, Emperor Ch'ien-lung punished a number of his supporters, one of whom was Chung Yung-t'an. In 1742 Chung was accused both of being a member of the O-er-t'ai confederacy and giving out information from a secret memorial. He was deprived of office and put under penal investigation. He died before a verdict against him was made. [219]

Han-lin officials who owed their advancement partly or entirely to the recommendations of Chang T'ing-yü were numerous: Wang Yu-tun who later rose to Assistant Grand Secretary was recommended to the Grand Council and P'eng Ch'i-feng who later reached the first rank in office was recommended to be the Emperor's advisor in the Nan-shu fang by Chang T'ing-yü. [220] Through serving in these important Government establishments, they were personally acquainted with the Emperor, and this was a great step towards

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219. KCCHLC, 81:42a-48a.

220. Wang became a Han-lin probationer in 1724 at 33 sui and stayed in office for thirty-four years, twelve of which were spent in 1st-rank positions (CSLC, 19:39a-41a; PCC, 27:12a-16a). For the biography of P'eng Ch'i-feng see note 60) of the same Chapter.

political success.

Similar to O-er-t'ai, Chang gradually lost the favour of Emperor Ch'ien-lung who was also suspicious of his growing personal power. As a move to curtail his influence, the Emperor also picked out some of his henchmen for punishment. Wu Shih-kung was one of the victims of the Emperor's move. He became a Han-lin probationer in 1733 and was promoted to Governor of Fukien in 1758. He was a protege of Chang and relied heavily on the latter's recommendation for advancement. However, his dismissal from office and subsequent banishment were to a certain extent attributed to his close affiliation with his influential sponsor who was then under the suspicion of the Emperor. [221]

Side by side with the court division into the Chang T'ing-yü and the O-er-t'ai cliques, there was a lesser confrontation between T'ien Wen-ching and Li Wei [222] on one hand, and Li Fu, Ts'ai T'ing, and Wang Shih-chün on the other. The line of demarcation

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221. See p.209 and note 168 of the same Chapter.

222. For the biography of T'ien Wen-ching and Li Wei see ECCP, II, 719-721 and I, 493-494.

between the two groups lay more in the different paths to office than anything else. T'ien Wen-ching and Li Wei were not degree-holders and rather jealous of those who possessed them. As Yung-cheng had great trust in them (who after-all were capable provincial administrators), and wanted to use them to balance the influence of the degree-holding officials in the Government, the T'ien-Li clique was on the upper hand in its struggle against the other group. A number of Magistrates who were degree-holders were charged of inefficiency by T'ien and dismissed from office. One of them, Huang Chen-kuo, received the third degree in the same year as Li Fu. As Li Fu was T'ien's enemy, the latter memorialized the throne, accusing Li Fu and Huang Chen-kuo of conspiring to form a political faction. Yung-cheng listened to T'ien's accusations and Li Fu was nearly executed but later pardoned. Ts'ai T'ing was also put into prison for opposing T'ien and freed only when Ch'ien-lung ascended to the throne on the death of Yung-cheng, while Wang Shih-chün was dismissed from office after being attacked by

T'ien. [223]

In the Ch'ien-lung reign, the main faction was formed under the leadership of Ho-shen, a Manchu Government student who rose to Grand Secretaryship mainly through his impressive manners, clear voice and sycophantic techniques. Having gained the confidence of Emperor Ch'ien-lung, Ho-shan established power by enlisting other officials into his camp. He and his henchmen indulged in bribery and corruption. Although occasionally some of his henchmen were caught in the act of malpractices, the Emperor regarded them as individual cases with little or nothing to do with Ho-shen who thus escaped scot-free. [224]

Two notable Han-lin brothers who were Ho-shen's

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223. See note 157 above for biographical information on Li Fu; Ts'ai T'ing was appointed a Han-lin probationer in 1697 and after several promotions, he became President of the Board of War in 1725. Three years later, he was put in prison for the reason mentioned above (CSK, 299:3b-4b); Wang Shih-chên entered the Academy in 1721 and after ten years or so of provincial service, he was promoted to Governor of Hupeh. Because of opposing T'ien, his service with the Government lasted only fifteen years (CSLC, 18:12a-16b).

224. See ECCP, I, 288-290 for the biography of Ho-shen.

protege were Wu Sheng-ch'in and Wu Sheng-lan.[225] With the connection of Ho-shen, they succeeded in reaching high positions in relatively short service with the Government. They, however, met political setbacks immediately after the fall of their powerful sponsor.

Han-lin officials who did not join the Ho-shen's party and were under the attacks of the latter were numerous, and most of them would seldom escape punishment. However, in spite of the dominating position of Ho-shen, the Emperor was still at the helm of the Government and he reserved the final say in meting punishment to his officials. He might side with Ho-shen when he thought the latter was in the right, but he would not push too hard on enemies of Ho-shen whom he himself regarded as useful to the State or innocent. For instance, Chu Kuei was only demoted from Governor-General of Kwangtung and Kwangsi to Governor of Anhwei in 1796 when he was attacked by Ho-shen. Chu later

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225. Wu Sheng-ch'in joined the Han-lin Academy in 1763 after passing the Palace Examination of that year. In 1791 he rose to the post of Junior Vice-President of the Board of Rites. He became a first-rank official in 1798, being appointed President of the Censorate. He was dismissed from the civil service next year, mainly because of the fall of Ho-shen (KCCHLC, 97:5a-12a). For the biography of Wu Sheng-lan, see note 57 of the same Chapter.

succeeded in becoming a Grand Secretary. His literary friendship with Emperor Ch'ien-lung, and later Emperor Chia-ch'ing, prevented him from further attacks by the Ho-shen's clique. [226]

Other officials who were against Ho-shen were not so lucky. In 1786 Ts'ao Hsi-pao, a fearless Han-lin censor, failed to convince the Emperor of the corrupt practices of Ho-shen, and for this he was deprived of all ranks. Five years later, Yin Chuang-t'u, another Han-lin censor, impeached Ho-shen, but owing to the bluffings and shelterings of Ho-shen's confederates, he, like Ts'ao before him, failed his purpose and met a similar punishment. [227]

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226. Chu became a chin-shih at the young age of eighteen and was admitted to the Academy as a probationer in 1748. In 1784 he reached the second rank in office and for some years served as Vice-President at various Government Boards. He became a President in 1797 and since then he had served at various Government Boards in this capacity. He was appointed Grand Secretary in 1805. He died two years later (ECCP, I, 185-186). Although by 1796, Ch'ien-lung had abdicated in favour of his son Chia-ch'ing, he himself (or his trusted assistant, Ho-shen) was still in control of the Government.

227. Ts'ao passed the Palace Examination of 1757 and was selected as a probationer of the Han-lin Academy. The highest position he had held was Intendant (rank 4A) (KCCHLC, 93:15a-22b); Yin was admitted to the Han-lin Academy in 1766. He reached the second rank in office in 1780 and left the Government in 1791. (KCCHLC, 98:20a-28b).

Ho-shen's fall from office was a direct result of the death of Emperor Ch'ien-lung in 1799. Chia-ch'ing, the successor of Ch'ien-lung, had heard a lot of the corruption and malpractices of Ho-shen as a prince. He did not immediately take action on accession to the throne in 1796 because his father was still alive and virtually in control of the Government. Immediately after the death of Ch'ien-lung, Chia-ch'ing arrested Ho-shen. A number of censors taking this opportunity gathered together to list twenty serious crimes committed by Ho-shen.[228] He was found guilty of every one of the charges and forced to commit suicide.[229]

The above general account on the important cliques and parties of the early Ch'ing is useful to show that the Han-lin members, being mainly Capital officials, were inevitably involved in them. A number of them gained advancement by associating with certain parties, while others suffered political setbacks by doing so.

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228. One of them was the Han-lin Metropolitan Censor, Wang Nien-sun who became a member of the Academy in 1775. He later held the post of Intendant (CTCHLP, kuan-hsüan, 6:6b).

229. See Li Chieh, Ch'ing-shih, pp. 338-340.

There were also others who both gained advancement and experienced political setbacks by involving in court politics. However influential the personal factors on advancement might have been, one is not sure whether other factors were at work. We shall attempt to discuss more on the extra-bureaucratic factors and the bureaucratic factors in the next Section.

Leaves and Retirement.

Mourning leaves were the most common temporary departures from Government duties and they were obligatory, particularly to the Chinese Han-lin members who were regarded as the guardians of traditional Confucian values. A great majority of the Han-lin officials who served in the Government for some time had to take mourning leaves on the death of one or both of their parents. Such mourning observance usually took place when the officials were in their middle age between thirty-five to forty-five sui. Since the periods away from office as a result of the mourning obligations were not regarded as active service with the Government and were deducted in the consideration of seniority for promotion, we find that the tenure of office in which the mourning occurred usually

lasted longer than the other tenures. Some Han-lin tried to evade the mourning periods, but when discovered could not only lead to public disapproval on moral grounds but also to punishment. For example, P'eng Wei-hsin, one of the Assistant Grand Secretaries of the Ch'ing Dynasty, was a President of the Censorate in 1738 and in that year he was accused of working during the mourning of one of his parents. The Government had all his ranks deprived for violating the mourning practices.[230] However, as we have said before in Chapter Four, some senior officials performing important state affairs would be asked by the Emperor to remain in office in spite of the decease of their parents. Chu Shih who was serving as President of the Censorate in 1720, for example, was asked to stay in office that year in spite of the death of his father, and when his mother died in 1726, he was again not allowed to observe the customary period of mourning at home.[231]

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230. P'eng entered the Han-lin Academy in 1706 as a probationer. He became Junior Vice-President of the Board of Rites in 1728 and was appointed President at the Board of Punishment in four years' time. (KCCHLC, 16:31a-34b).

231. See note 155 of the same Chapter.

Manchu Han-lin, on the other hand, had much shorter mourning period. To cite an example, Te-pao, a Manchu Han-lin, only took one hundred day leave in 1776 on the death of his father. [232] The Chinese Bannerman Han-lin resembled the Manchu Han-lin in the sense that both groups had equally short periods of mourning observance. Kao Ch'i-cho, a Chinese Bannerman Han-lin, observed the mourning of his mother in 1717. After a few months, he reported for duty, having completed the period required for observance. [233] Thus, we can see that even if the Chinese Han-lin and the Bannerman Han-lin had equal length of service with the Government, by virtue of the shorter period for mourning obligations, the latter group of officials would have longer seniority of service than the former group.

As we have said in Chapter Four, so long as an official was useful to the State, his age was of no importance. In fact advanced age was taken as a sign of experience. Grand Secretaries who were the top

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232. Te-pao passed the 1737 Palace Examination and was admitted into the Academy as a probationer. He was one of the few Manchu scholars who had the privilege of serving both in the Nan-shu fang and the Shang-shu fang. His highest post reached during his political career was President of the Board of Rites (KCCHLC, 82:27a-42a).

233. See note 191 above.

governing personnel of the administration were frequently not allowed to retire unless they were seriously ill. The average age of the sixty-three Han-lin Grand Secretaries of our sample whose ages were known is 71 *sui* and that of the 245 Han-lin officials who could reach the third rank or above in service was 65 *sui*. Thus, although the Government did not lay down any definite age-limit, in actual practice, owing to the physical span of life, senior officials would retire between 65-70 *sui*. A much younger average age (52.5 *sui*) is calculated for Han-lin members unable to rise higher than the third rank in office in our sub-sample. Thus, except for a minority of senior officials whose retirement ages fell in a more advanced age-bracket, the bulk of the civil service, that is, officials between the 9th to the 4th ranks, would retire between 40-60 *sui*. [234]

As the average retirement age of the senior Han-lin officials and their average span of life (66 *sui*) is so close, we can deduce that most of them would still be in Government service in the very year they died.

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234. See Table 12.

Except for a minority, the period in between their retirement and death was short, possibly less than five years. The reasons for their leaving the service were in most cases genuine sicknesses, old age or instant deaths. A few of them were dismissed from office, while two or three in our sample applied for retirement to look after their aged parents. [235]

As to officials unable to reach the third rank, a rather different picture is presented in Table 14. Out of the 252 Han-lin whom we have information on their causes for leaving the Government, the largest group (66 of them) met instant deaths at the midst of their service. The second largest group (56 of them) is constituted by those who were dismissed from office. The 49 Han-lin who pleaded illness to depart from their offices included those who were genuinely ill and those who used sickness as a pretext to hide their real causes for early retirement. Since it was rather difficult for the Government of that time to ascertain whether they feigned illness or not, so it is even more difficult for us to learn of their real motives for leaving the Government. All we can assume is that if

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235. See Table 14.

they died within a short time after returning home or before the age of fifty, we might venture to say that they did suffer from serious illnesses; while those who lived on for ten years or over after retirement or who survived over 50 sui, would be regarded as using illness as a cover of their real motive for application of retirement. Using this assumption for judgment, we find that 20 of them were genuinely sick, 14 of them took illness as an excuse for permission to retire and 15 of them, because of the lack of information on their ages, are classified as unknown. The number of Han-lin who were unable to continue their work in Government positions on account of sicknesses was not a great one. From our Table 14, too, 42 out of the 252 Han-lin unable to rise higher than the 4th rank in office retired for the reason of looking after their aged parents.

Typical career pattern of a successful Han-lin official.

From our findings so far, we try to construct a typical career pattern of a Han-lin official who was able to hold senior positions in his political life. All the information is derived from the averages obtained from statistical calculation of our sample.

A typical Han-lin official would enter the Han-lin Academy as a probationer at 35 sui. His first appoint-

ment would most likely be of the compiler-corrector level. He would stay in the first appointment for nine years or so. His first promotion would come when he was about 44 sui and it would be a six-rank position. His subsequent promotions would come much faster and he would rise by half a rank to one or two ranks at a time. At middle age, he would need to observe mourning of one or both of his deceased parents. By the sixth or seventh promotion, he would have reached the third rank in office. He, however, might meet one or two political setbacks in the form of demotion or fine of salary in between his advancement. After serving in the Government for sixteen years or so he would have reached the second rank in office. His chance of reaching the first rank was quite small and he would possibly retire after being with the civil service for thirty years at the age of sixty-five. He would die at the age of sixty-six.

This model career pattern is surely artificial and in fact no one in our sample really possessed such a political career. Nevertheless, it helps to show the common characteristics of a politically successful Han-lin. Han-lin officials whose career patterns had nothing in common with this model can therefore be regarded as having exceptional advancement or totally

disappointing political lives.

Similarities and differences between the Han-lin group and other officials in the system of promotion, transfer, demotion and dismissal.

We have given a general description of the system of appointment, promotion, demotion, transfer and dismissal in Chapter Four which is applicable to all officials of the Empire. On the other hand, we have also used a biographical approach to learn more of the career patterns of the Han-lin group, which after-all was part and parcel of the civil service. Our main purpose here is to re-capitulate features of similarity and difference between them as a summary of this chapter.

The application of the Metropolitan Inspection and the Great Accounting was enforced to all officials including the Han-lin group. However, they were more or less regular routine inspections of the civil ranks. More often officials were promoted or demoted in times other than the holding of these inspections, and the ups and downs of officials in the bureaucracy depended on a number of factors some of which we have just described. The process of recommendation which was so important in one's appointment and promotion applied to

all officials and seniority of service was generally regarded as one of the favourable factors for advancement.

One of the additional tools for evaluating the Han-lin officials was the Royal Examination which results influenced their political careers to some extent. The first promotion of the Han-lin officials was by and large more than half a rank which, as claimed by some historians, was the usual promotion rate of other officials. Promotions accorded to the Han-lin officials who passed the Royal Examinations with good results were quite often more than half a rank at a time.

A common feature in the bureaucracy was the rapid and constant shifts of officials. The three-year service was more applicable to officials who were not Han-lin members, while the latter group, with the exception of their first appointments, had, on the average, shorter tenures of office. Other characteristics of transference such as those connected with promotion, demotion or the Law of Avoidance were applicable to all officials including the Han-lin. Transferences in accordance with the nei-cheng wai-chuan process were widely applied to the Han-lin

officials. A general feature of the Government, that is, the frequency of political setbacks, which we can detect from the biographies of our Han-lin sample might be found in the career-patterns of other officials as well. Whereas the Han-lin group might have a good chance of full recovery from temporary political eclipses in view of their special relationship with the Emperor and their acknowledged literary attainments, officials with lower qualifications and prestige would have a lesser chance of doing so. Both the Han-lin members and the non-Han-lin Chinese officials, except for a few receiving imperial exemptions, had to abide by the prescribed mourning obligation of staying out from official work for three years or so, while the Bannerman officials, Han-lin or non-Han-lin, had a much shorter duration for the mourning observance. As to the retirement age, it seems to be mainly determined by the usefulness of the official concerned to the Government; membership in the Han-lin Academy had little or nothing to do with it, which varied generally with the rank one reached in the bureaucracy (a sign of usefulness).

SECTION C

EXTRA-BUREAUCRATIC AND BUREAUCRATIC FACTORS IN ADVANCEMENT

Chapter VI

Extra-bureaucratic Factors

The personal factors we have just discussed with biographical examples give us some insight into the operation of the extra-bureaucratic forces in the Chinese Government. This Chapter is in essence the continuation of that discussion, but with a different approach. Since there is no way of calculating all the personal relationships at work in the Chinese administration on a quantitative basis, we shall limit our discussion here to family influence, provincial origin and ethnic differences of the Han-lin officials. Opposing them are the bureaucratic factors such as examination results and seniority of service. We have seen in Chapter Five that both the extra-bureaucratic and bureaucratic factors exerted their influences on the advancement of the Han-lin group.[1] Which of these factors predominated in the Chinese civil service? Were they mutually related or independent of each other? These are the main questions we attempt to answer in a statistical manner in this Section.

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1. See pp.223-250 of Chapter Five.

Before we discuss these factors, however, two points have to be made clear. First for the sake of convenience, we evaluate the relative importance of official positions by their ranks.[2] For a short period in the early Ch'ing, the official ranks given to some posts were somewhat different from that which were enforced for the rest of the Dynasty.[3] Too, as already noted, the posts of Compiler and Corrector, which carried with them the rather junior seventh rank, gave to their holders more prestige than the Secretary of a Government Board which had a more senior official rank (rank 6A). Thus, for the Compiler-Corrector level, ranks do not show the relative importance of the offices. Despite these factors, the rank system on the whole is meant to indicate the seniority of the official posts, and Government salaries were paid according to rank. Since we are unable to find another better criterion to determine seniority and importance of civil positions, we have to tolerate some degree of irregularities.

Second, we choose the third rank and above to denote political success. There are a few reasons to support our choice. We have seen that officials of the third rank or above had the right to enjoy the yin privilege and they were also eligible for recommending junior officials for appointment and promotion.[4] These senior officials were specially appointed

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2. For the ranks of the Ch'ing officials see Appendix 2.
3. See CSK (chih-kuan chih), 1:2a-b.
4. See p.81 and p.97 of Chapter Four.

by the Emperor himself [5] and there were different degrees of strictness in the application of civil service laws to those of the third rank or above and to those below that rank. [6]

In order to study the Han-lin officials with exceptionally successful careers, we sometimes pick out all the first-rank officials for discussion. This ranking bracket includes all the Grand Secretaries, Assistant Grand Secretaries and department heads of the bureaucracy. They were the policy-making assistants of the Emperor and are therefore worth separate treatment.

A. Provincial Origin

i. Provincial Origin and Production of Han-lin Members

Entry into the Han-lin Academy is the first step towards advancement and before we talk about the relationship between provincial origin and advancement after being admitted to the Academy, a word on the provincial origins of the Han-lin officials appointed in the 1644-1795 period is necessary. Owing to the available information, [7] we are able to discuss the provincial origins of all the two thousand or so Han-lin

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5. Hsieh, The Government of China, p. 118

6. Ibid., p. 99.

7. Full information on the provincial origins of all the Han-lin officials appointed in the 1644-1795 period can be found in CTCHLP, and TLCL, chüan, 1-4.

without relying on our sample.

Our discussion starts with the distribution of the Han-lin members in relation to the population and the number of chin-shih of the provinces. Table 15 shows the number of Han-lin produced in the period under discussion. We find that Kiangnan led with 24.7%, while Chekiang was second, producing 15.4% of the total. Shantung was a poor third and its 6.5% was nearer to the fourth largest producing province, Hukuang (5.6%) than to Chekiang. The other provinces yielded between 5.6 to 0.04% of all the Han-lin.

Thus, without taking into consideration the population of the provinces, we find that Kiangnan and Chekiang claimed the lion's share of Han-lin production. Tables 16 and 17 relate the production of chin-shih and Han-lin to the population of the provinces. From them, we are informed that provinces which produced fewer chin-shih according to the population would not necessarily do as badly in the field of Han-lin production, and conversely. For example, the Manchu group is ranked tenth in its chin-shih production per million mean population (Table 16), while it is placed first in producing Han-lin according to the same population criterion (Table 17). For the Manchu group, the third degree was not the pre-requisite to official enlistment and

many Manchu officials rose through the ranks.[8] This is why their production of chin-shih was not noteworthy. The Government, however, was in need of a number of Manchu personnel who were versed in the Manchu language and the Chinese classical knowledge for translation and performing other literary functions. This helps in giving the group such a favourable ratio in the production of Han-lin.

Kiangnan which had a population of over 60 million is forced to take fourth place, while Chekiang which had a moderate population retains its second position in Table 17. Generally, since the outlying provinces were inhabited by fewer people, they succeeded in producing better ratios in Tables 16 and 17 in which population is taken into account than in Table 15 where sheer quantity of the Han-lin production is the sole criterion.

Table 18 makes use of the information of Tables 16 and 17 to show the chances of a chin-shih being selected into the Academy. Again the Manchu group and the outlying provinces hold the first few positions. The latter could

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8. For example, out of the 53 Manchu Grand Secretaries appointed in this period, only three were members of the Han-lin Academy, most of them rose from Official Clerk and other junior positions in the bureaucracy. For a concise discussion of the Grand Secretaries of the Ch'ing period, see Li Chun, Chung-kuo tsai-hsiang chih-tu, pp. 202-240.

do so well in the Han-lin production mainly because of the preferential treatment granted to them in the consideration for selection of probationers into the Academy.[9] Kiangnan and Chekiang are placed fourth and seventh in Table 18 and this means that the chance for an average chin-shih from these two provinces to become a Han-lin member was only a little better than the average. Thus, in spite of the much higher literary standard and in spite of their dominant share in the total Han-lin production, scholars from Kiangnan and Chekiang were unable to maintain an equally favourable percentage when population is taken into account.

ii. Provincial Origin and Advancement

Our hypothesis for the relationship between provincial origin and advancement is that Han-lin coming from the culturally advanced provinces of Kiangnan and Chekiang, by virtue of their higher literary standard, had better chances to reach the third rank and above than those coming from the culturally average provinces[10] and the latter in turn had

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9. See Chapter Two, pp. 40-41.

10. The division into the culturally advanced, culturally average, and culturally backward groups is based on the sheer number of Han-lin production which was after all an indication of the cultural standard of the provinces. Variations inside the groups are inevitable but not great enough to repudiate our division. For an understanding of the variations of the provinces inside a group, the Tables on provincial origins are useful. The culturally average provinces are Shantung, Hukuang, Kiangsi, Shun-t'ien, Fukien, Honan, Shansi, Chihli and Shensi. Shun-t'ien prefecture in the Ch'ing period was given a separate quota in chu-jen, chin-shih and Han-lin production, and is regarded as a province here in this sense.

better chances to do the same than Han-lin coming from the culturally backward provinces. [11]

Table 19 shows the number and percentage of the Han-lin from the provinces able to reach the third rank in office. We see that in the first reign, Shantung and Shun-t'ien were, respectively, the first and third largest producers of such senior Han-lin officials, forcing Kiangnan down to second and Chekiang to fourth place. The reason for the extra-productive power of the two culturally average provinces in the early years of the Shun-chih reign might be found in the fact that the political authority of the new Government had not yet been firmly established in the Yangtze area. Although resistance from the pro-Ming loyalists was found all over China in the first few years of the Manchu rule, it was particularly strong in the culturally advanced provinces of Kiangnan and Chekiang where the Chinese scholar-class as a whole was very much resentful of the alien rule with its accompanying stringent orders such as the shaving of part of the head and the wearing of the queue as a sign of submission. [12] The great slaughter of Chinese people in cities like Yangchow and Chia-ting by the Manchu armies as a revenge for their recalcitrant defence cast more suspicion

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11. The culturally backward group consists of Kwangtung, Szechwan, Kweichow, Yunnan, Kwangsi and Kansu.

12. See Li Chieh, Ch'ing-shih, p. 127.

on both sides.[13] There was thus a need to rely more on scholar-officials coming from provinces around the Yellow River Plain where Government control was certain. This extra-productive phenonmenon in the Shun-chih reign which was more pronounced in the case of Shantung and Shun-t'ien can also be seen in other northern provinces such as Chihli and Shansi. An additional factor which helped Shantung to beat the prosperous Kiangnan in the first reign lies in the fact that a majority of the former Ming officials and degree-holders who later accepted the sovereignty of the new regime and became high-ranking mandarins were men from the Shantung province.[14] Through their connections and recommendations, it is no wonder that the Shantung Han-lin did exceptionally well in the Shun-chih reign.

But the rather unsettled conditions of the early years did not last long. Political consolidation was by and large achieved in the first ten years or so of the K'ang-hsi reign. The Shantung men at the top of the Government were gradually replaced by other scholar-officials. The later Emperors,

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13. See Latourette, The Chinese, p. 292; Chin Chao-feng, Ch'ing-shih ta-kang, 121-123.

14. Three Grand Secretaries and over ten Presidents of the Government Boards, all from the Shantung province, who were former Ming officials or degree-holders, later served in the Manchu Government and rose to such political distinction (CTCHLP, tsai-fu, 1:1a-3a; pa-ch'ing, fu-lu, 10b-11a).

wishing to placate the scholar-class of the prosperous provinces of Central China, enlisted many of them to high offices. The holding of the Po-hsüeh hung-ju Examination in 1679 in which a great majority of the successful scholars were men from Kiangnan and Chekiang was an obvious move by the Government to gain the allegiance of the scholars of the cultural advanced provinces.[15] The high figures of these provinces for the K'ang-hsi, Yung-cheng and Ch'ien-lung reigns in Tables 19 and 20 in regard to the production of senior Han-lin officials, may be another indication of such a trend.

Quantitatively, and taking the four reigns together for calculation, the province which produced the largest number of Han-lin able to reach the third or higher rank was Kiangnan which boasted 135 such senior Han-lin officials, constituting about 24% of all the Han-lin once holding the 3rd-1st rank positions. Chekiang with 96 such senior Han-lin was second, claiming 17.5% of the total. The two culturally advanced provinces combined contributed a total average of 21.0%. Shantung, in spite of its specially high yield in the first reign, could produce on the whole only 50 senior Han-lin officials. This number which exactly

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15. See note 17 of Chapter One for the Po-hsüeh hung-ju Examination. Out of the 50 scholars admitted to the Academy by passing the Examination, 37 were men from Kiangnan and Chekiang (TICL, 2:8b-10b).

makes up of 9% of the total gives the province the third position in Table 19. The other culturally average provinces range from 6.5% for Kiangsi to 1.6% for Shensi. The total average of senior Han-lin production for the nine culturally average provinces is exactly 4.5%. [16] The most productive province among the six culturally backward provinces was Szechwan. With 13 of its Han-lin members able to climb up to the third rank in the bureaucratic ladder, Szechwan produced 2.4% of all the senior Han-lin officials of the period. Kansu, the most backward of the six, had only one of its natives reaching the third rank in office and this gives an insignificant 0.2% to that province. If we take the total average of senior Han-lin production of these six culturally backward provinces, it comes to 1.05%. [17]

We see that the total average percentage of the culturally advanced provinces is more than four times that of the culturally-average provinces, while the latter in turn is more than four times the percentage of the culturally backward provinces. The difference between the percentages of the culturally advanced provinces and the latter is twenty

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16. (9+3.4+6.5+4.5+4.0+4.3+3.1+4.1+1.6)% = 40.5% ÷ 9 = 4.5. Information is obtained from Table 19.

17. (0.7+2.4+0.7+1.4+0.9+0.2)% = 6% ÷ 6 = 1.05%. Information is also obtained from Table 19.

times. Thus on the basis of numbers alone, the hypothesis is fully supported in regard to officials able to reach the third rank.

While Table 19 is based on the third rank as a criterion to mark out senior Han-lin officials from the rest, Table 20 restricts the criterion to the first rank. Kiangnan, the first leading province in producing officials able to reach the third rank, had an even higher percentage in its yield of first-rank officials (29.9%). The reason that Kiangnan scholars did better at the highest level is explained by the fact that while a third and even second ranking position called for no extra administrative or literary abilities, and an average Han-lin from any province might have an equal chance of performing its functions with satisfaction, a first-ranking position, on the other hand, entailed more responsibilities and normally involved its holder in Government policy-making functions. Personal contacts with the Emperor were more frequent and this usually necessitated the display of high literary accomplishments. The Kiangnan Han-lin who were obviously the best scholars of the Empire and who showed their immense capabilities in the Public Examinations by nearly monopolizing all the top positions in the Examinations [18] certainly had a better chance than an

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18. See Chapter 7, pp.305-6 on the relationship between provincial origin and examination results.

average Han-lin of climbing to the highest rung of the bureaucratic ladder.

The 17.7% of first-ranking officials by Chekiang in Table 20 differs only by a few decimals from its percentage (Table 19) of those able to reach the third rank. Owing to the high percentage of Kiangnan, the total average percentage of 1st-rank officials from the two culturally advanced provinces become 23.8% which is 3% higher than their total average percentage of producing Han-lin reaching the third rank. The leading producer of 1st-rank officials among the culturally average provinces is still Shantung with its 8.2% yield which is less than half that of Chekiang and one-third that of Kiangnan. The other culturally average provinces made smaller contributions to the top-ranking personnel of the civil service, the least productive province in this group being Honan which unexpectedly represents only 0.7% of the total. Honan produced 103 Han-lin members, 24 of whom succeeded in attaining the third or second rank. But out of those 24, only one ever held a first-rank office. Biographical data on that one 1st-rank Honan Han-lin, T'ang Pin, [19] indicated that he stayed in this high-ranking office

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19. For the biography of T'ang Pin, consult Chapter Three note 15.

for only one month. Thus, Honan with its reasonably high percentage both of Han-lin members and third-second rank officials, needs an explanation for its abnormally low share in producing 1st-rank Han-lin mandarins. We have said before that an incumbent of a first-rank post had much more functional responsibilities and authority than other officials. It was therefore much more difficult to hold the first-rank office than a third or second rank post. To do so, an official needed excellent administrative or literary ability or both, together with strong recommendations from top-ranking mandarins who were close to the Emperor. Honan in the 1644-1795 period produced no first top scholar, one second top scholar and two third top scholars in the Palace Examinations, none of whom were outstandingly renowned for their literary accomplishments.[20] Thus academically, the Honan Han-lin scholars at best can be regarded as on the average. However, the few Han-lin first class honours scholars in the Palace Examinations can not be taken as the only cause for

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20. They were Li Yuan-chen, second top scholar of 1664 Examination, who rose to the post of Vice-President of the Board of Works (rank 2A) (PCC; 18:38b-41a); Ch'eng Yuan-chang, third top scholar of 1721 Palace Examination, who became Vice-President of the Board of Civil Service in 1737 (KCCHLC, 24:26a-28b); and Wang Lu, third scholar of the 1700 Palace Examination who terminated his political career as a Second Class Compiler (rank 7A). (CTCHLP, kuan-hsuan, 6:3a). Although two out of the three could reach the second rank in office, none of them were famous scholars of the time.

the low productivity rate in 1st-rank officials; for Hukuang, another culturally average province, which had an equal number of first class scholars in the Palace Examinations, nevertheless yielded seven 1st-rank Han-lin mandarins, and Shansi which failed to produce a single first-class scholar was able to claim four first-rank Han-lin. Thus, besides examination results, there must be other determining factors which were at work against the advancement of the Honan Han-lin at the highest level. We find that one of them was the lack of strong support from other influential mandarins at court. For the whole 1644-1795 period, none of the Honanese Han-lin was able to become a Grand Secretary, the highest and the most reputed position of the Empire. This certainly put them at a disadvantage; for nearly all other provinces including the culturally backward ones, produced one or more Han-lin who became Grand Secretaries in this period.[21] Although personal connections in the Central Government were not limited to fellow-provincials, the Honan officials were nonetheless

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21. See CTCHLP, Ch'ing-tai tsai-fu nien-pien, fu-lu: 6a-8a. There was one non-Han-lin Honan Grand Secretary, Sung Ch'uan (ECCP, vol, 2, 688). As he was still full of pro-Ming sentiments, he was suspected and later forced to retire (1651). His position as a sponsor for the advancement of his fellow-provincials was therefore weak.

deprived of one of the main avenues of influence at court. The Honan Han-lin, by virtue of their own abilities and other factors, climbed to the third or the second rank in office, but without backing from fellow provincials at the highest official level, they failed to impress the Emperor of their suitability for first-ranking positions. The Emperor might give some special attention to worthy Han-lin from the outlying provinces and to show his equal treatment to all scholars from different parts of the Empire he might pick out one or two of the most outstanding Han-lin among them for promotion to top-ranking posts. Honan, a culturally average province, did not attract the imperial attention like Kiangnan with its brilliant academic and administrative reputation or a culturally backward province like Szechwan to which the Government tended to give some preferential treatment. Honan's natives had to depend on recommendations of influential mandarins of other provinces for advancement and in the period under discussion, such recommendations somehow were not forthcoming.

In spite of the exceptionally low yield of 1st-ranking officials by Honan, the nine culturally average provinces still maintain a total average of 4.2% [22] a figure close to

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22. (8.2+4.8+6.1+4.8+2.7+0.7+2.7+5.4+2.0)% ÷ 9 = 4.2%. Information is obtained from Table 20.

the one based on the third rank as the line of division. Among the six culturally backward provinces, three (Kweichow, Yunnan and Kansu) were totally unproductive so far as first-rank officials were concerned, and this fact lowers the average of the six to 0.6%, [23] which is even smaller than that derived from Table 19. This result clearly indicates the growing difficulty of the Han-lin scholars from the culturally backward provinces on a whole to compete with other Han-lin scholars from other provinces at the highest level, in spite of the Government efforts to provide a certain degree of advancement to scholars from these provinces. The explanation is not far to seek. First, the literary standard and presumably the working efficiency (which in regard to the Han-lin members was mainly based on their literary standard) of the Han-lin from the culturally backward provinces were, comparatively speaking, lower than those from other provinces. One or two extremely good scholar-officials from these provinces, by virtue of their abilities, might arrest the Emperor's attention and be chosen for exceptional advancement but the rest would find it very difficult to rise higher than the fourth rank. Second, these scholars lacked connections at the Central Government due to the long distance from the Capital and also to the

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23. (2.0+0.7+0.7+0+0+0.)% ÷ 6 = 0.6%. Information is also obtained from Table 20.

comparatively small number of their fellow-countrymen serving as influential Capital officials.[24]

The ratios between the productivity power calculating in percentage among these three groups of provinces are 23.8:4.2:0.6, that is, roughly 40:7:1. In other words, an average culturally advanced province produced approximately six times as many 1st-rank Han-lin officials as a culturally average province and forty times that of a culturally backward province. Thus, quantitatively speaking, the hypothesis that Han-lin members from the culturally advanced provinces had better advancement than those from the culturally average provinces and the latter in turn had better advancement than Han-lin members from the culturally backward provinces is even more fully supported, if the first rank instead of the third rank is used as a yardstick for measuring official advancement.

Although the culturally advanced provinces could maintain a much greater number of senior officials in the bureaucracy than the culturally average provinces and the latter in turn were able to produce many more senior Han-lin members than the culturally backward provinces, it does not

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24. All the six culturally backward provinces are also outlying provinces. See CTCHIP, chapters on tsai-fu and pai-ch'ing for the production of senior Capital officials, Han-lin or non-Han-lin, by the various provinces.

necessarily follow that such great ratios of difference can equally be observed in the chances for individual Han-lin of these three groups of provinces to reach senior ranks. Table 21 attempts to give the percentage of Han-lin able to reach the third rank in office. We find that the chance for a Han-lin from the culturally advanced provinces is 22.6% [25] which is slightly over the national average (21.2%). [26] There are variations in the chances of advancement for the culturally average provinces ranging from 29.4% for a Shantung Han-lin to 11.0% for a Shensi Han-lin. The chance for an average Han-lin of the nine culturally average provinces is 20.9%, [27] which is somewhat under the national average. The difference of advancement opportunity for an average Han-lin from the two groups of provinces is only 1.7% which is insignificantly small. Of the six culturally-backward provinces, all of them experienced below-average chances of advancement for their natives. Szechwan with its 20.3% is nearest to the total average, while Kweichow is the farthest away, claiming only 7.1%, while the other four had percentages

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25. (21.0 24.1)% ÷ 2 = 22.6%. Information is obtained from Table 21. Technically, we calculate the percentages of advancement in this Table by dividing the figures of Tables 19 and 20 (showing the number of Han-lin officials able to reach the third and the first ranks) by the corresponding figures of Table 15 (showing the number of Han-lin production), then multiplying the quotients by 100.

26. (554 ÷ 2609 x 100)% = 21.2%. Information is obtained from Table 21.

27. (29.4+13.0+26.5+22.3+20.2+23.3+16.7+25.3+11.0)% ÷ 9 = 20.9%. Information is obtained from Table 21.

of advancement between them. The average chance of advancement for any Han-lin member of this group is 11.7% [28] which is 10% or so below the national average and slightly more than half that of the culturally advanced provinces. Thus, as to the chance for advancement to the third rank, we do not find a clear-cut division between the culturally advanced provinces and the culturally average provinces. The actual division rather lies between the above-mentioned provinces as a new big group and the culturally backward provinces as the other group.

Table 21 also gives the chance in percentage of Han-lin members able to reach the first rank in office. Again although the percentage of the culturally advanced provinces is the highest, [29] it is not far away from the chance of advancement provided for an average Han-lin from the culturally average provinces (6.7%:5.1%). [30] Again the line of demarcation is between the culturally advanced and the culturally average provinces as a big group and the culturally backward provinces as another group, which on the average offered only 1.4% advancement to the first-rank to their

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28. (5.8+20.3+7.1+14.5+9.8+ 12.5)% ÷ 6 = 11.7%. Information is obtained from Table 21.

29. (6.8+6.5)% ÷ 2 = 6.7% for the culturally advanced provincial group. Information is obtained from Table 21.

30. (7.1+4.8+6.6+ 6.2+3.7+1.0+4.0+8.8+ 3.7)% ÷ 9 = 5.1% for the culturally average provincial group. Information is obtained from Table 21.

fellow countrymen. [31]

Thus, from Table 21, we draw our conclusion that the hypothesis that the Han-lin officials from the culturally advanced provinces had better advancement opportunities than Han-lin officials from the culturally average provinces and the latter in turn enjoyed better advancement opportunities than those from the culturally backward provinces is only partly supported, as far as the chance of individual advancement is concerned.

B. Family Background

i. General Description of the Family Backgrounds of the Sample

While it is possible to find out the provincial origins of all the Han-lin members appointed under the 1644-1795 period, to do the same for family background is extremely difficult. First of all, relevant materials on the family backgrounds of two thousand six hundred or so Han-lin members over such a span of time are simply lacking. Secondly, unlike the identification of provincial origin which is definite and monolithic, the problem of one's family background can be very complicated and invites speculations of different kinds. All that we can do here is to select a sample which is representative and illustrative enough to throw light on the whole

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31. (1.4+4.7+2.0)% ÷ 6 = 1.4%. Information is obtained from Table 21.

The sample [32] which we have selected for this purpose includes Han-lin members of different political careers. Out of the 868 Han-lin selected, 400 succeeded in reaching the third rank or above in office and 468 ended up their political careers with middle-ranking positions of the 7th-4th ranks. Numerically, the latter category is somewhat larger than the former category, but in view of the relatively small number of Han-lin who were able to reach the third rank, the sample consists of a higher ratio of high-ranking officials than middle-ranking Han-lin. [33]

There is no strict and fast rule in picking out Han-lin of official family origin from those who came from commoner families; it depends on what criteria are used as a yardstick for consideration. A strict and uncompromising criterion will certainly restrict the number from official families and indicate that more sons from non-official families were able to become Han-lin. A more liberal criterion will show a different picture. Robert Marsh and Ho Ping-ti [34] regard an official as coming from official family origin when any member of the three preceding generations was an official and presumably this line of division has become a standardized

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32. Consult pp.vii-ix of Preface.

33. Ibid., pp.vii-ix.

34. Robert Marsh, The Mandarins and Ho Ping-ti, The Ladder of Success in Imperial China are found in the bibliogra

approach towards differentiation of family origins. We shall try to divide our sample in accordance with this criterion and see the relationship between family origin and advancement.

Table 22 classifies the Han-lin of the sample into official family group and non-official family group according to their three preceding generations. We find that out of the 868 Han-lin, 558 had one or more members of the preceding three generations who were once officials. This constitutes 64.3% of the total. This finding is very much in line with what Ho Ping-ti has discovered on the proportion of official family background of the 18th century Chinese chin-shih, which is around the region of 60-70%. [35] Throughout the four reigns the percentages of official families have little fluctuations, and the highest percentage which is found in the K'ang-hsi reign is only 5% or so from that of the other reigns. The K'ang-hsi reign was the period when the recommendation process in official appointment and advancement was in its full swing. In the Ch'ien-lung reign, the recommendation process in regard to appointment to the Han-lin Academy was abolished. [36] The recommendation process could therefore facilitate scholars with official family origin to enter the Academy only by a

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35. Ho Ping-ti, The Ladder of Success in Imperial China, pp. 112-114.

36. See Chapter Two, p.39.

small margin of 5% or so. This indirectly suggests that although family background could be one of the sure ways of securing official connections, there were other avenues with which a scholar from a non-official family could attempt to secure recomendations. [37]

ii. Family Background and Advancement

Our hypothesis on the relationship between family background and advancement is that Han-lin who enjoyed official family background had better chance to reach the third rank or above in office than those who came from non-official families. Before we discuss the relationship, a word on the way how we determine advancement from the tables is necessary; if the Han-lin members with official family origin have a greater per cent in the III Column than in the UIII Column, [38] in other words, if more representation of this group is achieved in the senior-rank bracket, the commoner family group will automatically show a complete reverse in percentage, that is, correspondingly lesser percentage in the III Column than the UIII column. [39] Then we can say that better advancement

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37. For example, see Chapter two, pp.35-36 on recommendation not originated from family ties.
38. III column in any of our Tables indicates the number and percentage of Han-lin officials able to reach the third rank or above in office and the UIII column indicates the number and percentage of those who were not able to do so.
39. The percentages of the official family and the commoner family groups together form 100% in any column so that if one is 70%, the other will be 30% and conversely. The percentages in Tables 23,25 and 28 are therefore meant more for the comparative than for their actual values. Technically, the percentages should be compared horizontally.

to the third rank or above in office is provided for the official family group than for the commoner family group. Otherwise the figures will not support the hypothesis. Our argument will be more substantiated if the difference between the percentages in the III and UIII columns becomes greater.

The totals of Table 23 show the trend that the official family group enjoys somewhat better advancement to the third rank than the non-official family group (68.3%-60.9% or 39.1% -31.7% = 7.4%), and this phenomenon is also present throughout the four reigns concerned. However, although the official family group enjoys a rather constant advantage in advancement to the third rank over the non-official family group, the difference (7.4%) is not strong enough to allow us to draw any definite conclusion. In order to obtain a more substantial result, we have to look for a new criterion for determining family origin. Our new groupings of the sample are Han-lin members who enjoyed direct official influence through fathers or uncles being officials on one hand, and Han-lin whose fathers or uncles were not officials on the other hand. The latter group now consists of the Ho-Marsh commoners plus those whose great-grandfathers or grandfathers were once officials but whose fathers were not. In other words we differentiate between those who enjoyed direct offici

family influence through the immediately preceding generation and those who did not. While indirect official influence through one's great-grandfather or grandfather might assist one in obtaining an official degree and, thus entering the civil service by virtue of the scholarly tradition or the wealth of the family, its contribution in facilitating official advancement seems to be smaller than that exerted by one's father or uncles who were once with the Government. This way of reasoning is supported by Ho Ping-ti's discovery that downward mobility over several generations was inevitable in big official families,[40] and the fact that even the grandfather could well be in retirement when the grandson took up office, thus minimizing his possible influence on his grandson's advancement. The possible relationship between indirect official influence through one's great-grandfather or grandfather and advancement may be examined statistically.

Tables 24 and 25 include Han-lin of our sample who either came from commoner families or enjoyed only indirect official influence through great-grandfathers or grandfathers, ignoring those having fathers or uncles who were officials.

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40. Ho Ping-ti, The Ladder of Success in Imperial China, 165-167.

We find that 36.4% of the total of Table 24 came from families classified as having indirect official influence. For the first three reigns, the latter group seems to enjoy a slightly better chance of reaching the third rank than those from commoner familes, but in the Ch'ien-lung reign, the reverse is seen in Table 25. Whereas the information on the Shun-chih and the Yung-cheng reigns is not too reliable due to the small number of Han-lin under calculation, that on the K'ang-hsi and the Ch'ien-lung reigns is more substantial. We find that in the K'ang-hsi reign, a higher percentage of the Han-lin group who enjoyed indirect official family influence succeeded in reaching the third rank, while in the Ch'ien-lung reign, a higher percent of the Han-lin of commoner background succeeded in doing the same. There is no obvious explanation of this statistical finding. The abolition of the recommendation process in the Ch'ien-lung reign in the selection of Han-lin probationers had a limited influence on admission into the Han-lin Academy but had little or nothing to do with official advancement after entering the Academy. We tend to think that indirect official influence was after all not a constant advantage to official advancement and for at least sixty years or so of the period under discussion (the Ch'ien-lung reign), more Han-lin of commoner family background were able to rise to the third rank in office than those enjoying indirect official influence. The

insignificant influence of one's great-grandfather or grandfather being officials on the Han-lin career patterns can again be seen in the totals of Table 25 which show little or no difference between the group with commoner family origin and the other with indirect official influence in the chances of advancement [(63.6 - 63.4 or 36.6 - 36.4%) = 0.2%]

Since we cannot get a satisfactory result from the normal way of differentiating family origins, and since we learn of the weak and almost non-existing influence of indirect official influence on advancement, we are justified to divide our sample once again according to the family background of one's immediately preceding generation. That is to say if a Han-lin's father or uncle was an official, he will be classified into the group having direct official family background, otherwise he will be regarded as possessing no direct official influence. The latter group then consists of Han-lin from commoner families and those having indirect official influence through their great-grandfathers or grandfathers or both. [41]

Table 26 shows that 44% of the sample had fathers or uncles who were once officials. Such a proportion of the

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41. This division is exactly the same as that on p. 274 above.

Han-lin members enjoying direct official influence is found in all the four reigns. This feature, as we have seen, is not revealed, when we follow Professor Ho in using the three preceding generations as a criterion for differentiation. Table 26, like Table 22, informs us that the K'ang-hsi reign permitted comparatively higher opportunities for scholars with direct official family influence to become members of the Han-lin Academy. Again the difference is not great and again we attribute this small difference to the prevalence of the recommendation process in this reign. The Po-hsueh hung-ju Examination [42] which enabled a number of famous scholars of commoner descent to become Han-lin members on account of their outstanding scholarship is sometimes thought to have had a levelling influence on the effects of the recommendation process which normally emphasized official connections based on family background and other extra-bureaucratic factors. However, if we ignore the number of Han-lin from the Po-hsueh hung-ju Examination, the K'ang-hsi percentage of those enjoying direct official influence will still n be more than 1% or so higher. [43] Thus, both the recommendat

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42. See note 17 of Chapter 1.

43. See Table 27.

process and the Po-hsueh hung-ju Examination which are supposed to neutralize each other's influence on advancement had weak effects on the K'ang-hsi percentage of direct official influence.

Table 28 shows the relationship between family background according to the immediately preceding generation and official advancement. It points out that Han-lin enjoying direct official family influence in the Ch'ien-lung and Yung-cheng reigns clearly had a better chance to rise to the third rank in office, [44] whereas in the other reigns, those with such influence had only insignificantly small advantage over the Han-lin whose fathers or uncles were commoners. [45] Thus, although we see that official family background according to the preceding generation certainly exerted stronger effects on advancement than official family background according to the three preceding generations, such effects are not clearly seen throughout the four reigns in discussion. As there may have been a great difference in influence in the bureaucracy

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44. The UIII and the III percentages of the Han-lin group enjoying direct official family influence in the Yung-cheng reign are 27.5 and 55.0. The UIII and the III percentages of the Han-lin group enjoying the same influence in the Ch'ien-lung reign are 33.5 and 52.5 (Table 28).

45. The UIII and the III percentages of the Han-lin group enjoying direct official family influence in the Shun-chih reign are 42.6 and 42.9. The UIII and the III percentages of the Han-lin group enjoying the same influence in the K'ang-hsi reign are 45.5 and 48.8 (Table 28).

between junior and senior officials we must turn again to statistics to discuss their respective roles in facilitating the advancement of their descendants.

Han-lin members who have been classified in Table 26 as enjoying direct official family influence are subdivided in Table 29 into four categories according to the ranks of their fathers or uncles. Category A includes all the Han-lin whose preceding generation produced one or more members holding the third rank in office or above. As stated before, the third-rank position is a good point of division in the bureaucracy because holders of such positions or above were entitled to the yin-privilege and had the right to recommend junior officials for promotions.[46] In Table 29 we find that throughout the four reigns, a constant percentage of the Han-lin actually had fathers or uncles being senior officials of the third rank or above (33.1-39.4%). Category B consists of the Han-lin coming from middle-ranking official families whose fathers or uncles had once held offices from the 7th-4th rank ~~in office~~. This category consists of the bulk of the Table, amounting to 43.7% of the total, but its percentages for the different reigns fluctuate greatly from 21.2% in the Yung-cheng reign to 54.5% in the

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46. See p. 81 and p. 97 of Chapter Four.

Shun-chih reign, while those of the K'ang-hsi and the Ch'ien-lung reigns are both in the region of 44%-45%. A chin-shih or a newly appointed Han-lin would normally be given official position of 7th or 6th rank and as we can see from Tables 15 and 19, a very large proportion of the Han-lin did not rise higher than the 4th rank, and presumably the chances for a non-Han-lin chin-shih who enjoyed lesser prestige to do so were even smaller. Thus, in general, the majority of the third degree holders, including the Han-lin members, fell within the 7th-4th ranking bracket. They staffed a good proportion of the executive positions at the Capital and in the provinces. Their incomes, particularly those holding provincial positions, legally and otherwise, could be as good as, if not better than, the senior officials of Category A (Table 29).[47] Senior officials, however, enjoyed greater prestige and influence at the Capital. The middle-rankers might be responsible officials at their particular posts, but at the Capital, in the highest official circles, where prospect of one's advancement could be facilitated or jeopardized through the recommendation process,

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47. Chang Chung-li, The Income of the Chinese Gentry, p. 23. Because of the semi-autonomous conditions of the local governments, there were many means through which provincial officials could enrich themselves. See Ibid., 15-42; Also see LTCKP, pp. 75-76.

they had little voice. Even if they wanted to put in a few good words for their sons or nephews, they had to do so rather indirectly under the auspices of other senior officials with whom they had connections. It seems then that officials of the third rank or above, particularly those holding Capital positions, were in a better position. They were members of the high official society, and even if they were in no way connected with the appointment or promotion business, they could help their relatives through exerting social pressures on their colleagues who were in charge of the matter.

Category C is also very unstable and its percentages range from 9.1% in the first reign to 36.4% in the Yung-cheng reign, with a total average of a little less than 19%. Since Category A remains more or less constant for the four reigns concerned, the fluctuation of the Category C percentages is directly related to that of Category B. In other words, when there is a high Category B percentage as in the Shun-chih reign, there will be a corresponding low Category C percentage. The 8th-9th ranking officials were subordinate officials who in the main did not possess the third or even the second degree. Their income was comparatively lower than that of the Category B officials and they enjoyed little

or no prestige at all. However, since these subordinate positions could be easily purchased, a certain proportion of these assistant officials might have been quite well-off before joining the civil service. Some of them might just be interested in being admitted into the scholar-official class but did not really hold actual offices. Category D represents a very small percentage of Han-lin officials whose fathers or uncles were known to be officials of unknown rank.

The division of those having direct official influence into the four categories just mentioned shows us that fathers or uncles with senior official ranks did have a strong beneficial influence on official advancement. (Table 30). In every reign, significantly more Category A officials were able to reach the third rank or above than those unable to do so (i.e. the III% is much higher than the UIII%). From the same Table, we see that officials with medium or minor direct official influence (i.e. Category B and Category C) had lesser chance of reaching the third rank in office than of staying in positions lower than the third rank.

Thus, our overall conclusion on family background and advancement is that official family origin, whether classified according to the criterion of the three preceding generations or only the preceding generation, had either insignificant

or inconsistent effects on advancement, but that "senior direct official family influence" played a major and constant role in assisting the Han-lin to rise to high official positions. The hypothesis that Han-lin with official family background are in a better position than those coming from commoner families to rise to the third rank in office or above is therefore only partly supported.

iii. Han-lin Family Background and Advancement

The ability of reproducing Han-lin by families some of whose members were also Han-lin is an interesting subject by itself, but it also helps us to learn more of family connections and traditions. Our hypothesis on the political opportunities of the Han-lin whose fathers or uncles were also members of the Academy is that they had a better chance than Han-lin without such family connections to reach both the third and the first ranks.

Having a Han-lin father or uncle definitely put the scholar at a great advantage. The scholarly tradition, the teaching and examples of one's father or uncles and their associates, the availability of books, and in many cases wealth and comfort all helped toward passing the Civil Service Examinations and becoming a Han-lin member. The chance of a Han-lin reproducing his kind was therefore very good. Out of the total of 2,609 Han-lin appointed in the 1644-1795 period, 179 had fathers or uncles who were themselves members

of the Academy. This constitutes 6.8% which is very much higher than the chance provided for the man in the street; for out of the 292.4 million Chinese (calculated for the year 1787), only about 1,000 were admitted to the Academy in any generation. [48] If we accept the contention that 2% of the populace were intellectuals, [49] the average chance for the Chinese scholar-class to become a Han-lin member is also many times smaller than that provided for the descendants of the Han-lin members; for the 5.8 million so-called "intellectuals" produced only 1,000 or so Han-lin in one generation.

However, once a Chinese scholar was admitted to the Academy, whether or not he had a Han-lin father or uncle seems to have been of little importance to his advancement. As we have calculated, the chance of an average Han-lin to rise higher than the fourth rank is 21.2%. [50] Among the 179

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48. Throughout the 1644-1795 period (150 years), about 2,500 Chinese scholars became Han-lin officials. Allowing that the average span of life of the Chinese scholars was sixty sui, we calculate that in one generation, there would be 60/150 x 2,500 or 1,000 Han-lin. As to the population of the time, see Ho Ping-ti, Studies on the Population of China, 1368-1952, tables on p. 258 and p. 283, and The Ladder of Success in Imperial China, pp. 223-224.

49. See Marsh, The Mandarin, p. 126.

50. See note 26 above.

Han-lin whose fathers or uncles also enjoyed such academic distinction, 53 became officials of the third rank or above. This gives an advancement percentage of 24%. [51] In view of their privileged position, the three per cent of difference in favour of those with fathers or uncles also being Han-lin is surprisingly small. As we shall learn later on, the chance for an average Banner Han-lin to reach the third rank in office was 31% [52] and that of the Han-lin who obtained first-class in the Palace Examination was 42.3%. [53] Thus, membership in the Banner group or high status in the Civil Service Examination helped more in promoting advancement than strong Han-lin family tradition.

There were 19 from among the 179 descendants of Han-lin officials who rose to the top rank in the bureaucracy, constituting 10.6% of the group. [54] In comparison with the chance of doing equally well of an average Han-lin of this

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51. Statistical information is drawn from CTCHLP, kuan-hsüan 12:11a-29b. and TLCL, first four chüan.

52. See p. 292 below.

53. See 299 of Chapter 7.

54. Statistical information is drawn from CTCHLP, kuan-hsüan, 12:11a-29b. and TLCL, first four chüan.

period, which was 5.6%, [55] the former group of officials did much better when we take the first rank instead of the third rank into consideration. Descendants of Han-lin officials could even enjoy somewhat better opportunities to reach the first rank than the Banner Han-lin group whose average advancement percentage is calculated as 8%, [56] although in comparison with the 17.5% of advancement to the first rank accorded to the Han-lin receiving the first-class in the Palace Examination, [57] they were still some way behind.

Thus, on the whole, although the group with a strong Han-lin family tradition enjoyed better advancement than an average Han-lin, particularly at the first-ranking level, its ability to reach the third rank was much smaller than other Han-lin groups enjoying additional advantage through ethnic connections or examination results, and its ability to reach the first rank too in comparison with these special groups was at most average. Thus, the hypothesis that Han-lin with fathers or uncles who were also members of the

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55. Out of the 2,609 Han-lin appointed in the 1644-1795 period, 147 succeeded in reaching the first rank in office and this gives a percentage of 5.6%. Consult Tables 15 and 19.

56. 17 of the 201 Banner Han-lin were able to hold first-rank positions and this gives a 8% of advancement. Consult Table 32.

57. See p.299. of Chapter 7.

Academy had a better chance to reach the third rank and the first rank than other Han-lin without such family connections is supported in general but in reference to special Han-lin groups who relied on other criteria than strong Han-lin family connections, it is not supported.

C. The Ethnic Differences and Advancement

The third extra-bureacratic factor we are going to discuss is the ethnic difference between Chinese and Bannermen. One of the common notions about the Government of the Manchu regime was that it was synarchical in nature.[58] To Marsh,[59] there was a marked difference in the political advancement between the Manchus, the conquering race, and the Chinese, the subjugated people. Our hypothesis which is constructed according to this line of thinking is as follows: the Banner Han-lin because of their privileged racial position had a

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58. The Manchu Government sought to segregate their own people from the Chinese populace in spite of their encouragement given to the Confucian ideology. For example intermarriage was forbidden; Manchurai, the native place of the Manchus, was closed to Chinese immigration; the Manchus had their own Shamanistic religious system and their women had no need to bind their feet; Government positions were more or less equally shared by the Manchus and the Chinese. For definition and more detailed discussion of the synarchical Government and society, see Fairbank, Chinese Thought and Institutions, pp. 204-231; Also see The United States and China, pp. 80-81.

59. See Marsh, The Mandarins, pp. 133-153.

much better chance and needed shorter service than the Chinese Han-lin to reach (a) the 3rd-2nd rank (b) the first rank, and they also remained in these senior-ranking offices longer than the Chinese Han-lin.

Before we try to test our hypothesis, a word on the composition of the Banner Han-lin group is necessary. We include Mongol and Chinese Banner Han-lin in this group. Although the Chinese Bannermen bore common ethnic affiliation to the Chinese, they were regarded by the Government as having common Banner status with the Manchus and therefore treated more like the Manchus than the Chinese. For example, they and the Manchu Bannermen were given separate quotas of passes and easier questions in the Civil Service Examination,[60] and as we have said, they, like the Manchu officials, took shorter mourning leaves than the Chinese.[61] Our reason for categorizing all the Bannermen together is further motivated by a technical problem: our Banner population figure which is based on that of Ho Ping-ti only gives a round total for all the Bannermen and does not allow us to distinguish ethnic variants within the banner system.

According to the ratio of posts and population, the

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60. See, Hsieh, The Government of China, p. 144-145 and Shu-lu, p. 80 and p. 105.

61. See Chapter Five, p.

Bannermen were certainly in a highly-privileged position. More or less half of the Government positions were reserved for the ten million or so Bannermen,[62] while the 292 million Chinese had to compete keenly among themselves for the other half. The chance for a bannerman becoming an official was about 30 times that of a Chinese (the calculated ratio being 29.2:1).

As we have said before, the Bannermen's entry into the Government did not rely as heavily as the Chinese on the acquisition of degrees. In fact, for some time they were not allowed to sit for the Civil Service Examination for fear that their military prowess would be lost as a result of the intense literary pursuits required for passing the examination.[63] Thus, in spite of the bannermen having an equal share of Government offices as the Chinese, the number of Banner degree holders was small (only 449 for the whole 1644-1795 period) and the chance for a Manchu to become a chin-shih was no better than that of a Chinese.[64] Comparatively however, a higher percentage of the Bannermen became

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62. See CSK, (chih-kuan chih), chuan 1 - 6. The population of the Bannermen is obtained from Ho Ping-ti, The Ladder of Social Success, p. 229.

63. See note 17 of Chapter Four.

64. 44.9 against 46 per million mean population in favour of the Chinese. Information is obtained from Table 32.

Han-lin members. Statistically 20 Bannermen out of a million could expect to become Han-lin members. This, as we see from Table 32, is the highest figure for any group or province, and much higher than the 7.8 per million mean population for all the Chinese taking into consideration. The chance for a Banner chin-shih to become a Han-lin, because of the comparatively smaller number of the Banner third-degree holders and a higher proportion of them being selected into the Academy, is therefore greater than that provided for an average Chinese chin-chih (44.8% against 17%).

While the small number of Banner degree holders can be explained by the relative unimportance of a degree for official advancement, the comparatively greater proportion of them being selected as Han-lin members is explainable by the Government's need for translators. Moreover, as half the literary positions of the Han-lin Academy were reserved more or less for the Banner Han-lin, the Government, in spite of their unwillingness to make all Bannermen "soft" by studying too hard, desired a minority of their own people to master the Chinese classics in order to take up the Han-lin positions and to perform the necessary literary and educational functions pertaining to these positions.

Entry into the Han-lin Academy was one thing; advancement afterwards was another. The former was mainly regulated by

the number of chin-shih eligible for entry, the latter by consideration of available positions and the impression made on the Emperor by individual services. The Bannermen presumably benefited by the greater number of Han-lin positions reserved for them. Out of the 201 Banner Han-lin appointed in this period, 62 succeeded in reaching the third rank in office. This is about 31% of the total. As to the Chinese Han-lin, 493 from among 2,408 or 20.5% were able to do the same. Thus, the advancement to the third rank of the Banner Han-lin was significantly more favourable than that of the Chinese, but we can still gather that more than 65% of this ethnically privileged group were forced to end up their political careers in middle-ranking positions of the 4th rank or below. Besides, as we shall see later on, the chance for a Han-lin who received first-class honours in the Palace Examination to reach the third rank is as high as 42.3%, 12.3% more than that of the Banner Han-lin group.[65] Brilliant examination results therefore acted as a more reliable source of reaching the third rank than privileged ethnic status.

The average opportunity of the Manchu Banner group to

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65. See Chapter 7, p.

rise to the highest rung of the bureaucracy is 8% which is 2.4% higher than that of the Chinese (5.6%). As we shall see, the first-class Han-lin group succeeds in securing 17.5% of its members to hold the first-rank positions.[66] This percentage is over three times that of the average Chinese Han-lin and two times that of the Banner Han-lin group. Thus, our findings on ranks reached by the Han-lin Bannermen show that the latter group definitely had some advantage over the average Chinese Han-lin, although the difference in favour of the Bannermen is not as great as we should expect. Moreover, in comparison with the top scholars of the Palace Examinations, the Han-lin Bannermen were dwarfed by the much better advancement to senior ranks accorded to the former scholars.

Another way of measuring advancement is to see the period of service before reaching senior positions. For an average Banner Han-lin, it took 12.5 years to reach the 3rd-2nd ranks. It needed a Chinese Han-lin 18.7 years to do the same. The 6.2 years of difference in favour of the Banner Han-lin is an indication of much quicker promotion rate for them as far as the 3rd-2nd ranking bracket is concerned. Incidentally, a senior Manchu official in our separate sample,[67]

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66. See Chapter 7, p.

67. The separate sample for non-Han-lin Manchu consists of 45 famous Manchu senior officials. Information is obtained from KCCHLC.

who was not a Han-lin member spent an average of 16.4 years before being appointed to a 3rd-2nd rank position. This is somewhat longer than that of the Han-lin Bannermen. Thus, we might suggest that the quicker speed of advancement to the 2nd-3rd ranks by the Han-lin Bannermen is not solely due to their racial identity but to the combined result of their ethnic privileges and their association with the Academy. While the non-Han-lin Manchu officials on the whole had to compete among themselves for Government positions,[68] the Banner Han-lin virtually had the monopoly of the literary posts at the Han-lin Academy, and their advancement in middle-ranking level at least would seldom be obstructed by the lack of eligible positions.

However, the advantage of the Banner Han-lin over the other groups disappears if we consider the first rank instead of the 2nd-3rd rank as the ultimate goal for advancement.

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68. For example, most of the senior Manchu officials were promoted from among the rank and file. Competition among junior Manchu officials was keen because only a few of these officials would be picked out for promotion to senior ranks. We shall have a good idea of the struggle for promotion if we remind ourselves that in any of the Government Boards, there was only one Manchu President and two Vice-Presidents, while the number of Official Clerks could be as high as one hundred. (LTCKP, 1:18). Also consult Marsh, The Mandarins, p. 134.

The Han-lin positions which facilitated the initial advancement of the Banner Han-lin were middle-ranking positions of the 7th-4th ranking brackets; and when they had reached the 3rd rank, further promotions would be met by keen competition from all eligible officials, Han-lin or non-Han-lin. The ability of the Banner Han-lin in stepping up to the first rank from the 3rd-2nd rank, in view of the keen competition of other Manchu officials, was even lower than that of other groups, so that, in spite of some initial advantage secured by the Banner Han-lin, the three groups in Table 32 required similar periods of service from the first appointment to reach the first rank in office. To explain the matter further, we have to recapitulate our discussion on the difference of a first-rank position from a 3rd-2nd rank post. The former position, usually being head of a Government department, certainly carried more official responsibilities and sometimes was involved in Government policy-making. The Emperor did not only require literary achievement but also administrative efficiency from the holders of first-rank positions. Banner Han-lin who presumably were more literary than other Manchu officials, were not necessarily good administrators with whom the Emperor could discuss matters of national importance. This accounts for the relatively speedy promotion in the early part of the political life of an average Banner

Han-lin and the comparatively more sluggish advancement at the highest rung of the bureaucratic ladder.

There is little difference between the Banner Han-lin and the Chinese Han-lin in their stays at high positions of the 3rd-1st rank (18.9:17 years). The non-Han-lin Manchu officials, however, managed to remain in these senior offices 5-6 years longer than the Han-lin groups.[69] As to the ability to remain as holders of the exclusively top positions, the Banner Han-lin were even narrowly beaten by their Chinese colleagues. The 17 Banner Han-lin of our sample enjoyed an average incumbency in the first-rank posts for 7.6 years, while that of all the Han-lin of our sample (including Chinese and Banner Han-lin) comes up to 9.2 years. The non-Han-lin Manchu group stayed at first-rank positions for an average of 14.1 years. The latter figure, though not big, is already nearly twice that of the Banner Han-lin group. This is another indication to show the Government preference of administrative usefulness

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69. As seen from Table 32, the average incumbency of the non-Han-lin Manchu officials in 3rd-1st rank positions is 23.7 years. Marsh's figure of 32-33 years of incumbency in these positions (Marsh, The Mandarins, p. 147, Table 30) is very much exaggerated; for the 23.7 years which we have arrived at for the non-Han-lin Manchu group is already thought to be somewhat higher than it should be, as we have included in our sample a good number of non-Han-lin Manchu Grand Secretaries who had long stays at senior positions.

to mere scholarly attainments at the highest level.

Another factor which enables the non-Han-lin Manchu officials to stay longer in the senior positions might be their greater seniority with the Government than that of the Han-lin groups. Manchu officials started their political careers as junior or assistant civil servants (such as Official Clerks) much earlier in life than the Chinese,[70] mainly because they had no compulsion to sit for the Civil Service Examinations for entry into the Government. Young, inexperienced and holding junior positions, they required a certain number of years before gaining the confidence of the Emperor, but once they were able to do so, they stood good chances of climbing to senior offices. This helps us to understand why they did not have shorter periods than the Han-lin groups in reaching the senior ranks. This young age at entering the Government also more than anything else accounts for the longer service with the Government the non-Han-lin Manchus were able to claim over the Han-lin groups.

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70. For example, Sung-chu (KCCHLC, 9:15a-18b) who rose to Grand Secretaryship started service at 14 sui, an age at which many Chinese scholars were still studying for the first degree.

Chapter VII

Bureaucratic Factors and Advancement

A. Examination Results

i. Examination Results and Advancement

There were many examinations a Han-lin official was required to sit before and after he entered the Government. He might obtain good results in some of them and might not do too well in the others. We have discussed the Royal Examinations in Chapter Five and we do find Han-lin passing one with flying colours but failing the other. Here our attention is paid to the relationship between examination results and advancement and we have to choose the most determining examination of the whole series for this purpose, the Palace Examination which conferred the third degree and classified the new chin-shih into three honours classes. We try to find out whether there was any significant difference in the career patterns between those who received the first-class honours in these Palace Examinations and others who were only awarded with the second or the third class honours. Our hypothesis is that Han-lin who did extremely well in the Palace Examinations had more opportunities to reach senior ranks and stayed in these positions longer than those who were not so outstanding in these examinations.

In the 63 Palace Examinations of the 1644-1795 period, there were altogether 189 first-class chin-shih who would be admitted to the Han-lin Academy immediately as active Han-lin officials.[1] Out of them, 80 succeeded in holding offices of the third rank or above.[2] This gives a 42.3% of advancement to the third rank in office. Little difference is observed between the advancement to the third rank of the first top scholar and the other two first-class scholars. The proportion of all the Chinese Han-lin able to reach the third rank in office is 21.2%.[3] The chance of the first-class chin-shih to reach the third rank is therefore double that of an average Han-lin. The ability of these first-class Han-lin in reaching the top positions of the Government was even more spectacular. From among the 189 first-class Han-lin officials in Table 33, 33 became holders of 1st-rank positions. This gives 17.5%. The percentage of all the Han-lin able to reach the first rank is only 5.6%,[4] which is more than three times smaller than that of the first-class chin-shih. Incidentally, while there was no significant difference in advancement to

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1. See Table 40.
2. Consult Table 33.
3. See note 26 of Chapter Six.
4. See note 55 of Chapter Six.

the third rank among the three top scholars of the Palace Examinations, we notice that the first scholar had much better chance to reach the first rank than the other two first-class scholars.[5] Although the first-class Han-lin group constituted only 7.2% of the total number of the Han-lin members, it produced 19% of all the Chinese Han-lin Grand Secretaries appointed in the 1644-1795 period.[6] Thus, in the consideration of senior ranks reached, the first-class Han-lin were a highly privileged group, possibly due to their high literary standard and the great prestige attached to their being placed first-class in the Palace Examinations.

However, although a much higher proportion of the first-class Han-lin were able to become senior officials of the 3rd-1st ranks, they did not stay in these senior positions longer than other senior Han-lin officials. In fact their average duration in 3rd-1st rank positions as seen in Table 34 is 14.3 years, a figure which was somewhat shorter than that of the other Han-lin (17.6 years).[7] It seems that by virtue of their excellent examination results, a higher

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5. See Table 33.

6. The production ratio is 13 out of the total of 67 Han-lin Grand Secretaries appointed in the 1644-1795 period were first-class chin-shih.

7. See the note in Table 53.

percentage of the first-class Han-lin was given the chance of becoming senior officials, but owing to some other factors, they failed to make use of their literary reputation to perpetuate their political ascendancy. We attempt to give an explanation of this. As an encouragement to the pursuit of scholarship, the Government had to provide favourable advancement to the top scholars of the Civil Service Examinations. Moreover, the Government had little or no idea of the abilities of the fresh incumbents to office and they naturally inclined on judging them from the results of the Public Examinations. Thus, the first-class Han-lin officials on the whole had shorter tenures for their first appointments[8] and this certainly helped them to reach senior positions earlier than other Han-lin officials. Our figures in Table 36 give 15 years of service for an average first-class Han-lin to reach the second rank in comparison with 19.9 years for an average second or third class Han-lin to do the same.

However, in the actual running of the Government, literary attainments though viewed with great importance were not quite enough; administrative experience and ability were also called for. Seniority in service is one of the marks

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8. The first appointments for the 81 first-class Han-lin in Table 35 come up to an average of 6.5 years in comparison to the 8.8 years calculated with all the Han-lin concerned in Table 7.

of political know-how. But the first-class Han-lin as a group failed to use their literary accomplishments to maintain longer service with the Government than other Han-lin.[9] Thus, as far as experience is concerned, the first class Han-lin were by no means any better than the other Han-lin. As to administrative ability of officials, these are individual gifts which do not invite a statistical approach. But one thing is certain: apart from performing literary functions, there is no indication to show that the first-class Han-lin were better administrators than the other Han-lin. In fact, second-class or third-class Han-lin who successfully competed with other colleagues to rise to senior positions not by virtue of their examination results, might possess more administrative qualities than the first-class Han-lin. Thus, in spite of the initial political advantage accorded to them as a result of their scholarly excellence, the first-class Han-lin group as a whole was unable to maintain longer length of incumbency in the senior positions than other Han-lin members.

ii. Examination Results Provincial Origin and Family Background.

We have just seen that Han-lin who secured brilliant examination results at the Palace Examination enjoyed very favourable advancement opportunities to reach senior ranks

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9. See Table 37.

in office, although they failed to maintain longer stay in these positions than other Han-lin members. Now, we try to find out whether the factor of examination results was in any way influenced by the extra-bureaucratic factors of provincial origin and family background. Our hypothesis on the relationship between examination results and provincial origin is that the majority of the first-class Han-lin came from the culturally advanced provinces of Kiangnan and Chekiang. We form our hypothesis on the basis that the latter provinces were able to produce much greater shares of Han-lin and their literary standard was higher than the other provinces. Before we discuss the relationship, however, a word on the productivity rate of chih-shih and Han-lin of the provincial groups is necessary to give a coherent picture.

We have already seen that in spite of the provincial quota and the preferential treatment given to the outlying provinces, the striking fact remains that a very high proportion of the probationers came from the culturally advanced provinces (see Table 15). From the same Table we learn that a little over 40% of the Han-lin production is claimed by Kiangnan and Chekiang. Notice that this compares favourably with the percentage of chih-shih produced by the same pro-

vinces under the same period. According to the figures of Table 16, the total number of chin-shih appointed in the 1644-1795 period was 13,896 and out of it, Kiangnan contributed 2,442 and Chekiang 1,748. The former is 17.6% and the latter 12.6% of the total. The two provinces together make up of 30.2%. The percentage of Han-lin production from the two provinces is 10% or so higher than the percentage of chin-shih yield from the same provinces under the same period.

The higher percentage of Han-lin production shows that its provincial quota was more liberal than that applied to the production of chin-shih. This was inevitable because the selection of Han-lin, as we have seen, was based not only on the provincial quota but also on the literary capabilities of the scholars. If the need arose, more suitable candidates from the culturally advanced provinces could be selected into the Academy in spite of the provincial quota. On the other hand, the chin-shih quota for each province was more or less fixed and seldom varied.[10] While the conferment of the third degree required a certain standard of literary attainment, generally speaking, the permission to become a Han-lin required even higher literary standard which scholars from the outlying provinces were quite often unable to reach. Thus,

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10. See note 48 of Chapter 2 for the chin-shih quota.

in spite of the preferential treatment, the Government was still inclined to choose more scholars from the culturally advanced provinces, who were in a better position to perform the literary functions assigned them as members of the Han-lin Academy. [11]

Now let us discuss the first-class Han-lin and their provincial origin. Unlike the selection of the Han-lin probationers and the conferment of the third degree, first class honours were awarded to the best three scholars in the Palace Examination irrespective of provincial origin. Here the literary ascendancy of Kiangnan and Chekiang over the other provinces can be clearly seen; for out of the 189 first class honours chin-shih of this period, the two culturally advanced provinces produced 148. This is about 78.3%, higher by 38% than the percentage of Han-lin production of the same provinces. If we only take the top scholar of the first class (chuang-yuan) into consideration, the two provinces claimed 54 out of 63, which is 84% of the total number. [12] We can therefore conclude that although there were quotas restricting the acquisition of degrees and admission to the Han-lin Academy, these could not in themselves prevent the more literary scholars who mainly came from the culturally advanced provinces from securing most of the top positions in the Pub-

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11. See Chapter 3 for the literary functions of the Han-lin members.

12. See Table 39 and Table 40.

lic Examinations. The hypothesis that the majority of the first-class Han-lin came from the culturally advanced provincial group is therefore strongly supported.

Our hypothesis on the relationship between examination results and family background is that scholars enjoying official family background had better chances of becoming first-class chin-shih than those who came from commoner family background. To do so we have tabulated the 120 first-class Han-lin about whom we have information on their family origins and find in Table 41 that 57 of them possessed fathers or uncles being officials, 18 had commoner fathers or uncles but official great-grandfathers or grandfathers or both, while 45 were of commoner family origin. Taking three preceding generations to base our family differentiation, we find that 62.5% of them enjoyed official family background. If we divide the group according to the immediately preceding generation, we find that 47.5% had fathers or uncles who were themselves officials. These two percentages bear close similarity to the 64.3% and the 44% of official family origin which we have derived by calculating all the Han-lin of our sample.[13] Thus, as far as family background is concerned, there is no significant difference between the first-class Han-lin and

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13. Refer Tables 22 and 26.

the other Han-lin members. In other words, the hypothesis that scholars enjoying official family background had better chance of becoming first-class chin-shih than those who came from commoner family background is not supported by our statistics.

Our over-all summary on the factor of examination results is that it was closely related to the extra-bureaucratic factor of provincial origin but had little or nothing to do with another extra-bureaucratic factor, family background.

B. Age at Entering the Academy

i. Age at Entering the Academy and Family Background

One of the common beliefs about the traditional Chinese Government is that the relationship between age at entering officialdom and family background is a very close one. Official families usually possessing the necessary wealth and scholarly environment, presumably would offer better chance for their descendants to receive the third degrees at a younger age, thereby gaining entry into the Government earlier than scholars from the commoner families. Our hypothesis here is based on this assumption that Han-lin of younger age-groups at entering the Academy were mainly recruited from official families. For the sake of calculation, we try to analyse the family backgrounds of 119 Han-lin officials who entered the Academy between 20-30 sui. From Table 42, we find that 66 of the sample had fathers or uncles who were themselves officials, 24 of them did not have fathers or uncles being off-

icials, but are classified as from official family origin according to the three preceding generations. If we regard one preceding generation as the line of division, we find that 55.5% of the sample fall within the official family bracket. A further 20.2% have to be added if we consider three preceding generations instead of one preceding generation as the criterion of family differentiation. According to the latter calculation, under 30% of the 20-30 age-group came from commoner families. We recollect that the percentages of official family origin of all our sample are 44% and 64% according to the immediately preceding generation and the three preceding generations respectively. Thus, no matter how we determine family origin, the 20-30 age-group always had a somewhat higher representation of official family origin than all the Han-lin of our sample. But the difference of 11% [14] is not a great one, so that the hypothesis that Han-lin of younger age-groups at entering the Academy were mainly recruited from official families received only marginal support.

ii. Age at Entering the Academy and Seniority of Service with the Government

Earlier enlistment into the civil service theoretically will in turn enable the officials concerned to stay in

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14. (55.5 - 44)% = ~~11.5%~~ 11.5%; (75.7 - 64)% = 11.7%.

Government longer than those who came to serve in the administration at an older age-group. Our next hypothesis is therefore that Han-lin officials of a younger age-group had longer seniority of service than Han-lin officials of an older age-group. Now let us first discuss the Han-lin in our sample who were unable to reach the third rank in office. We have information on ages and years of Government service of 171 of them. From Table 43, we find that the average years of Government service of the 20-30 age-group came up to 18.6 years. This figure is 4.5 years, 5.7 years, and 11.3 years more respectively than that of the 31-41 age group, the 42-52 age-group and the over-52 age-group. Incidentally, the gap in seniority of service between the 31-41 and the 42-52 age-groups is the smallest, indicating indirectly that Han-lin in their thirties and forties were more or less treated by the Government as one broad age-group, that is, the middle-age group. The biggest gap is between the 42-52 and the over-52 age-groups. The latter group of officials included scholars of over seventy sui. As the average retirement age of the Han-lin not able to reach the third rank in office is only 52.5 sui, [15] the much shorter stay at Government posts by members

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15. See p. of Chapter 5.

of this age-group is understandable. What strikes us more is that the difference of seniority of service between say a Han-lin of 20 sui at entering the Han-lin Academy and another who entered the same Academy at 52 sui is only 5.7 years.[16] This small difference certainly does not allow us to confirm our hypothesis that Han-lin officials of a younger age-group had longer seniority of service than Han-lin officials of an older age-group.

The main reason for the small difference of total Government service between the age-groups is due to the fact that Han-lin unable to rise to the third rank in office left the civil service for a number of reasons some of which had little or no relation to their ages at joining the Government. Surely, senility and sickness were the two rather important factors which cut short one's service with the Government, and these two factors were more readily applicable to members of older age-groups at entering the service, but apart from them, Han-lin could be dismissed from office for failing to perform public services. They might resign to look after their aged parents or become victims of malicious charges of fellow colleagues.[17] These and many other factors forced

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16. See Table 43.

17. Consult Table 14.

quite a number of Han-lin to resign irrespective of their ages at entering the Government, so that for this group of middle-ranking Han-lin officials, younger age at entering the Academy was no sure guarantee for longer service with the Government.

As to the senior Han-lin officials who were able to reach the third rank or above, another picture is presented in Table 43. As a complete contrast to the Han-lin who were not able to reach the third rank, the greatest gap in seniority lies between the 31-41 and 42-52 age groups, and the smallest between the 42-52 and over-52 age-groups. At a glance, it is difficult to explain the contradictory findings for both groups of middle-ranking and senior officials. However, when we consider that the natural span of life of the Han-lin officials was around 65 sui,[18] we shall appreciate the difference of ten years between the 31-41 and the 42-52 age-groups, if members of both age-groups wished to enjoy equally long service with the Government; for men who entered the civil service in their forties needed to be around 70 sui (a rather exceptionally advanced age) before gaining 30 years of Government service, while men who were in their thirties when joining the Government would secure the same seniority when they were 60 sui, an age which an average Han-lin

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18. See Table 13.

official might easily reach. Thus, the chance of the former age-group to enjoy 30 years of service or over was much better than the latter age-group.

On the other hand, since the average years of service for those unable to rise higher than the 4th-rank posts are around 12-14 years, even men in their forties at starting their political careers would seldom end their service because of natural deaths. As we have just explained, their short duration of service was due mainly to other factors some of which were irrelevant to age. This helps to throw light on the problem why the 31-41 and the 42-52 age-groups had more or less similar average years of service for their members who were unable to rise to the third rank, but experienced greater difference of seniority in regard to their members who rose to the third rank or above in office.

We have mentioned that members of the over-52 sui group could only maintain short service with the Government and this was understandable in view of their belated entry into officialdom. However, although in general, officials who were over 50 sui would find it difficult to remain in office more than 10 years, a minority of them on account of their usefulness to the State could serve in the civil service for over 15 years. We recall that there was no age-limit to

service in the Chinese bureaucracy [19] and elderly statesmen of seventy or over were allowed to stay in their official positions. This explains why the seven members of the over-52 age-group in the III Column, unlike their colleagues in the UIII Column, [20] were able to enjoy an average of 18 years or so of Government service, a figure which comes very near to that of the younger age-group (42-52 sui).

On the whole we find that age at joining the civil service played a much more important part on the relative lengths of official service as far as Han-lin who could reach the third rank or above are concerned. The average difference of years of service say, between a man who became a Han-lin member at 20 sui and another at 52 sui is 15.3. We remember that for the Han-lin who were unable to reach the third rank, the average difference in seniority between two Han-lin, one being 20 sui and the other 52 sui, is only 5.7 years. Thus, in general, the hypothesis that members of a younger age-group would have longer official service than members of an older age-group is more substantively supported, if we take senior Han-lin officials of the 3rd-1st rank into consideration.

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19. See p. 107 of Chapter 4.

20. This is to remind that Han-lin in the III Column of our Tables are those who were able to reach the third rank or above and Han-lin in the UIII Column are those who were not able to do so.

iii. Age at Entering the Academy and Advancement

Our hypothesis on age at entering the Government and advancement is that Han-lin of a younger age-group at entering the Academy enjoyed better chances to reach the (a) 3rd rank and (b) 1st rank and stayed in these senior positions longer than those who started their political careers as Han-lin officials at a more advanced age-group.

According to Table 46, we find that the three younger age-groups (under 20, 20-30 and 31-41 age-groups) have more of their members able to reach the third rank in office. The ability to reach the third rank is seen the greatest in the 20-30 age-group which has 16.2% more of its members becoming officials of the 3rd rank or above than staying in below - 3rd rank positions. The under 20 age-group and the 31-41 age-group have only slightly higher representation in the III Column than the UIII Column in Table 46, so that comparatively fewer Han-lin of these two groups could become senior officials. The small number of the extremely young Han-lin of the under 20 age-group were unable to secure equally favourable political advancement to the third rank as those admitted to the Academy at reasonably young but more mature age-bracket (20-30 sui). They are the only group of Han-lin in Table 46 who are unable to make use of

their early official enlistment to facilitate their advancement. The probable reason for this might be that being too young, they were rather inexperienced and more apt to make mistakes in the complicated official affairs which older scholars could have sensibly avoided.

On the other hand, the two older age-groups of the Table (42-52 and over-52 age groups) have more of their members remaining in below-3rd-rank positions. The ability to reach the third rank is extremely low for members of the over-52 age-group. Thus, except for a small minority of the Han-lin classified in the under-20 age-group, the hypothesis that Han-lin of a younger age-group had a better chance to reach the third rank in office than those of an older age-group is supported.

Comparatively, the ability of the 20-30 age-group to hold top-ranking positions is even better than its ability to reach the third rank. Notice in Table 46 that over 55% of all the 1st-rank Han-lin of our sample started their political careers at 20-30 sui. To a smaller degree, members of the 31-41 age-group, like those of the 20-30 age-group, gain a higher percentage in their ability to reach the first than the third rank. There is no change in percentage for the under-20 age-group, while the percentages of the 42-52 and the over-52 age-group to reach the first rank become

extremely small. As it needed many more years of official service to become 1st-rank than 3rd-rank officials,[21] there is little or no difference between members of the two groups, as all of them would have reached advanced age even if they eventually were able to hold the first-rank posts. Thus, except for some Han-lin who entered the Government at extremely young or old age, the hypothesis that Han-lin of a younger age-group had a better chance to reach the first rank than those of an older age-group is by and large supported.

Table 47 shows the length of incumbency of the Han-lin in 3rd-1st rank positions. For all the age-groups concerned, most of their members were not able to stay in these senior positions over 20 years. However, while the younger age-groups can still be represented in longer incumbency brackets, the 42-52 and the over-52 age groups fail to produce one member able to enjoy more than twenty years in official positions of the third rank and above. The under 20 age-group has too few representatives in Table 47 to give reliable statistics. There is a marked disparity of incumbency in senior-ranking offices between member of the 20-30 age-group and the 31-41 age-group. Definitely the ability of members of the 20-30 age-group to remain in these senior positions for over 20 years is much better than Han-lin over 31 sui. There is only

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21. Consult Table 32, horizontal columns C & D.

one Han-lin of 31-41 age-bracket who could remain in office of the third rank or above for over 31 years and even he was not able to pass the 41-year mark, compared rather unfavourably with the 10 members of the 20-30 age-group who enjoyed 31-41 years of senior service and 4 from the same age-group who were able to pass the 41-year mark.

The same trend of advancement pattern can also be seen if we take the first rank instead of the third rank into account. No one of the over-52 age-group was able to stay in 1st-rank positions more than 6 years and the 42-52 age-group had one member remaining as top-ranking official for 6-10 years. The members of the 31-41 age-group did much better than their older colleagues and although the majority of them failed to remain in the first-rank posts longer than 15 years, four of them were able to do so and one Han-lin official among the four stayed in this rank for 21-25 years. The advantage of the 20-30 age-group over the other age-groups is again vividly shown. It more or less monopolized all the chances for the Han-lin to stay in the first-ranking level for over 21 years, although the number of its members who enjoyed long incumbency in first-rank positions was itself small. Thus, apart from the under 21 age-group, the trend that members of a younger age-group remained in senior offices

of first rank longer than those of an older age-group is observed. The impression we have got is that for all the Han-lin officials concerned, the ability to enjoy long incumbency in senior positions is not great, but the minority who were able to do so came from younger age-groups.

Thus, our over-all conclusion on age at entering the Han-lin Academy and advancement is that the latter to a great degree depends on the former. Not every young Han-lin could reach senior ranks, but the majority of high-ranking officials started their political careers at a young age-group.

C. Seniority of Service

i. Seniority of Service and Family Background

Seniority of service is one of the bureaucratic factors regarded by Robert Marsh as more crucial to advancement than the extra-bureaucratic factors like family background and personal connections. The majority of sinologists, however, maintain that the latter factors played a major role in influencing official advancement.[22] My purpose here is to find out whether seniority of service was itself influenced by

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22. Sinologists who regard that the extra-bureaucratic factors were more significant in influencing advancement are Fairbank (see his book, The United States and China, p. 41), Olga Lang (see his book Chinese Family and Society, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946, p. 23) and Latourette (see his book, The Chinese, Their History and Culture, p. 677).

family background. Our hypothesis says that it was. For testing this hypothesis, we shall make use of the examples of our sample who were senior officials of the third rank and above.

Firstly, we shall follow the conventional method of using the three preceding generations to classify our sample into commoner and official family groups. If official family did have a facilitating influence on the gain of seniority, Han-lin who came form such family background should have a higher percentage in long incumbency groups and lower percentages in short incumbency groups.[23] Table 49 shows that Han-lin with official family background constitute between 55-67% in the first five year-columns. When official family origin is able to claim 66.6% in the 1-10 year-column, and only 58.6% in the 41-50 year-column, we cannot really see that any advantage could be obtained by one's assertion of official family influence. Beyond the 50 years of service, however, things are different. Official family influence becomes much stronger in the 51-60 year-column, showing that exceptionally long service required the beneficial support of official family background. The number of officials who

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23. Long incumbency groups consist of Han-lin officials who could have over 30 years of service with the Government, while those who stayed in Government for less than 20 years are regarded as having short incumbency with the Government. The average years of service of our sample come up to about 30.

could be with the Government for over 50 years was limited. Thus, on the whole, using the three preceding generations to differentiate family origin, we find that the hypothesis is not well proved.

Table 50 shows the relationship between seniority and family background according to the immediately preceding generation only. Here we see a gradual increase of percentages of official families from 33.3% in the 1-10 year-column to 100% in the 61-70 year-column. Direct official influence through one's fathers or uncles seems to exert itself on seniority. However, except for the 51-60 year-column and the 61-70 year-column which have undisputably high percentages of official influence, the percentages of the other five columns differ no more than 19%. The 21-30 and the 31-40 year-columns, for instance, have only one per cent of difference. The small disparity of percentages indicates that the work of direct official influence is not great and therefore should not be taken too seriously. Table 51 divides the sample into Han-lin having fathers or uncles themselves being officials of the third rank or above and those who did not possess such "senior direct official influence." This Table contains percentages of no pattern at all; for the 31-40 year column which has a smaller percentage of official

families than that of the 41-50 year-column in Table 50, now claims a percentage of "senior direct official influence" which is double that of the latter year-column. Thus, with the change of the criterion for determining family background, the small advantage of official influence attached to the more senior year-columns become unreliable. Thus, apart from the 51-60 and the 61-70 year-groups which enjoyed dominating percentages of official family origin in all the three tables, our conclusion is that official family influence, no matter what criterion we use to ascertain it, does not play a major part in facilitating longer incumbency of office. Except for a very few enjoying exceptionally long service with the Government, who by and large came from official families, the hypothesis that seniority is strongly influenced by family origin is not true. Thus, the bureaucratic factor, seniority, is independant of the extra-bureaucratic influence of family background.

ii. Seniority of Service and Advancement

Our hypothesis on the relationship between seniority of service and advancement is that Han-lin with greater seniority of service had better chances to reach (a) the 3rd rank and (b) the 1st rank, and to stay in these senior positions longer than those who enjoyed lesser seniority of official service.

The disparity of total service with the Government between the Han-lin who failed to rise higher than the fourth rank in office and those who succeeded to do so is significant in Table 52. More than half of the sample of the former group had been with the Government not more than ten years. There is only one member of the UIII Han-lin group who was able to enjoy over 40 years of Government service. This shows that there were only a few Han-lin members who tenanciously clung to certain rank-positions without promotion. The large majority of them would either rise to higher rank-positions through seniority of service or apply for retirement, seeing that the avenue for advancement was for some reasons blocked, or were dismissed by the Government for committing offences before they gained enough seniority to enable them to reach the third rank.[24] The average years of official service of the Han-lin unable to reach the third rank can therefore not be great and by calculation, they come up to 12.9 years.

On the other hand, the majority of the Han-lin who could hold positions of the third rank and above stayed in the Government for 21-40 years (61.8% in Table 52) and the total average incumbency of this group is calculated as

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24. See Chapter 5 and Table 14.

30.2 years, a figure which is nearly two and half times that of the UIII group. The ability of the six of the 335 Han-lin of senior ranks who managed to gain their positions as high-ranking officials only with ten or less years of official service represented some exceptional advancement with total disregard of seniority. But since the number was small, we still maintain that as far as the third rank is concerned, seniority did play an important role as one of the pre-requisites for official advancement.

Even within the III group, we can also descern the difference of the lengths of service between the first-rank officials and the 3rd-2nd rank officials. Let us now compare the seniority of service of the III group as a whole and the exclusively first-rank Han-lin group. Both groups have the largest number of their members enjoying 31-40 years of service (33.1% and 39.5%), but while the III group has the second largest number of its members working for the Government for 21-30 years (28.7%), the first rank group has the second largest representation in the 41-50 year-column (29.9%). The two Han-lin officials enjoying 61-70 years of service were also holders of the first rank, while only one Han-lin of the 3rd-2nd rank stayed in the civil service for 51-60 years. Thus, in general, first-rank Han-lin officials would stay in the Government longer than 3rd-2nd rank Han-lin

officials, while the latter in turn enjoyed much longer years of service than those who were unable to reach the third rank in office. In other words, the hypothesis that Han-lin with greater seniority had better chances to reach the senior positions of 3rd-1st ranks is fully supported.

Our hypothesis on seniority of service and length of incumbency in senior positions is built on the commonsense notion that the greater the seniority of total service with the Government, the longer the length of incumbency in senior positions would become. It states that the Han-lin classified in the junior year-of-service groups would mostly be unable to remain in senior positions over ten years, while those of senior year-of-service groups had more chances to do so.[25] In other words, if senior year-of-service groups have smaller percentages and junior year-of-service groups have larger percentages in the A column (1-10 years of incumbency in the positions of the third rank or above), then our hypothesis will be supported. Table 53, Column A shows a descending order in percentages from 100% for the 1-10 year-group to 0% for the 61-70 year-group. In other words, the more years of service the Han-lin enjoyed, the higher percentage of them able to stay in senior positions longer. Thus, the finding

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25. See note 23 above for dividing the sample into long incumbency groups (or senior year-of-service groups) and short incumbency groups (or junior year-of-service groups).

gives full support to the hypothesis. Incidentally, we also notice that a difference of 30% or so exists between the 11-20, 21-30 and 31-40 year-groups. The disparity in percentage between the more senior year-groups is, however, less pronounced and for the last three senior groups, the rate of decrease in Column A is only 10% instead of 30%. This trend indicates that a certain degree of seniority (31-40 years) was highly necessary for advancement beyond the ten-year limit in senior positions and once this degree was reached, the difference of seniority on advancement became less significant. A Han-lin with 11-20 years of seniority, say, would have much lesser chances to retain in 3rd-1st rank positions over 10 years than another enjoying 21-30 years of seniority. The chance to do the same for two Han-lin members, one with 31-40 years of Government service and the other with 41-50 years of seniority would be much closer. Thus, although more seniority as a whole gives longer incumbency in positions of the third rank or above, this is more clearly seen among the more junio year-groups than among the more senior year-groups.

Owing to the greater difficulty in staying at the top-ranking positions, our hypothesis on seniority of service and incumbency in the 1st-rank level reads as follows: the Han-lin classified in the junior year-of-service groups would

find it more difficult to remain in 1st-rank posts for over five years, while those of more senior year-of-service groups had more chances to do so. The descending order of the percentages which is distinctly shown in Column A of Table 53, is also discerned in Table 54 Column A. However, the percentages of the 21-30, 31-40 and 41-50 year-groups differ less than 10%. In other words, members of the three groups just mentioned had more or less equal chances to stay in 1st-rank offices less than 5 years. Only members of the 51-60 and 61-70 year-groups have significantly lesser representation in Column A and proportionately more representation in the longer incumbency column (Column B). Thus, except for the Han-lin with exceptionally long service with the Government, the relationship between total seniority and incumbency in the exclusively top-ranking positions in Table 54 is not as close as that exhibited in Table 53 when the third rank is taken as the division line between senior and middle-ranking positions. This finding substantiates what we have repeatedly maintained that the 1st-rank positions which carried with them responsibilities as departmental heads and sometimes involved their holders in Government policy-making were appointed to able officials by the Emperor himself at the greatest discretion, and that great seniority of service which might recommend officials to the Government

as worthy contenders of the few top-ranking offices was not by itself the only factor for the imperial consideration. On the other hand, the Han-lin with long years of service ran a good chance of staffing 3rd-2nd rank positions which called for lesser responsibilities.

The hypothesis that the Han-lin with greater length of service stayed in the senior positions of the 3rd-1st ranks longer than those who enjoyed shorter length of service is therefore only partly supported.

Chapter VIII

Conclusion

We have learnt from Section A that the Han-lin members represented the cream of the scholar-official class and the Academy served as a reservoir for potential senior ministers of the State. The staff members of the Academy numbered at no time more than two hundred and yet from among them, the majority of the Chinese Grand Secretaries and first-rank officials were recruited. Even those who failed to climb to high positions in the bureaucracy exerted their influence on society in general and on the educated class in particular through their role in conducting the Civil Service Examinations and their contribution in official and private publications. The education of the Emperor was closely linked with the functions of the Han-lin members. As a prince, he received his lessons on the Confucian classics in the Shang-shu fang which was mainly staffed by Han-lin scholars of great literary reputation. As the reigning monarch, he kept up his classical knowledge through attending the imperial discussions and constant literary exercises with the Han-lin members at the Nan-shu fang. Both the Shang-shu fang and the Nan-shu fang were situated within the imperial palace precincts, a fact which facilitated mutual contacts between the Han-lin officials and the Emperor.

The careeer patterns of the Han-lin officials which

have been described in Chapter 5 of Section C have a lot in common with those of the officialdom as a whole, (Chapter 4) although the former, being a more homogeneous group, exibited lesser degree of variation, particularly in the ways and qualifications of official appointments. The Metropolitan Inspection and the Great Accounting in the system of promotion, transfer, demotion and retirement applied to all officials including the Han-lin members, and they could also be rewarded or punished, as the case might be, at times other than the holding of these triennial evaluations. The practice of constant transfer to avoid the growth of regional power, the Confucian obligation of leaving the bureaucracy temporarily for mourning the death of one's parents, and the emphasis on usefulness rather than age in consideration of retirement were general features applicable to nearly every Chinese civil servant. So were the causes for political success and setbacks. The biographical account of Chapter 5 on the personal factors affecting the political careers of the Han-lin officials reflects the extra-bureaucratic activities and political behaviour of the official world in general.

On the other hand, we have also found out that in some respects the Han-lin group enjoyed special treatment from the Government. Their pace of promotion was certainly not bound by the conventional official procedure of "half-a-rank of promotion at a time", and their tenures of office

more often than not violated the "three-year term" of service which by and large is regarded by some sinologists as the average duration of an official position.[1] In other words, members of the Han-lin Academy on the whole experienced greater speed of and more favourable promotions than officials with less esteemed qualifications.

Besides the regular triennial inspections, the Han-lin officials had to face a third irregular process of inspection: the Royal Examinations the results of which affected their advancement to a certain extent. Partly because of these examinations and partly because of their close contacts with the Emperor, ~~and~~ the political careers of the Han-lin group showed some special features which were lacking in those of other non-Han-lin officials.

From Chapter 5, adopting the biographical approach, we have found that seniority of service as well as extra-bureaucratic forces were both determining factors in shaping the career patterns of the Han-lin officials. Section C was a further evaluation of the extra-bureaucratic and bureaucratic factors on a statistical basis. Our main purpose in this Section was to find the possible relationship and relative importance of these factors which cannot be clearly

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1. Refer note 49 of Chapter Four.

illustrated by citing biographical examples alone.

The first extra-bureaucratic factor we put into the statistical test was provincial origin. We have found that quantitatively, the culturally advanced provinces produced more senior Han-lin officials than the culturally average provinces, which in turn produced more of these officials than the culturally backward provinces. But apart from the culturally backward group of provinces where the academic standard was too poor to enable their natives to compete successfully with those of other provinces, there was no significant difference of political opportunities for individual scholars between the culturally advanced and culturally average provinces. In view of the fact that officials from the same provinces were many and that there were stringent official regulations forbiding provincial officials from the same locality to work together [2] the factor of identical provincial origin seems to play a limited part as an extra-bureaucratic factor in influencing political careers.

Our findings on family background show that only Han-lin officials whose fathers or uncles were senior officials

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2. Hsieh, The Government of China, p. 129.

of the third rank or above definitely enjoyed better chances of becoming senior officials than the rest. However, the number of Han-lin officials with members of the preceding generation being senior officials was not great and therefore the Han-lin who benifited from their "senior official family background" in political advancement represented only a minority of all the Han-lin appointed in the 1644-1795 period.

The third of the extra-bureaucratic factors which we are able to evaluate with statistics is the ethnic difference between the Chinese and the Banner Han-lin. Our overall finding is that the Banner Han-lin enjoyed only marginal advantage over the Chinese Han-lin both in regard to the ability of reaching the senior positions of the 3rd rank or above and the length of incumbency in these ranking positions. But, in comparison with those who received the first class at the Palace Examinations, their chances of reaching the senior ranks were small. Thus, ethnic difference, like family background, was at most one of the many extra-bureaucratic factors at work and not the determining factor at all. The biographical discussion relating to the political factions at court and the other personal elements (Chapter 5) certainly correlates with these findings: extra-bureaucratic forces are by no means confined to provincial origin, family background and ethnic differences; they could be maintained through sycophancy, mutual convenience

and interests - factors which defy any precise numerical calculation.

The ability to win first class in the Palace Examinations shows that the scholars concerned were of high literary standing, which qualification was highly looked for by the Government, and, as the statistical results have shown, enabled its holder to have much better chance than an average Han-lin official to reach the senior ranks in office. Using one's academic merit (as seen in the Public Examination results) to advance along the bureaucratic ladders should certainly be regarded as one of the bureaucratic factors in promoting advancement. But, in view of the absence of any provincial quota on the conferment of first class and the relatively more advanced cultural standard in Kiangnan and Chekiang, a great majority of the first class awards at the Palace Examinations went to scholars of these two provinces. The bureaucratic factor of examination results is in this sense closely related to the extra-bureaucratic factor of provincial origin. As the number of the first-class Han-lin totalled 189 out of 2,609 Han-lin appointed in this period, the extremely favourable opportunities to reach senior positions by virtue of brilliant examination results affected only a small fraction of the Han-lin members.

Youthfulness at joining the Government theoretically provided better chances for an official to accumulate long seniority with the Government. This was certainly true for

officials who had been able to reach the third rank or above, and whose departures from the Civil Service were normally due to old age or death of natural causes. But to the Han-lin officials who failed to hold third-rank posts or above, young age at official recruitment became less important, as their retirements from office were not necessarily associated with sickness or death due to old age, but more often a result of summary dismissals caused by official impeachments.

The factor of seniority is not related to the extra-bureaucratic factor of family background. In other words, the statistics show that no matter what family origins they claimed, they would benefit politically by the accumulation of years of service with the Government. In contrast to other Chinese officials with less senior academic qualifications who were unlikely to reach the third rank or above in spite of great seniority in the civil service, the Han-lin officials seldom failed to be promoted to senior positions, if they were able to maintain long Government service. Their inability to rise high was by and large due to their short duration as active officials caused by a number of complex factors, some of which have been discussed in Chapter 5. Thus, for the Han-lin officials, seniority even played a more important role in promoting political advancement than for other Chinese officials.

The relative importance of extra-bureaucratic and bureaucratic factors is not easy to assess and it seems

that both groups of factors were equally decisive in shaping the career patterns of the Han-lin officials. But one thing is certain: whereas the extra-bureaucratic forces such as partisanship and clique-formation prevailed at certain times and subsided at others, bureaucratic factors such as seniority and ability (in the literary or administrative fields) were more constant factors applicable most of the time. It was likely that bonds of political patronage and comradeship were maintained with some respect to ability and seniority, and only in very rare cases in the early Ch'ing did extra-bureaucratic forces bring about favourable advancement with complete disregard of the bureaucratic factors.

In sum, the bureaucratic factors of ability, age and seniority were the pre-requisites to favourable political adavancement, which, however, could be directly or indirectly facilitated or jeopardized by the operation of extra-bureaucratic forces such as provincial origin, family background, small-group interrelationships and other personal connections.

TABLE 1.

Number of Probationers, Compilers and Correctors appointed, 1644-1795

a.= Number of Probationers appointed.

b.= Number of Compilers and Correctors appointed.

A. Shun-chih reign.

1646		1647		1649		1652		1655		1658	
a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.
49	0	23	33	43	17	47	31	33	29	35	21

1659		1661	
a.	b.	a.	b.
44	25	13	16

B. Kâng-hsi reign.

1664		1667		1670		1673		1676		1679	
a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.
18	11	15	8	31	10	35	17	35	21	35+47	26

1682		1685		1688		1691		1694		1697	
a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.
35	23+46	38	23	37	33	36	25	43	24	34	31

1700		1703		1706		1709		1712		1715	
a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.
46	25	52	21	53	34	67	41	69	55	56	57

1715		1718		1721	
a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.
47	48	58	38	65	47

C. Yung-cheng reign.

1723		1724		1727		1730		1733	
a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.
61	32	43	38	40	27	58	32	73	50

D. Ch'ien-lung reign.

1736		1737		1739		1742		1745		1748	
a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.
67 +11	49	62	37+9+3	66	39	57	46	54	34	54	38

1751		1752		1754		1757		1760		1761	
a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.
45	36	41	26	38	27	35	27	37	26	38	24

1763		1766		1769		1771		1772		1775	
a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.
32	26	34	18	29	24	35	25	39	24	46	34

1778		1780		1781		1784		1787		1789	
a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.
38	34	29	27	35	17	25	21	32	20	24	19

1790		1793		1795	
a.	b.	a.	b.	a.	b.
27	20	23	20	18	14

TABLE 2.

Total number of Han-lin, 1644-1795.

	Time	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
Shun-chih	1646 - 47	49	0	26	75
	1647 - 49	23	33	26	82
	1649 - 52	43	33 + 17	26	119
	1652 - 55	47	17 + 31	26	121
	1655 - 58	33	31 + 29	26	119
	1658 - 59	35	29 + 21	26	111
	1659 - 61	44	21 + 25	26	116
K'ang-hsi	1661 - 64	13	25 + 16	26	80
	1664 - 67	18	16 + 11	26	71
	1667 - 70	15	11 + 6	26	58
	1670 - 73	31	6 + 10	26	73
	1673 - 76	35	10 + 17	26	88
	1676 - 79	35	17 + 21	26	99
	1679 - 82	35+47	21 + 26	26	155
	1682 - 85	35	26 + 23 + 45	26	155
	1685 - 88	38	23 + 46 + 23	26	155
	1688 - 91	37	23 + 33	26	119
	1691 - 94	36	33 + 25	26	120
	1694 - 97	43	25 + 24	26	118
	1697 - 1700	34	24 + 31	26	115
	1700 - 03	46	31 + 25	26	128
	1703 - 06	52	25 + 21	26	124

TABLE 2 (Continued)

Time		(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
	1706 - 09	53	21 + 34	26	134
	1709 - 12	67	34 + 41	26	168
	1712 - 13	69	41 + 35	26	191
	1713 - 15	56	55 + 57	26	194
	1715 - 18	47	57 + 48	26	178
	1718 - 21	58	48 + 38	26	170
	1721 - 23	65	38 + 47	26	176
Yung-cheng	1723 - 24	61	47 + 32	26	166
	1724 - 27	43	32 + 38	26	139
	1727 - 30	40	38 + 27	26	131
	1730 - 33	58	27 + 32	26	143
	1733 - 36	73	32 + 50	26	181
Ch'ien-lung	1736 - 37	67+11	50 + 49	26	203
	1737 - 39	62 + 3	49 + 37 + 9	26	186
	1739 - 42	66	37 + 9 +39	26	177
	1742 - 45	57	39 + 43	26	165
	1745 - 48	54	43 + 34	26	157
	1748 - 51	54	34 + 38	26	152
	1751 - 52	45	38 + 36	26	145
	1752 - 54	41	36 + 26	26	129
	1754 - 57	38	26 + 27	26	117
	1757 - 60	35	27 + 27	26	115
	1760 - 61	37	27 + 26	26	116

TABLE 2 (Continued)

Time	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
1761 -	63	38	26 + 24	26	114
1763 -	66	32	24 + 26	26	108
1766 -	69	34	26 + 18	26	104
1769 -	71	29	18 + 24	26	97
1771 -	72	35	24 + 25	26	110
1772 -	75	39	25 + 24	26	114
1775 -	78	46	24 + 34	26	130
1778 -	80	38	34 + 34	26	132
1780 -	81	29	34 + 27	26	116
1781 -	84	35	27 + 17	26	105
1784 -	87	25	17 + 21	26	89
1787 -	89	32	21 + 20	26	99
1789 -	90	24	20 + 19	26	89
1790 -	93	27	19 + 20	26	92
1793 -	95	23	20 + 20	26	89
1795 -	96	18	20 + 14	26	78

(a) = number of Probationers; (b) = number of Compilers and Correctors who were appointed at the two preceding graduation examinations; (c) number of senior officials; (d) total number of Han-lin.

TABLE 3.

Average ages of the Han-lin officials in obtaining the first, second and third degrees.

	UIII		III		TOTAL	
	No.	Age	No.	Age	No.	Age
First degree	70	17.3	36	17.1	106	17.2
Second degree	155	29.7	163	26.8	318	28.2
Third degree	236	37.5	256	32.0	493	34.6

UIII = Officials who were unable to reach the third rank in office.
III = Officials who were unable to reach the third rank in office.
No. = Number of Han-lin officials represented in the calculation.
Age = Average age of the number of officials represented.

TABLE 4.

Age-groups of 32 Han-lin officials who were appointed Han-lin probationers between 1644-1652.

Age-groups	Number
20 sui or under	8
21 - 25 sui	10
26 - 30 sui	6
31 - 35 sui	4
36 - 40 sui	3
41 - 45 sui	1
Total	32

TABLE 5

Proportion of the Senior positions held by the Han-lin officials serving between 1644-1795.

	Shun-chih		K'ang-hsi		Yung-ching		Ch'ien-lung		Total	
	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)
Grand Secretaries	1	13	9	14	8	9	20	22	38	58
First-rank Officials	4	31	45	59	20	27	43	66	112	183
Governors-General & Governors (2nd rank)	1	22	9	42	12	29	19	67	41	160

(a) = Han-lin officials.

(b) = Total Chinese officials.

N.B. Chinese Banner officials are not counted.

TABLE 6.

The nature of the first appointments of the Han-lin 1644-1795.

Appointments.	Shun-Chih	K'ang-hsi	Yung-cheng	Ch'ien-lung	Total
a.	103	375	138	491	1,107
b.	75	286	57	209	627
c.	18	55	24	170	267
d.	27	93	16	68	204
e.	0	39	10	68	117
f.	2	19	10	40	71
g.	10	21	5	27	63
h.	29	27	0	0	56
i.	33	9	0	0	42
j.	0	10	1	1	12
k.	3	0	1	10	4
l.	0	5	0	0	5
m.	3	0	0	0	3
n.	1	2	0	0	3
o.	0	1	2	0	3
p.	0	3	9	0	12
q.	0	0	1	0	1
r.	0	2	0	0	2
s.	0	1	0	0	1
t.	0	0	0	4	4
u.	0	1	1	0	2
v.	0	1	0	0	1

TABLE 6 (Continued)

Appointments.	Shun-Chih	K'ang-hsi	Yung-cheng	Ch'ien-lung	Total
w.	0	1	0	0	1
x.	1	0	0	0	1
Total	305	951	275	1,078	2,609

a = Compiler of 2nd Class (Pien-hsiu)

b = Corrector (Ch'ien-t'ao)

c = Secretary of a Board (Chu-chih)

d = No appointment after probation.

e = Regarded as ordinary chin-shih (K'uei-p'an chüan-hsüan).

f = Magistrate (Chih-hsien)

g = Compiler, first-class (Hsiu-chuan)

h = Circuit Censor(Yü-shih)

i = Metropolitan Censor (Chi-shi-chung)

j = Magistrates of Independent Chou (Chih-chou)

k = Transferred to provinces, posts being unknown.

l = Assistant Department Director (Yüan-wai-lang)

m = Legal Secretary of a prefecture (T'ui-kuan)

n = Registrar of Studies (Chiao-yü)

o = First-Class Sub-Prefect (T'ung-chih)

p = Secretary of the Grand Secretariat (Chung-shu)

q = Prefect (Chih-fu)

r = Sub-Expositor (Chih-chiang)

s = Intendant (Tao)

TABLE 6 (Continued)

t = Tutor of Imperial College (Ssu-yeh)

u = Assistant Salt Controller (Yün-t'ung)

v = Doctor of Imperial College (Po-shih)

w = Assistant Director of the Department of Music (Chu-ch'eng)

x = Proctor of the Imperial College (Chien-ch'eng)

TABLE 7.

Tenures of first appointment divided according to reign-periods.

	Shun-chih		K'ang-hsi		Yung-cheng		Ch'ien-lung		Total	
Years	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Column A 1-5	18	35.3	30	20.3	17	34.7	58	28.0	123	27.0
Column B 6-10	23	45.1	56	37.8	17	34.7	88	42.5	184	40.4
Column C 11-15	6	11.7	43	29.1	14	28.6	46	22.2	109	24.0
Column D 16-20	3	5.9	11	7.4	1	2.0	8	3.9	23	5.1
Column E Over 20	1	2.0	8	5.4	0	0	7	3.4	16	3.5
Total	51	100.0	148	100.0	49	100.0	207	100.0	455	100.0

No. = Number.
% = Percentage.

TABLE 8.

Ranks reached during the first seven appointments.

	9th-7th Ranks		6th Rank		5th Rank	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
First App.*	1947	81.0	334	13.9	120	5.0
Second App.	16	2.9	196	35.1	280	50.1
Third App.	1	0.3	38	11.0	192	55.3
Fourth App.	0	0	5	1.7	99	33.6
Fifth App.	0	0	3	1.1	33	12.3
Sixth App.	0	0	0	0	16	6.9
Seventh App.	0	0	0	0	4	2.3

	4th Rank		3rd Rank or over		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
First App.*	4	0.2	0	0	2405	100.1
Second App.	66	11.8	1	0.2	559	100.1
Third App.	93	26.8	23	6.6	347	100.0
Fourth App.	114	38.6	77	26.1	295	100.0
Fifth App.	102	37.9	131	48.7	269	100.0
Sixth App.	69	29.6	148	63.5	233	100.0
Seventh App.	47.	27.0	123	70.7	174	100.0

N.B. The counting of appointments will be stopped if the Han-lin officials concerned had reached 2nd-rank in office.

* First appointments with ranks unknown are classified in 9th-7th rank column; while Han-lin who were not appointed after the probationary period are not tabulated here.

App. = Appointment.

TABLE 9.

Average tenures of the first seven appointments - to show the speed of promotion.

	1st App.	2nd App.	3rd App.	4th App.	5th App.	6th App.	7th App.
Average years	8.8	2.9	2.7	2.3	2.3	2.1	1.7
Number of Officials counted	435	329	300	270	244	169	103

TABLE 10.

Tenures of the 2nd-7th appointments according to year groups.

	2nd App.		3rd App.		4th App.		5th App.		6th App.		7th App.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under 1 year	82	24.9	73	24.3	87	32.2	72	29.5	56	33.1	31	30.1
1 year	75	22.8	71	23.7	72	26.7	68	27.9	42	24.9	32	31.1
2 years	51	15.5	45	15.0	40	14.8	41	16.8	24	14.2	13	12.6
3 years	33	10.0	38	12.7	18	6.7	14	5.7	14	8.3	10	9.7
4 years	17	5.2	18	6.0	19	7.0	16	6.6	5	3.0	7	6.8
5 years	20	6.1	15	5.0	6	2.2	8	3.3	10	5.9	5	4.9
6-10 years	36	10.9	32	10.7	23	8.5	22	9.0	14	8.3	5	4.9
Over 10 yrs.	15	4.6	8	2.7	5	1.9	3	1.2	4	2.4	0	0
Total	329	100.0	300	100.1	270	100.0	244	100.0	169	100.1	103	100.1

TABLE 11

Relationship between the rank of the first promotion and ability to reach the 3rd rank or above in office.

	UIII	III	T	III%
4B - 4A	7 (x10 = 70)	31	101	30.7
5B - 5A	56 (x10 = 560)	136	696	19.5
6B - 6A	59 (x10 = 590)	136	726	18.7
9B - 7A	14 (x10 = 140)	2	142	1.4
P4B - P4A	8 (x10 = 80)	20	100	20.0
P5B - P5A	42 (x10 = 420)	45	465	9.7
TOTAL	186 (x10 = 1860)	370	2230	16.6

UIII Han-lin officials unable to reach the third rank in office multiplied by ten times for adjustment.

III Han-lin officials able to reach the third rank or above in office.

T Total of UIII officials (after multiplying by ten) and III officials.

III% Percentage of officials who reached the third rank or above in office.

Horizontal groups: ranks of the Han-lin at the first promotion.

P4B - P4A, P5B - P5A: ranks with provincial positions.

The average chance of the Capital officials to reach the third rank or above = (31 + 136 + 136 + 2 ÷ 101 + 696 + 726 + 142) x 100% = 18.3%.

The average chance of the provincial officials to reach the third rank or above = (20 + 45 ÷ 100 + 465) x 100% = 11.5%.

TABLE 12.

Retirement age of the Han-lin officials.

	UIII		III	
	No.	%	No.	%
20-30 sui	5	3.2	1	0.4
31-40 sui	19	12.0	3	1.2
41-50 sui	45	28.5	16	6.6
51-60 sui	47	29.7	52	21.6
61-70 sui	38	24.1	96	39.8
71-80 sui	3	1.9	67	27.8
81-90 sui	1	0.6	6	2.5
Total	158	100.0	241	99.9

Horizontal groups = retirement age groups.

UIII - Han-lin unable to reach the third rank.

III - Han-lin able to reach the third rank.

N.B. Average retirement age of the 63 grand secretaries (including in the III Column) is 70.7 sui and that of all the Han-lin able to reach the third rank is 64.5 sui and that of the Han-lin unable to reach the third rank is 52.5 sui.

TABLE 13.

Average ages of different Han-lin groups.

	G.S.	III - G.S.	III	UIII	TOTAL
Average age.	73.8	67.6	69.0	63.4	66.3
Number.	63	205	268	254	522

G.S. - Grand Secretaries.

III - G.S.- Han-lin able to reach the 3rd rank or above excluding the 63 Grand Secretaries.

III - Han-lin able to reach the 3rd rank or above including the 63 Grand Secretaries.

UIII - Han-lin unable to reach the 3rd rank in office.

TABLE 14.

Reasons for leaving the Government.

	G.S.		III		UIII		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A	29	46.0	122	48.4	66	26.2	217	38.3
B	32*	50.8	34	13.5	11	4.4	77	13.6
C	0	0	47	18.7	49	19.5	96	16.9
D	2	3.2	32	12.7	56	22.2	90	15.9
E	0	0	3	1.2	2	0.7	5	0.9
F	0	0	9	3.6	42	16.7	51	9.0
G	0	0	1	0.4	17	6.8	18	3.2
H	0	0			9	3.6	9	1.6
I	0	0	4	1.6	0	0	4	0.7
TOTAL	63	100.0	252	100.1	252	100.1	567	100.1

G.S. - Grand Secretaries; III - officials able to reach the third rank or above (excluding the G.S. group); UIII Han-lin unable to reach the third rank in office.

A = Death.

B = Old age.

C = Sickness.

D = Dismissal.

E = Execution.

F = Looking after one's parents.

G = Leaving the Government after observing the mourning period.

H = Retiring nature of the Han-lin.

I = Reasons unknown.

* Old age here includes those who were elderly and sick.

TABLE 15.

Provincial Origin and production of Han-lin members 1644-1795.

Provinces or Groups.	Shun-chih (a)	(b)	(c)	K'ang-hsi (a)	(b)	(c)	Yung-cheng (a)	(b)	(c)
Kiangnan	56	18.4	1	269	28.3	1	85	30.9	1
Chekiang	37	12.1	2	154	16.2	2	51	18.5	2
Shantung	35	11.5	3	53	5.6	3	15	5.5	4
Manchu Group	20	6.6	7	49	5.2	4	23	8.4	3
Hukuang	22	7.2	6	43	4.5	6	12	4.4	7
Kiangsi	10	3.3	12	46	4.8	5	13	4.7	6
Shun-t'ien	34	11.1	4	30	3.2	12	8	2.9	8
Fukien	11	3.6	10	35	3.7	10	14	5.1	5
Honan	19	6.2	8	43	4.5	6	5	1.8	13
Shansi	17	5.6	9	38	4.0	8	7	2.5	10
Chihli	24	7.9	5	33	3.5	11	6	2.2	11
Shensi	11	3.6	10	37	3.9	9	5	1.8	15
Kwangtung	1	0.3	15	23	2.4	13	8	2.9	8
Szechwen	3	1.0	13	21	2.2	15	3	1.1	18
Kweichow	1	0.3	15	17	1.8	17	6	2.2	11
Yunnan	0			18	1.9	16	4	1.5	17
Kwangsi	0			15	1.6	18	5	1.8	15
Chinese Banner Group	2	0.7	14	22	2.3	14	3	1.1	18
Mongol Group	0			0			2	0.7	19
Kansu	0			5	0.5	19	0		
Feng-t'ien	1	0.3	15	0			0		
Liaoning	1	0.3	15	0			0		
Total	305	100.0		951	100.1		275	100.0	

TABLE 15 (Continued)

Provinces or Groups.	Ch'ien-lung (a)	(b)	(c)	Total (a)	(b)	(c)
Kiangnan	234	21.7	1	644	24.7	1
Chekiang	160	14.8	2	402	15.4	2
Shantung	67	6.2	4	170	6.5	3
Manchu Group	54	5.0	6	146	5.6	4
Hukuang	69	6.4	3	146	5.6	4
Kiangsi	67	6.2	4	136	5.2	6
Shun-t'ien	40	3.7	8	112	4.3	7
Fukien	49	4.5	7	109	4.2	8
Honan	36	3.3	12	103	3.9	9
Shansi	40	3.7	8	102	3.9	10
Chihli	28	2.6	17	91	3.5	11
Shensi	29	2.7	16	82	3.1	12
Kwangtung	37	3.4	10	69	2.6	13
Szechwan	37	3.4	10	64	2.5	14
Kweichow	32	3.0	14	56	2.1	15
Yunnan	33	3.1	13	55	2.1	16
Kwangsi	31	2.9	15	51	2.0	17
Chinese Banner Group	18	1.7	18	45	1.7	18
Mongol Group	8	0.7	19	10	0.4	19
Kansu	3	0.3	21	8	0.3	20
Feng-t'ien	6	0.6	20	7	0.3	21
Liaoning	0			1	0.04	22
Total	1,078	199.9		2,609	99.9	

TABLE 15 (Continued)

(a) = Number of Han-lin.
(b) = Percentage.
(c) = Position.

N.B. Kiangnan consisted of the modern Kiangnan and Anhwei
Hukuang consisted of the modern Hupeh and Hunan.

TABLE 16.

Provincial origin, population and production of chin-shih 1644-1795.

Provinces or Groups.	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
Kiangnan	2442	60.3	40.5	11
Chekiang	1748	21.7	80.6	2
Shantung	1212	22.6	53.6	7
Banner Group	449	10.0	44.9	10
Hukuang	902	35.2	25.6	16
Kiangsi	938	19.2	48.9	8
Fukien	696	12.0	58.0	6
Honan	971	21.0	46.2	9
Shansi	910	13.2	68.9	3
Chihli*	1579	23	68.7	4
Shensi & Kansu	707	23.6	30.0	14
Kwangtung	446	16	27.9	15
Szechwan	266	8.6	30.9	13
Kweichow	190	5.2	36.5	12
Yunnan	223	3.5	63.7	5
Kwangsi	149	6.4	23.3	17
Liaoning	68	.8	85.0	1

TABLE 16 (Continued.

(a) = Total production of chin-shih (information obtained from Ho Ping-ti, The Ladder of Success in Imperial China, P.228)

(b) = Population of the provinces (information obtained from Ho Ping-ti, The Ladder of Success in Imperial China.)

(c) = Number of chin-shih per million mean population.

(d) = Positions of provinces according to chin-shih production.

* Chihli includes Shun-t'ien (also applicable to Tables 17 and 18).

TABLE 17.

Provincial origin, population and production of Han-lin 1644-1795.

Provinces or Groups.	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
Kiangnan	644	60.3	10.7	4
Chekiang	402	21.7	18.5	2
Shantung	170	22.6	7.5	10
Banner Group	201	10	20.1	1
Hukuang	146	35.2	4.1	15
Kiangsi	136	19.2	7.1	12
Fukien	109	12	9.1	6
Honan	103	21	4.9	13
Shansi	102	13.2	7.7	9
Chihli	203	23	8.8	7
Shensi & Kansu	90	23.6	3.8	16
Kwangtung	69	16	4.3	14
Szechwan	64	8.6	7.4	19
Kweichow	56	5.2	10.7	4
Yunnan	55	3.5	15.7	3
Kwangsi	51	6.4	8.0	8
Liaoning	1	0.8	1.3	17

(a) = Total production of Han-lin members (information obtained from Table 15).

(b) = Population of the provinces.

(c) = Number of Han-lin members per million mean population.

(d) = Position of provinces according to their Han-lin production.

N.B. The number of Feng-t'ien Han-lin (7) is not counted here.

TABLE 18.

Chance of a chin-shih being selected as a Han-lin member 1644-1795.

Provinces or Groups.	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
Kiangnan	644	2442	26.3	4
Chekiang	402	1748	23.0	7
Shantung	170	1212	14.0	12
Banner Group	201	449	44.8	1
Hukuang	146	902	16.2	8
Kiangsi	136	938	14.5	11
Fukien	109	696	15.7	9
Honan	103	971	10.6	16
Shansi	102	910	11.2	15
Chihli	205	1579	12.9	13
Shensi & Kansu	90	707	12.7	14
Kwangtung	69	446	15.5	10
Szechwan	64	266	24.1	6
Kweichow	56	190	29.5	3
Yunnan	55	223	24.7	5
Kwangsi	51	149	34.2	2
Liaoning	1	68	1.5	17

(a) = Number of Han-lin of the provinces.

(b) = Number of chin-shih of the provinces.

(c) = Percentages of chin-shih being admitted into the Han-lin Academy.

(d) = Positions of provinces according to the percentages.

TABLE 19

Han-lin able to reach 3rd-1st rank positions.

Provinces.	Shun-chih			K'ang-hsi			Yung-cheng		
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(a)	(b)	(c)	(a)	(b)	(c)
Kiangnan	13	14.6	2	48	27.7	1	17	28.3	1
Chekiang	9	10.1	4	36	20.8	2	10	16.7	2
Shantung	16	18.0	1	10	5.8	5	5	8.3	4
Manchu Group	3	3.4	8	14	8.1	3	9	15.0	3
Hukuang	2	2.2	11	5	2.9	9	2	3.3	8
Kiangsi	3	3.4	8	9	5.2	6	4	6.7	5
Shun-t'ien	11	12.4	3	4	2.3	13	0		
Fukien	3	3.4	8	6	3.5	7	2	3.3	8
Honan	7	7.9	6	6	3.5	7	3	5.0	6
Chansi	8	9.0	5	5	2.9	9	1	1.7	11
Chihli	8	9.0	5	11	6.4	4	1	1.7	11
Shensi	2	2.2	11	5	2.9	9	0		
Kwangtung	0			1	0.6	16	0		
Szechwan	2	2.2	11	4	2.3	13	0		
Kweichow	0			2	1.1	15	0		
Yunnan	0			1	0.6	16	2	3.3	8
Kwangsi	0			0			3	5.0	6
Chinese Banners	2	2.2	11	5	2.9	9	0		
Mongol Group	0			0			1	1.7	11
Kansu	0			1	0.6	16	0		
Feng-t'ien	0			0			0		
Liaoning	0			0			0		
Total II	89	100.0		173	100.1		60	100.0	

TABLE 19 (Continued)

Provinces.	Ch'ien-lung			Total (I)		
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(a)	(b)	(c)
Kiangnan	57	24.6	1	135	24.4	1
Chekiang	42	18.1	2	97	17.5	2
Shantung	19	8.2	5	50	9.0	3
Manchu Group	21	9.1	3	47	8.5	4
Hukuang	10	4.3	7	19	3.4	10
Kiangsi	20	8.6	4	36	6.5	5
Shun-t'ien	10	4.3	7	25	4.5	6
Fukien	11	4.7	6	22	4.0	9
Honan	8	3.4	9	24	4.3	7
Shansi	3	1.3	13	17	3.1	11
Chihli	3	1.3	13	23	4.1	8
Shensi	2	0.9	17	9	1.6	14
Kwangtung	3	1.3	13	4	0.7	17
Szechwan	7	3.0	10	13	2.4	12
Kweichow	2	0.9	17	4	0.7	17
Yunnan	5	2.2	11	8	1.4	15
Kwangsi	2	0.9	17	5	0.9	16
Chinese Banners	4	1.7	12	11	2.0	13
Mongol Group	3	1.3	13	4	0.7	17
Kansu	0			1	0.2	20
Feng-t'ien	0			0		
Liaoning	0			0		
Total II	232	100.1		554	99.9	

TABLE 19 (Continued)

(a) = Number of Han-lin able to reach 3rd-1st rank positions.

(b) = Percentages according to the number of Han-lin able to reach 3rd-1st rank positions.

(c) = Positions of the provinces according to the number of Han-lin able to reach 3rd-1st rank positions.

— = Red underline indicates that the percentage for that particular reign is higher than the total average for that province through all four reigns (i.e. Total I).

TABLE 20

Han-lin appointed in 1644-1795 period able to reach the first rank in office.

Provinces.	Shun-chih			K'ang-hsi			Yung-cheng		
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(a)	(b)	(c)	(a)	(b)	(c)
Kiangnan	4	20	1	18	36.8	1	4	30.8	1
Chekiang	3	15	3	9	18.4	2	3	23.1	2
Shantung	4	20	1	1	2.0	9	1	7.7	3
Manchu Group	0			5	10.2	3	1	7.7	3
Hukuang	1	5	7	3	6.1	4	1	7.7	3
Kiangsi	0			2	4.1	6	1	7.7	3
Shun-t'ien	2	10	5	1	2.0	9	0		
Fukien	0			1	2.0	9	0		
Honan	1	5	7	0			0		
Shansi	2	10	5	2	4.1	6	0		
Chihli	3	15	3	3	6.1	4	1	7.7	3
Shensi	0			2	4.1	6	0		
Kwangtung	0			0			0		
Szechwan	0			1	2.0	9	0		
Kweichow	0			0			0		
Yunnan	0			0			0		
Kwangsi	0			0			1	7.7	3
Chinese Banner Group	0			1	2.0	9	0		
Mongol Banner Group	0			0			0		
Kansu	0			0			0		
Feng-t'ien	0			0			0		
Liaoning	0			0			0		
Total II	20	100.0		49	99.9		13	100.1	

TABLE 20 (Continued)

Provinces	Ch'ien-lung			Total (I)		
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(a)	(b)	(c)
Kiangnan	18	27.7	1	44	29.9	1
Chekiang	11	18.5	2	26	17.7	2
Shantung	6	9.2	4	12	8.2	4
Manchu Group	8	12.3	3	14	9.5	3
Hukuang	2	3.1	7	7	4.8	7
Kiangsi	6	9.2	4	9	6.1	5
Shun-t'ien	4	6.2	5	7	4.8	7
Fukien	3	4.6	6	4	2.7	9
Honan	0			1	0.7	14
Shansi	0			4	2.7	9
Chihli	1	1.5	10	8	5.4	6
Shensi	1	1.5	10	3	2.0	11
Kwangtung	1			1	0.7	14
Szechwan	2	3.1	7	3	2.0	11
Kweichow	0			0		
Yunnan	0			0		
Kwangsi	0			1	0.7	14
Chinese Banner Group	2	3.1	7	3	2.0	11
Mongol Banner Group	0			0		
Kansu	0			0		
Feng-t'ien	0			0		
Liaoning	0			0		
Total II	65	100.0		147	99.9	

TABLE 20 (Continued)

(a) = Number of Han-lin to hold first-rank positions.

(b) = Percentages according to the number of Han-lin able to reach 1st rank.

(c) = Positions of the provinces according to the number of Han-lin officials able to reach 1st-rank posts.

___ = Red line indicates that the percentage of that particular reign is higher than the total average of that province for all four reigns (i.e. Total I).

TABLE 21.

Chances for an average Han-lin to rise to the 3rd and 1st ranks.

Provinces or Group	Shun-chih (a)	Shun-chih (b)	K'ang-hsi (a)	K'ang-hsi (b)	Yung-cheng (a)	Yung-cheng (b)
Kiangnan	23.2	7.1	17.8	6.7	20.0	4.7
Chekiang	24.3	8.1	23.4	5.8	19.6	5.9
Shantung	45.7	11.4	18.9	1.9	33.3	6.7
Manchu Group	15.0	0	28.6	10.2	39.1	4.3
Hukuang	9.1	4.5	11.6	7.0	16.7	8.3
Kiangsi	30.0	0	19.6	4.3	30.8	7.7
Shun-t'ien	32.3	5.9	13.3	3.3	0	0
Fukien	27.3	0	17.1	2.9	14.3	0
Honan	36.8	5.3	14.0	0	60.0	0
Shansi	47.1	11.8	13.2	5.3	14.3	0
Chihli	33.3	12.5	33.3	9.1	16.7	16.7
Shensi	18.1	0	13.5	5.4	0	0
Kwangtung	0	0	44.0	0	0	0
Szechwan	66.6	0	19.0	4.8	0	0
Kweichow	0	0	11.8	0	0	0
Yunnan	0	0	5.6	0	50.0	0
Kwangsi	0	0	0	0	60.0	20.0
Chinese Banner Group	100.0	0	22.7	4.5	0	0
Mongol Banner Group	0	0	0	0	50.0	0
Kansu	0	0	20.0	0	0	0
Feng-t'ien	0	0	0	0	0	0
Liaoning	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total (II)	29.5	6.6	18.2	5.2	21.8	4.7

TABLE 21 (Continued)

Province or Group	Ch'ien-lung (a)	Ch'ien-lung (b)	Total (I) (a)	P	Total (I) (b)	P
Kiangnan	24.4	7.7	21.0	9	6.8	4
Chekiang	26.3	6.9	24.1	7	6.5	7
Shantung	28.3	9.0	29.4	3	7.1	3
Manchu Group	38.9	14.8	32.2	2	9.6	1
Hukuang	14.5	2.9	13.0	15	4.8	9
Kiangsi	29.9	9.0	26.5	4	6.6	5
Shun-t'ien	25.0	10.0	22.3	9	6.2	8
Fukien	22.4	6.1	20.2	12	3.7	12
Honan	22.2	0	23.3	8	1.0	16
Shansi	7.5	0	16.7	13	4.0	11
Chihli	10.7	3.6	25.3	5	8.8	2
Shensi	6.9	3.4	11.0	17	3.7	12
Kwangtung	8.1	2.7	5.8	20	1.4	15
Szechwan	18.9	5.4	20.3	11	4.7	10
Kweichow	6.3	0	7.1	19	0	
Yunnan	15.2	0	14.5	14	0	
Kwangsi	6.5	0	9.8	18	2.0	14
Chinese Banner Group	22.2	11.1	24.4	6	6.6	5
Mongol Banner Group	37.5	0	40.0	1	0	
Kansu	0	0	12.5	16	0	
Feng-t'ien	0	0	0		0	
Liaoning	0	0	0		0	
Total (II)	21.5	6.0	21.2		5.6	

TABLE 21 (Continued)

(a) = Chances in percentage for an average Han-lin to reach the 3rd rank in office.

(b) = Chances in percentage for an average Han-lin to reach the 1st rank in office.

P = Position of the province calculated according to the percentage of advancement.

—— = Red line indicates that the percentage of the province in that particular reign or period is higher than the total average percentage of that reign or period (i.e. Total II).

TABLE 22.

Official and Commoner Family Backgrounds of 868 Han-lin Officials, according to their three preceding generations.

	Shun-chih		K'ang-hsi		Yung-cheng	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Official Family Background	64	62.1	208	67.1	50	62.5
Commoner Family Background	39	37.9	102	32.9	30	37.5
Total(II)	103	100.0	310	100.0	80	100.0

	Ch'ien-lung		Total (I)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Official Family Background	236	62.9	558	64.3
Commoner Family Background	139	37.1	310	35.7
Total (II)	375	100.0	868	100.0

TABLE 23.

Relationship between family background and advancement.

	Shun-chih				K'ang-hsi			
	UIII No.	UIII %	III No.	III %	UIII No.	UIII %	III No.	III %
Official Family Background.	29	61.7	35	62.5	120	64.2	88	71.5
Commoner Family Background.	18	38.3	21	37.5	67	35.8	35	28.5
Total (II)	47	100.0	56	100.0	187	100.0	123	100.0

	Yung-cheng				Ch'ien-lung			
	UIII No.	UIII %	III No.	III %	UIII No.	UIII %	III No.	III %
Official Family Background.	20	50.0	30	75.0	116	59.8	120	66.3
Commoner Family Background.	20	50.0	10	25.0	78	40.2	61	33.7
Total (II)	40	100.0	40	100.0	194	100.0	181	100.0

	Total (I)			
	UIII No.	UIII %	III No.	III %
Official Family Background	285	60.9	273	68.3
Commoner Family Background	183	39.1	127	31.7
Total (II)	468	100.0	400	100.0

UIII = Han-lin who were unable to reach the third rank in office.

III = Han-lin who were able to reach the third rank in office.

TABLE 23 (Continued)

N.B.(1) Determination of Family Background by the three immediately preceding generations.

(2) The difference in percentage between the III and UIII Columns for the official family and commoner family groups are identical, i.e. for the Shun-chih period, (62.5 - 61.7)% = (38.3 - 37.5)% = 0.8%.

(3) The percentages are more useful for comparison between those who were able to reach the third rank or above and those who were unable to do so than for their actual values. Technically, the percentages should be compared horizontally.

TABLE 24.

Division of the Han-lin of our sample whose fathers or uncles were not officials into commoner family background and indirect official family groups.

	Shun-chih		K'ang-hsi		Yung-cheng		Ch'ien-lung	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Commoner family Background.	39	66.1	102	61.8	29	61.7	139	64.7
Indirect official family background.	20	33.9	63	38.2	18	38.3	76	35.3
Total (II)	59	100.0	165	100.0	47	100.0	215	100.0

	Total (I)	
	No.	%
Commoner family background.	309	63.6
Indirect official family background.	177	36.4
Total (II)	486	100.0

TABLE 24 (Continued).

N.B. Commoner family background = Han-lin whose preceding three generations were not officials.

Indirect official family background. = Han-lin whose great grandfathers or grandfathers or both were officials but whose fathers or uncles were not.

TABLE 25.

The difference of advancement between Han-lin having commoner family background and those enjoying indirect official family background.

	Shun-chih				K'ang-hsi			
	UIII	UIII	III	III	UIII	UIII	III	III
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Commoner family background.	18	66.7	21	65.6	67	65.7	35	55.6
Indirect official family background	9	33.3	11	34.4	35	34.3	28	44.4
Total (II)	27	100.0	32	100.0	102	100.0	63	100.0

	Yung-cheng				Ch'ien-lung			
	UIII	UIII	III	III	UIII	UIII	III	III
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Commoner family background.	19	65.5	10	55.6	78	60.5	61	70.9
Indiect official family background	10	34.5	8	44.4	51	39.5	25	29.1
Total (II)	29	100.0	18	100.0	129	100.0	86	100.0

TABLE 25 (Continued)

	Total (I)			
	UIII No.	UIII %	III No.	III %
Commoner family background.	182	63.4	127	63.6
Indirect official family background.	105	36.6	72	36.4
Total (II)	287	100.0	199	100.0

The symbols UIII and III see Table 23 for explanation.

The explanation of commoner family background and indirect official family background see Table 24.

TABLE 26.

Officials with and without direct official family background.

	Shun-chih		K'ang-hsi		Yung-cheng	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Han-lin with direct official family influence.	44	42.7	145	46.8	33	41.3
Han-lin without direct official family influence.	59	57.3	165	53.2	47	58.7
Total (II)	103	100.0	310	100.0	80	100.0

	Ch'ien-lung		Total (I)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Han-lin with direct official family influence.	160	42.7	382	44.0
Han-lin without direct official family influence.	215	57.3	486	56.0
Total (II)	375	100.0	868	100.0

N.B. By direct official family background, it means that the fathers or uncles of the Han-lin were also officials.

TABLE 27.

Family background of the Han-lin sample in the K'ang-hsi reign (according to one preceding generation) - discounting those admitted to the Han-lin Academy through the Po-hsüeh hung-ju Examination.

	Number	%
Han-lin with direct official family background	145 - 5 = 140	47.5
Han-lin without direct official family background.	165 - 10 = 155	52.5
Total	310 - 15 = 295	100.0

TABLE 28.

Relationship between family background (according to the immediately preceding generation) and advancement.

	Shun-chih				K'ang-hsi			
	UIII	UIII	III	III	UIII	UIII	III	III
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Han-lin with direct official family influence.	20	42.6	24	42.9	85	45.5	60	48.8
Han-lin without direct official family influence.	27	57.4	32	57.1	102	54.5	63	51.2
Total (II)	47	100.0	56	100.0	187	100.0	123	100.0

	Yung-cheng				Ch'ien-lung			
	UIII	UIII	III	III	UIII	UIII	III	III
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Han-lin with direct official family influence.	11	27.5	22	55.0	65	33.5	95	52.5
Han-lin without direct official family influence.	29	72.5	18	45.0	129	66.5	86	47.5
Total (II)	40	100.0	40	100.0	194	100.0	181	100.0

	Total (I)			
	UIII	UIII	III	III
	No.	%	No.	%
Han-lin with direct official family influence.	181	38.7	201	50.3
Han-lin without direct official family influence.	287	61.3	199	49.7
Total (II)	468	100.0	400	100.0

UIII = Han-lin who were unable to reach the third rank in office.

III = Han-lin who were able to reach the third rank in office.

TABLE 29.

Han-lin with direct official family influence sub-divided according to the official ranks of their uncles or fathers.

	Shun-chih		K'ang-hsi		Yung-cheng		Ch'ien-lung	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Category A	15	34.1	52	35.9	13	39.4	53	33.1
Category B	24	54.5	64	44.1	7	21.2	72	45.0
Category C	4	9.1	23	15.9	12	36.4	33	20.6
Category D	1	2.3	6	4.1	1	3.0	2	1.3
Total (II)	44	100.0	145	100.0	33	100.0	160	100.0

	Total (I)	
	No.	%
Category A	133	34.8
Category B	167	43.7
Category C	72	18.8
Category D	10	2.6
Total (II)	382	99.9

Category A = Han-lin with their immediately preceding generation being officials of 3rd-1st ranks (senior direct official family background).

Category B = Han-lin with their immediately preceding generation being officials of 7th-4th ranks (medium direct official family background).

Category C = Han-lin with their immediately preceding generation being officials of 8th-9th ranks (minor direct official family background).

Category D = Han-lin with their immediately preceding generation being officials of unknown ranks.

TABLE 30.

Relationship between the ranks of the immediately preceding generation and advancement.

	Shun-chih				K'ang-hsi			
	UIII	UIII	III	III	UIII	UIII	III	III
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Category A	5	25.0	10	41.7	23	27.0	29	48.3
Category B	13	65.0	11	45.8	45	52.9	19	31.7
Category C	2	10.0	2	8.3	15	17.6	8	13.3
Category D	0	0	1	4.2	2	2.4	4	6.6
Total (II)	20	100.0	24	100.0	85	99.9	60	99.9

	Yung-cheng				Ch'ien-lung			
	UIII	UIII	III	III	UIII	UIII	III	III
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Category A	1	9.1	12	54.5	14	21.5	39	41.1
Category B	4	36.4	3	13.6	30	46.2	42	44.1
Category C	5	45.5	7	31.8	21	32.3	12	12.6
Category D	1	9.1	0	0	0	0	2	2.2
Total (II)	11	100.1	22	99.9	65	100.0	95	100.0

	Total (I)			
	UIII	UIII	III	III
	No.	%	No.	%
Category A	43	23.8	90	44.8
Category B	92	50.8	75	37.3
Category C	43	23.8	29	14.4
Category D	3	1.6	7	3.5
Total (II)	181	100.0	201	100.0

The symbols, UIII and III, see Table 28.

For explanation of Categories A, B, C, & D, see Table 29.

TABLE 31.

Number of families with two or more generations of Han-lin production (1644-1795 or thereabout).

Provinces	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
Kiangnan	39	10	6	1	1
Chekiang	23	6	2	1	0
Kiangsi	11	1	1	0	0
Shantung	7	4	1	0	0
Hukuang	6	1	0	0	0
Honan	5	1	1	0	0
Fukien	4	0	2	0	0
Shun-t'ien	3	0	0	0	0
Yunnan	3	1	0	0	0
Chihli	2	1	1	0	0
Shensi	2	2	1	0	0
Kwangtung	2	0	0	0	0
Kwangsi	2	1	0	0	0
Shansi	1	0	0	0	0
Szechwan	1	0	0	0	0
Total	111	28	15	2	1

(a) = Number of families with 2 generations of Han-lin production.

(b) = Number of families with 3 generations of Han-lin production.

(c) = Number of families with 4 generations of Han-lin production.

(d) = Number of families with 5 generations of Han-lin production.

(e) = Number of families with 6 generations of Han-lin production.

N.B. By calculation, out of these families, there were 179 Han-lin officials whose fathers or uncles were also members of the Academy.

TABLE 32.

Ethnic Differences in advancement.

	Manchu Han-lin	Chinese Han-lin	Manchu non-Han-lin officials.	Robert Marsh's figures.
A	18.9	17	23.7	32 - 33
B	7.6	19.2		
C	12.5	18.7	16.4	
D	26.9	26.1	27.9	
E	34.4	32.4	42.3	
F	44.9	46		
G	20.1	7.8		
H	44.8	17.9		
I	30.8	20.5		
J	8	5.6		

A = Years of service in 3rd-1st rank posts.

B = Years of service in 1st-rank posts.

C = Years of service before reaching the 2nd-rank posts.

D = Years of service before reaching the 1st-rank posts.

E = Total years of service with the Government.

F = Chance of a scholar to become a chin-shih, per million mean population.

G = Chance of a scholar to become a Han-lin member, per million mean population.

H = Chance of a chin-shih to become a Han-lin member (in percentage).

I = Chance of a Han-lin to reach the 3rd-rank in office (in percentage).

J = Chance of a Han-lin to reach the 1st-rank in office (in percentage).

TABLE 33.

First-class Han-lin and advancement to senior ranks.

	UIII		3rd-2nd Ranks		1st Rank		III	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1st scholar, first-class	34	31.2	12	25.5	17	51.5	29	36.3
2nd scholar, first-class	40	36.7	14	29.8	9	27.3	23	28.8
3rd scholar, first-class	35	32.1	21	44.7	7	21.2	28	35.0
Total	109	100.0	47	100.0	33	100.0	80	100.1

Horizontal groups = First-class scholars of the Palace Examinations.

UIII = First-class scholars unable to reach the 3rd rank in office.

3rd-2nd ranks = First-class scholars who rose to 3rd-2nd ranks in office.

1st rank = First-class scholars who rose to the first rank in office.

III = First-class scholars who rose to the 3rd rank or above in office.

N.B. = The table is based on all the first-class Han-lin appointed in 1644-1795 and not on a selected sample. Information is mainly obtained from TLCL and CTCHLP.

TABLE 34.

First-class Han-lin and length of incumbency in 3rd-1st rank positions.

	Number	Percentage
1 - 10 years	26	38.8
11 - 20 years	24	35.8
21 - 30 years	13	19.4
31 - 40 years	4	6.0
Total	67	100.0

Horizontal groups = Years of service in 3rd-1st rank positions.

N.B. By calculation, the average duration of the 67 first-class Han-lin in these senior positions is 14.3 years.

TABLE 35.

Tenures of the first appointments of the First-class Han-lin

	UIII		III		Total (I)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1 - 5 years	8	40	29	47.5	37	45.7
6 - 10 years	10	50	24	39.3	34	42.0
11 - 15 years	2	10	6	9.8	8	9.9
16 - 20 years	0	0	2	3.3	2	2.5
Total (II)	20	100.0	61	99.9	81	100.1

Vertical Columns = UIII = First-class Han-lin not able to reach 3rd ranks or above in office.

III = First-class Han-lin able to reach 3rd rank or above in office.

Horizontal Groups = Tenures of first appointment.

Average years in the first appointments of the 81 Han-lin = 6.5.

TABLE 36.

Comparison of the years of service to reach the 2nd rank between the first-class Han-lin and the other Han-lin officials.

	A		B	
	No.	%	No.	%
1 - 10 years	16	26.2	30	11.3
11 - 20 years	33	54.1	115	43.2
21 - 30 years	12	19.7	93	35.0
31 - 40 years	0	0	26	9.8
Over 40	0	0	2	0.8
Total	61	100.0	266	100.1

Horizontal groups = Years of service before reaching the 2nd rank.

A = First-class Han-lin officials.

B = Other Han-lin officials.

N.B. The average years of service before reaching the 2nd rank for the first-class Han-lin group is 15, for the other Han-lin group is 18.7.

TABLE 37.

Average seniority of various Han-lin groups.

	First-Class Han-lin	G.S.	III-G.S.	III	UIII
Average years	30.1	42.3	30.2	32.4	13.0
Number	67	67	302	369	240

First-class Han-lin = All able to reach the 3rd rank or above in office.

G.S. = Grand Secretaries.

III-G.S. = Han-lin able to reach the 3rd rank (excluding the G.S. group).

III = Han-lin able to reach the 3rd rank (including the G.S. group).

UIII = Han-lin unable to reach the 3rd rank.

TABLE 38.

Age-groups of the First-class Han-lin.

	UIII		III		TOTAL (I)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
31 - 40 sui	5	17.9	0	0	5	6.6
41 - 50 sui	6	21.4	1	2.1	7	9.2
51 - 60 sui	4	14.3	7	14.6	11	14.5
61 - 70 sui	8	28.6	19	39.6	27	35.5
71 - 80 sui	4	14.3	10	20.8	14	18.4
81 - 90 sui	1	3.6	11	22.9	12	15.8
Total (II)	28	100.1	48	100.0	76	100.0

N.B. The average age of the UIII Han-lin group = 60.5 sui.

The average age of the III Han-lin group = 69.7 sui.

The average age of the total first-class Han-lin = 66.3 sui.

TABLE 39.

Number of Han-lin able to secure first position, first class in the Palace Examinations, 1644-1795.

Provinces.	Shun-chih	K'ang-hsi	Yung-cheng	Ch'ien-lung
Kiangnan	5	16	3	15
Chekiang	1	4	1	9
Shantung	1	1		
Manchu Group	2			
Hukuang	1			
Kiangsi				1
Shun-t'ien				
Fukien				
Honan				
Shansi				
Chihli			1	
Shensi				1
Kwangtung				1
Szechwan				
Kweichow				
Yunnan				
Kwangsi				
Chinese Banner Group				
Mongol Banner Group				
Kansu				
Feng-t'ien				
Liaoning				
Total	10	21	5	27

TABLE 39 (Continued)

	Total (No.)	Total (%)
Kiangnan	39	62.0
Chekiang	15	23.8
Shantung	2	3.2
Manchu Group	2	3.2
Hukuang	1	1.6
Kiangsi	1	1.6
Shun-t'ien	0	
Fukien	0	
Honan	0	
Shansi	0	
Chihli	1	1.6
Shensi	1	1.6
Kwangtung	1	1.6
Szechwan	0	
Kweichow	0	
Yunnan	0	
Kwangsi	0	
Chinese Banner Group	0	
Mongol Banner Group	0	
Kansu	0	
Feng-t'ien	0	
Liaoning	0	
Total	63*	100.2

TABLE 39 (Continued)

* There were 61 examinations for the Chinese and two special examinations for the Manchus exclusively, so that altogether the period (1644-1795) produced 63 first positions (first class).

TABLE 40.

Han-lin from various provinces securing 3rd-1st positions, first class in the Palace Examinations 1644-1795.

Provinces	Shun-chih	K'ang-hsi	Yung-cheng	Ch'ien-lung
Kiangnan	13	38	7	39
Chekiang	3	16	4	28
Shantung	1	2	0	2
Manchu Group	6			
Hukuang	2		1	
Kiangsi				6
Shun-t'ien	2	1	1	2
Fukien		2	1	1
Honan		3		
Shansi				
Chihli	2	1	1	1
Shensi				1
Kwangtung				1
Szechwan	1			
Kweichow				
Yunnan				
Kwangsi				
Chinese Banner Group				
Mongol Group				
Kansu				
Feng-t'ien				
Total	30	63	15	81

TABLE 40 (Continued)

Provinces.	Total (No.)	Total (%)
Kiangnan	97	51.3
Chekiang	51	27.0
Shantung	5	2.7
Manchu Group	6	3.2
Hukuang	3	1.6
Kiangsi	6	3.2
Shun-t'ien	6	3.2
Fukien	4	2.1
Honan	3	1.6
Shansi	0	0
Chihli	5	2.7
Shensi	1	0.5
Kwangtung	1	0.5
Szechwan	1	0.5
Kweichow	0	0
Yunnan	0	0
Kwangsi	0	0
Chinese Banner Group	0	0
Mongol Group	0	0
Kansu	0	0
Feng-t'ien	0	0
	0	0
Total	189	100.1

TABLE 41.

Family background of the first-class Han-lin.

	Number	Percentage	Symbols
Han-lin whose immediately preceding generation being officials.	57	47.5	A
Han-lin with indirect official family influence.	18	15.0	B
Han-lin with commoner origin	45	37.5	
Total	120	100.0	

A = % of official family background according to the immediately preceding generation.

B = % of official family background according to the three preceding generations (62.5%).

TABLE 42.

Han-lin who entered the Academy between 20-30 sui classified according to their family background.

	Number	Percentage
Han-lin with fathers or uncles being themselves officials.	66	55.5
Han-lin with indirect official family influence	24	20.2
Han-lin with commoner family background.	21	17.6
Banner Group	8	6.7
Total	119	100.0

By Han-lin with indirect official family influence, we mean those whose fathers or uncles were commoners but whose great-grandfathers or grandfathers or both were officials

TABLE 43.

Age at entering the Han-lin Academy and average years of service with the Government.

	UIII		III	
	Number	Average Years	Number	Average Years
Under 20 sui	3	25.3	7	43.1
20-30 age group	50	18.6	112	37.1
31-41 age group	60	14.1	94	31.6
42-52 age group	32	12.9	26	21.8
Over - 52 age group	26	7.3	7	17.9

The difference between a member of the 20-30 age-group and another of the 42-52 age-group, so far as the UIII Column is concerned, is (18.6 - 12.9) years or 5.7 years.

TABLE 44.

Age at entering the Han-lin Academy and seniority of service for Han-lin officials who were unable to reach the 3rd rank in office.

	1-10 Years		11-20 Years		21-30 Years		31-40 Years	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under 20 sui	1	1.4	0	0	0	0	2	18.2
20-30 sui	13	18.1	16	29.6	16	48.5	4	36.4
31-41 sui	24	33.3	21	38.9	11	33.3	4	36.4
42-52 sui	12	16.7	16	39.6	4	12.1	0	0
Over 52 sui	22	30.6	1	1.9	2	6.1	1	9.1
Total (II)	72	100.1	54	100.0	33	100.0	11	100.1

	41-50 Years		Total (I)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Under 20 sui	0	0	3	1.8
20-30 sui	1	100	50	29.2
31-41 sui	0	0	60	35.1
42-52 sui	0	0	32	18.7
Over 52 sui	0	0	26	15.2
Total (II)	1	100.0	171	100.0

Vertical Columns - Years of service with the Government.

Horizontal Groups - Age-groups at entering the Academy.

TABLE 45.

Age at entering the Han-lin Academy and seniority of service for Han-lin officials.

	1-10 Years		11-20 Years		21-30 Years		31-40 Years		41-50 Years		51-60 Years	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under 20 sui	0	0	0	0	1	1.6	2	2.5	2	4.5	1	5.9
20-30 sui	1	20.0	12	35.3	17	26.6	36	45.0	32	72.7	13	76.5
31-40 sui	1	20.0	9	26.5	33	51.6	38	47.5	10	22.7	3	17.6
42-52 sui	2	40.0	9	26.5	11	17.2	4	5.0	0	0	0	0
Over 52 sui	1	20.0	4	11.8	2	3.1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total (II)	5	100.0	34	100.1	64	100.1	80	100.0	44	99.9	17	100.0

	61-70 Years		Total (I)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Under 20 sui	1	50.0	7	2.8
20-30 sui	1	50.0	112	45.5
31-40 sui	0	0	94	38.2
42-52 sui	0	0	26	10.6
Over 52 sui	0	0	7	2.8
Total (II)	2	100.0	246	99.9

Vertical Columns = Years of service with the Government.

Horizontal Groups = Age-groups at entering the Academy.

TABLE 46.

Age-groups at entering the Han-lin Academy and ability to reach senior positions.

	UIII		III		1st Rank		Total (I)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under 20 sui	6	2.5	7	2.9	3	2.9	13	2.7
20-30 sui	76	31.9	118	48.1	58	55.2	194	40.2
31-41 sui	79	33.2	88	35.9	40	38.1	167	34.6
42-52 sui	43	18.1	28	11.4	2	1.9	71	14.7
Over 52 sui	34	14.3	4	1.6	2	1.9	38	7.9
Total (II)	238	100.0	245	99.9	105	100.0	483	100.1

UIII = Han-lin unable to reach the 3rd rank in office.

III = Han-lin able to reach 3rd-1st rank in office.

1st Rank = Han-lin able to reach 1st rank in office.

Total (I) = Total of Han-lin (UIII Column + III Column).

TABLE 47.

Age at entering the Han-lin Academy and years of incumbency in 3rd-1st rank positions.

	1-10 Years		11-20 Years		21-30 Years		31-40 Years	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under 20 sui	3	2.7	1	1.4	3	6.6	0	
20-30 sui	42	37.8	34	45.9	28	62.2	10	90.0
31-41 sui	44	39.6	29	39.2	14	31.1	1	10.0
42-52 sui	20	18.0	8	10.8	0		0	
Over 52 sui	2	1.8	2	2.7	0		0	
Total (II)	111	99.9	74	100.0	45	99.9	11	100.0

	41-50 Years		Total (I)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Under 20 sui	0		7	2.9
20-30 sui	4	100.0	118	48.2
31-41 sui	0		88	35.9
42-52 sui	0		28	11.4
Over 52 sui	0		4	1.6
Total (II)	4	100.0	245	100.0

Horizontal Columns = Age-groups at entering the Academy.

Vertical Columns = Years of service in 3rd-1st rank positions.

TABLE 48.

Age at entering the Han-lin Academy and years of incumbency in exclusively 1st-rank positions.

	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30
Under 20 sui	1	1	0	0	0	0
20-30 sui	12	16	12	6	6	3
31-41 sui	13	14	9	3	1	0
42-52 sui	1	1	0	0	0	0
Over 52 sui	2	0	0	0	0	0
Total (II)	29	32	21	9	7	3

	31-35	Total (I)
Under 20 sui	1	3
20-30 sui	3	58
31-41 sui	0	40
42-52 sui	0	2
Over 52 sui	0	2
Total (II)	4	105

Horizontal Columns = Age-groups at entering the Academy.

Vertical Columns = Years of service in 1st-rank positions.

TABLE 49.

Seniority and family background, using 3 generations to determine official family origin.

	Official		Commoner		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1-10 years	4	66.6	2	33.4	6	100.0
11-20 years	25	55.6	20	44.4	45	100.0
21-30 years	56	58.3	40	41.7	96	100.0
31-40 years	68	61.3	43	38.7	111	100.0
41-50 years	34	58.6	24	41.4	58	100.0
51-60 years	15	88.2	2	11.8	17	100.0
61-70 years	2	100.0	0	0	2	100.0

Horizontal Columns = Years of total service with the Government.
Vertical Columns = Family Origins.

TABLE 50.

Seniority and family background, using the immediately preceding generation to determine official family origin.

	Official		Commoner		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1-10 years	2	33.3	4	66.7	6	100.0
11-20 years	16	35.6	29	64.4	45	100.0
21-30 years	44	45.8	52	54.2	96	100.0
31-40 years	52	46.8	59	53.2	111	100.0
41-50 years	30	51.7	28	48.3	58	100.0
51-60 years	14	82.4	3	17.6	17	100.0
61-70 years	2	100.0	0	0	2	100.0

Horizontal Columns = Years of total service with the Government.

Vertical Columns = Family origins.

TABLE 51.

Seniority and family background (divided into Han-lin possessing fathers or uncles who were themselves officials of the third rank and above and those whose fathers or uncles were not officials of such senior ranks).

	A		B		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1-10 years	0	0	6	100.0	6	100.0
11-20 years	3	6.6	42	93.4	45	100.0
21-30 years	8	8.3	88	91.7	96	100.0
31-40 years	18	16.2	93	83.8	111	100.0
41-50 years	5	8.6	53	91.4	58	100.0
51-60 years	6	35.3	11	64.7	17	100.0
61-70 years	2	100.0	0	0	2	100.0

Horizontal Columns = Years of service with the Government.

A = Han-lin whose fathers or uncles being officials of 3rd rank or above.

B = Han-lin whose father or uncles being not officials of 3rd rank or above.

TABLE 52.

Seniority and ability to reach the 3rd and 1st ranks.

	UIII		III		1st		3rd-2nd	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1-10 years	122*	50.8	6	1.8	1	0.7	5	2.7
11-20 years	66	27.5	45	13.4	4	2.7	41	21.8
21-30 years	38	15.8	96	28.7	22	15.0	74	39.4
31-40 years	13	5.4	111	33.1	58	39.5	53	28.2
41-50 years	1	0.4	58	17.3	44	29.9	14	7.4
51-60 years	0	0	17	5.1	16	10.9	1	0.5
61-70 years	0	0	2	0.6	2	1.3	0	0
Total	240	99.9	335	100.0	147	100.0	188	100.0

UIII = Han-lin unable to reach the third rank in office.

III = Han-lin able to reach the third rank in office, (including the first-rank officials).

1st = Han-lin able to reach the top rank in office.

3rd-2nd = Han-lin able to reach the 3rd-2nd ranks.

* Han-lin whose services lasted for a few months or even a few days will be regarded as having one year of service with the Government.

N.B. = Average total service of III officials = 30.2 years.
Average total service of UIII officials = 12.9 years.

TABLE 53.

Seniority and length of incumbency in 3rd-1st rank posts.

	Column A 1-10 Years		Column B Over 10 Years		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1-10 years	6	100.0	0	0	6	100.0
11-20 years	40	93.0	3	7.0	43	100.0
21-30 years	61	61.6	38	38.4	99	100.0
31-40 years	41	34.2	79	65.8	120	100.0
41-50 years	14	21.1	52	78.9	66	100.0
51-60 years	2	10.0	18	90.0	20	100.0
61-70 years	0	0	2	100.0	2	100.0

Column A = Incumbency in 3rd-1st rank posts between 1-10 years.

Column B = Incumbency in 3rd-1st rank posts over 10 years.

Horizontal groups = Total years of service with the Government.

N.B. By calculation, the average years in 3rd-1st rank positions of the total number of Han-lin (356) = 17.6 years.

TABLE 54.

Seniority and length of incumbency in 1st-rank posts.

	Column A 1-5 years		Column B Over 5 years		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1-10 years	1	100.0	0	0	1	100.0
11-20 years	2	50.0	2	50.0	4	100.0
21-30 years	9	40.9	13	59.1	22	100.0
31-40 years	21	36.8	36	63.2	57	100.0
41-50 years	15	34.9	29	65.1	44	100.0
51-60 years	2	12.5	14	87.5	16	100.0
61-70 years	0	0	2	100.0	2	100.0

Column A = Incumbency in 1st-rank posts between 1-5 years.

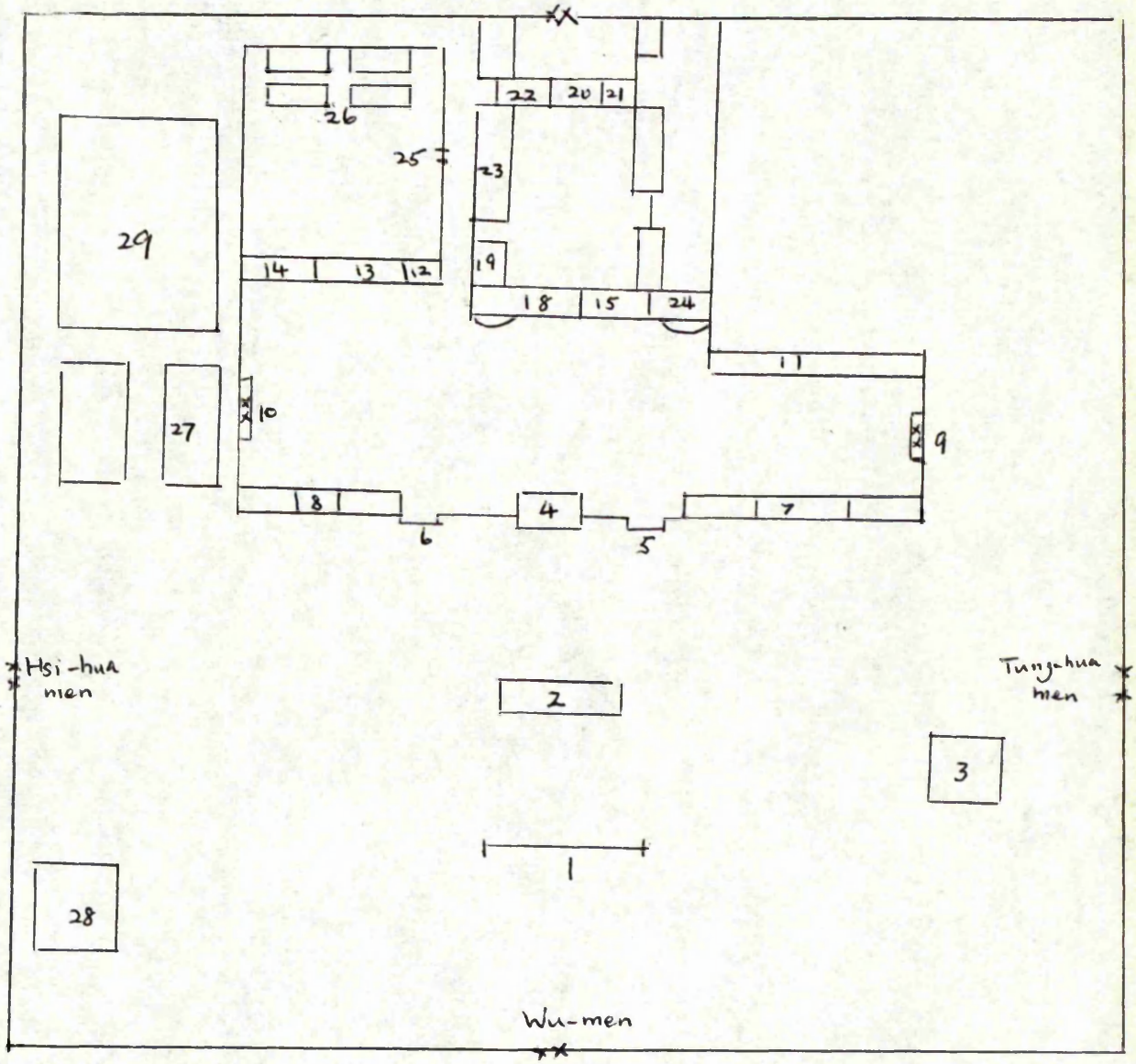
Column B = Incumbency in 1st-rank posts over 5 years.

Horizontal groups = Total years of service with the Government.

PLAN I

IMPERIAL PALACES

(not to scale)



(1) Tai-ho men (gate)

(2) Tai-ho tien (palace)

(3) Nei-k'o (Grand Secretariat)

(4) Pao-ho tien (palace)

(5) Hou-tso men (gate)

(6) Hou-yu men (gate)

(7) Tsung-shih wang-kung tsou-shih-ch'u (Chancery of t Memorials for the princes)

(8) Chün-chi chang-ching chih-she (Quarters for the secretaries of the Grand Council)

(9) Ching-yun men (gate) (10) Lung-tsung men (gate)

(11) Liu-pu chiu-ching ch'ao-fang (Rooms for officials of the Six Boards and Courts)

(12) Shih-wei ch'u (Office of the Imperial Body Guards)

(13) Nei-wu fu (Quarters for the senior officials of the Imperial Household)

(14) Chün-chi ta-chen chih-lu (Quarters for the Grand Councillors)

(15) Ch'ien-ch'ing men (gate) (16) Nei-yu men (gate)

(17) Nei-tso men (gate) (18) Nan-shu fang

(19) Tsou-shih-ch'u (Chancery of Memorials)

(20) Ch'ien-ch'ing kung (palace)

(21) Chao-jen tien (palace) (22) Kung-ti tien (palace)

(23) Fan-ch'in tien (palace) (24) Shang-shu fang

(25) Yang-hsin men (gate) (26) Yang-hsin tien (palace)

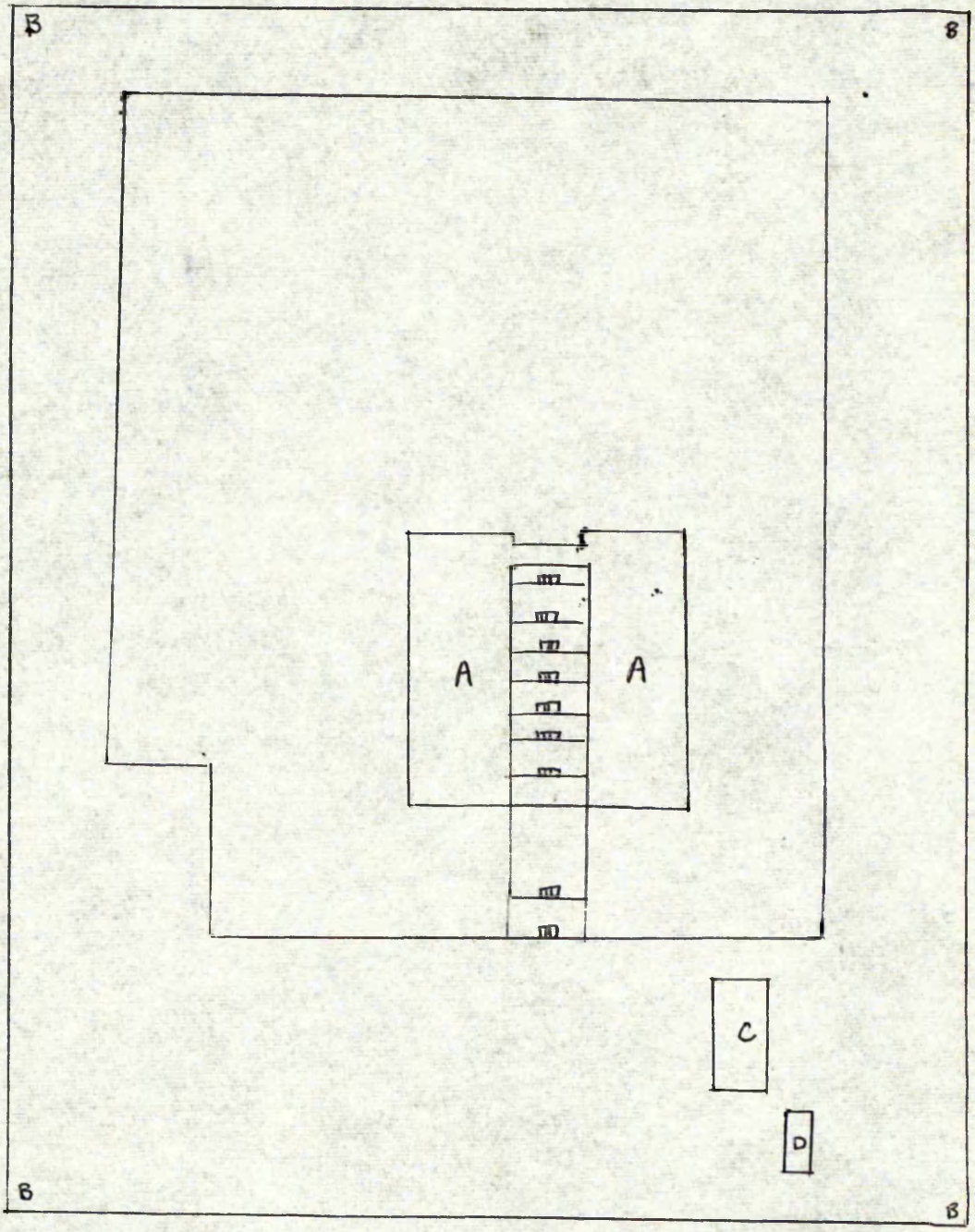
(27) Tsao-pan ch'u (Workshops of the Imperial Household)

(28) Fang-lioh kuan (Military Archives Office)

(29) Tz'u-ning kung (palace)

PLAN 2

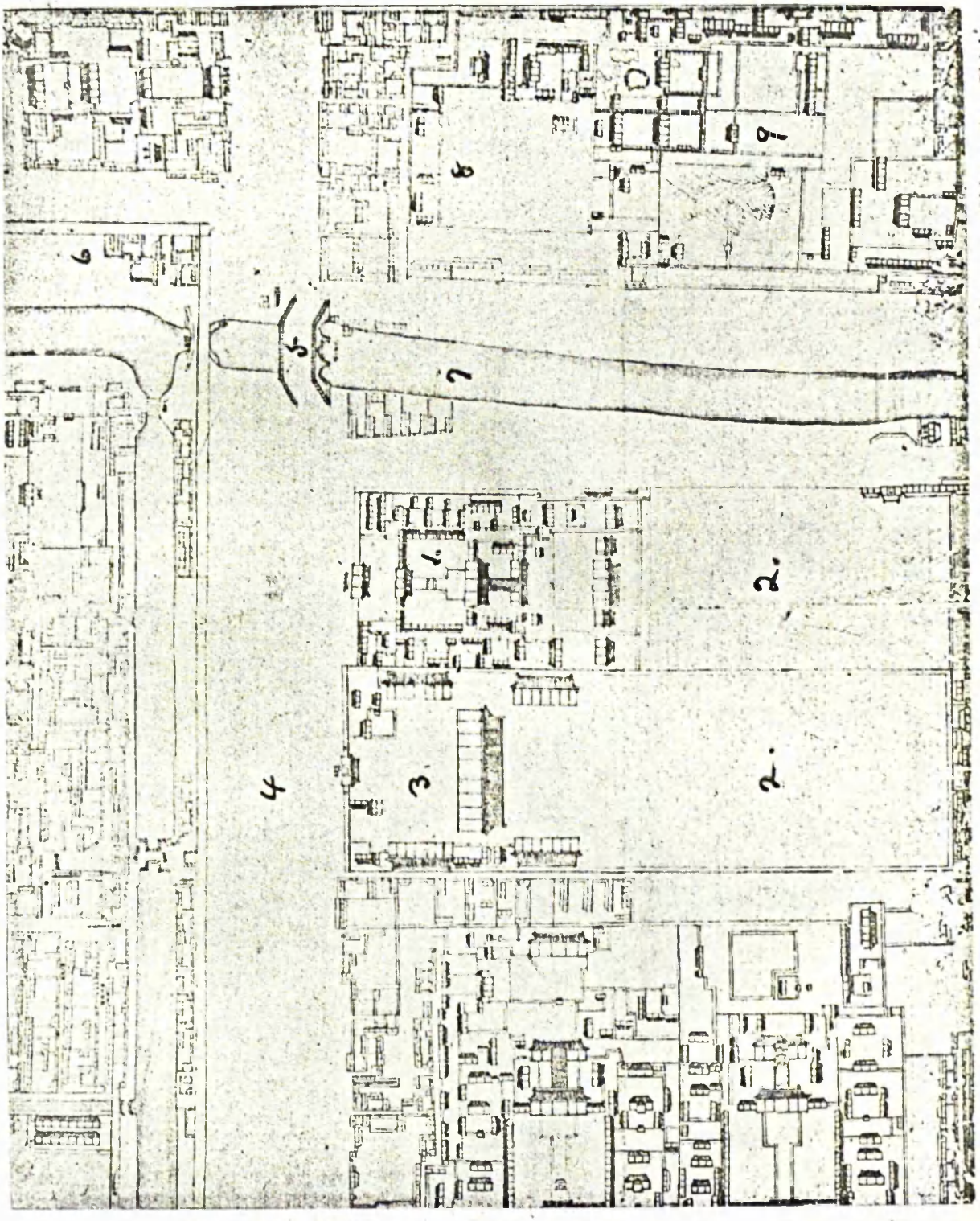
SIMPLIFIED PLAN OF THE FORBIDDEN CITY



A : Forbidden City (including the Imperial Palaces of Plan I)
B : Imperial City
C : Han-lin Academy
D : Imperial Supervisorate of Instruction (Chan-shih fu)
(approximate to scale)

MAP I

LOCATION OF THE HAN-LIN ACADEMY



1. Hanlin Yüan. 2. British Embassy. 3. Luan Chia K'u (now British glacis). 4. Ch'ang An Chieh. 5. Pei Yü Ho Ch'iao (now levelled). 6. Institute of Fine Arts. 7. Old Canal (now covered). 8. Italian Embassy. 9. Japanese Embassy.

APPENDIX I

A SIMPLIFIED CHART OF THE CH'ING CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATION

	Examinations	Degrees
Preliminary "qualifying" examinations leading to the First Degree	Hsien Examination at district seat. Fu Examination at prefectural level. Yüan Examination at prefectural capital under the Literary Chancellor.	The First Degree, holders became Sheng-Yuan, popularly called hsiu-ts'ai, membership in shen-shih (gentry class)
For retention of the First Degree	Sui Examination triennial, at prefectural capital under the Literary Chancellor, had to be taken regularly by all Government students. K'o Examination triennial, at prefectural capital under the Literary Chancellor, preliminary to the Provincial Examination.	
The Provincial Examination	Hsiang-shih (the Provincial Examination), triennial, at provincial capital under examiners sent from the Central Government.	chü-jen (the Second Degree)

	Examinations	Degrees
The Capital Examinations	Hui-shih (Metropolitan Examinations), triennial, at the Empire's capital under the Board of Rites; examiners appointed by Emperor from senior officials.	
	Tien-shih (Palace Examination under the supervision of the Emperor himself.	chin-shih (the Third Degree)
	Ch'ao-k'ao (the Court Examination) further examination by the Emperor.	Selecting Probationers into the Han-lin Academy.

APPENDIX II

IMPORTANT CIVIL OFFICES UNDER THE EARLY CH'ING

1. Central Administration

Rank 1A

Ta-hsüeh-shih 大学士 (Grand Secretary of the Grand Secretariat).

Rank 1B

Shang-shu 尚書 (President in any of the Six Boards).

Tu-ch'a-yüan tso-tu-yü-shih 都察院左都御史 (Senior President of the Censorate).

Tu-ch'a yüan yu-tu-yü-shih 都察院右都御史 (Junior President of the Censorate).

Rank 2A

Tso-shih-lang 左侍郎 (Senior Vice-President in any of the Six Boards).

Yu-shih-lang 右侍郎 (Junior Vice-President in any of the Six Boards).

Rank 2B

Nei-ko hsüeh-shih 内閣学士 (Chancellor of the Grand Secretariat).

Chang-yüan hsüeh-shih 掌院学士 (Chancellor of the Han-lin Academy).

Rank 3A

Tu-ch'a-yüan tso-fu-tu-yü-shih 都察院左副都御史 (Senior Vice-President of the Censorate).

Tu-ch'a-yüan yu-fu-tu-yü-shih 都察院右副都御史 (Junior Vice-President of the Censorate).

Tsung-jen-fu fu-ch'eng 宗人府府丞 (Vice-Director of the Imperial Clan Court).

T'ung-cheng-ssu t'ung-cheng-shih 通政司通政史 (Commissioner in the Transmission Office).

Ta-li-ssu ch'ing 大理寺卿 (Director of the Court of Judicature and Revision).

Chan-shih-fu chan-shih 詹事府詹事 (Chief Supervisor of Instruction in the Imperial Supervisorate of Instruction).

T'ai-ch'ang-ssu ch'ing 太常寺卿 (Director of the Court of Sacrificial Worship).

Shun-t'ien-fu fu-yin 順天府府尹 (Prefect of Shun-t'ien, the Metropolitan Prefecture).

Feng-t'ien-fu fu-yin 奉天府府尹 (Prefect of Feng-t'ien, Mukden).

Shang-ssu-yüan-ch'ing 上駟院卿 (Director of the Palace Stud).

Rank 3B

Kuang-lu-ssu ch'ing 光祿寺卿 (Director of the Banqueting Court).

T'ai-p'u ssu-ch'ing 太僕寺卿 (Director of the Court of the Imperial Stud).

Rank 4A

T'ung-cheng-shih ssu fu-shih 通政使司副使 (Deputy Commissioner in the Transmission Office).

Ta-li-ssu shao-ch'ing 大理寺少卿 (Sub-Director of the Court of Judicature and Revision).

Rank 4B

Nei-ko shih-tu hsüeh-shih 內閣侍讀學士 (Reader in the Grand Secretariat).

Han-lin yüan shih-tu hsüeh-shih 翰林院侍讀学士(Reader in the Han-lin Academy).

Han-lin yüan shih-chiang hsüeh-shih 翰林院侍講学士(Expositor in the Han-lin Academy).

Kuo-tzu-chien chi-chiu 國子監祭酒 (Libationer in the Imperial Academy of Learning).

Rank 5A

Tso ch'un-fang shu-tzu 左春坊庶子 (Senior Deputy Supervisor of Instruction in the Imperial Supervisorate of Instruction).

Yu-ch'un-fang shu-tzu 右春坊庶子 (Junior Deputy Supervisor of Instruction in the Imperial Supervisorate of Instruction).

Liu-k'o chang-yin chi-shi-chung 六科掌印給事中 (Senior Metropolitan Censor in one of the Six Sections of the Office for the Scrutiny of Metropolitan Officials).

Liu-k'o chi-shih-chung 六科給事中 (Junior Metropolitan Censor in one of the Six Sections of the Office for the Scrutiny of Metropolitan Officials).

Pu-yüan lang-chung 部院郎中 (Department Director of the Six Boards).

Kuang-lu-ssu shao-ch'ing 光祿寺少卿(Sub-Director of the Imperial Banqueting Court).

Tsung-jen-fu li-shih-kuan 宗人府理事官(Administrator in the Imperial Clan Court).

T'ung-cheng-ssu ts'an-i 通政司參議 (Secretary in the Transmission Office).

Chan-shih-fu shao-chan-shih 詹事府少詹事 (Supervisor of Instruction in the Supervisorate of Imperial Instruction).

T'ai-ch'ang-ssu shao-ch'ing 太常寺少卿 (Sub-Director of the Court of Sacrificial Worship).

T'ai-p'u-ssu shao-ch'ing 太僕寺少卿 (Sub-Director of the Court of the Imperial Stud).

Hung-lu-ssu ch'ing 鴻臚寺卿(Director of the Court of State Ceremonial).

Shun-t'ien-fu fu-ch'eng 順天府府丞 (Vice-Prefect of Shun-t'ien).

Feng-t'ien fu-ch'eng 奉天府府丞 (Vice-Prefect of Feng-t'ien).

Rank 5B

Hung-lu-ssu shao-ch'ing 鴻臚寺少卿 (Sub-Director of the Court of State Ceremonial).

Han-lin-yüan shih-tu 翰林院侍讀 (Sub-Reader in the Han-lin Academy).

Han-lin-yüan shih-chiang 翰林院侍講 (Sub-Expositor in the Han-lin Academy).

Pu-yüan yüan-wai-lang 部院員外郎 (Assistant Department Director in any of the Six Boards).

Ssu-ching-chü hsien-ma 司經局洗馬 (Librarian in the Supervisorate of Imperial Instruction).

Rank 6A

Nei-ko shih-tu 內閣侍讀 (Assistant Reader in the Grand Secretariat).

Tso-ch'un-fang chung-yün 左春坊中允 (Senior Secretary in the Supervisorate of Imperial Instruction).

Yu-ch'un-fang chung-yün 右春坊中允 (Junior Assistnat Secretary in the Supervisorate of Imperial Instruction).

Kuo-tzu chien ssu-yeh 国子監司業 (Tutor in the Imperial Academy).

Ta-li-ssu tso-ssu-ch'eng 大理寺左寺丞 (Senior Secretary in the Court of Judicature and Revision).

Ta-li-ssu yu-ssu-ch'eng 大理寺右寺丞 (Junior Secretary in the Court of Judicature and Revision).

Pu-yüan chu-shih 部院主事 (Secretary in any of the Six Boards).

Tsung-jen-fu chu-shih 宗人府主事 (Secretary in the Imperial Clan Court).

Rank 6B

Tso-ch'un-fang tsan-shan 左春坊贊善 (Senior Assistant Secretary in the Supervisorate of Imperial Instruction).

Yu-ch'un-fang tsan-shan 右春坊贊善 (Junior Assistant Secretary in the Supervisorate of Imperial Instruction).

Chih-li-chou chou-t'ung 直隸州州同 (First-Class Assistant Department Magistrate of Chihli).

Han-lin-yüan hsiu-chuan 翰林院修撰(First-Class Han-lin Compiler).

Rank 7A

Han-lin-yüan pien-hsiu 翰林院編修 (Second-Class Compiler in the Han-lin Academy).

Kuo-tzu-chien chien-ch'eng 國子監監丞 (Proctor in the Imperial College).

Ta-li-ssu tso-p'ing-shih 大理寺左評事 (Senior Assistant Secretary of the Court of Judicature and Revision).

Ta-li-ssu yu-p'ing-shih 大理寺右評事(Junior Assistant Secretary of the Court of Judicature and Revision).

Tai-ch'ang-ssu po-shih 太常寺博士 (Learned Doctor of the Court of Sacrificial Worship).

T'ung-cheng-ssu chih-shih 通政司知事 (Archivist in the Transmission Office).

Pu-yüan pi-t'ieh-shih 部院筆貼式 (Clerk in any of the Six Boards).

Rank 7B

Han-lin-yüan chien-t'ao 翰林院檢討 (Corrector in the Han-lin Academy).

Chung-shu-k'o chung-shu 中書科中書 (Secretary of the Imperial Patent Office).

Nei-ko chung-shu 內閣中書 (Secretary in the Grand Secretariat).

Chih-li-chou chou-p'an 直隸州州判 (Second-Class Assistant Department Magistrate for Chihli).

Kuo-tzu-chien po-shih 国子監博士 (Learned Doctor of the Imperial College).

Kuo-tzu-chien chu-chiao 国子監助教 (Assistant Teacher of the Imperial College).

Shun-t'ien fu ching-li 順天府经歷 (Secretary of Shun-t'ien Prefecture).

Feng-t'ien fu ching-li 奉天府経歷 (Secretary of Feng-t'ien Prefecture).

Chu-ch'eng 署正 (Assistant Director of the Department of Music).

Rank 8A

Kuo-tzu-chien hsüeh-cheng 国子監学正 (Director of Studies of the Imperial College).

Kuo-tzu-chien hsüeh-lu 国子監学錄 (Sub-Registrar of the Imperial College).

Rank 8B

Kuo-tzu-chien tien-pu 国子監典簿 (Archivist in the Imperial College).

Rank 9B

Kuo-tzu-chien tien-chi 国子監典籍 (Sub-Archivist in the Imperial College).

2. Provincial Administration

Rank 2A

Tsung-tu 總督 (Governor-General).

Rank 2B

Hsün-fu 巡撫 (Governor).

Pu-cheng-shih 布政司 (Lieutenant Governor or Commissioner of Finance).

Rank 3A

An-ch'a-shih 按察司 (Commissioner of Justice).

Rank 3B

Yen-yün-ssu yün-shih 鹽運司運使 (Salt Controller).

Ts'an-cheng 參政 (First-Class Censor).

Rank 4A

Hsün-tao 巡道 (Intendant of Circuit).

Liang-tao 糧道 (Grain Intendant).

Fu-shih 副使 (Second-Class Circuit Censor).

Rank 4B

Yün-t'ung 運同 (Assistant Salt Controller).

Chih-fu 知府 (Prefect).

Ts'an-i 參議 (Third-Class Circuit Censor).

Rank 5A

T'ung-chih 同知 (First-Class Sub-Prefect).

Chih-li chou chih-chou 直隸州知州 (Magistrate of an Independent Department).

Rank 5B

Chien-ch'a yü-shih 監察御史 (Circuit Censor).

Rank 6A

T'ung-p'an 通判 (Second-Class Sub-Prefect).

Rank 6B

Chou-t'ung 州同 (First-Class Assistant Chou Magistrate).

Pu-cheng-shih ching-li 布政司經歷 (Secretary in the Lieutenant-Governor's Office).

Rank 7A

Chih-hsien 知縣 (District Magistrate).

An-ch'a-shih ching-li 按察使經歷 (Secretary in the Office of the Judicial Commissioner).

Chiao-shou 教授 (Prefectural Director of Studies).

Rank 7B

Chou-p'an 州判 (Second-Class Assistant Department Magistrate).

Rank 8A

Chiao-yü 教諭 (District Director of Studies).

Fu ching-li 府經歷 (Prefectural Secretary).

Hsüeh-cheng 學正 (Chou Director of Studies).

Hsien-ch'eng 縣丞 (Assistant District Magistrate).

Hsün-tao 訓導 (Chou Sub-Director of Studies).

Rank 9A

Chu-pu 主簿 (District Registrar).

Rank 9B

Tien-li 典吏 (Jail Warden).

APPENDIX III

DURATION OF PROBATIONARY PERIOD OF NON-HAN-LIN OFFICIALS

Former Qualifications or Posts	Posts	Years on Probation
1. Any eligible candidates	Circuit Censor	2
2. Any eligible candidates	Prefect and below (Posts in Central China), fu-feng	3
3. Any eligible candidates	Prefect and below (Posts in outlying provinces), pien-feng	2½
4. Bannermen imperially appointed or officials given preference in the official evaluation (i-hsü)	Department Director, Assistant Department Director and Secretary in any of the Six Boards	3
5. Officials from demotion	Department Director, Assistant Department Director and Secretary in any of the Six Boards	2
6. yin-sheng and new incumbents to office	Department Director, Assistant Department Director and Secretary in any of the Six Boards	5
7. Secretary of any Board with years of former service (ch'ien-feng)	Assistant Department Director in any of the Six Boards and posts of equivalent rank	1

Former Qualification or Posts	Posts	Years on Probation
8. Officials on completion of the term of office (feng-man) and eligible for promotion	Assistant Department Director in any of the Six Boards and posts of equivalent rank	1
9. Officials selected by recommendation	Assistant Department Director in any of the Six Boards and posts of equivalent rank	3
10. Officials on completion of the term of office (feng-man) and eligible for promotion	Secretary in any of the Six Boards and posts of equivalent rank	1
11. Manchu or Chinese officials appointed in accordance with cases with precedents (yüan-li hsü-yung)	Department Director in any of the Six Boards and posts of lower rank; Circuit Censor and posts of lower rank	3
12. Officials securing the first class in the triennial inspection and being substantively appointed (ch'eng-chih shih-shou), with their rank higher or equivalent to the assigned post.	Circuit Censor and posts of lower rank	1

Former Qualification or Posts	Posts	Years on Probation
13. Officials securing the first class in the triennial examination and being substantively appointed (ch'eng-chih shih-shou), with their rank lower than the assigned post.	Circuit Censor and posts of lower rank	2
14 Officials secruing the first class in the triennial examination and being substantively appointed (ch'eng-chih shih-shou).	Secretary in the Grand Secretariat	1

N.B. The Appendix is only a general attempt to show the various factors described in Chapter 4 in determining the length of the probationary periods of non-Han-lin officials. Variations in different times and a number of offices are not described here.

Glossary

A-k'o-tun 阿克敦
A-kuei 阿桂
A-shan 阿山
A-su 阿肅
Cha Shen-hsing 查慎行
Cha Ssu-li 查嗣璉
Cha Ssu-t'ing 查嗣庭
Chang Chien 張泩
Chang Jo-ai 張若靄
Chang P'eng-ko 張鵬翮
Chang T'ing-shu 張廷樞
Chang T'ing-yu 張廷玉
Chang Tsung-shuo 張宗說
Chang Ying 張英
ch'ang-ping ts'ang 常平倉
chao 詔
Chao Chih-hsin 趙執信
Chao Chin 趙晉
Chao I 趙翼
Chao-jen tien 昭仁殿
Chao Ta-ch'ing 趙大鯨
Ch'ao-k'ao 朝考
Che-ku-na 折庫納
Ch'en Chang-chen 陳長鎮
Ch'en Ching 陳敬
Ch'en Hsi-tseng 陳希曾
Ch'en Hung Mou 陳宏謀
Ch'en Ju-hsien 陳汝咸
Ch'en Ming-hsia 陳名夏
Ch'en Tzu-chih 陳紫芝
Ch'en Wan-ch'üan 陳萬全
Ch'en Yüan-lung 陳元龍
cheng 政
ch'eng-chih 稱職
ch'eng-chih shih-shen 稱職即授
Ch'eng Sheng-hsiu 程盛修
Chi-chu kuan 記注官
Chi Huang 稽璜
chi-sheng 即升
Chi Tseng-yun 稽曾筠
Chia-ch'ing 嘉慶
chia-ting 嘉定
Chiang Hsiang-ch'ih 蔣祥墀
Chiang-yen 講筵
Chiang Yung-chih 蔣雍植
chiao-kuan 教館

chien-sheng 監生
Ch'ien-Ch'ia 錢楷
Ch'ien-ching kung 乾清宮
Ch'ien-ch'ing men 乾清門
ch'ien-feng 前俸
Ch'ien-lung 乾隆
Ch'ien Shou-ku 錢受穀
Ch'ien Tsai 錢載
chih-kuan chih 職官志
chin-shih 進士
Ch'in Ch'eng-en 秦承恩
ch'in-chih 勤職
ching-ch'a 京察
Ching-shan kuan hsüeh 景山官學
Ching-yun men 景運門
Ch'ing 清
Ch'ing-tai hsün-fu nien-piao 清代巡撫年表
Ch'ing-tai tsai-fu nien-piao 清代宰輔年表
Ch'ing tai tsung-tu nien-piao 清代總督年表
cho-i 卓異
Chou Hsüeh-chien 周學健
Chou T'ao 周燾
Chou Yü-li 周於禮
Chu Chih-hsi 朱之錫
Chu Kuei 朱珪
Chu Shih 朱軾
Chu T'ien-pao 朱天保
Chu Yün 朱筠
chü-jen 舉人
Ch'u P'eng-ling 初彭齡
Ch'üan K'uei 全魁
chuang-yüan 狀元
Chüeh-lo hsüeh 覺羅學
Chun-chi chang-ching chih-she 軍機章京直舍
Chün-chi ta-chen 軍機大臣
Chung Yung-t'an 仲永壇
erh-chia 二甲
Fa-shih-shan 法式善
Fan-ch'in tien 懋勤殿
Fan Wen-ch'eng 范文程
Fang-lioh kuan 方略館
feng-man 俸滿
fu-feng 腹俸
Fu-min 福敏
Fu-shih (Examination) 府試
Fu Wei-lin 傅維鱗
Gali 噶禮
Han-lin 翰林
Han T'an 韓菼
Hang Shih-chün 杭世駿

Ho Ch'o 何焯
Ho Kuo-tsung 何國宗
Ho Yü-liang 何玉梁
Ho Yüan-liang 何元烺
Hou-yu men 後右門
Hsi-hua men 西華門
Hsiao-ching 孝經
Hsieh Chi-shih 謝濟世
Hsieh Ch'i-k'un 謝啓昆
Hsieh Yung 謝墉
Hsien-an-kung hsüeh 咸安宮学
Hsien-shih (Examination) 縣試
Hsiung I-hsiao 熊一瀟
Hsü Ch'ao-ch'uang 許兆椿
Hsü Ch'ien-hsüeh 除乾学
Hsü I-hsüan 徐以烜
Hsü Ping-i 徐秉義
Hsü Yüan-cheng 徐元正
Hsü Yüan-wen 徐元文
hsüan-chü chih 選舉志
Hsüan-yü hua-tao shih 宣諭化道使
Hsüeh-cheng 学正
Hu Ch'ang-lin 胡長齡
Hu-t'u-li 瑚圖礼
Huang Chen-kuo 黃振國
Huang Yü-lung 黃遇隆
hui-pi 迴避
Hui Shih-ch'i 惠士奇
Hung-ti tien 弘德殿
Hung-wen Court (Yüan) 弘文院
Hung-wu pao-hsün 洪武寶訓
i-chia 一甲
i-hsü 議叙
i-hsüeh 義学
Jih-chiang 日講
Juan Yüan 阮元
Kang-lin (Dorgon) 剛林
K'ang-hsi 康熙
kao 誥
Kao Ch'i-cho 高其倬
Kao Shih-ch'i 高士奇
Keng Chiao 耿介
K'o-shih (Examination) 科試
K'o-t'ing 柯亭
Ku Chi-ch'i 谷際岐
Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'eng 古今圖書集成
kuan-hsüan 館選
k'uei-p'an chüan-hsüan 歸班銓選
kung-chih 供職
kung-sheng 貢生
kung-shih 貢士
Kuo Hsiu 郭琇
Kuo-shih Court (Yüan) 國史院

Kuo-tzu chien 國子監
Li Chih-ying 李質穎
Li Chung-ngo 李鍾峩
Li-fan yüan 理藩院
Li Fu 李紱
Li Hsüeh-yü 李学裕
Li Hui 李徽
Li I-ch'ou 李奕疇
Li Kuang-ti 李光地
Li Shou 李綬
Li T'ao 李濤
Li Tien-t'u 李殿圖
Li T'ing-i 厲廷儀
Li Tsung-wan 厲宗萬
Li Wei 李衛
Li Yao-tung 李堯棟
Li Yin-p'ei 李因培
Li Ying-chien 李應薦
Li Yu-t'ang 李有棠
Li Yüan-chen 李元直
Li Yüan-chih 李元振
Liang Hsi-yü 梁錫璵
Liao-Chin-Yüan shih 遼金元史
Lin Ming-lun 林明倫
Liu-ching (well) 刘井
Liu Hsing-wei 刘星煒
Liu-li Street (ch'ang) 琉璃街(廠)
Liu Mai-ju 柳邁祖
Liu-pu chiu-ching 六部九卿
Liu Shih-shu 刘師恕
Liu Yen 刘嚴
Liu Yüan-ping 刘元炳
Lou Jou 陸葇
Lu Fei-ch'ih 陸伯焜
Lu Pe-hun 陸費墀
Lü Kung 呂宮
Lü Liu-liang 呂留良
Lü Pao-chung 呂葆中
Luan-chia k'u 鸞駕庫
Lui Hung 雷鋐
Lung-tsung men 隆宗門
Mei Ku-ch'eng 梅穀成
Meng Shao 孟邵
Ming 明
Ming-shih 明史
Miu Yüan 繆沅
Nan-shan chi 南山集
Nan-shu fang 南書房
Nei-k'o 內閣
Nei-san yüan 內三院
Nei-tso men 內左門
Nei-wu fu 內務府

Nei-yu men 内右門
nien 年
Nien Keng-yao 年羹堯
Ning Yüan-ngo 甯元我
Niu-niu 牛細
Oboi 鼇拜
pa-ch'ing 八卿
pa-kung sheng 拔貢生
p'an 判
pang-yen 榜眼
Pao-chü ching-hsüeh 保举經学
Pao-ho tien 保和殿
Pao-shan t'ing (Pavillion) 宝善亭
P'eng Ch'i-feng 彭啓豐
P'eng Wei-hsin 彭維新
Pi-shu Court (Yüan) 秘書院
Pi Yüan 畢沅
piao 表
pien-feng 邊俸
P'ing Shu 平恕
Po-hsüeh hung-ju 博学宏儒
Po-hsüeh hung-t'zu 博学宏詞
san-chia 三甲
Shang-shu fang 上書房
Shao Tzu-ch'ang 邵自昌
she-hsüeh 社学
Shen Ch'u-ch'ao 沈初朝
Shen Ch'üan 沈荃
Shen Han 沈涵 (?)
Shen Han-fen 沈涵汾
Shen Te-ch'ien 沈德潛
Shih Jun-chang 施閏章
Shih-lu 實錄
Shih-wei ch'u 侍衛處
Shu-ch'ang kuan 庶常館
shu-yüan 書院
Shun-chih 順自
shou 守
Su-ch'in wang 肅親王
sui 歲
Sui-shih (Examination) 歲試
Sun Chia-kan 孫嘉淦
Sung 宋
Sung Chao 宋照
Sung-chu 嵩祝
Sung Pang-sui 宋邦綏
Sung Te-i 宋德宜
Szu-k'u ch'üan-shu 四庫全書
Szu-shu chieh-i 四書解義
ta-chi 大計
Ta-chuang 達椿
Ta-hsüeh yen-i jih-chiang 大学衍義日講

ta-kuan 大館
Tai Chen 戴震
Tai-ho men 太和門
Tai-ho tien 太和殿
Tai Ming-shih 戴名世
t'an-hua 探花
T'ang 唐
T'ang Chien-chung 唐建中
T'ang Pin 湯斌
Te-pao 德保
Tien-shih 殿試
T'ien Hsi-ling 田喜霊
T'ien Wen-ching 田文鏡
Tou Kuang-nai 竇光鼐
tsai-fu 宰輔
ts'ai 才
Ts'ai T'ing 蔡廷
Tsao-p'an ch'u 造辦處
Ts'ao Chen-yung 曹振鏞
Ts'ao Hsi-pao 曹錫宝
Ts'ao I-chih 曹一士
Ts'ao Wen-chih 曹文埴
ts'e 策
Tseng Ching 曾静
tso-kuan 坐館
Tsou-shih ch'u 奏事處
Tsu Chih-wang 祖之望
Ts'ui Chi 崔紀
Ts'ui Wei-lin 崔蔚林
Tsung-hsüeh 宗学
T'u T'ien-hsiang 涂天相
Tui-kuan (office, cancelled in 1667) 推官
Tung-hua men 東華門
T'ung-cheng 桐城
Tz'u-ning kung 慈寧宮
Wai-sheng nei-chuan 外升内轉
Wan Ch'eng-feng 萬承風
Wan Ju-kua 温汝适
Wang Chi 汪楫
Wang Chi-hua 王際華
Wang Chien 王檢
Wang Chiu-ling 王九齡
Wang Ch'ung-chien 王崇簡
Wang Fen 汪份
Wang Hao 汪灝
Wang Hsing-wu 王興吾
Wang Hsü-ling 王項齡
Wang Hui-fen 王會汾
Wang Hung-hsu 王鴻緒
Wang Kuo-tung 王國棟
Wang Lin 汪霖
Wang Ming-sheng 王鳴盛
Wang Mu 王蓦

Wang Nien-sun 王念孫
Wang Shih-chün 王士俊
Wang Yu-tun 汪由敦
Wei Hsiang-shu 魏象樞
Wei I-chieh 魏裔介
Wei Yuan-yu 魏元煜
Wen-ying kuan 文英館
Weng Fang-kang 翁方綱
Wu Ching 吳璥敬
Wu Fang-p'ei 吳芳培
Wu-men 午門
Wu Sheng-ch'in 吳省欽
Wu Sheng-lan 吳省蘭
Wu Shih-kung 吳士功
Wu T'ing-chen 吳廷禎
Wu Han 吳誦
Yang Ch'ao-tseng 楊超曾
Yang-hsin men 養心門
Yang-hsin tien 養心殿
Yang Ming-shih 楊名時
Yao Fan 姚範
Yao San-ch'en 姚三辰
Yen Sheng-sun 嚴繩孫
Yin Chün 尹均
Yin-jeng 胤礽
Yin Kuan-kuang 殷觀光
Yin-sheng 蔭生
yu-kung sheng 优貢生
Yü P'eng-chü 于朋舉
Yü-shih 御試
yüan-li hsü-yung 沿例續用
Yüan Mei 袁枚
Yüeh Chung-ch'i 岳鍾琪
Yung-cheng 雍正

(For further details of the books see the following bibliography)

CCTT	Ch'ing-ch'ao t'ung-tien
CCWHTK	Ch'ing-ch'ao wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao
CSK	Ch'ing-shih kao
CS	Ch'ing-shih
CSLC	Ch'ing-shih lieh-chuan
CTCHLP	Ch'ing-tai cheng-hsien lei-pien
ECCP	Hummel, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period
HCCKHP (NP)	Huang-ch'ao chang-ku hui-pien (nei-pien)
HCCS	Hsüeh-cheng ch'üan-shu
HCHL	Ho-cheng hou-lu
HCL	Ho-cheng lu
HPCC	Hsü pei-chuan chi
KCCHLC	Kuo-ch'ao chi-hsien lei-cheng
KCHCSL	Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng shih-lüeh
KSLC	Kuo-shih lieh-chuan
LTCKP	Li-tai chi-kuan piao
PCC	Pei-chuan chi
PCCP	Pei-chuan chi-pu
Shu-lu	Shang-yen-liu, Ch'ing-tai k'o-chü k'ao-shih shu-lu
SL	Ta-ch'ing hui-tien shih-li
TCCFHCC	Ta-Ch'ing chi-fu hsien-che chuan
TCHT	Ta-Ch'ing hui-tien

ABBREVIATIONS

TCLCSL	Ta-Ch'ing li-ch'ao shih-lu
THL	Tung hua lu
TLCL	Tz'u-lin chi-lüeh
TLTK	Huang-ch'ao tz'u-lin tien-ku

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